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ALEXANDER, THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

The Book of History

A History of all Nations

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Volume VI

THE NEAR EAST

The Barbary States

Tripoli . Tunis . Algeria . Morocco

The Sudan . Abyssinia

The Gold Coast . Central Africa

South Africa

ANCIENT GREECE — MACEDON

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MEDITERRANEAN NORTH AFRICA

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS

MEDITERRANEAN Africa is divided into two sharply defined geographical regions, an eastern and a western. In the east the coast line sinks back to the south; in the west it juts out towards the north; and while on the eastern edge the desert regions extend to the sea, in the western and projecting part there rises a country of mighty mountains with snow-covered peaks and foaming torrents, and of fertile valleys and well-watered plains. Here, then, tribes of agriculturists could develop into powerful nations, while the east is the home only of nomads. Only at one point in the eastern coast, in modern Tripoli, just where the tableland of Barca projects like a peninsula into the sea, lies a feeble counterpart of the western mountainous region, an agricultural district formerly the possession of the once flourishing Greek colony of Cyrene.

But if the coast-line in the east as an independent country is at a disadvantage compared with the west, it has some counterbalancing features. First, it is situated nearer to the ancient civilised countries and came comparatively earlier under their influence; and, secondly, owing to the deep bays that indent its coast, it is the favoured starting-point and terminus of the entire Sudan trade, which is again facilitated by the convenient position of numerous oases. It is no accident that the two most powerful ancient commercial cities of

North Africa, Carthage and Cyrene, flourished in the vicinity of the Syrtes.

Communication with the Sudan was in ancient times probably less difficult than at present. There is no doubt that

**Sahara Not
Always
a Desert**

there has been an unfavourable change in the climate. In the northern Sahara especially, the calcareous deposits of dried-up springs, the traces of a formerly richer flora, but, above all, the remains of human settlements in regions now completely uninhabited, speak only too clear a language and assure us that even the deficiency of water in the Algeria of to-day as compared with that of Roman times is not to be referred merely to the decay of artificial irrigation, but must have deeper causes. But if North Africa and, above all, the desert was once better watered and more habitable than it is to-day, then communication also with negritic Africa must have been easier than now, notwithstanding that in early antiquity the camel was not known to the tribes of North Africa. The commercial position of Carthage, as of Cyrene, rested, indeed, to a great extent on intercourse with the Sudan. In Roman times this traffic appears to lessen or completely to cease; the Arabic era first roused it to fresh activity. Parallel with climatic changes there is in the course of history no lack of topographical changes: the rising of the Tunisian coast, which caused many of the famous harbours of antiquity to be silted up, is to be especially mentioned. On the other hand, the shore of

the peninsula of Barca is steadily sinking.

Climatic changes, as well as the passion for hunting, have also exercised great influence on the animal life of North Africa: elephants and hippopotami, which were formerly numerous, have now disappeared. And a plant which once was

Vanished Source of Wealth

of the highest importance for a part of North Africa, the famous silphium, which grew in the district of Cyrene, and the juice from the root of which was worth its weight in silver in ancient Rome, is no longer to be found, and has not been rediscovered even in other parts of the world. The silphium was one of the chief sources of the wealth of the ancient Cyreneans. As we see it represented on the coins of the town, we know that it belonged to the group of the umbelliferae. The writings of the ancients tell us of the manifold uses of this healing juice, which was nowhere prepared so excellently as at Cyrene. Whether the plant has been extirpated or whether it has disappeared before the change of climate can no longer be determined.

The existence of a prehistoric population in the Sahara is demonstrated by numerous stone implements which have often been found in quite isolated and now uninhabitable spots of the desert. In historic times, the first accounts do not, any more than any other results of investigation, justify the assumption that before the invasion of the Phœnicians, Greeks and Romans a homogeneous population filled North Africa. If we collect the different accounts and compare them with the conditions of the present day, we can distinguish no fewer than four old races which were permanently settled there, and their descendants, mixed with subsequent comers, maintain even now for the most part their original homes. In the first place, we must name the

Ancient Peoples of the North

light-complexioned, fair-haired Libyans, who are often mentioned by the old geographers and historians as inhabiting both the district bordering on Egypt and the tableland of Barca and the places on Lake Triton. They exercised influence on Egypt itself. Especially at the time of the Ethiopian sovereignty we find fair-haired Libyans as dynasts in the Delta. They seem to have been a physically well-built and intellectually gifted race.

Descendants of these "blonds" are found even at the present day in North Africa especially among the Kabyles of the Rif, or Morocco, in such large numbers that for a long time it was thought that the remnants of the German Vandals had been rediscovered; although, in reality, the fair-haired population of Africa existed long before the migration of the Germanic nations—indeed, before the beginning of historical tradition. Another remnant of this blond race were the Guanches in Teneriffe.

The Canary Islands have served more than once as a refuge for the population of the continent when hard pressed by newcomers. The Guanches, when they first came into contact with Europeans, were still completely in the Stone Age. They knew the use of the mattock, and bred sheep and goats, but did not use the plough or understand how to make bread. In addition to the Guanches, other races have inhabited the Canaries.

The fair-haired African race does not stand apart from the other races. It is very probably identical with that tall, long-headed people which was once settled in Western Europe, and which is usually designated the Cro-Magnon race after the chief place where remains of bones have been found. Assuming, then, the relationship of the fair-haired Libyans with the people of Cro-Magnon to be generally admitted, the original homes of the race may have been in North Africa; this is the more probable, since the megalithic monuments of North Africa are apparently older than those of Western Europe. The hypothesis which accounts for these races as of Celtic origin hardly demands discussion.

Together with, and perhaps before, the fair-haired race, another light-complexioned, but dark-haired and short-headed, race appears to have existed in North Africa. The earliest inhabitants of the Canary Islands seem, at any rate, to have belonged to this dark-haired people, sometimes referred to as "Armenoides." These, it can hardly be doubted, have close affinities with those dark-haired pre-Aryans of Southern Europe, who were later influenced by the immigrating Aryans and robbed of their individual characteristics, but continued to live among the main body of the population of Southern Europe.

MEDITERRANEAN NORTH AFRICA

We can mention only briefly the traces which point to the existence in the steppes and oases of North Africa of a stunted race, probably related to the bushmen and the dwarf tribes of the rest of Africa. The inhabitants of the oasis of Tadicelt were expressly described by the ancients as being of small stature. Other tribes, such as Troglodytes and Garamantes, may have intermingled with the pigmy peoples who then, perhaps, roamed about the Sahara, as the Bushmen still do in the Kalahari. In many national types of the present day the last remnants of the dwarf race, greatly changed by intermixture, may still be pointed out.

Far more important for the history of Africa was the effect wrought on racial conditions by another cause. If the Libyans, the "Armenoides," and even the stunted tribes, were comparatively fair complexioned, we now see a ruddy-skinned people appear in Egypt as the possessors of a primitive civilisation, which they develop later in Ethiopia and Abyssinia. In quite early times they spread westward. Ultimately all North

Africa receives from them its ethnographical and linguistic characteristics, and a new race is formed—that of the Berbers. This people, then, constitutes the core of the present Hamitic population, which, as the "Atlantic race," it is usual to contrast with the negroes on the one hand, and the Aryans and Semites on the other. The ancient name of "Ethiopians" is the most appropriate for them.

The Ethiopians must have come later than the previously mentioned races to Northern Africa, with the exception, naturally, of Egypt, where they were settled from the first beginnings of civilisation. A certain affinity of the Ethiopian languages with the Semitic; the accounts handed down of their ancient history, and even the conditions of the people at the present day, make us suppose that the original homes of the Ethiopians may have been in Eastern Africa. There they received the stimulus of Asiatic civilisation, which they carried further westward, together with the acquisitions of Egyptian culture. North Africa became Ethiopian only within the course of authentic history.

But even though the races blend, the population of North Africa will always separate afresh into two, or better into three, component parts, made necessary

by the nature of the country itself, and distinct in their characteristics. No contrast of language or bodily structure is so thorough or so indestructible as that between the nomad of the steppe and the agriculturist who inhabits the fertile plains and the mountain valleys; as civilisation gradually develops, a third distinct type arises—the town-dweller, who makes his livelihood by industry and trade. These contrasts are so effectual that the individual countries of North Africa, to say nothing of the whole region, have never become political unities in the sense of European states. Morocco is, in reality, a marvellous conglomeration of partially or entirely dependent tribal districts, together with others that are practically independent.

All three elements of the population advanced in civilisation as time went on. The agriculturist, probably under the influence of Ethiopian immigration, exchanged the mattock for the plough. The nomad at an early period made use of the ox; later, during the dynasty of the Hyksos in Egypt, of the horse; and, finally, in Roman times, of the camel. The town-dwellers finally received, through trade and traffic, ample materials of culture. But they were recruited by new immigrations and changed their national life and character.

The mere enumeration of the numerous shocks from the outside which North Africa has had to bear patiently explains at once the tremendous changes the country has undergone. As colonisers the Greeks appeared on the eastern, the Phœnicians on the western, coasts; and the supremacy of the Romans and Byzantines did not fail to influence greatly the mixture of nationalities. Then a stream of fair-haired Germans pressed over the Straits of Gibraltar and held the new possessions for a century. More important and more lasting than all previous influences was that exercised upon the inhabitants of North Africa by the invasion

of the Arabs and the spread of Islam. The Arabs were followed by the Turks. Finally, the civilised nations of Europe appeared in the field and undertook to forge anew out of that region sunk in savagery another link in that chain of civilised states which had once circled the Mediterranean and had been snapped by the adherents of Islam.

Thus the history of North Africa in its recorded form is little else than the struggle of the native Berbers against foreign intruders. Sometimes they almost succumb; the lords of the North African coast wear the Carthaginian dress or the burnous of the Arab; then, again, they show their indestructible vitality, and genuine Berber states arise

The Jews where formerly foreign colonisers had the power in their hands. In mediæval and modern times have come the Jews, the practically indispensable traders of the kingdom of Morocco and of the old Barbary states, of whose immigration, as almost everywhere else, there is nothing definite to be said, it being sufficient that they are there.

They seem fit and ready to play, in their way, an important part in the civilising of North Africa by European nations: in fact, they are the only component part of the population which knows how to conform itself externally to European ideas and to derive profit from the advantages of our culture without acknowledging its moral claims.

Apart from the migrations in Roman times, the stream of European blood which has been poured into the veins of the North Africans is not inconsiderable. When the Moors retreated from Spain a large number of them settled in North Africa and gradually mixed with the natives. But the Moors had just formed in Spain a united nation out of native Iberian, Arabic, Berber, and even North European elements: they were not only in their civilisation but also in their ethnical composition a connecting link between the world of Islam and that of Western Europe. Still more important, perhaps, was the influx of European slaves of both sexes which, from the Middle Ages down to modern times, had been directed into the Barbary states by

The White Slaves of North Africa

the constant expeditions of the corsairs inhabiting the North African coasts, an element much more easily absorbed, owing to the Mohammedan institution of the harem. Besides this, many European renegades appear in the military history of North Africa.

If, through the capture of slaves, European blood came into Barbary, still more so did negritic blood. The negroes, whose own homes do not, indeed, extend

far into the Sahara, do not voluntarily come to Mediterranean North Africa; but they flocked in under the crack of the slave whip as despised servants of the ruling peoples. Yet their vital tenacity caused them to take root in the new soil. But they proved fatal to the national life of North Africa. Every drop of negritic blood takes its owner farther from Europe, as well as from the civilisation of the Mediterranean countries, and brings him nearer to the dull, unprogressive peoples of Central Africa. At the present day, after centuries of silent immigration of the dark race, the coast of the Mediterranean is more African than it ever was in the course of its history.

The three non-racial elements of the population which, through natural conditions, are always recreated—nomads, husbandmen, and dwellers in towns—have been, as was inevitable, influenced and technically altered in very different ways by the advancing waves of nations. The agriculturists of the highlands, after the earliest fusion was completed, have best preserved the purity of race: these are essentially genuine Berbers

The Three Elements of the Population

and the pick of the population in Western North Africa. The nomad Berber population was, on the contrary, not able to resist the impact of the Arabs, nomads like themselves, and was compelled to give way to the intruders. They either withdrew into the Sahara or fled to their brethren permanently settled in the highlands, so that in North Africa proper at the present time the terms Arab and nomad almost coincide. The towns, finally, were the proper homes of the mixed nationalities. Foreign merchants and fugitives settled in them by preference; the Jew built his ghetto here, and the negro his miserable quarter. Notwithstanding the hatred which the nomads and the agriculturists have for each other, they are at one in their contempt for the inhabitants of the towns.

We must, first of all, consider the history of the two colonising states, Cyrene and Carthage. Then we must give our attention to Roman times and describe the invasion of the Arabs. Finally, considering how North Africa has been split up into separate states and possessions, we must fix our eyes on the modern development of these states. The encroachments of the European Powers will be briefly touched upon in conclusion.



CARTHAGE IN ITS SPLENDOUR AND ITS DOWNFALL

THE Greek settlements on the peninsula of Barca deserve special notice because they were the only important Hellenic colonies on the coast of North Africa, and because also their isolated position allowed them to develop their individuality in comparative independence. The cultivated territory of Cyrenaica, surrounded by the sea or desert regions, supported a numerous population on the products of the soil; and the favourable commercial situation, which made Cyrene a depôt on the through trade route to the most varied destinations, must have proved a source of wealth as soon as an energetic people made use of it, and found out, besides, how to make the most of the natural treasures of their own territory, among which the silphium, already referred to, must especially be named.

In the middle of the seventh century B.C. Dorian settlers had come, under the leadership of Battus, from the island of Thera, or Santorin, where a civil war had caused their emigration: at first they settled on a small island in the Gulf of Bomba; six years later they settled on the mainland and founded Cyrene, the government of which Battus assumed under the title of king. It is characteristic of the country, that a copious spring of water, called Cyre, led to the choice of the site and gave its name to the place. The colony was subsequently strengthened by the accession of numerous Dorian Greeks from the Peloponnesus, from Crete, and other islands. The colonists were now in a position to take possession of large tracts in the peninsula of Barca—against the will of the nomad Libyans of those parts, who at last in their distress appealed to the king of Egypt for help. The new colony soon saw itself compelled to assume a hostile attitude towards the

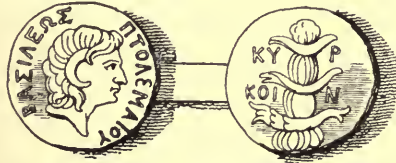
powerful civilised state on its east frontier. Fortunately for Cyrene, disturbances in Egypt forbade the decisive invasion of a neighbouring people. But finally the Libyans themselves proved to be dangerous opponents. The tribes united and inflicted a severe defeat on the Greeks in a great battle. The large number of Cyreneans killed—seven thousand—and the fact that notwithstanding all this the vitality of the young community was not sapped allows us to conceive how rapid the rise to prosperity of the settlement was.

Its defeat was destined to bring important results in its train. Cyrene, in search of help, turned its eyes to Greece, and was immediately swept along in that transformation of political life which was then going on in the old home. Peacefully, or by force, aristocracy and tyranny were repressed in favour of democracy. Those communities were fortunate where prudent and respected men stood at the head of affairs and accomplished with moderation and fairness the revolution which had become necessary through the

growing power of the lower strata of the people.

In Cyrene the disastrous issue of the war furnished a reason for similar action; while another impelling cause was the counsel of the famous oracle at Delphi. Just as the oracle had once

commanded Battus to found a colony, so it now counselled the Cyreneans to summon from Mantinea the legislator Demonax, who would arrange the internal affairs of the settlement and enable it to offer a more powerful resistance to external foes. Demonax assigned equal rights to all citizens and limited the royal power of the Battian dynasty, which was still on the throne. This led to new struggles; King Arcesilaus was exiled in



A COIN OF PTOLEMY APION
One of the kings of Cyrene. The reverse of the coin shows the famous silphium plant, now extinct, which was one of the colony's natural treasures.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE PHOENICIAN TOWN OF UTICA AS IT WAS

The oldest of the Phoenician settlements on the north coast of Africa was Utica, although Carthage politically outstripped it.

530 B.C., but with the help of the foreigners regained power till he was slain by the people, together with the tyrant of Barca, which had been founded before this. As he had previously submitted to the Persians, who, under Cambyses, then occupied Egypt, the Persian governor in Egypt now interfered, destroyed Barca, which, however, soon became prosperous again, and upheld the tottering monarchy. It was not until 450 B.C. that it finally broke down, and Cyrene became a republic.

Notwithstanding all these wars, Cyrene had meantime attained great prosperity. The fertile soil of the country, which, above all, produced the valuable silphium, afforded a secure basis for the power of the state; and the trade which was carried on, partly by land with Egypt and the Sudan, partly by sea, brought immense wealth to Cyrene, where the citizens were conspicuous among all Hellenes for their luxury, and also for their keen interest in

Luxury and Learning in Cyrene

the artistic and philosophic movements of the Greek people. The restless spirit of the Cyreneans, which manifested itself even after the fall of the monarchy in continuous friction between the nobles and the people, may have been due to their luxurious character. The power and prosperity of the town suffered for the

time very little from these internal feuds. The struggle with its rising rival, Carthage, which broke out soon after the expulsion of the Battidæ, did not end to the disadvantage of Cyrene. The two emporia

Cyrene's Struggle with Carthage

of trade came finally to an understanding as to the limits of their respective influence. The Cyreneans did not come into hostile relations with Alexander the Great, who appeared in Egypt in 332 B.C., since they secured their position in advance by a feigned submission. It was, indeed, fortunate for the town that, owing to their remote position, they were somewhat distant from the paths of political whirlwinds. Only faint gusts of the storm blew over them. The same advantage was enjoyed by the other and smaller city-republics which had sprung up on the coast of Barca and, with Cyrene, were included under the name of the Pentapolis, literally, the five cities.

When, however, after the death of Alexander, the mighty stream of his policy of conquest divided into numerous rivulets—when everywhere his old generals raised their weapons against each other and endeavoured to break off for themselves the greatest possible portion of that enormous inheritance—Cyrenaica did not escape the eyes of the rapacious soldier-



THE REMAINS OF UTICA, THE OLDEST AND LONGEST-LIVED PHOENICIAN COLONY
 Utica, at first the chief city of the African Phoenicians, preserved its existence by going over to Rome in the Punic wars.

kings. As though the external danger were not enough, party struggles blazed up with fresh fury in the republics of Pentapolis, and fugitives from Cyrene summoned the assistance of the Alexandrian general, Timbron, who was then in Crete. Ptolemy, who, in the meantime, had firmly established himself in Egypt, availed himself of the opportunity to interfere: Timbron was defeated, and in 322 B.C. all of Cyrenaica was obliged to recognise the suzerainty of the crafty Egyptian king.

With this the decay of the country seems to have begun. Drawn into the family disputes of the Ptolemies, the region sometimes regained its independence temporarily, but remained in essential points under Egyptian influence. Cyrene was no longer able to compete in trade with Carthage, on the one hand, or with Alexandria on the other. Even though the gigantic struggle of the Phoenician colony with the aspiring Roman empire may have brought much passing benefit, and the advantages of its geographical situation could never be quite lost, yet Cyrene, together with its sister towns, undoubtedly sank in importance. This decadence, recognisable in the domain of thought also, stands in a certain con-

nection with the increasing intermixture of populations, by which the old Hellenic spirit was more and more repressed and subdued. The Jews especially, who were intentionally favoured by the Ptolemies, greatly increased in Cyrenaica in the course of time. In the later Ptolemaic period they are said to have composed almost the fourth part of the town population. To what degree the Libyan, Egyptian, and even negritic elements may have increased is not, indeed, known, but may be roughly estimated from the situation and from the trading relations of Pentapolis. The intellectual culture of African Hellenism, which once had its centre in Cyrene, passed entirely to Alexandria.

The Romans, after the death of a prince of the Ptolemies, to whom Pentapolis had fallen as an independent realm, came into the possession of the territory by peaceful means. It was only loosely bound to the Roman empire about 95 B.C., since Cyrenaica had long ceased to be an important factor in international affairs. Disturbances in the new tributary land led to its complete subjugation by Pompey in 67 B.C., and to its union with Crete. In the future Pentapolis comes seldom into notice; what we de-

**Decay in
 Culture
 and Power**

hear of it shows its continued decay. A terrible revolt of the Jewish population in the time of Trajan is said to have cost the lives of 200,000 Greeks and Romans, so that the emperor, after the suppression of the rebellion, founded a new colony, Adrianopolis, in Cyrenaica, in order to revive the depopulated land. But the

weak condition of the province had already been seized by the Libyan nomads as an opportunity of occupying part of the fertile land, without its being possible to check their encroachments. The ravages of the Islamitic era of conquest annihilated the last traces of its ancient prosperity.

Long before Cyrene, and not through gradual decay, but in a tremendous tragic catastrophe, her proud rival, Phœnician Carthage, had disappeared.

The most important of the Phœnician settlements in the west are well known. On the coast of North Africa there lie, west of the Syrtes, Leptis, Hadrumetum, Carthage, Utica, and the two Hippos. Those that lay on the Mauretian, or Morrocan, coast had no special significance. In Sicily the western portion particularly was Phœnician; but there, as in other instances, we can never know what was primarily Carthaginian and therefore secondarily Phœnician. We must renounce the attempt to prove very ancient Phœnician pre-Hellenic settlements in Eastern Sicily, since we doubt the applicability of the explanation of names for such purposes. The same holds good of Spain. What we know of Carteia and Gadir, or Cadiz, is quite uncertain; and the identification of Tartessus with the Biblical Tarshish is very doubtful. Thus, still less information has come down to us of the various Phœnician settlements in Spain than of those in Africa. The town which at a later period was promoted by Hasdrubal to be the seat of government for the Carthaginian dominion under the

No Phœnician History of Carthage

name of Carthago, or Carthago Nova, seems at a still earlier time to have been a sort of centre. We must abandon even more completely the attempt to prove the existence of any definite points further to the east. In Sardinia alone can we trace with any confidence the existence of Carthaginian influence, although in that case again a previous universal Phœnician occupation of the land is quite probable.

We have no materials for the history of these settlements and their further development. Our accounts begin where the Western Phœnicians came into contact with the Greeks, when these latter began to dispute the western basin of the Mediterranean and when the struggle between Rome and Carthage was being waged. Carthage was already at the head of these settlements. There were no longer "Phœnicians" there, but only an immense Carthaginian empire to which everything was subordinated. The history of these Western Phœnicians is, therefore, so far as we can follow it, the history of Carthage, and even there it is very incomplete. The Carthaginian documents which are forthcoming have no historical value. We have no accounts of the first settlement of Carthage, and we can deduce the course of events only from some institutions of later date. What legend tells us about the founding of Carthage by Dido, and the transference of this legend to the reign of Pygmalion of Tyre—all this is pure fable. Dido does not belong to history.

The Carthaginians, even in later times, acknowledged Phœnicia as their mother country, and as a proof of this paid an annual tax to the temple of Melkart in Tyre. Carthage has, therefore, been regarded as a Tyrian colony, and the Dido myth is traceable to this idea, or it may have helped to sustain it. We have, however, evidence that the chief gods of Carthage were not Melkart, but Eshmun and Astarte—that is to say, the gods who were worshipped at Sidon. This proves, according to Semitic ideas, that Carthage was not a Tyrian but a Sidonian colony.

What we have clearly seen with regard to the conditions of Phœnicia and the course of its expansion beyond the sea forbids us to look on Carthage as a colony sent out from the city of Sidon; the Phœnician towns as such could never have done that. On the contrary, the migration across the sea originated with the Phœnicians who were still in movement. If, therefore, Carthage worshipped the same gods as Sidon, she did so not because they were the gods of her mother city, but because she did homage to them as the common gods of all Phœnicians. The Carthaginians did not regard Sidon as their mother city, but as the head city of all "Sidonians," just as Tyre and the other states did. When through the

THE GREEK COLONIES AND CARTHAGE

destruction of Sidon by Esarhaddon even the religious headship was transferred to Tyre the Carthaginians began to send their offering of homage to Tyre, because the rescued gods of Sidon had found a refuge there. From this time, and only in this sense, Carthage was a "Tyrian colony."

A further clue to the explanation of the conditions of the historical period is given us by the name Carthage itself, and by a remarkable and well-authenticated fact as to its relations with the neighbouring town of Utica. Carthage signifies the "New Town"; it can only have been so called in distinction from an old town. Citium in Cyprus and the subsequent "New Carthage" in Spain received the same name when they were "newly founded"—that is, when they fell under

others are included under the title of "allies"—that is subject and tributary towns. This implies a recognition of the "motherhood" of Utica as much as of Tyre; the religious fame of the former capital had thus been preserved even when Carthage had long possessed the political supremacy, and was strong enough to

secure to Utica an exceptional position above the other towns. From this we may deduce the fact for the period on which no accounts throw any light that Utica was formerly the chief city of the African Phœnicians and had been gradually ousted from that position by Carthage. This also explains why Utica in the Third Punic War voluntarily ranged itself on the side of the Romans and was afterwards made by them the capital of a province.

Utica Goes over to Rome



MAP SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF ANCIENT STATES OF MEDITERRANEAN NORTH AFRICA

the Phœnician and Punic sway. The old name of Carthage was possibly Byrsa, which really belongs to the old quarter of the town, the city, and not merely to the citadel, and is found also, perhaps, in the inscriptions upon coins.

Utica, on the other hand, signifies "Old Town." It must have first received this title in place of its old and unknown name, when the New Town assumed its name and thus politically outstripped it; that is precisely the state of things which is illustrated in the mother country by the struggle between Sidon and Tyre for the "motherhood" or the higher antiquity.

In the second treaty with Rome Utica is expressly named with Carthage and on the same footing as Tyre, while all

In short, at what date Carthage was, in fact, founded, or at what time she had secured the hegemony, or dominion, over the other Phœnician settlements in Spain and Sicily and elsewhere, we do not know. But when we have definite record of rivalry between Phœnicians and Greeks the Phœnician power centres in Carthage.

At the beginning of the seventh century Sicily and the coast of Massilia are in the possession of the Greeks. The Phœnicians had only held their own in Western Sicily, where they were protected by the Carthaginians. Their strongholds were Panormus, Motye, Lilybæum; but what part of them was Phœnician, in other words, a remnant of some old immigration, and what Carthaginian, that is to say founded only from Africa, our information does not enable us to judge.

About the middle of the sixth century the Phocæans attempted to establish a footing in Corsica—according to tradition in 562 B.C.—and founded Alalia. After reinforcements had been sent from the mother city, fear of the threatening growth of the Greek immigration—which had already laid a firm grip on Lower Italy,

**Carthage
Combines with
Etruria**

the larger part of Sicily, and the coast round Massilia—drove the two great powers of Carthage and Etruria to combine. The Phocæans were totally defeated and expelled from Corsica. Somewhere about the same time are recorded the wearisome wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily and Sardinia under Malchus. All details and even the precise dates it is impossible to fix, but we may clearly infer that here further Greek expansion received a check, and that limits were roughly fixed which were not afterwards overstepped. The Greeks after this did not encroach to any extent on the Carthaginian sphere of interest. The accounts of wars with Massilia—that is, with the chief town of the Greek colonies on the Franco-Spanish coast—are also obscure. These wars bear upon the history of the country we are considering equally with those in Sicily and Sardinia.

Malchus, the general who put a stop to the advance of the Greeks, is reported to have interfered in the home affairs of Carthage in a way which leads us to draw conclusions as to the cause of her earlier weakness. The account is certainly vague, as indeed is everything we learn of Carthage from the records, but still it shows us the same dissensions which combined afterwards to bring about the fall of the city. There had been an unwillingness to receive the general on his return with the army, from fear of the effect of his power on the government of the Families. We therefore infer that he looked to the support of the people against the nobles. In

**Dissensions
Within
the State**

the end, as he was aspiring to the kingly power, he was defeated and executed. It must be assumed that he attempted to put an end to the rule of the great Families; but when he had obtained possession of the city by means of his army, he miscalculated his power, relinquished the army, and thus fell a victim to a reaction. The accounts suggest that he was not a thoroughgoing "tyrant," who relied upon the

army, but that he tried to obtain the crown by a constitutional revolution.

Our accounts designate as his "successor" Mago, who has left his mark on the subsequent course of events, and whose family was for a long period at the head of affairs. He had made himself the directing mind of the Families, and his house long conducted the government in their spirit. He and his descendants are named as generals of the Carthaginians in the wars in Sicily and in Africa, where the maintenance of the Carthaginian territorial power was at stake.

Meanwhile the Greeks had found in the Sicilian tyrants leaders who could organise the operations against Carthage with greater energy. This chance was very soon appreciably felt, and compelled Carthage to look for assistance in the struggle against her foe where it was voluntarily proffered. Tradition tells us, in an anecdotal and no longer intelligible fashion, of an embassy from Darius to Carthage. Its demands sound somewhat foolish; but apparently its object was to claim the submission of Carthage, since her mother country was now tributary.

**Carthage
Joins Persia
Against Greece**

In combination with the Phœnician, the Carthaginian fleet would have made Persia the undisputed mistress of the sea. Carthage rejected this suggestion. Nevertheless, she was soon forced by an identity of interests to work hand in hand with Persia. While Xerxes tried to crush the Greeks in the eastern basin, the Carthaginians made a simultaneous effort in the western. The success, or rather want of success, was the same for the two allies; Xerxes was defeated at Salamis, and the army of the Carthaginians, under Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, was vanquished by Gelo at Himera. Hellenism, attacked in both halves of the Mediterranean, successfully resisted in both the Semitic civilisation of the Orient.

We have what would be an invaluable piece of evidence from this period if its date were more trustworthy. Polybius mentions a treaty which, in the year of the first consuls, 509 B.C., the new republic of Rome concluded with Carthage. This treaty had been discovered in his time among the Roman archives, and could be deciphered only with difficulty. The entire conception of the development of earlier Roman history depends on the point whether this treaty is to be referred to this



A PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT PORT OF CARTHAGE



A PUNIC TOMB NEAR CARTHAGE



REMAINS OF THE OLD SEA GATE



RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT: A MONUMENT OF THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT CARTHAGE

THE FRAGMENTARY RUINS OF CARTHAGE, ONCE QUEEN OF THE SEAS

year or, as it has acutely been suggested, to the year 348 B.C. But the data do not permit of a decision. The most weighty provisions were that the Romans and their allies were not to be permitted to undertake raiding expeditions, or to found colonies beyond "the beautiful promontory." Doubt arises whether this

Rome and Carthage at Peace

boundary between the Carthaginian and Roman spheres of interest is to be looked for in Africa or in Spain; the most probable explanation is that by this Mastia and Tarseum—the subsequent Carthago Nova—must be understood as the furthest points to which the protectorate of Rome and the trade of the Roman allies were allowed to extend. Massilia would thus belong to Rome. Sicily, again, so far as it was Carthaginian, would be included by the Romans in the African territory of Carthage. The Carthaginians bound themselves not to make overtures to the Latins, so far as they were subject to the suzerainty of Rome.

Contemporaneously with the development of the African situation at the close of the fifth century we have accounts of a subjugation of the African district by the members of the house of Mago. This can refer only to a subjugation of the native tribes; their district was occupied by Carthage, and they themselves became subjects of the Carthaginians. From this time Carthage began the system of large estates (*latifundia*) in which Rome was her predecessor and teacher. Hitherto we have been able to represent the African settlements only as towns with a fair-sized territory situated in the coast region; now there was a province. This became directly Carthaginian, not Punic, since Carthage was already ruler of the remaining Punic towns. These naturally retained their respective civic rights and their territory, but were dependent on Carthage.

The house of Mago held for several generations the conduct of affairs in its own hands. Its influence then seems to have become suspected by the Families, and it was ousted from the exclusive exercise of the governing power. All details are again obscure. The revulsion is said to have followed as a consequence of the battle on the Himera in 480 B.C. From that time the rivalry between two great parties leaves its mark on the internal policy of Carthage. The one party, at

whose head we shall soon find the Barcidæ, aimed more at a centralisation of power, had therefore an ultimately monarchical tendency, and was based on the army; the other represented the interests of the Families. This opposition is strongly emphasised in the Second Punic War, when the fall of Hannibal was due perhaps chiefly to the enmity of his own countrymen.

The Carthaginians were forced by the battle on the Himera to desist from their schemes of conquest in Sicily, and could retain only their strongholds in the west. New attempts at aggrandisement inevitably followed the revival in the next period, since the prosperity of Sicily and of Syracuse in particular must have been a growing source of danger to the Carthaginian trading supremacy. Nevertheless, Carthage had for a comparatively long time looked on passively at the growth of the Syracusan power. That may have been connected with internal conditions—namely, with the overthrow of the house of Mago, which had exclusively conducted the government. The first attack on Syracuse was not made by Carthage; but the Eastern and Western Greeks allowed her the role of the *tertius gaudens*. Segesta, hard pressed by Syracuse, appealed to the Athenians for help. The latter used the opportunity to carry out long cherished schemes, of which Themistocles is said to have been the original deviser. But the interference of Athens

soon unexpectedly ended in disaster (415-413 B.C.). The Carthaginians were therefore compelled, as regards Syracuse, which was now stronger than before, either to give up their role of the expectant looker-on or to renounce all claims on Sicily. When, therefore, Segesta again turned to them for help they had no option left but to decide on war. Possibly the subsequent vigorous inter-

ference was connected with a change in the government, in so far as the aristocratic régime, having been found lacking in energy, had been supplanted by the rival party. In any case, the war was carried on from the outset with vigour, and, after a preliminary reverse at sea, with success. Selinus, Himera, Agrigentum, and Gela were captured, and Syracuse was compelled to acknowledge the Carthaginian suzerainty over the western half



HIERO II.
OF SYRACUSE
Who was the immediate cause of the First Punic War.

Carthage and Sicily

THE GREEK COLONIES AND CARTHAGE

of the island (410-405 B.C.) Peace had been concluded with Dionysius I., to whom the reverses gave a favourable opportunity of making himself master of the situation. But friendly relations did not last long; war was declared for the second time, and for the second time peace was made between the two powers (397-392, 393 B.C.). A third war was begun by Dionysius, and was ended by a treaty with his son. Here we have an obscure account of the revolt of a certain "Hanno the Great" in Carthage; even before this there had been revolts in Libya and in Sardinia. The Sicilian wars were brought to a temporary close by the peace with Timoleon, who, by the victory on the Crimissus in 343 B.C., was able to secure somewhat favourable conditions for the Greeks, and to restrict Carthage once more to the west.

Polybius inserts two new treaties with Rome—in 348 and 343 B.C.—between these events; once more the "beautiful promontory" is fixed as the limit of the respective spheres of interest, and at the same time Sardinia, with Libya, is expressly secured to Carthage.

In Sicily there was no permanent tranquillity, but opportunity was repeatedly offered to Carthage for renewed interference in the various quarrels between 318 and 314 B.C. New complications threatened from the east through Alexander the Great. As lord of Tyre he is said to have followed the example of Darius, and to have claimed the submission of Carthage; moreover, the deputation with the gifts to the temple of Melkart had fallen into his hands. By the founding of Alexandria the danger drew nearer to Carthage; but nothing is reported of any measures taken on either

side. If Carthage adopted in this instance a waiting policy, she did so successfully, for with the death of Alexander the danger of a further expansion of Hellenism was past. Both Carthage and Rome escaped by this the otherwise inevitable

day of reckoning; but they had received in Alexandria a rival to their commerce. With the Ptolemies, however, who had temporarily occupied Cyrene, there never appear to have been any unfriendly relations; at the beginning of the First Punic War there is actual evidence of a treaty with Ptolemy II., according to the terms of which both parties reciprocally guaranteed their respective territorial possessions and commercial undertakings.

In Sicily, however, fresh complications soon ensued. Agathocles, in his efforts to found a Sicilian empire, was forced first to make an attempt to drive out the Carthaginians. This led to that tedious

struggle, with those marvellous vicissitudes, in which Agathocles, driven back on Syracuse, attempted to change the scene of war to Africa, and there on his side besieged Carthage itself, until in the end he was compelled to return to Sicily, having lost his army in Africa, and was forced to make peace with Carthage on the basis of the *status quo* (312-306 B.C.). He died in the midst of preparations for a new expedition against Carthage in 289 B.C. With him disappeared the rival who had once more combined the forces of Western Greece against the Carthaginian dominion. After this

time no power was again formed which could have made head there against Carthage.

Agathocles bequeathed an inheritance destined to promote the outbreak of hostilities between the two powers which



THE CARTHAGINIAN CERES

A splendid mosaic from the Carthaginian temple of Astarte, who was worshipped by all the Phœnicians.



A PHŒNICIAN PRIESTESS

From a mosaic of a priestess dancing before an altar, found in the excavation of what was probably the temple of Astarte, the goddess of Sidon, at Carthage.

had survived all these disturbances—that is, between Rome and Carthage. As rivals of Carthage by sea only the Italian Greeks were survivors, and even their power was broken once more, while Carthage, on the whole, played a waiting game. The favourable opportunity to seize possession of Tarentum which was

First Punic War offered her by the one party was let slip, while the Romans were not so foolish. But, after Tarentum had fallen, and Pyrrhus was defeated, the struggle between the last two powers for the supremacy in the Western Mediterranean could no longer be postponed.

The pretext for the rupture with Rome was afforded by the request for help sent by the mercenaries of Agathocles, the Mamertines, who had established themselves strongly in Messana; being besieged by Hiero II. of Syracuse, one part sought help from Carthage, the other from Rome. The Roman relieving army crossed the straits, unhindered by the Carthaginians, but found a Carthaginian garrison in the citadel and Carthaginian ships in the harbour. Nevertheless, the semblance of peace was still maintained. Carthage, hesitating as ever, was anxious to avoid an open breach. But when the Romans drove out the garrison from the citadel, no course was left to Carthage but to declare war, the First Punic War (264-271 B.C.). Rome was victorious, and Carthage had to renounce all claims on Sicily.

Doubtless Rome before this had forced on the war, but her unblushing policy was soon afterwards unmasked by her action in the occupation of Sardinia. The war with Rome had been far from glorious, except for the valiant defence of Eryx by Hamilcar. On the conclusion of peace his army had to be transferred to Africa; but there the Carthaginians either would not or could not give the troops their full pay.

Rome's Unblushing Policy In the end there was a mutiny of the army, which was supported by the Libyan peasant population. Utica and Hippo, or Diarrhytus, were taken by the mutineers and Carthage itself invested, until Hamilcar, appealed to for help, successfully stamped out the revolt. At the same time the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia had mutinied and obtained possession of the island. But being hard pressed by the inhabitants, they de-

manded to be admitted under the Roman overlordship. This was refused them so long as Carthage herself was occupied with the mercenary war in Africa; when, however, tranquillity was restored there, and signs were shown of an attempt to subjugate Sardinia again, Rome disclosed her real intentions and granted the renewed request of the insurgents for help. In defiance of the conditions of the treaty concluded three years previously, Sardinia was occupied by Rome.

The feud between the two parties in Carthage becomes conspicuously prominent in the period between the first two wars with Rome. A war party, represented by the Barcidæ, did not indeed bring about the war—that was always done by Rome—but wished to protect the actual independence of the state, since it had no doubt as to the views of Rome. The other, with which opposition to the great power of the Barcidæ must have been the real motive, was the Roman party, bribed possibly by money or by hopes held out to them by Rome. It advocated unqualified submission to Rome;

Carthage Divided Against Itself in the last resort it waived all claim to self-government. The party of the Barcidæ, the preponderant power of

which we must not look for in the person of a Hamilcar or Hasdrubal, but in the vigorous vitality of the state, had always had constitutional right on its side, so long as Carthaginians could hold their own in the field. It was only when, through the difficulties of the war which was threatening before the very gates, no other possibility existed that the Roman party had tried to enforce even constitutional measures for submission to Rome. Hitherto its influence had always consisted merely in clogging any energetic conduct of the war; and by its policy it had succeeded in accomplishing what it intended. Hannibal, the victorious general, was, strictly speaking, defeated nowhere except in Carthage. The Roman army, needed by the Roman party in order to work the new constitutional machinery in the city, was now before the gates.

After the loss of Sardinia, Hamilcar went to Spain in 237 B.C. and proceeded, by conquering a new Carthaginian province, to replace the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. We know nothing of the conditions of the Phœnicians there. We see from the treaties with Rome that the

THE GREEK COLONIES AND CARTHAGE

existing towns belonged to Carthage. What happened now was precisely that which had taken place previously with the Libyans; the hinterland was subjugated, and a province constituted, while hitherto merely trading towns under Carthaginian overlordship had existed there. Hamilcar fell in battle against the Iberians in 229 B.C. and Hasdrubal took his place. He continued the work of his father-in-law, and made the ancient Mastia the capital of the new province under the name Kart-chadast, or Carthago Nova, as it was called by the Romans. After his death, in 221 B.C., the supreme command was entrusted to Hamilcar's son, Hannibal.

The acquisition of the province of Spain and the second war with Rome seem exclusively to have been the work of the Barcidæ; in fact, the impression is created that these were really the holders of power in Carthage, and had possessed in substance a monarchical power. This depends, however, to a considerable degree on the nature of our accounts; these, on the one hand, only describe the war, in which those personalities were naturally more prominent, and, on the other hand, their object was to justify Rome's action towards Carthage. But to do this they were obliged to represent the Roman party at Carthage as the outraged one, while it can admit of no doubt that in reality the Barcidæ were always in harmony with the constitutional authorities. The Roman party were simply practising treachery. It was not Hannibal who governed the authorities in Carthage—he went as a boy with his father to Spain, and came back to Africa only at the close of the war—but it was the majority of the Families which filled the constitutional offices, and he belonged to their party and executed their resolutions. The command of the army had, of course, given Hamilcar and Hannibal a weighty voice in the council of their

party, and they doubtless contributed largely to its preponderating power, but they were nothing more than many other generals of whom history tells; Mago, perhaps, possessed personally greater influence than Hannibal.

The pretext for the war was, as usual, dragged in anyhow by the Romans. Hannibal, when he besieged Saguntum, had in no way infringed the unjustified demand

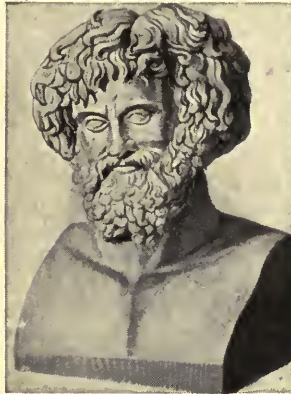


HAMILCAR AND HIS SON HANNIBAL

The great Carthaginian generals in the Punic Wars. Hamilcar fell in Spain, and after the death of his son-in-law Hasdrubal, his son Hannibal took over the chief command.

of Rome that the Ebro should not be crossed. The course and result of the Second Punic War are related elsewhere. The Roman party carried its points; a Roman army appeared in Africa; pressure was brought upon the government to recall Hannibal, and the matchless leader was vanquished at Zama in 202 B.C. Rome now dictated severe conditions of peace: cession of the Spanish province to Rome and of the tributary state of Numidia to Masinissa, and the loss of independence. Carthage became tributary to Rome, and forfeited even

the right of waging war. Carthage as a sovereign state disappears; politically she could no longer play a part. But commerce gave her an importance which was finally able to win her political power. Rome was bound to take measures against this. Just as the Assyrians always contrived to effect a rebellion on the part of their allies and their tributaries in order to be able to annex their states, so Rome was never at a loss for the means of provoking the last fight of desperation. With this object Masinissa was therefore placed by the side of Carthage. He played, according to instructions, the part assigned to him. The Third Punic War, from 149 to 146 B.C. was the struggle of despair, which was the result of the petty provocations of the Numidian king, and afforded the pretext for getting rid of Rome's rival in peaceful competition. Carthage was destroyed in 146 B.C. In blood and flames sets the sun of the Phœnician city, once the



HANNIBAL THE VICTORIOUS
Hannibal was, strictly speaking, nowhere defeated except in Carthage by pro-Roman treachery.

proud mistress of the seas; and with it disappears the Carthaginian people as such from the history of mankind. Utica became the capital of the new Roman province of Africa.

The sources of our information as to the internal development of the Carthaginian state are practically worthless. Besides the eulogies which have been lavished on the Carthaginian constitution by Plato, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Cato, and Cicero, we are indebted to Aristotle's "Politics" for a long discussion of it; but these discussions are for purposes of comparison, and presuppose a familiarity with his lost work on the Carthaginian constitution, lacking which we are reduced to little more than conjecture.

The constitution of Carthage was, so far as we know, that of a provincial town—that is, the government was based on the tribal organisation of still unsettled Semites. There was a council, presumably a representation of the citizens and a body of elders, which may originally have corresponded to the leaders or elders (sheikhs) of the Families, but in historical times, according to its nature, may have comprised the administrative magistrates of the state, elected from the aristocracy. The executive heads of these magistrates were the two *Suffetes*, the "Judges." From this dualism we infer that Carthage was mainly a settlement of two tribes, or else that, after the settlement, in the process of forming a citizen class and a patriciate, these two predominant sections of the community each had a representative in the government.

If the Phœnicians, possessors of the best harbours in a large civilised district and limited to a narrow strip of coast, were driven to seafaring and trade, still the settlers in the western basin of the Mediterranean, so soon as they were strengthened in their intercourse with the Eastern civilisation, were enabled to subjugate a larger territory for themselves by defeating the still uncivilised inhabitants of the hinterland. The great merchants of Carthage did not wish to sacrifice the advantage which was obtained by exploiting the productions of the land, and they therefore subdued the Libyan inhabitants of the hinterland. We know little of the actual course of events. The

victors must at first have taken only a portion of the land for themselves, while they left the old owners the presumably larger portion in return for a fixed tribute. The introduction of a monetary system, which is essential in a mercantile state, only brought more land into the hands of the Carthaginian lords since the peasants were overwhelmed by debt. Thus a great land-owning class was developed, which employed slave labour for agriculture, and took for its model the Roman system of *latifundia*. It is uncertain what the policy of Carthage was in her foreign provinces. It is well known that the Spanish metal mines were thoroughly exploited. But whether the Carthaginians themselves were the workers, or whether they left the working to the natives and, by a system of taxes, directed the profits into their own coffers, must remain undecided. The latter alternative seems the more probable.

We possess practically no available account of their trade relations generally. With regard to their intercourse with the Eastern civilised world, it is obvious that they must have furnished it with the raw products of the countries of the western basin of the Mediterranean. The Bible calls the most important of these countries Tarshish. It must remain undecided to what country in particular this name was applied; in any case the Carthaginians were the masters of the Tarshish trade, the track of which bounded the horizon of the civilised nations of Western Asia. The trade which commanded the Spanish coasts must have penetrated beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. There was the famous attempt which, even before Herodotus' time, somewhere about the year 470 B.C., the "elder" Hanno made to acquire the West African coast by planting factories there. His journey took him beyond the mouth of the Senegal, and the record of his achievement is said to have been set up in the temple of "Cronos" at Carthage. The extant Greek account claims to be a translation of it. The counterpart to this journey is found in the Periplus of Himilcus, who is said to have explored the North as far as Britain. We are, however, less well informed as to his report, since it is only known to us by its employment in the "Ora Maritima" of Avienus.



ROMANS AND VANDALS IN NORTH AFRICA

ROME entered on the inheritance of Carthage and formed the province of Africa out of the territory of the republic. The region preserved its prosperous condition even in the Roman period. The towns which had stood most loyally by Carthage were destroyed, and others were administered by Roman prefects. Only Utica and Hippo, which in the last war had taken the side of the conquerors, retained the greater part of their privileges. Utica gained greatly by the fall of Carthage, of which it took the place for some time in matters of trade, and could compete with Rhodes and Alexandria in

Carthage Rises From its Ruins wealth and commerce. But Carthage itself rose from its ruins. The attempt of C. Gracchus to plant a colony on the historic site failed, it is true; but Cæsar, and after him Augustus, successfully prosecuted the scheme. The new settlements enjoyed for centuries fair prosperity.

But the real inheritance from Carthage was not the rich corn-land and its commanding position on the Mediterranean, so favourable for trade, but the war with nomad peoples, the real sons of North Africa who with restless spirit swarmed round the borders of the rich province. The wise policy of Masinissa had made the Numidian state a formidable power, and its territory extended from the borders of Cyrenaica to Mauretania. After the death of this most loyal ally of the Romans, it required but a slight pretext to renew the old struggle between agriculturists and nomads in the form of a war between Rome and Numidia. Under Micipsa, the successor of Masinissa, friendly relations remained undisturbed. The feud broke out when, after the death of Micipsa, in 118 B.C., and the murder of Hiempsal, the crafty Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa and nephew of Micipsa, ascended the throne. For the first time a genuine son

of North Africa came forward in the theatre of war—a man who combined Punic cunning with brigand bravery, and who, as an ally of the Romans, had learnt the art of war among a people who aspired to the dominion of the world. For the first time, too, a people of Aryan race came into conflict with the native genius

The Wars of Jugurtha of North Africa in a struggle for supremacy on the shores of the Mediterranean. Jugurtha, according to Roman stipulation, had received only the more valuable western part of Micipsa's kingdom—that is, the present Algeria, with the exception of the most easterly portions and of Cirta, the capital—while his adopted brother, Adherbal, was allotted the east, corresponding roughly to the present Tripolis. Adherbal's good fortune was short-lived. In 112 B.C. Jugurtha found a pretext for war; Adherbal was besieged in his capital, Cirta, and in the storming of the town was killed, together with many of the inhabitants.

Rome had now no choice but to take up arms against the usurper on the trivial pretext that among the slain inhabitants of Cirta were a number of Roman citizens. In reality, the war which now began concerned the security of the province of Africa, which was not only a valuable possession, on account of its natural wealth, but a cornerstone in the fabric of the Roman empire.

The so-called Jugurthine War began in the year 111 B.C., but ended for the time in a shameful peace, for Jugurtha knew how to avail himself artfully of the venality of the senatorial party and of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, who had been sent out against him. Indeed, when the leader of the popular party, Memmius, succeeded in obtaining the summons of the Numidian king to Rome, the wily African was able to extricate himself from all difficulties, thanks to the corruption of



MASINISSA

King of Numidia and a loyal ally of Rome in North Africa.

the parties in power, which astounded the king himself. It was only when he carried his audacity to such a pitch as to cause his cousin, Massiva, who was staying in Rome, and had put himself under the protection of Roman hospitality, to be treacherously murdered that he was forced to leave the city and prepare for a new war. The senatorial party

Rome's once more conducted the war
Fight for unenergetically and unskilfully.
North Africa A division of the Roman army was actually cut off by Jugurtha, and had to purchase its liberty from the Numidian king by a shameful submission.

At last the popular party, which then embraced the more active element of the Roman people, succeeded in breaking the influence of the former leaders in the state, by enforcing the punishment of the chief offenders, and by placing incorruptible generals at the head of the army. Jugurtha, hard pressed by the consul Metellus succeeded in uniting temporarily the whole power of nomad North Africa against the Romans by making an alliance with his father-in-law, King Bocchus of Mauretania. The Mauretanian kingdom already existed in the time of the Second Punic War, and probably included the greater part of Morocco, while in culture it did not stand much behind Numidia, since the old Phœnician influence on the west coast of Morocco must have left some lasting traces. The alliance soon came to an end. Bocchus gave up his son-in-law to the Romans, who adorned their triumphal procession with him, and allowed the miserable captive to die in a subterranean dungeon. The Numidian kingdom was divided—one part was assigned to Bocchus, another joined to the Roman province, the rest was given over to two Numidian princes.

There was no attempt even in later times at a complete subjugation of North Africa by the Romans. If the Roman rule in North Africa did, however, in time secure a stronger position it was due more to the advance of civilisation and the common progress of the agricultural and town classes than to political measures. Where agriculture took hold, there the Roman influence also gained entrance; and the intellectual ascendancy of Rome was followed by a political ascendancy, which made the Romans the natural protectors of every

Intellectual
Ascendancy
of Rome

peaceful people in North Africa. While the province of Africa was in time transformed into a genuinely Roman territory, Numidia, too, did not escape the fate of being Romanised. Masinissa had diligently encouraged the settlement of agriculturists in his dominion. By so doing he laid a firm foundation for his power and first rendered a united Numidia possible; but he at the same time abandoned the standard of pure nomad life, under which alone the Numidians could hope to resist the influence of Rome

The partly accidental circumstance that King Juba of Numidia, in the struggle between Pompey and Cæsar, placed himself on the side of the first and was involved in his fall, led to the change. Augustus annexed the eastern half of Numidia as a "new province" to the Roman empire and left Juba in possession of only the less cultivated west, as well as of Mauretania, which, however, recognised the rule of the king only to the smallest extent. From this time the name of the Numidians begins to be disused and the designation of "Mauri" becomes universal for the inhabitants of North Africa,

The
First
Moors

especially for the nomads. The Romans soon saw themselves compelled to protect the cultivated lands now subject to their rule by lines of fortresses and a sort of military frontier against the nomads, who, driven back into the steppes and mountains, allowed themselves to be won over quite temporarily as fickle allies, but were always ready to make inroads into the corn-growing district. Since after the final decay of the Numidian power no formidable enemy threatened Roman Africa, a comparatively small number of troops was always sufficient to protect the country. Two legions, and later only one, had their permanent station in Africa; indeed, the military strength of North Africa was trained by Rome to be used in foreign wars. Outside the province only the agricultural districts were under Roman influence; and as these districts lay like oases in the regions occupied by nomads, there never was any attempt at a complete subjugation of the country. This applies particularly to Mauretania, which never became an integral part of the Roman empire.

The external history of Mediterranean Africa at the time of the Roman emperors presents little worthy of narration. Of all

the border countries of the Roman empire, it was the least threatened. At the same time it belonged to those regions which offered little prospect of territorial expansion, and, therefore, never had to serve as the centre of military operations. Such favourable circumstances contributed greatly to the prosperity of the country. Roman Carthage, which had grown up on the site of Rome's annihilated rival, flourished to such a remarkable degree that it could compete in wealth and population with Alexandria. The grain exported from Africa had long become indispensable for Rome and Italy, where the country population steadily diminished; a portion of the stream of gold which poured into Rome was thus diverted to the African province.

The arts and sciences, when they sank from their high place in Rome, enjoyed a second period of prosperity in some provinces, and especially in Africa. But luxury and immorality, the evil associates of wealth, found a splendid soil. Perhaps both phenomena, intellectual development and material luxury, caused Christianity to strike deep root in Africa in a short time and favoured the further spread of the new teaching from this centre. We see the influence of Africa on Christianity embodied in the mighty form of Augustine. An intense and forceful nature, he sought fruitlessly to find the fulness of existence in pleasure, until an hour of true knowledge led him into the path of self-denial, which he trod with the same fiery impetuosity. African Christianity triumphed with Augustine. While it made the culture and wealth of the country of service to its cause, it gave Africa an important place in the civilised world, which, however, it was destined to keep for only a short time and then to lose for ever.

Augustine, the Fiery Bishop Augustine himself in the last year of his life saw hostile armies appear before Hippo, the town of which he was bishop—armies which were destined to tear Africa away from the Roman empire and to reduce it to a condition of misery, from which it did not rise until the time of the Arabs. In the great migratory movement, which had affected all the tribes of East Germany, the Vandals, who were settled in Western Silesia, had not re-

mained quiet. Their relation to other Teutonic peoples is not quite clear; many historians of the period of the migration class them with the Goths; according to other surmises, they would belong to the great Suevian group. Pure Germans in the anthropological sense they could hardly have been. They were largely intermixed

with that older population which must have settled in Germany before the inroad of the closely federated Teutonic tribes. Indeed, it has been concluded from the name of the Vandals that Slavonic or Wendish tribes were merged with them. At any rate, the Vandals are considered the least important of the Teutonic peoples that marched southward, the least courageous, and the most barbarous.

At the time of the wars with the Marcomanni the Vandals had already moved towards the Roman frontier in small hordes, until finally the whole people, moved by a spirit of unrest, began to look for new abodes. Partly as enemies, partly as allies of the Romans, the Vandals, then, as later, a people whose armed strength principally lay in cavalry, appeared on the Danube frontier. Beaten and almost annihilated by the Goths, they at last placed themselves entirely under the

protection of Rome and received settlements in Pannonia, until, after a long period of quiet, and aroused apparently by the fortune of their countryman, Stilicho, they moved towards the Rhine; in alliance with the Alans they defeated the Franks on the Main and poured over Gaul, which almost without resistance fell a prey to their predatory hordes.

Three years later the treachery of German frontier guards opened to them the passes of the Pyrenees; and now Spain, which, like Gaul, accepted her fate with dull resignation, learnt all the horrors of a war with barbarians and of a foreign supremacy in 409. After some years of unrest the victors divided the land among themselves, though a part of it still remained Roman. Already better times seemed to be dawning for the vanquished, when the attack of the West Goths brought new disorders into Spain. A part of the Vandals were completely exterminated; the rest retreated towards

Coming of the Vandals



JUBA I. and II.
Kings of the State of Numidia during the Roman ascendancy in Africa.

the south and once more acquired considerable power there for a time. That they then began definitely to apply themselves to maritime matters and to building a fleet is an important proof that they recognised their situation; and though we might not be inclined to form too high an opinion of their fleet, it permitted them not only to

The Vandals undertake predatory expeditions to the neighbouring islands and coasts, but, in case of need, to flee with their families before the onset of enemies. The perfect development of the Vandal fleet was to take place in Africa.

During the feud of the Roman generals, Boniface and Aetius, the former in rage had recourse to the desperate expedient of appealing to Geiserich, king of the Vandals, for help. It was gladly granted. In May, 429, the army of the Vandals landed on the African coast. According to the most trustworthy account, there were, including women, children and old men, some 80,000 souls.

Boniface, who, meantime, had become reconciled with the Roman court, hurled himself against the invaders without avail, although he held Hippo Regius, the seat of the bishopric of Augustine, against the barbarians. After the defeat of Aetius he returned to Rome, where he died of his wounds. Hippo fell, so that in 435 almost the whole of Africa, with the exception of Carthage, the capital, was abandoned to the Vandals. Since nothing was done to ensure the security of this last and most important Roman centre, Geiserich grasped a favourable opportunity and, in 439, took the town by a sudden assault, the effeminate inhabitants offering no serious resistance. After prolonged struggles a new treaty was concluded, which, strangely enough, conceded Mauretania and Western Numidia to the Romans, while the rich east fell entirely to the

The Tide of Vandal Conquest Vandals in 442. In all these wars there is no trace of any serious resistance offered by the inhabitants. Boniface had defended Hippo with Gothic mercenaries, while the native population lent no appreciable assistance, and the nomad tribes of the country either adopted a dubious attitude, or availed themselves of the difficulties of the Roman governor to make attacks and engage in predatory expeditions. This demoralisation resulted

from social conditions, the system of *latifundia* in particular, which had, perhaps, developed more favourably in Africa than in other parts of the Roman empire. The free peasants had long ago become the serfs of the great landed proprietors, and were little superior in position to the masses of slaves who were everywhere to be found.

But the great landowners became in their turn easy victims of the policy of extortion followed by unscrupulous governors increasingly as the dignity of the imperial power sank lower. No man who had anything to lose would now take a place in the senate of the large towns, which had once been the goal of the ambitious, for the senators were required to make up those deficiencies in the revenue which, with increasing oppression, became more and more frequent. At last Jews, heretics and criminals were forced into posts of honour and stood at the head of the town government which in Roman times had been so powerful. Bloody insurrections repeatedly broke out, always traceable ultimately to the pressure of taxation. The people had

Demoralisation of Roman Africa long since lost all military efficiency, for while the greatest part of the inhabitants of North Africa had lost all energy of character under the unfavourable social and economic conditions, the citizens of the towns had sunk into extravagance and vice. "Just as all the filth collects in the bottom of a ship," says Salvian, "so the manners of the Africans contain, as it were, the vices of the whole world. All other nations have their particular vices, as they have their peculiar virtues; but among almost all Africans no single vice is missing."

Only one thing gave a certain stability to the African population and a power of resistance, though only passive resistance, against the Vandals in particular; and that was religion. The Vandals, during their sojourn in Spain, had developed into fanatical Arians. They cruelly persecuted in its African home the Catholic faith, which Augustine had firmly planted; but in doing so they planted in the vanquished the feeling of brotherhood, while they themselves remained like a strange body in the conquered land, without entering into permanent relations with the people or the soil of Africa. The fact that the Vandals

ROMANS AND VANDALS IN NORTH AFRICA

came into Africa entirely as conquerors forced them immediately to organise their political system without special consideration for the conditions of the defeated. In particular, they did not attempt to draw over to their side, or even to spare, the two most powerful orders—the great landowners and the clergy—but actually proceeded to exterminate them; and when they had seized for themselves all their property, assumed the position of the former owners of the soil.

But in so doing they were compelled to stop half-way, for the number of the Vandals was too small to enable them to bring the whole conquered territory under their immediate influence; so that, at least in the more outlying and less fertile regions, old conditions continued, while the richer lands in the vicinity of the capital, Carthage, fell partly to the

of their property. We thus see the Vandals, after a certain state of tranquillity had set in, almost entirely concentrated in the Carthaginian territory. From there, as from the watch-tower of a castle, they observed their African kingdom and kept it in obedience, while in the greatest part of Africa the Roman institutions remained almost undisturbed, and only the revenues were surrendered to the Vandal overlord. There was no sign of any fusion of the conquerors with the old inhabitants of the country or even of the formation of a new race.

The Vandals, however, founded their power on the insecure base of piracy and their marauding rather than on the development of territorial possessions. The spiritual victory of African Christianity signified the tardy triumph of the old

**Tranquil
Vandal
Rule**



THE AMPHITHEATRE OF EL JEM, A ROMAN RELIC IN TUNIS

After the fall of Carthage most of North Africa became Roman, only Numidia and Mauretania retaining independence.

king, partly to his army. Even the king saw himself soon compelled to settle Roman farmers on his estates or to leave the old proprietors as serfs on their farms; and other leading Vandals followed his example. The downfall was, therefore, not so complete as might seem at the first glance; and a considerable part of the African population, after the first storm of conquest had blown over, might find themselves not worse off under Vandal rule than under the control of corrupt Roman governors. The

**Vandal
Conquest
Only Partial**

Africans had even less to do with military service than in the Roman times. Besides serfs and the slaves there were also the native officials, who were treated by the conquerors almost as equals; and the caprice of the Vandal ruler left here and there free landowners in the enjoyment

Carthaginian land over Rome, the mistress of the world; now a fleet was destined to set sail from the harbour of Carthage under the command of the fair-haired Geiserich, which was to bring on Rome all the horrors of devastation.

With this pillage of Rome, in 455, a long succession of Vandal predatory expeditions begins. Almost yearly King Geiserich harassed the coasts of Sicily and Italy with his fleets; and he knew how to avoid successfully a dangerous blow, planned by the emperor Majorian in 458, in alliance with the West Goths. The confused state of affairs in the western empire constantly afforded him new pretexts for marauding expeditions; and when the Byzantine emperor interfered the Vandal king welcomed the opportunity for completely devastating his territories on the coast. The campaign of

vengeance, which the emperor Leo undertook in 468 with all his forces, absolutely failed, after the Byzantine fleet had been annihilated by a night attack of the Vandals. Some years later Geiserich, whose restless spirit began at last to feel the burden of old age, concluded a peace with Byzantium and soon afterwards with

Power of Geiserich the Fair

Rome. This most powerful of the Vandal kings died in 477. His kingdom at his death embraced not merely North

Africa as far as Cyrene, but also Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, and a part of Sicily. But, indeed, in internal strength it had lost rather than gained, since the numbers of the Vandals necessarily were steadily diminished by their constant predatory expeditions. It is significant that under his successor, Hunerich, a number of the Moorish tribes regained their independence, while Hunerich himself entirely forfeited what popularity he had among the natives through his cruel persecutions of the Catholics. Still more grave was the defection of the Moors under King Gunthamund from 487 to 496.

The efforts of King Thrasamund (496-523), by every means, and wherever possible by conciliatory measures, to establish the supremacy of the Arian faith in his kingdom, and thus to root the Vandal power more firmly in the soil, failed as completely as the previous attempts to do so by violence. Nor was the king successful in the wars against the Moors. An alliance with the East Goths, cemented by the marriage of the king with the Gothic princess Amalafriada might have been of great use to the realm, but it was not lasting. Disturbances arose among the Vandals themselves. And when Hilderich, successor of Thrasamund, who sought to gain the support of Byzantium, and was inclined to Catholicism, was driven from the throne by his general, Gelimer, the Byzantine

Decline of the Vandal Kingdom

emperor, Justinian, believed that the time had at length come to reassert his old claims on Africa. The attempt succeeded beyond his expectations. The towns of the Tripolitan coast, which had no Vandal garrison, submitted without demur; Carthage offered no resistance; and when Gelimer mustered his Vandals for the decisive battle he sustained, in spite of the enemy's inferior numbers, a crushing defeat.

This ended the Vandal rule. The Catholic population of the country greeted the Byzantine general, Belisarius, as their liberator; the Moors remained neutral or availed themselves of the confusion to make raids on friends and foes. This was all the more grave, because the Vandals had early begun to form a part of their armies out of Moorish mercenaries, and in particular could no longer dispense with the Moorish archers. King Gelimer, who had thrown himself into a frontier castle, surrendered in the spring of 534. Subsequent risings of the Vandals only brought about the result that the rest of the nation were exterminated or banished from Africa. This fact is important, because the attempt has been made repeatedly to trace back peculiarities of North African peoples to a strong admixture of Vandal blood, while, in reality, even at the time of the Vandal rule, religious differences prevented any widespread amalgamation, and afterwards the Germanic conquering race entirely disappeared from Africa. Even their language and customs have left little trace. The emperor Justinian, after the con-

Disappearance of the Vandals

quest of the country, did not find it hard to reintroduce the Roman institutions, which had only partially been superseded by the Vandals, and among them the detested Roman system of taxation. But as the Vandal conquerors had carried on the war of the settled population against the nomads, which they had been forced, as owners of the cultivated land, to take up, difficulties increased for the Byzantine governors, who had to hold the province. An imposing command of Justinian, that the petty Moorish principalities should in the future submit to the Roman laws, made little impression. Continual risings of the Moors depopulated the land; and, in addition, religious dissensions among the Africans, who were zealous supporters of the faith, found the best soil. Thus the moral and economic forces of North Africa had sunk to the lowest depths when the wave of the Arabian conquest came rolling on.

The West Goths from Spain had temporarily planted foot on the African coast; but the importance of their possessions can hardly have been greater than that of the present Spanish presidios, which exercise not the slightest influence on the interior.



BARBARY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

NATURALLY, the storm of Arabian invasion fell first on Egypt, which in 641 came under the domination of Islam. In the first ardour of conquest the Arabian armies pressed on further, and, perceiving the feeble resistance of the Byzantines, went beyond Tripoli, without, however, at once attaining any permanent results. The difficulties of communication and of sending reinforcements by land always made it possible for the Byzantines, who were the masters of the sea, to win back what was lost. It is obvious that the settled population was again diminished by these wars; but at the same time the importance of the nomad Berbers grew, and the contending powers had more and more to reckon with them.

It seemed as if after the founding of Kairuan in the vicinity of the old capital, Carthage, the Arabian supremacy was secured. But in 683 the general Okba was defeated by the united forces of the Byzantines and the Berbers. The Berbers, who essentially are disposed to extreme political disunion, combined this time to a great extent under the leadership of a heroic priestess, Damia, or Kahinah, defeated the Arabian general, Hassan ibn Noman, in 696, drove the Arabs back into Cyrenaica, and endeavoured to make the return of their opponents impossible by devastating the frontier lands. Hassan's successor, Musa ibn Noseir, first succeeded in conquering North Africa, or at least in driving out the Byzantines; but he used the hard-won territory as a bridge for passing into Spain. There, in the fertile land that had been cultivated for centuries he founded a strong frontier post of Islam in 712. In this way the victory of the Mohammedan religion in North Africa was assured.

No foreign rule had such far-reaching effects on the coast of North Africa as the Arabian. The Arab invaders were the natural protectors of the settled population, on whose work and tribute their own existence depended. But they were at the same time a people of the desert, who

found in the steppes of the conquered land a welcome scope for their love of nomad life. North Africa became a real home to them. While spreading their religion and their language, they assimilated the aborigines to themselves to a continually increasing degree, or drove back the refractory tribes into the mountains and deserts. But by their side rose in rapid growth the native race of the Berbers, to whom the religion of Islam, with its disputes and its infinite sects, gave a new spiritual outlook and supplied the core of a national unity. The struggle between Arabian civilisation and refinement and the rude strength of the Berbers occupied for centuries the history of North Africa, and even to-day the civilisation of the Arabs is not everywhere victorious.

Of the greatest importance, however, for North Africa, and especially for the most westerly and most uncivilised district, Mauretania—the later Morocco—was the conquest of Spain and the close relations which were thus necessarily formed between the Mohammedans in Spain and Morocco. The marvellous blending of Eastern and Western civilisation in Moorish Spain, the pure blossoms of art and science which in the gloomy days of the Middle Ages flowered here in fabulous abundance, of which the memory even now glorifies the ruins of Moorish grandeur, did not fail to make a deep impression on the rude sons of Mauretania. But as the advance of the Christian Spaniards began gradually to reduce the territory of Islam in Spain, bands of Moors, skilled in the fine arts, streamed over the straits, and, finding a refuge in the towns of Morocco, transmitted their industry and their skill to the old inhabitants of the land, as later the French refugees brought the germs of industry and skilled production into distant German countries.

Only one famous craft of the Spanish Moors need be mentioned, the dyeing of leather, which, under the name of

The Struggle of Arab and Berber

Arabs Cross to Spain

Spanish Moors in Morocco

Corduan, was formerly exported to all countries, but is now no longer prepared in Cordova, as of old. In Morocco the dyeing of leather is even to-day one of the most important and flourishing industries. Nor merely in Morocco, but also far to the south, on the banks of the Niger and its tributaries, the same craft is practised,

Morocco's Most Important Industry

which, introduced probably by emigrant Moors, has found its way thither over the desert. Even direct relations between Spain and the Sudan can be proved, for we find architects, especially from Granada, in the service of Sudanese princes.

Such facts make it plain that intercourse with the countries of the negritic races must have been developed in a quite different and more important fashion than during the Roman and Vandal times. The growth of the Sudanese trade is, in fact, a further and most valuable result of the appearance of the Arabs in North Africa. When numerous Arab tribes scorned to settle in the corn-growing land as lords of the agricultural population, but turned as true nomads to the steppe and the desert, they brought the influence of Islam into the wide desert belt, whose natural dangers and hostile inhabitants had until now restricted all brisk commercial intercourse.

Things were immediately changed when the Arabs began to act as guides for the merchants. The trading spirit of the Arabian race, which showed itself conspicuously in the first centuries after the conquest, helped to surmount all difficulties. Even the political influence of the Arabian power extended further south than that of the Roman empire, for the armies of the conquerors penetrated to the oases of Fezzan and even Kaur—that is to say, half-way to the Central Sudan. And as they then succeeded in spreading Islam in Negroland, North and South were united by a spiritual bond, and the severing tract of the Sahara

The Arabs Open up the Sahara

formed no longer a hindrance to the streams of trade and culture. Communication with the Sudan had, however, other results for North Africa than the accumulation of wealth; those coast towns which lay safe behind their walls and defended harbours showed often an almost republican independence in their dealings with the caliphs. For the treasures of the East and West, which the Arabian merchant forwarded to

the banks of the Niger and of Lake Chad, the Sudan offered in return gold and ostrich feathers and, above all, men, sons of Ham, destined in the eyes of believers to be slaves. In the markets of the north coast black slaves were a staple article of sale; negro women filled the harems of the wealthy, and negro guards protected the governors of Africa and the Spanish caliphs.

The result was that beneath the original population of the north coast, which, under Arabian influence, was being absorbed into a new Islamic nationality, there lay a deeper social stratum, a proletariat, which, in undertaking all hard labour, lightened the burdens of the upper classes, but influenced them unfavourably by the unavoidable mixture of blood. This applies chiefly to Morocco, where even the present ruling dynasty has a goodly proportion of negritic blood in its veins, and everywhere marriages with negro women are of ordinary occurrence. This had not been the case in earlier times to at all the same extent. And as the country already possessed in the powerful

Arabs Become Negritic

Berbers an element not amenable to culture, the hampering influences on civilisation must inevitably have grown stronger with the rise of the negroes. In Africa the supremacy of the caliphs of Bagdad was maintained for only some hundred years. During this period the greater part of the Berber tribes were won over to Islam, but not without frequent risings, which disturbed the peace. The Berbers, who had already taken part in the conquest of Spain as the picked troops of the army, proved dangerous and obstinate opponents; and though Islam made continued progress among them, the number of the Arabs diminished to a serious extent in the constant battles. An utter defeat of the Arabs near Tangier in 740 is known as the "Battle of the Nobles," on account of the number of nobles and generals slain.

When, on the overthrow of the Omayyads, the caliphate went to the Abbassides Africa became temporarily independent, and was not reduced to submission until 772. In the meantime, a prince of the Omayyad house, Abd ur-Rahman, made himself master of Spain, and all efforts of the Abbassides to win back the land were successfully frustrated. The loss of the African possessions was henceforth

BARBARY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

only a question of time. Mauretania, the present Morocco, which in early times had always been least accessible to foreign influence, owing to its outlying position and its geographical conditions, was the first to break away from the world-empire of Islam. Under the leadership of Edris ibn Edris, a descendant of the caliph Ali, the Moors succeeded in finally shaking off the yoke of the Abbassides. It is a significant fact that Berber tribes were the first to join the new rulers. Immediately the zealot trait in the Berber nature employed itself in the forcible conversion of Christians and pagans, who were still numerous in the land. The empire of Morocco has preserved even to the present day the reputation of being a stronghold of Moslem intolerance. The town of Fez was founded in 806 as the centre of the new state, and within its walls a not unimportant civilisation was soon developed.

The rest of Africa was held only a few years longer by the Abbassides. The caliph, Harun al Rashid, thought he had made a good choice when he entrusted the governorship of Africa to the energetic and wise Ibrahim ebn al Aglab; but only too soon the loyal subject was transformed into the ambitious rebel. He found but little opposition, for even the caliph made no serious effort to recover the lost province. The centre of the empire of the Aglabites remained Kairuan; Tripoli and the greater part of the present Tunis and Algeria formed the most valuable portion of the dominion. Tunis succeeded Carthage as a great commercial town. The Arabian possessions in Sardinia and Sicily naturally fell to the Aglabites, who strengthened their position considerably by the conquest of the important town of Syracuse in 877.

The dynasty of the Aglabites was displaced in 908 by Obeid Allah, who posed as the Mahdi promised by Mahomet. He also dislodged the Edrisites from the throne of Mauretania, and united all North Africa, with the exception of Egypt, under his rule. But Egypt, too, was lost to the Abbassides in the year 968, and fell into the power of the Fatemides. These shifted the centre of their power to Cairo, and in 972 gave their western possessions to the family of the Zeirites to hold in fee. The history of the Zeirites shows how at that time, just as

much as in the Roman period, North Africa was filled with partially and sometimes completely independent petty states and tribal districts, and how in the hands of a brave leader an empire could be formed that might either last or break up again quickly into its component parts. The Zeirites firmly established their power in the struggle with the Petty States of North Africa, and now, although nominally they remained dependent on Cairo, completely took the place of the Fatemides. Africa remained united, outwardly at least, for nearly a century, until Morocco once more attained its independence, and began to exercise a decisive influence on the history of the surrounding countries.

Religion gave once again the pretext for a national revolution. Arabs became this time the spiritual leaders of an insurrection, which had, however, mostly to be fought out by the Berbers. An Arabian tribe, whose suddenly awakened religious zeal was sharpened by a famine, under the leadership of its chief, Abu Bekr, took possession of the town of Sejelmesa, and there arose the new dynasty of the Molathemides, or, as it is usually called, of the Almoravides.

Under the second ruler of the line, Yusuf (1069-1109), the greater part of Mauretania was subdued, and a new capital, Morocco, was founded in the south-west, where the pasture grounds of the victorious tribe lay. The forces of a rude, but brave and hardy people, which Yusuf now united under his command, enabled him to prosecute his conquests. While, on the one hand, the empire of the Zeirites had become so disorganised that it finally and irretrievably broke up, on the other hand, the Moorish princes of Spain, who were subject to the rule of the Christians, implored the aid of the African ruler. Nothing could have been more welcome to Yusuf. Received as protector and

saviour, he inflicted a crushing blow on King Alfonso VI. of Castile at Zalaca in 1086; but the rulers of Granada and of Seville had in turn to renounce their powers. The cultured Islamic Spaniards now saw themselves with reluctance ruled by the rude sons of Africa, whose brutal strength they, however, no longer ventured to resist. The conquest was, on the other hand, most advantageous to Yusuf and his African subjects. The overthrow of Islam

had been successfully prevented, and Spain had been made a source of strength to Africa; but the rude Berbers, who crossed the straits, not only found wealth in Spain, but learnt to value in some degree the attractions of a higher civilisation. The age of the Almoravides seems to have been for Africa a period of

Rise of the Berbers increasing prosperity and of tolerable internal tranquillity. The second successor of Yusuf was defeated by a genuine Berber from the Atlas, Mohammed Abdallah ibn Tomrut. The proclamation by this successful fanatic of his descent from Hosein was one of the favourite means employed by politico-religious reformers to win universal respect. In reality, his success signified a new victory of the native spirit and a further strengthening of the Berber influence. The sharp antagonism to enlightenment so characteristic of Berber life becomes more distinctly seen in the course of history. After bloody civil wars the new dynasty of the Almohades obtained undisputed sway in Morocco in 1149. On them the task devolved of supporting the Moslem states in Spain, which could not, unaided, hold out against the Christians. Once more the African saviours proved dubious friends, and it was only after numerous conflicts that the greater part of Islamic Spain consented to acknowledge the supremacy of the Almohades.

Though the centre of the African power lay in Western Morocco, and the fate of the state was repeatedly decided there, the eastern districts of the north coast stood only in very loose connection with the empire of the Almoravides and Almohades, and maintained—as, for example, the district of Bugia—under their own dynasties almost complete independence. Sicily, the rampart of Africa, had fallen in the eleventh century into the hands of the Normans, who soon afterwards gained

Driving Out the Christians possession of several towns on the African coast, as Tunis and Mahadia; and it may well be imagined that the Berber tribes of the mountains and steppes would hardly recognise a lord over them. It was only in 1159 that Abd al Munen, a prince of the Almohades, succeeded in once more setting foot firmly in the East in conquering Bugia, Tunis, and Mahadia, and in driving out of the land all Christian inhabitants. The claims of the Almohades to Spain

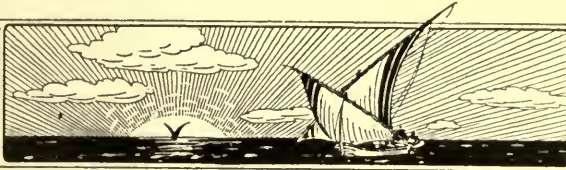
became in the end fatal to them. By the ever-increasing power of the Christian states they saw themselves driven to incessant wars, in which the flower of their armies was destroyed. Their dominion received, however, the most terrible blow in the battle at Tolosa, in 1212, in which the enormous army they had collected with the greatest exertions was utterly crushed. Their African empire now began to fall to pieces. In 1206 Tunis was lost to an insurgent, who was able to establish his power firmly, and founded the dynasty of the Hafides. The Spanish possessions also regained their independence. And, finally, after civil war the dynasty of the Merinides eventually gained the throne of Morocco in 1269, after the founder of the family had already asserted his independence in the province of Schaus in 1213.

Thus, then, the African empire of Islam was finally destroyed; and the chief "Barbary" states of subsequent times already begin to develop—Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli. The relations of Islam to the Christian states on the Mediterranean had, meantime, completely changed.

Barbary States Develop The West once more advanced to the attack. The African states soon saw themselves harassed on their own soil by the armies and fleets of the Christian rulers. Then first, and more for defence than for aggression, the fleets of the "Barbary states" were formed, which were destined to remain the scourge of the Mediterranean countries down to the nineteenth century.

The internal development of Morocco offers for centuries nothing worthy of remark. Not until 1588 did the empire of Morocco expand, and then, which is significant, not towards the east or north, but towards the south. A small Moorish army occupied Timbuktu, and the town was in 1680 still in the hands of Morocco. Here and in the western Sudan their influence has been maintained until almost the present day. The opportunity was thus presented to the princes of Morocco of enlisting large numbers of black troops, which were of great service to them in the frequent civil wars, but also continually increased the negritic element in the population of North-west Africa. The negro guards, naturally, found many opportunities to decide the fate of the rulers and of the ruling houses.

MEDI-
TERRANEAN
NORTH AFRICA
V



BARBARY
STATES IN
MODERN TIMES

THE MODERN BARBARY STATES AND THE FRENCH IN NORTH AFRICA

THE expulsion of the Moors from Granada was of still greater importance for the eastern African states than for Morocco. The small states in Algeria and Tunisia had led up till now an unimportant existence, which had been only temporarily disturbed by the adventurous and completely unsuccessful crusade of King Louis IX. of France against Tunis. With the increasing influx of Moors, who were filled with a burning thirst for vengeance against Spain, and who also had the means to fit out pirate ships, these small states came into hostile relations with Spain, and in the beginning distinctly to their disadvantage. The punitive expedition which Cardinal Ximenez undertook in the year 1509 struck panic into the whole coast region. From that time the Spaniards occupied not merely Oran, Bugia, and a fortress in the harbour of Algiers, but exacted tribute

A Cardinal Attacks the Pirates

from some petty states, while the Berber tribes in the mountains were practically independent. The town of Tripoli, with some other places on the coast, was in the hands of the Knights of Malta, and the Genoese occupied the island of Tabarca. Thus the resistance of the African states was limited to petty acts of privateering, until they in their turn were drawn into that new movement of Islam which started with the Turks, and was destined to send out its offshoots as far as the borders of Morocco.

The man who gave life to the new influence was the renegade Horuk Barbarossa, a Greek from Lesbos. As captain of a privateer, fitted out by traders of Constantinople, he sailed to the Western Mediterranean, and made the town of Tunis the starting-point of successful predatory expeditions. He was soon in possession of a complete fleet of well-equipped ships, the crews of which were, for the most part, Turks. He gradually made himself master of several places on

the coast, and at last of the town of Algiers; the expelled ruler tried in vain to recover his small territory by help of the Spaniards in the year 1517. After the death of Horuk his brother, Cheireddin, extended the newly formed robber state, and put it on a permanent footing by placing himself under the overlordship of the Porte.

Founding a Robber State

The period of Turkish rule which now begins was, on the whole, a sad time for the countries on the coast of North Africa. The real rulers of the country were the Turkish garrisons. By the side of these the pasha, appointed by the Sultan, enjoyed only the merest semblance of power, while the Arabian and Berber inhabitants of the country were exposed helplessly and unjustly to the caprice of the rude soldiery. Piracy became more and more the only source of wealth for the unhappy countries. The reason why this source was not soon stopped by strong measures was chiefly that Spain, diverted from her design on Africa by the discovery of America, gradually sank into political impotence. Charles V., by the conquest of Tunis in 1535, took the first step towards ending the curse of piracy. But the attack on Algiers failed; and in 1574 Tunis was finally lost.

There, too, the Turkish military rule was instituted. As in Algiers, the representatives of the soldiers formed a sort of republican government, or "divan," at the head of which a Dey with uncertain influence was usually placed. The relations between Algiers and Tunis were, as a rule, unfriendly: in 1757 Tunis was actually conquered and sacked by Algerian troops, and its reigning lord deposed.

Turkish Vassal States

As compared with Algiers, the third Turkish vassal state of Tripoli fell into the background even more than Tunis. It had been founded in 1551 after the expulsion

of the Maltese by an old subordinate officer of Cheireddin Barbarossa, Dragut. Here also the Turkish militia had things completely in their hands. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—nominal vassals of Turkey—all obtained an unenviable reputation for piracy; although, in reality, it was not the nature of privateering itself as practised by them which distinguished them, but only the long persistence of a condition which had been gradually abandoned by the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean. In the Middle Ages the Christian states had fitted out corsairs as much as the Mohammedan states, in order to capture hostile merchantmen and to plunder the coasts of their enemies.

In the Days of the Corsairs

possible victims was much lessened, the sphere of these raids must have been extended. In fact, the corsairs appeared quite early on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar. In 1617 Madeira was plundered; the Irish coast was devastated in 1631, and Iceland invaded in 1637.

A severe check was inflicted upon them by the English Navy, under the command of Robert Blake, in the time of the Commonwealth; nevertheless, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century Algerian pirates cruised as far as the North Sea. The object of these voyages was not only the seizure of gold and property, but also of men. The sums obtained as ransoms for captive Christians were an important source of income to the rulers



THE PIRATES' STRONGHOLD: THE TOWN OF ALGIERS AS IT WAS ABOUT THE YEAR 1670
 Algiers, one of the three great pirate states of Barbary, was organised by a Greek renegade in 1517, and from that time until the French conquest in 1830 subsisted by open piracy, though nominally vassal of Turkey.

There could be no possibility of thoroughly extirpating the curse unless the districts on the coast were brought under the dominion of a Christian state. But for a long time no nation showed any desire for a difficult and thankless undertaking of this kind; and it was thought preferable to secure immunity by treaties. This succeeded partially, and the whole burden of the loss naturally devolved on those states which could not come to an agreement with the corsairs. On the whole, the power of the Barbary states sank steadily in the course of centuries; and petty enterprises took the place of the great predatory expeditions of the earlier times. But as the number of

and inhabitants of the Barbary states. The power of the Turk waned from the time when his advance was finally repulsed by Prince Eugene of Savoy. States which subsist primarily by open piracy cannot be tolerated by civilised maritime powers. Yet the Barbary pirates continued to practise their profession without being definitely suppressed through the eighteenth century. Even severe chastisement inflicted by British and other fleets in the early nineteenth century did not destroy the plague spot. It was France which finally put an end to the pest.

In 1830, the French monarchy of Charles X. was in parlous state. Searching



ALGIERS: THE BASE OF FRENCH EMPIRE-BUILDING IN NORTH AFRICA.

Algiers, the capital and only important seaport of Algeria, was occupied by the French in 1830 after three centuries of piracy. Its exquisite climate has made it a favourite winter resort for Europeans, and the consequent growth of the town can be seen in the picture at the top of the page. Inset on the left is a street in the Arab quarter, and on the right a view of the Governor's palace. At the bottom is a view of the principal boulevard.



THE TOWER OF SKULLS AT JERBA IN TUNIS
A ghastly monument of a Christian expedition to the pirates' haunts in 1561 and its defeat by the Arabs.

for some means of recovering popularity without desisting from its reactionary domestic policy, it sought to obtain martial glory. The Dey of Algiers had very flagrantly insulted the French consul, and reparation had never been made. A strong punitive expedition was despatched; it made a rapid conquest. The Dey and his Turks were removed from the country; and to this the Berber population appear to have felt no strong objections. The French had no more intention of staying in Algeria than Europeans ever have of staying in barbaric realms in which they have been compelled by circumstances to make a military demonstration. But the honest intention of retiring is usually frustrated by the sense of responsibility for restoring order and then for maintaining it—since it is commonly manifest that withdrawal will be followed by the recrudescence of anarchy. So it was with the French in Algeria;

and there was a further inducement at the outset to postpone retirement. The Bourbon monarchy fell, and Louis Philippe could hardly venture to signalise his accession by what his enemies would have clamoured against as an example of "the craven fear of being great." So the French stayed—to restore order.

The natives had acquiesced in the ejection of their Turkish governors; they were not equally ready to accept control by the infidels, especially as the latter displayed some want of tact in handling their susceptibilities. They rose in insurrection under Abd el-Kadir, a leader of heroic type, who met with such success that after two years of fighting the French recognised him as sultan of a great part of the country. This, however, did not suffice; and in 1839, two years after the truce, Abd el-Kadir and the French were at war again. This time the relentless vigour of the French attack presently drove the native chief out of the country to Morocco; only to return with fresh forces. Under such circumstances, the emperor had no alternative but to carry the contest through to a finish. The French did so. Abd el-Kadir ultimately found himself compelled to surrender to save his country from destruction. For some time he was held in durance, till Napoleon III. released him.

The whole of Algeria was not, in fact, brought into subjection until 1847. Under the Republic which upset Louis Philippe,



A CONFERENCE WITH THE PIRATE DEY OF ALGIERS IN 1816
The Barbary pirates flourished in the 18th century, and in 1816 a British fleet, under Lord Exmouth, visited Algiers and inflicted severe chastisement, after conference with the Dey.



A GENERAL VIEW OF TUNIS, THE CAPITAL OF THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE

Tunis, the second of the Barbary pirate states, remained a nominal vassal state of Turkey until 1883, when it was placed under French protection, and its government controlled by French administrators.

Algeria was treated as if it had been simply an outlying portion of France. Napoleon III. recognised that European methods of self-government were not adapted to the population. One after another, a series of experiments in the form of military governments, governments more or less modelled on that of the British in India, were attempted, culminating, in 1879, with a reversion to parliamentary methods; but none have achieved distinguished success. On the other hand, there has been a very large immigration of Europeans from Southern Italy, Malta, and Spain, as well as from Southern France, and these elements seem likely to fuse with the native Algerians, so as to produce a distinct race-modification. Finally, Algeria is a base from which French influence has extended southwards to meet the northward movement from the French Sudan, and the consolidation of a French North African empire is in sight.

On the east of Algeria, Tunis—like Algeria, a nominal vassal-state of Turkey—enjoyed in the nineteenth

century a much more enlightened government under the ruling dynasty than her neighbours. France, established at Algiers, was willing enough to extend her ascendancy to Tunis; but Algerian difficulties on the one hand, and British opposition on the other, checked her zeal. In course of time, however, the Tunisian administration degenerated; European intervention became necessary. The British Government remained inert; Italy, the other Power mainly interested, hesitated to assume direct rivalry with France; and

France found sufficient excuse for forcing the Dey to place himself under French "protection." From 1883, therefore, Tunis has been recognised as a French Protectorate—that is, like the protected states in India, it retains its dynasty, but its government is practically controlled by French administrators, with excellent effects.

Tripoli, like her western neighbours, owned but a very nominal allegiance to her suzerain at the Porte. But when France was asserting herself in Algeria, Turkey /



ABD EL-KADIR

Who carried on a "holy war" against the French in Algeria.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

took the opportunity in 1835, to reassert her authority in this eastern member of the group of Barbary states. The existing dynasty was removed, and the country administered under a pasha as a vilayet of the Turkish empire; and so it remained until 1912, when it was invaded, conquered, and formally annexed by Italy.

Morocco, though, unlike the other three corsair states, it did not fall under the casually exercised dominion of the Turk, did not establish itself as a consolidated Power till some two centuries after the annihilation of the Moorish power in Spain, when Muley Ismail brought the country under his dominion. Since then it has remained a single kingdom—the type of an Oriental absolutist monarchy. To European influences it continues to oppose an impenetrable screen of what Europeans call fanatical prejudice.

The state retains an obstinate power of resistance to the intervention of "infidels," as the Spaniards found in 1859, though their campaign in that year was in form successful. The history of Morocco has been one, not of progress, but of stagnation, if not of retrogression. Its government nominally displays all the worst features of an utterly irresponsible despotism—and its people ask for nothing else. The thing they have is the thing they understand. Individual liberty, in the sense of an absence

of government control, flourishes; in the sense of security of life, person, or property against outrage, chains, and robbery, it hardly exists. In the interior,

the monarch can command no obedience; nowhere, and at no time is he secure against revolt. The population of Morocco has no idea of accepting the one method by which anything which Europeans recognise as permanent can be established—the assumption of sovereignty by a European Power.

It is not easy to judge how far there is any real probability of such a sovereignty coming effectively into play; the mutual jealousies of European states always militate against any one of them becoming supreme, and even when a supremacy is established, as with the British in Egypt, it tends to be hampered. Nevertheless, a tendency to mutual accommodation has been displayed. In 1904 France and Great Britain arrived at a convention which was accepted by Spain. French antagonism was withdrawn in Egypt, and France was

to be in effect recognised as having paramount interests in Morocco. In other words, apart from reservation of express treaty rights, France was conceded the right of intervention in the administration of the Moorish kingdom. Still, as other Powers were dissatisfied, a further conference of all the Powers interested was held at Algeciras in 1906, resulting in an agreement, of which the fundamental point was the paramount authority and responsibility of France.

The Franco-Spanish agreement of 1912 defined the area—a strip of coast line from Ifui, one hundred miles south of Agadir, to Melilla and the Muluya—of Spanish influence, and in the same year a



ABDUL AZIZ

The Sultan of Morocco, who was credited with Europeanising tendencies, abdicated 1908



MULAI HAFID SULTAN OF MOROCCO, 1908-12



TANGIERS AND TETUAN: THE CHIEF CITIES OF MOROCCO

Unlike the other three corsair states of North Africa, Morocco did not come under the vassalage of Turkey, but remained a single despotic kingdom. A general view of Tangiers, the chief commercial city and diplomatic headquarters, is given at the top of the page, the royal palace being shown in the middle on the left, and a street in the city on the right. Tetuan, the city and seaport next in importance, is seen at the bottom.

Photos by N. P. Edwards

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

French Protectorate was formally declared over the rest of Morocco.

On France, therefore, has devolved the lion's share of the troubles which have continued to disturb Morocco. The sultan Abdul Aziz was credited with Europeanising tendencies; but these were not accompanied by administrative vigour or ability. Hence the anti-

foreigner agitation has received an additional incentive among the population; and a rival sultan, Mulai Hafid, was proclaimed in 1907, who found considerable support. Abdul abdicated in 1908, and Mulai Hafid reigned till 1912, when he also abdicated,

and was succeeded by Mulai Yusef. Throughout 1913 both France and Spain were engaged in serious hostilities with the tribesmen, and the loss of life was considerable. The spirit of revolt against European authority seems by no means yet subdued.

In any case, Islam in its rigid North African form will remain a most dangerous

and almost invincible foe to European civilisation. How, even in the year 1914, this fanatical antagonism to European influences had acquired overwhelming force in North Africa is shown by the history of the Senussi order, a party of reform, organised in the true North African spirit of hostility to civilisation.

The founder, who came from Tlemcen in Algeria, found in the oasis Siwah a continually increasing body of followers. From here the supporters of the order spun, as it were, a net round North Africa, and gradually acquired an influence with which every ruler of the separate coun-

tries and every European colonial power had seriously to reckon. The death of the original Senussi in the middle of the 'sixties did not harm the movement. Under his successor the oasis of Siwah was still the centre of the Senussi influence and the home of a burning hatred of Christianity. HEINRICH SCHURTZ



RAISULI



KAID MACLEAN

Laiyette

The Native attitude towards the foreigner was made evident in the capture of the Sultan's adviser, Kaid Maclean, by the brigand Raisuli.



ADMINISTRATION DIFFICULTIES IN MOROCCO: KABYLES DEFYING THE TAXGATHERERS



TROPICAL NORTH AFRICA ITS NATIVE RACES AND STATES

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN SUDAN

BY reason of its climatic conditions and ethnographical character, the Sudan may be considered as a transition zone between the Sahara and the well-watered tropical regions of Central Africa, together with the Guinea Coast.

In its population, the Negro, the Ethiopian, and the Libyan combine in varying proportions, while at a comparatively later period another light-coloured race, the Arabs, influenced the Sudan.

We may assume that the power and importance of the desert tribes of the Sahara and the southern steppes increased considerably in proportion as the growing numbers of their cattle enabled them to derive more profit from the poor soil upon which they lived. At first probably unsettled bands of hunters, they grew to be powerful and warlike tribes. In this course of development were two separate stages, marked by the introduction of cattle at an early period, and the introduction of the camel, which did not take place until late in the Roman period. At first the black agricultural tribes of Central Africa were superior to the needy inhabitants of the desert, but the balance of power turned in the opposite direction until the negroes were subjugated or forced to retreat.

Development of Desert Tribes

At an early stage the negroes seem to have been spread over nearly the whole

of the Sudan and far into the desert. In the Western Sahara are also unmistakable remnants of an old negro population. According to the Roman historian Sallust (86-34 B.C.) the southern districts of the true desert were in the hands of the negroes in his time; but even then forerunners of those different races from which the Berbers were afterward compounded may have been settled side by side with the negro inhabitants.

The State-forming Races

In the Western and Central Sudan are two great state-forming races, largely of negro blood, the Mandingo and the Hausa. These are manufacturing and trading peoples by profession. They are thus endowed with the necessary qualities for entering a foreign district, forming small colonies within it, and seizing the government for themselves when occasion offers. The Mandingo are leather-workers, dyers, weavers, and smiths, and extend as far as the west coast. Trade and manual industry have enabled the Hausa to advance to the slave coast, where their support of Mohammedanism has gained them considerable influence. The Soninke, to the south of the Mandingo, are a tribe of similar character. We have examples of involuntary migrations of this kind, especially in the east of the Sudan, to which inhabitants of Bornu and Bagirmi have been transplanted, bringing with them a higher

civilisation. It is very possible that the transmission of civilisation by migration of this kind was one of the forces which completed the expansion of the earliest states in the Sudan, the negro finding manufacturing ability to be a new means of overpowering the shepherd tribes of the desert, who were disinclined to labour.

How Negro Civilisation Grew

The stimulus given to pilgrimage by Mohammedanism extended the horizon and greatly increased traffic. When the Berber races grew to be powerful tribes, excellently conformed to their special environment, the black races, with their tendency to form petty states, were forced to retreat. By far the most important of these tribes is the great Tuareg people, or, more properly, Imoschagh. Their conformation to the conditions of desert life and their advance southward appear to have been purely involuntary. Though the northern parts of the desert were already in the possession of the Tuareg in Sallust's time, the main body of the people seems to have been settled in the fruitful districts under the mountain chain of North Africa until the Arab conquest drove them gradually to retreat southward. Different Arab tribes pressed after them, and in places divided the new territory with them; but the negroes, who were settled in the oases on the south of the desert, succumbed to the attacks of the Tuareg. These repeated shocks produced racial movements which were transmitted to the Sudan in southerly and easterly directions.

Even before that period important negro kingdoms existed in the Western Sudan. The history of the kingdom of Ghana, or Gharata—properly Aucar—can be retraced further than any other. This state is said to have been founded about 300 A.D. It was situated on the edge of the desert, west of Timbuktu, and north-west of the Upper Niger valley. It was

Earliest Negro Kingdom

not, however, a pure negro kingdom. The ruling house seems to have belonged to a fair race, while the bulk of the population was Mandingo or Malinke. This information is valuable as showing that long before the Mohammedan period the Sudan was a district of mixed population, and that the oft-recurring course of events which brings a fair race to rule over a negro population was not unexampled even at that time. Twenty-two rulers are

said to have reigned in Ghana before the beginning of Mohammedan chronology.

Carthage and Cyrene carried on commercial relations, at any rate indirectly, with the countries beyond the desert, and Mediterranean civilisation had strongly influenced the Sudan when the Arabs overran North Africa. A people thus appeared on the edge of the great desert for whom the inhospitable land had no terrors, and who were spurred on to desperate enterprises by the hope of extending the Mohammedan religion and their own power. The kingdom of Senhagia in the Western Sahara seems to have been the starting-point for the spread of Mohammedan propaganda. The town of Biru, or Whalata, was apparently a centre of trade and of Mohammedan civilisation until it was overshadowed by Timbuktu. In fact, it is at an early period that we find the first traces of Mohammedanism in the Sudan. It was not everywhere that the new religion found favourable soil, and it has not even yet made its way throughout the country; but it brought with it the greatest mark of a higher civilisation, the art of writing, and thus laid the founda-

What Islam Did for the Sudan

tion for a reliable history of the Sudan. The most priceless historical records of this district, the annals of Sonrhay, were composed by Ahmed Baba about 1640.

While Ghana was at the height of its prosperity a new kingdom was developed at no great distance, Sonrhay, where the dynasty of the Saa—apparently also of Berber origin—came to power at the outset of the seventh century. The Saa Alayaman was the first ruler, according to Ahmed Baba, and was succeeded by fourteen kings before the land came under Mohammedan rule. The centre of the kingdom of Sonrhay lay within the great curve of the Niger, south of the modern Timbuktu; but it also possessed important districts beyond the Niger, further to the east.

Sonrhay was at first of no great importance; a third and somewhat younger state, the kingdom of Melle, was for a long time predominant in the Western Sudan. The early history of Melle is wholly obscure. It seems to have been founded by the Mandingo, who perhaps first overthrew the Berber supremacy. At the time of its greatest prosperity its power extended northward far beyond



Hausa woman



Bambara woman



Woman of Massina



Mandingo musicians



Fulbe of Senegambia



Arab of Yola



Woman of Segou



Bambara man

TYPES OF THE VARIED RACES OF THE WESTERN SUDAN

In the Western and Central Sudan the great state-forming races are the Mandingo and the Hausa, who are the traders and manufacturers of the negro peoples. The fair-skinned Fulbe, who first settled in the Senegal valley, are true nomad sons of the steppes. Among the most important of the negro tribes are the Bambara, whose chief centre is Segou.

the curve of the Niger, and it may have made itself felt indirectly as far as the Atlantic Ocean; its rulers were Mandingo, and consequently belonged to the dark races. The first Mohammedan preachers are said to have come to Melle in the year 990 and to have met with a favourable reception. Mohammedanism had

Founding of Timbuktu

spread among the peoples of the desert, and greatly stimulated their tendencies to political union. As early as the ninth century a Berberchief, Tilutan, had accepted Islam, had converted the neighbouring negro races, and risen to great power. About 1034 most of the Berber tribes of the desert were united under the sceptre of Abu Abdallah. Towards the end of the eleventh century the Tuareg founded the town of Timbuktu in a spot which had been regularly used for holding markets; the town became an important centre of their influence. About this period the old kingdom of Ghana was conquered for a time by the Almoravides, who became highly important in the history of North Africa and Spain.

Meanwhile the princes of Sonrhay had accepted Mohammedanism about 1009, and become rulers of Ghanata about 1100; the chiefs of Melle, on the other hand, a state which was steadily growing in power, do not seem to have followed this example before 1200. Mansa (Sultan) Mussa was the most important of the rulers of Melle. He ruled from 1311 to 1331, raised his kingdom to the position of a first-rate military power, and proceeded to make conquests in all directions. He subdued what remained of the old kingdom of Ghana, which had recovered its independence but had lost most of its territory to Melle in the thirteenth century; he conquered the Sonrhay kingdom and took the prosperous town of Timbuktu from the Tuareg. His reputation extended far and wide, when he undertook

Mohammedan Kingdom of Melle

a pilgrimage to Mecca with a vast retinue of followers in the year 1326, and showered wealth around him with a liberal hand. An architect was brought from Granada to Timbuktu to build a palace for the king. After the death of Mussa the kingdom was threatened with disruption; however, Mansa Isliman restored its power about 1335 and recovered Timbuktu, which had been conquered by the heathen prince of Mossi. Melle seems to have

carried on a furious struggle with general success against the southern kingdom of Ginne, or Jinne, the princes of which had accepted Mohammedanism in the thirteenth century. Melle continued at the height of its power for another century, and then began to sink beyond hope of recovery. According to Ahmed Baba, an "army of God," which appeared and disappeared with equal rapidity, destroyed the larger part of the population; this must refer to some great and fatal revolution or to a devastating epidemic. In the year 1433 the Tuareg recovered possession of Timbuktu while the governors of the different provinces of Melle were at war among themselves.

During the latter half of the fifteenth century Sonrhay rose to a dominating position under the guidance of the cruel but energetic Sunni Ali, a ruler of Berber extraction. One of his ancestors, Ali Kilnu, who had been brought up at the royal court at Melle, fled away with his brother and raised a successful revolt in Sonrhay. At first the rulers of Sonrhay were content to retain their independence; Sunni Ali was the first to begin conquest

Negroes Assert their Supremacy

on a large scale. He stormed Timbuktu with fearful slaughter in 1469; the town at once became a trading centre for the Western Sudan and North Africa. He then acquired most of the former kingdom of Ghana and had considerably increased his power, when he was drowned on an expedition to the Sudan in 1492.

His son, who succeeded him, was soon overthrown by one of the deceased king's generals, Mohammed ben Abu Bakr by name, a pure negro who took the royal title of Askia. Here we meet with an instance of those reactionary movements which frequently occur in the racial struggles of the Western Sudan: the negro population, which formed the main element in the Sudanese kingdoms, succeeds in throwing off the yoke of the fair desert peoples and asserting the supremacy of its own race. As a matter of fact, the racial fusion which took place in most cases makes it as little possible to speak of pure negroes as of pure Berbers, and a change of rulers disturbed neither the Mohammedan religion nor the existing civilisation. The "Askia" soon showed himself a born ruler. He was a capable general, and strengthened the resisting powers of his kingdom by the encouragement



TIMBUKTU: THE GREAT CARAVAN CENTRE OF THE SAHARA DESERT

Founded by the Tuareg in the 11th century in a spot which had been used regularly for holding markets. Later it fell into the hands of the princes of Sonrhay, and in the 16th century became the centre of a Moorish province.

which he gave to domestic industries; a brilliant pilgrimage to Mecca increased the reputation of his country abroad. He seems to have created a standing army, Sunni Ali having been accustomed to lead out merely a general levy of the whole people. After his return from Arabia he conquered the kingdom of Mossi, the ruler and people of which country had displayed an obstinate hostility to Mohammedanism; he then turned upon Melle, took and destroyed the capital of this ancient kingdom, and made the country tributary to himself in 1501. With the peoples dwelling further south and the western tribes he had a more obstinate struggle. Leo Africanus shows that the Askia also extended his power on the east and succeeded in partly subjugating the Hausa states, which were even then in a flourishing condition; his power extended as far as Agades on the north-east, where he drove back the Berbers and planted negro colonies from Sonrhay. This action may also be considered as a counterstroke of negro against Berber. Toward the end of his life dissensions broke out in his family, and in 1529 his son Mussa forced him to abdicate. Sonrhay maintained its power to the

full during a long period of time. Especially glorious was the reign of the Askia Isshak I. (1539-1553), who embarked upon the first of the quarrels with Morocco.

He was succeeded by Daud, who ruled in peace from 1553 to 1582. However, El Hadj, the son of this latter king, was troubled with constant outbreaks of civil war. Shortly after he had ascended the throne ambassadors appeared from Morocco bringing gifts; these were, however, in reality the forerunners and spies of a powerful Moorish army, sent out by the Sultan Mulai Hammed of Morocco, which was advancing through the desert upon the Niger. This monarch had resumed the policy of the Almoravides, who had conquered Ghana from Morocco, and in whose army the Sudanese negroes formed a most valuable contingent. The army of Morocco was overthrown in the desert; but the civil wars continued. In 1587 El Hadj was deposed and died shortly afterward.

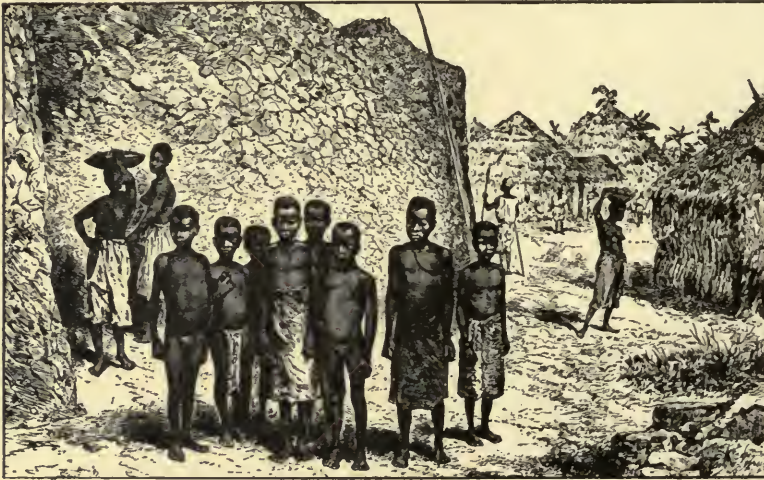
Hardly had the Askia Isshak II. put down the revolt and established himself upon the throne when a fresh army advanced from Morocco, seized the capital of Gogo, and then took Timbuktu. The leader of this army entered into negotiations

with Isshak instead of continuing his conquests, and was immediately dismissed in consequence by Mulai Hammed, whose ambition had been fired by the example of the Spanish empire of Philip II. His successor, the Basha Mahmud, notwithstanding the scanty numbers of his troops, utterly defeated Isshak's army, which could not stand before the firearms of the Morocco forces. Isshak fled eastward to the heathen tribes upon his frontiers, and met his death among them. Further resistance was in vain, and the powerful kingdom of Sonrhay was no more. It had comprehended all the country on the Upper Niger and Senegal, and had extended its power to the sea-coast and deep into the

certainly felt. Henceforward it moved eastward to the Central Niger and Benue, and to the district contained in the angle of these two streams, the Hausa states. When once civilisation had made an entry into this district it became more strongly rooted there than upon the Upper Niger.

The Hausa States Since the latter area largely consists of steppe lands, nomadic tendencies are predominant, and civilisation is permanent only in the commercial and industrial towns. Now the Hausa states form a country of towns, from which civilisation radiates to the surrounding districts; the inhabitants also are not wandering nomads, but agricultural negroes. It is true that civilisation has not even yet

become universal, nor is the country a political whole. Heathen races have their settlements scattered between the territories belonging to the several states, are persecuted by the expeditions of the territorial masters and make raids upon the country in revenge for the tribute of slaves which is constantly exacted from them.



A VILLAGE SCENE IN THE REGION OF THE UPPER NIGER

The area of the Upper Niger consists largely of steppe lands, and it is only in the commercial towns that there is permanent civilisation. This village is inhabited by an industrial tribe.

desert. The immigrants from Morocco formed a new element in the racial fusion; their descendants are now known as Rumat—literally, sharpshooters. The town of Timbuktu became the centre of the new Morocco province, which did not, however, extend as widely as the old Sonrhay kingdom had done—many of the frontier provinces seceded, and individual races conquered additional territory for themselves, such as the Bambara, and especially the Fulbe.

The destruction of the kingdom of Sonrhay led to more important results than these. Hitherto the central point of West Sudanese civilisation had been upon the Upper Niger, where Northern influences made themselves most rapidly and

even more obscure than that of the western kingdom. All that can be said with certainty is that the Hausa people, to whom the states owe their name and their first political organisation, were originally settled as a whole further to the north, and that they belonged to those negro races which inhabited the southern parts of the Sahara and the neighbouring districts.

Beginnings of the Hausa

The mountain land of Air, or Asben, may once have been in the possession of the Hausa. Thence they were driven south by the Berbers of the desert, having previously received some infusion of Berber blood, and gradually imposed their language upon a countless number of tribes, language and not race thus



VIEW OF THE GREAT CATARACT OF GOUINA ON THE UPPER NIGER

The Niger, the third longest river of Africa, rises near the west coast, and flows right across the bend of Africa into the Gulf of Guinea. Like all the African rivers it is much broken by rapids and cataracts, one of which is seen here.

becoming the bond of unity among them. The Hausa point to Biram as the cradle of their race, a little town lying east of Kano, near the borders of the kingdom of Bornu; if this tradition be reliable, the greater part of the Hausa civilisation must therefore have come from the Central Sudan, and especially from Bornu rather than from the west through Melle and Sonrhay.

The founder of the town of Biram bore the same name as the place, and from him and his grandson, Banu, it is said that the forefathers of the seven ancient Hausa peoples descended, and also the first kings of those seven states which were bounded collectively by the River Benue and the desert on the one side, and by the Niger and the Bornu frontiers upon the other. But when the Hausa started from the lands on the edge of the desert to found their kingdom, the original

inhabitants on the river banks held out against them for a long period, and are to be found existing in parts even at the present day, just as they defied the attacks of the Sudanese civilisation and its exponents in a thin strip of country on the Atlantic coast, or as they even now maintain their position in the Upper Nile valley. The seven old Hausa states were

**Hausa
Talent for
Trade**

Biram, Kano, Daura, Gobir, Katsena, Sofo or Saria, and Rano. Gobir and Daura, together with Biram, may be considered the earliest political creations of the Hausa people. They have a tradition that the mother of the founder of the Hausa kingdoms was a Berber woman, which confirms the opinion that they are not a pure negro people, but have intermingled with the races of the desert.

The Hausa people probably developed their great talents for trade and



LARGE NATIVE VILLAGE AND MOUNTAIN SCENE ON THE UPPER NIGER

Note the stockade and the conical-roofed huts, which are typical of the whole of tropical North Africa.

manufacture at an early period. It was perhaps rather the influence of their civilisation than their military power which extended their language, and to some extent their authority, over a second group of states which are generally known as the illegitimate or bastard Hausa states, from the tradition that they were founded by seven

Antiquity of the Hausa States

illegitimate sons of Banu. They are Kebbi, Zanzara, Guari, Yauri, and beyond the Niger and Benue, Nupe, Yoruba, and Kororofa. The legends concerning the founders of the seven Hausa states enable us to form some idea of the political conditions prevailing during their antiquity.

When the Hausa states of Banu were divided among his sons they also received definite posts of responsibility: thus, two of them were appointed overseers of traffic and commerce, two more were to superintend the dyeing industry, a fifth had to make the kidnapping of slaves from hostile districts his special business. Here we have an excellent sketch of the economic conditions of the old Hausa kingdoms. The main sources of the national wealth were the flourishing manufactures, especially the making and dyeing of textile fabrics, which were distributed far and wide by a vigorous trading system. Slave hunting was the means of obtaining cheap labour for the factories, which were, however, generally carried on by the freemen, and slaves were used also for purposes of agriculture, though this again was chiefly in the hands of the half-civilised aboriginal negroes, who lived around the great industrial centres. Slaves were for many reasons a very important article of export, and to this chiefly was due the flourishing character of the trade between the Sudan and the countries round the Mediterranean.

In early times both the rulers and the inhabitants of the Hausa states were in a state of heathenism. It was apparently in pre-Mohammedan times that the nucleus of the kingdoms was formed upon the southern edge of the desert, even though the Arabs and the racial movements caused by their expeditions provided the real impulse which drove the Hausa southward. States began to be formed at an early period in the territory of the true and half-breed Hausa states, as is proved by the existence of the old kingdom of Fumbina in the modern Adamawa.

Hausa Before Islam

In fact, the entry of the Hausa into the districts which they now occupy naturally brought about the retreat of the peoples settled there, who may have been partly civilised and capable of concerted political action; and an impulse was thus given to the formation of new kingdoms on the border of the modern Hausa land. If it is the fact that the Hausa migrations were connected with the racial changes caused by the advance of Mohammedanism, then the foundation of the Hausa kingdoms may be placed in the ninth or tenth century of our era.

Little is known of the history of the Hausa states previous to the introduction of Mohammedanism, which seems to have been first effected in Katsena about the year 1540. In the sixteenth century Katsena was the most powerful kingdom, and the ruling dynasty can be retraced to about the year 1200. About 1513 it seems to have been conquered by the Askia of Sonrhay, Hadj Mohammed, and forced to pay tribute. When the prince of Kebbi shook off the yoke of Sonrhay, Katsena became dependent upon Kebbi, and at a later time was under the

Rise of Kano

influence of Bornu. The first Moslem prince of Katsena was called Ibrahim Maji; fifty years after his death the Habe dynasty came to the throne, and ruled until the country was conquered by the Fulbe. The town of Kano rose to importance after Katsena; it was partly inhabited by Bornu people, and repeatedly united to the Bornu kingdom. During a long period the rulers of Bornu and Kororofa struggled for the possession of the town. We have but scanty information upon the condition of the other Hausa states and their relations to one another previous to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The kingdom of Saria, Soso, or Segseg seems to have been temporarily in the possession of the first Askia of Sonrhay.

Our lack of information is due partly to the fact that when the Fulbe conquered the Hausa states they deliberately destroyed all the earlier historical records. Hence continuous history begins only with the victorious invasion of the Fulbe, who have given their name to the whole district for the time being. Where the Fulbe race—also known by neighbouring peoples as Fula, Fellani, Fellatah, and Fullan—has preserved its purity, the slender, sinewy figure and the fair colour of the



TUAREG SLAVE HUNTERS RETURNING WITH THEIR UNHAPPY CAPTIVES FROM A SUCCESSFUL RAID UPON NEGRO VILLAGES

skin mark this people as true sons of the steppes; their habits are those of typical nomads, and for livelihood they depend upon cattle-breeding. Their language shows their connection with the Berber races. Their original settlements were in the Western Sudan, probably in the steppe district north of the Senegal and partly in the valley of this river. The

True Sons of the Steppes

conjecture that the Fulbe are the old dominant race of Ghana can be no more proved than the theory, which is not without intrinsic probability, that the ancestors of this people reached the Sudan from Morocco.

It is at a somewhat early period that the Fulbe appear in the history of those states on the Upper Niger and Senegal which were the first to become important in the Western Sudan. It is quite possible that they originally settled as a state upon the Central Senegal, soon spreading further eastward, at first almost imperceptibly. About 1300 the Fulbe, who were settled in Melle, sent an embassy to Bornu. Sunni Ali, king of Sonrhay, made an expedition against the Fulbe in the south of his country in 1492, and made them tributary to himself; but about 1500 we hear of the Askia Hadj Mohammed as again struggling against this people, so that they had presumably become powerful and had spread considerably eastward.

This expansion was brought about at that time by the same methods as at a later period. The Fulbe entered the territory of settled peoples in their character of wandering cattle-herds, and seized any opportunity which offered of making themselves masters of the country and founding small independent kingdoms. About 1533 mention is made of wars between the declining kingdom of Melle and those western Fulbe who had settled near their original home. As the Fulbe advanced eastward they naturally incorporated other nomadic races with

Advance of the Fulbe

themselves, and also intermarried largely with the negroes, especially with the dark-skinned Jolof, near the old settlements of their race; in this fusion the Torode tribe originated. A development in the direction of a caste system reduced many tribes to the position of manual workers; some portion at least of the Fulbe people abandoned their nomadic life in favour of manufacturing occupations. These migrations gradually brought the

Fulbe into Hausa territory. At first they were merely tolerated, and contemptuously regarded as intruders. In the sixteenth century they had increased considerably, and gained some political influence in certain quarters, especially in Kebbi, where about this time they succeeded in interfering in the dissensions of the Kanta dynasty, which had been founded shortly before. Even then individual bodies had advanced as far as Bagirmi on the east, and perhaps also to Adamawa on the south. At the present day, heathen Fulbe are settled in that district, the rest of the population being distinguished by a fanatical adherence to Mohammedanism.

This same fanaticism was the ultimate cause of a fundamental revolution in the Hausa states. As in most cases, so also in this, the religious movement was nothing else than the natural result of a gradual change of social and racial elements; but the religious movement produced this further consequence—that it roused the Fulbe to consciousness of

Hausa Religious Revolution

their own strength, and gave them a common watchword against the Hausa, who approached religious questions in a spirit of tolerance though not of absolute indifferentism.

In the year 1802, in the land of Gobir, a Fulbe sheikh, by name Othman dan Fodio, succeeded in using a religious movement to forward his political designs; his vigorous religious songs roused his compatriots to the height of enthusiasm and excited them to war against the rulers of Gobir. Though at first defeated, he contrived to make head against his adversaries, and upon his death he left a kingdom to his warlike son Mohammed Bello. The latter, though constantly defeated by the kings of Bornu, steadily increased the area of his dominions. The sultans of Sanfara, Gobir, and Nupe formed an alliance with the Tuareg, and strove to drive back the Fulbe, but in vain. At the same time the Fulbe in the river district on the Senegal revolted and founded the kingdom of Futa Jallon in the mountainous country to the south of the river. In 1816 a fanatic from Gando set up the kingdom of Massina, to which Timbuktu was added in 1826. Between the years 1850 and 1860 Segu, which had been founded about 1650 by the heathen Mandingo, suffered a similar fate.

THE WESTERN SUDAN

The Hausa states fell entirely into the hands of the Fulbe; though some states held out for a long time, the Hausa people were forced to surrender their supremacy to the nomadic people they had formerly despised. In other respects political conditions underwent but little change. The chief Fulbe power was centred in the kingdom of Sokoto, Mohammed Bello's inheritance. The king of this state is at the same time spiritual lord of all the Fulbe states on the east, but his influence does not extend to political relations. The lands upon the Central Niger form the kingdom of Gando; its first ruler was Abd Allahi, Othman's brother. To Gando belong—though only as regards religious matters—the highly civilised Nupe, with its capital, Bida, which was weakened by civil war and fell into the hands of the Fulbe in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Their most southern state is Ilorin, to the north of Yoruba. Finally Adamawa on the southwest, which was conquered by the Fulbe during the years 1820-1830, is now practically independent. The other rulers

Break-up of Hausa States

of the former Hausa states are chiefly loosely dependent upon Sokoto; some of them, such as the sultan of Bautshi, whose dynasty came to the throne about 1800, are not Fulbe, but pure negroes.

The first attack of the Fulbe had shaken the states of the Western Sudan to their foundations and had threatened Bornu itself with destruction, but the kingdom which they founded soon showed signs of disruption. Many of the Fulbe moved into the town, intermarried with the Hausa, and lost their own language and their distinguishing characteristics, with the exception of the Borroro, who clung to their nomadic habits. At the same time their fanatical temper disappeared, and with it their military prowess. The armies raised by the sultans consisted almost exclusively of negroes. In short, the negro element began to assimilate with the dominant race imperceptibly, but irresistibly. Further, the Fulbe rulers were as little masters of the whole district as the Hausa kings had been. Numerous heathen races continued to offer a desperate resistance to the Mohammedan advance; even when conquered, converted, and made serfs to the Fulbe, they merely helped to swell the numbers of the negroes. One small Hausa kingdom was even able

to preserve its independence. When the Fulbe conquered Saria, the capital of the old state of Soso, the king retreated southward into heathen territory and there founded a new kingdom, with Aguja as its capital, which survived all the attacks of the Fulbe. The Hausa also maintained their position in their early home at Gobir. Thus the Fulbe supremacy was nominal rather than real, and extended over a district the population of which a higher civilisation had endowed with indestructible powers of recuperation. Though reduced to the position of an inferior race, the Hausa people were rapidly distributed in the course of trade over all the surrounding districts, and brought their language with them. As far as Kete-Kratji in German Togoland, Hausa is now the universal commercial language, though in a somewhat debased form. The Fulbe kingdom has decayed internally and is on the point of dissolution. Small tribes are able to cut all communications between Kano, Saria, and Sokoto for a long period in the year, or to carry off Hausa people from the very gates of Gando. The only reason why this kingdom has so long survived any foreign attack is the fact that no energetic neighbour is to be found upon its frontiers.

On the south the old Hausa kingdoms were surrounded by a ring of independent heathen states—Korosofa, south of the Central Benue, Fumbina, the predecessor of the modern Adamawa, and others. The whole southern frontier of Adamawa, so named after the first Fulbe ruler, Adama, touches Central Africa with its pure negro population; hence unbounded possibilities of extension lay before it, and its rulers were enabled to carry on slave hunting upon the largest scale. The soil is, moreover, extremely rich and fertile, and specially adapted for an agricultural people, so that the cattle plague, which impoverished the Fulbe in the other Hausa countries, was but little felt in this kingdom and did not seriously impair the national strength. In Adamawa most of the Fulbe had devoted themselves from an early period to agriculture, and labour for this purpose was always obtainable by slave hunting; moreover, the immigration from Bornu of industrial families proved highly

Heathen State of Adamawa

beneficial to the development of civilisation.

Adamawa is governed by the prince of Yola, who is resident on the north-western frontier, facing the other Hausa states. His influence is weakened by the remote position of his capital, and his supremacy is by no means universally acknowledged throughout the country. Small heathen districts and communities

are to be found scattered everywhere among the main centres of the Fulbe power, and most of these are in a state of continual feud both with the Fulbe and among themselves. The organisation of the Fulbe kingdom in general and of Adamawa in particular is exactly parallel to mediæval feudalism. The provinces are placed under separate dignitaries, each of whom commands a large number of vassals, while most of the officers at court are in the hands of the slaves. The most important Fulbe provinces of Adamawa are Bubanjida, Ngaundere, Tibati, and Banyo. Before the entry of Germany, Tibati and Ngaundere extended their frontiers, and were the strongest provinces in the Fulbe kingdom. Near them and to the south of Adamawa is the independent heathen state of Galim, which was formed in comparatively recent times, and has been strengthened by the addition of numerous heathen refugees. In the north the fierce guerrilla chief Mallam Hajato, son of Prince Saidu and grandson of Mohammed Bello, has thrown off the supremacy of Yola. Lower down the Benue the Fulbe have founded new states within the last century. In our own times Germany has entered Adamawa on the south and checked the advance of the Sudan negroes.

**Negro
Advance
Checked**

In spite of unfavourable conditions, the small numbers of its army, and the difficulty of providing reinforcements, not to speak of the numerous revolutions in Morocco itself, which cannot have failed to influence the course of events in the Sudan, the supremacy of Morocco over the western districts previously belonging to Sonrhay was maintained, nominally

at least, for a surprisingly long period. The reasons for its long continuance are sufficiently simple. The Morocco soldiers, the Rumat, whose muskets had brought the war to a rapid termination, settled in the strongholds and adopted the position of a ruling caste, gained friends and influence by marrying the native women, and eventually became a separate nationality, capable of retaining their hold of the conquered district in independence, though it was against their interests to sever all connection with Morocco.



AHMADU, LAMINE OF SEGU
Ahmadu, "Lord of the Faithful" in Segou, inherited a great kingdom on the Upper Senegal and Niger, created by his father, but was subjugated by the French.

The connection between the new province of Sonrhay and Morocco thus continued unbroken until the latter kingdom was shaken by the disturbances which broke out after the death of Mulai Hammed in 1603. From that time onward Morocco no longer sent out a pasha as governor, and administration was carried on by the Rumat themselves. Every newly-elected pasha was forced to secure recognition by presents to his

supporters, and the system resulted in excesses which surpassed all that Rome had seen under the Pretorian guards. One hundred and fifty-four pashas are known to have ruled within a period of one hundred and fifty years. Civil wars and extortion were the natural consequences of such an unsettled state of affairs. At the same time constant struggles with the different Tuareg races had to be maintained.

In the seventeenth century Sonrhay provided a large number of black soldiers for the Morocco army. These constituted the bodyguard of the sultans, and rendered valuable service against such vassals as attempted revolt. About 1680 a small Morocco army made an expedition against the Sudanese districts which were inde-

**End of
Moroccan
Supremacy** pendent of Morocco, and returned home with rich booty. But from 1682 the sultan of Morocco's name no longer appears in the government documents, the last trace of dependence thus disappearing. The attempt of one ambitious ruler to found a dynasty of his own proved a failure.

THE WESTERN SUDAN

The power of the Rumat, the descendants of the old Morocco army of conquest, gradually declined. In 1737 they were defeated by the Tuareg prince Ogmor, who now became the overlord of Sonrhay for a time, though he did not succeed in entirely subduing the Rumat. About 1770 the town of Gogo, or Gao, on the Niger, was lost to the Tuareg. On the north bank of the river rose the powerful kingdom of Aussa, which cut off all communication with Morocco and seized Timbuktu. Finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Rumat power was utterly destroyed by the attacks of the Fulbe. Mohammed Lebbo started from Gando, the new Fulbe kingdom on the Central Niger, with an army of fanatics, and in 1816 founded a kingdom on the upper part of the river, the central point of which was the town of Massina.

Rise of Fulbe Fanatics

A further period of disturbance began with the rise of a new Fulbe fanatic, Hadji Omar. He set himself up as the founder of a religion, and soon collected a powerful army. After utterly devastating the negro kingdoms

on the Senegal and Upper Niger—Bambuk, Kaarta, and Segu—he entered into rivalry, much to his own disadvantage, with the French in Senegambia, and finally gained possession of Timbuktu. When his garrison had been driven out by the Tuaregs he marched upon the town in person, but was severely defeated in 1863. However, he succeeded in uniting the territory on the Upper Senegal and Niger into a great kingdom, which he left to his son Ahmadu, who assumed the title

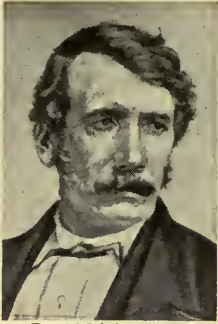
of Emir el-Mumenin, or Lamine, lord of the faithful, as his father had done, chose Segu-Sikoro as his capital, and thus lived among the Bambara negroes, who were chief among the tribes subject to him. Segu was conquered by the French in 1890, and a year later Ahmadu's kingdom was completely subjugated. The history of those districts which lie further to the south-west toward the coast and have been visited by Europeans only in recent years, is comparatively obscure. Their economic importance rests chiefly upon their possession of the kola nut, which has become a valuable article of exportation. By no means all of these districts were or are Mohammedan. In many of the southwestern kingdoms the numbers of the faithful are extremely scanty, while others cling tenaciously to heathenism. The kingdom of Mossi, lying nearly halfway between

Ashanti and Timbuktu, is a stronghold of heathenism, and, what is about the same thing, of a pure negro nationality. After the fall of the kingdom of Melle new states were formed of its southern provinces. Undoubtedly the

Mandingo kingdom, mentioned in the sixteenth century, was one of these, as the Mandingo people were the founders of Melle. In this case also large towns became the central point of the kingdom, such as Kong, the importance of which was formerly much exaggerated, owing to the false rumours which reached the coast. In the middle of the nineteenth century Samory founded a powerful kingdom to the south of Segu, which ultimately fell to the attacks of the French in 1898.



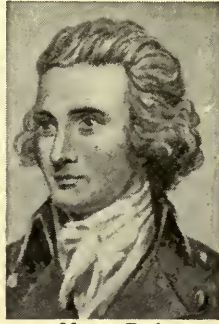
MAP OF THE NIGER RIVER AND GUINEA COAST



David Livingstone



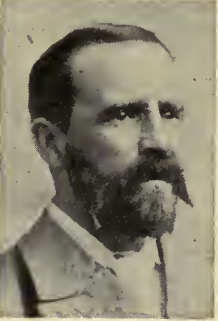
Hugh Clapperton



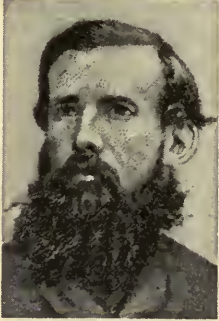
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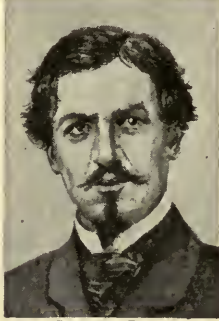
Sir H. M. Stanley



V. L. Cameron



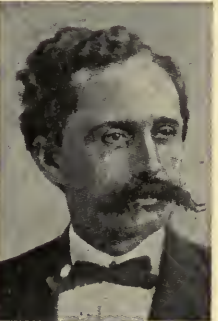
J. H. Speke



Captain Grant



James Bruce



Gustave Nachtigal



Captain Wissmann



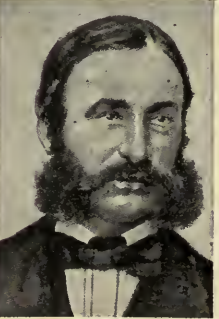
Sir Richard Burton



Joseph Thomson



Lewis Krapf



Heinrich Barth



George Schweinfurth

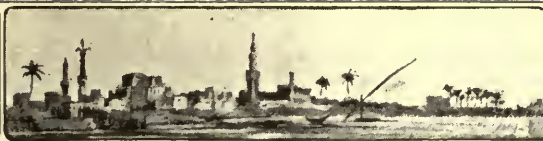


Wilhelm Junker

MEN WHO BROUGHT LIGHT TO THE DARK CONTINENT

The first considerable African exploration was begun at the end of the 18th century by Mungo Park, who solved the Niger problem. In North African exploration Barth, Clapperton and Bruce were prominent. Livingstone discovered Lake Ngami and the Zambesi, and explored the Congo; his reliever, Stanley, followed the Congo to its mouth, while Cameron crossed its basin. Schweinfurth, Junker and Nachtigal were the chief explorers of the East Sudan. Speke and Grant traced the Nile to its source, while in Central Africa Stanley, Thomson, Burton and Wissman discovered much.

Photos Elliott & Fry and Russell & Sons



THE CENTRAL SUDAN

THE STRUGGLES AND DECAY OF ITS NATIVE STATES

HITHERTO the central districts of the Sudan, extending to the Nile region, have been invaded by European activity far less than the west. The district is by no means uniform but consists of a number of territorial areas more or less self-contained, wherein are to be found a corresponding number of political communities generally independent of one another. On the west we can observe the Chad basin, in the fruitful plains of which the kingdom of Bornu has developed. Next we have the valley of the Shari, with Bagirmi, and finally in the east two mountainous districts with the states of Wadai and Darfur. To the south of these districts begin the pure negro territories, which belong ethnographically to the northern frontier of the Congo basin. As being the source of an unceasing supply of slaves, they have founded the prosperity of the states in the Sudan proper, and have also given rise to continual racial fusions. On the north extends the Central Sahara,

the peoples of which have taken an important part in the history of the Sudan states, and in some cases have decisively influenced their fate. It was from the desert and the North African coast that civilisation was brought into the Central Sudan.

The geographical position of the Central Sudan, especially of the area from Bornu to the North African coast, is of the highest importance. North of Lake Chad the Mediterranean makes its deepest indentation in the African continent, forming the two bays of the Syrtes. The emigrant advancing southward from this point will find rest and repose in a chain of oases, including the land of Fezzan, the greatest of all the oases of the Sahara. Hence the journey from Tripoli to Lake Chad has been a favourite route with European explorers; there are no great mountain chains to be crossed as in Morocco and Algiers, and the dangerous part of the desert is comparatively narrow. So favourable a conjunction of circumstances

must have given rise at an early period to trade and intercourse, which would be only temporarily interrupted by the desert tribes.

The most remarkable people of the Central Sahara are the Tibu, or Teda; the purest types of this race are settled in the mountains of Tibesti, and have apparently dwelt here from very early times.

A Strange, Unsociable People They are a peculiarly unsociable type of humanity, wholly conformed to the conditions of their environment, both in character and physique. A strong, perhaps even a preponderant infusion of negro blood has left unmistakable traces in the race; possibly, also, certain dwarf tribes resembling the Bushmen, of which the old geographers make mention, may have been absorbed by them. Spareness of build, activity, and power of endurance are the chief characteristics of the individual. The colour of the skin is, upon the average, lighter than that of the Sudan negroes, and darker than that of the Berbers. The negro type of face is to be found side by side with features of a more aristocratic cast. Their perseverance and their intellectual quickness enable the Teda to become capable merchants as well as clever robbers and thieves. A further stimulus in these directions is given by the avarice and lack of scruple which has been ingrained in them by years of grinding poverty.

At the present day, in addition to Tibesti, the Teda inhabit the oasis of Kaur on the chief route from Bornu to Tripoli. Antiquity has nothing to tell us concerning the Teda; nor have they any traditions of their own. It is only a few centuries ago that they seem to have embraced Mohammedanism; yet Arab strongholds appear at an early date in Fezzan and in the Central Sahara. Very little is known of the early history of these Arabs; but at a later period we are able to learn the history of one Arab tribe, which is not only noteworthy in

A Race of Merchant Thieves

itself, but may also serve as a typical example of nomadic life, and of the influence exerted by nomads upon trade and settled races.

The tribe of the Aulad Soliman once dwelt near the great Syrtes, where the herds of camels found abundant pasture during the winter; in the summer they moved to Fezzan, in order to visit their date plantations and collect the harvest. **Nomad Lords of Fezzan** Dissension with the rulers of Tripoli drove the Aulad Soliman into a temporary exile in Egypt. In 1811 disturbances broke out again in Tripolitania and Fezzan, and the usurper Bey Mohammed el-Mukni seized the town of Mursuk. The tribe then took the opportunity of returning to Fezzan, and laid siege to Mursuk, but was in large part treacherously annihilated in 1815.

For twenty years the tribe disappears from the history of Fezzan, while a new generation of warriors was growing up. Then a chieftain's son, who had been brought up at the court of Tripoli, joined in some of the raids from Fezzan into the Sudan, and was struck with the wealth of that country; as his tribe had recovered its strength, he conceived the idea of leading it into this district to acquire riches and power. For the moment he found a sufficient field for his energies in Tripoli and Fezzan, and maintained his position as lord of Fezzan for twelve years.

When he lost his land and life in a decisive battle against the Turks his earlier plan was remembered; and the remnants of the tribe marched southward, first upon Bornu, and afterward to Kanem on the north shore of Lake Chad. They numbered scarce a thousand men capable of bearing arms, but in spite of these scanty numbers they soon spread the terror of their name throughout the district between Lake Chad and Tibesti; they plundered the flocks of the resident tribes, exacted toll from the caravans, and made forays from time to time into the adjacent Sudan states, until, as they extended their sphere of action, they came into collision with the most eastern of the Tuareg tribes, who were accustomed to import Bilma salt to Bornu and the Hausa states from the pits at Garu and Kalala in the oasis of Kaur. The Tuareg are said to have lost fifty

Terrors of the Sudan

thousand camels in a short time. But this warlike people could not be provoked without making reprisals; an army of seven thousand men marched to Kanem, and defeated the Aulad Soliman so utterly that the tribe and its power seemed to be annihilated for the second time, in 1850. However, it recovered itself, and was taken into the service of the king of Bornu as a frontier guard against Wadai. In time the Aulad Soliman regained its position and became the terror of the neighbourhood, which was so utterly devastated that the Arabs were obliged to push their marauding expeditions to a greater distance. Such was the condition of affairs when the German explorer Gustav Nachtigal visited the country in 1871. In earlier times there may have been many a counterpart to this history which shows to what a small extent the steppes and deserts form any real boundary to the Sudan states.

Thanks to its favourable situation, to the fertility of its soil, and to a happy fusion of populations, Bornu for a long period illumined the darkness of the Central Sudan with the light of its civilisation, and was able to transmit the seeds of higher culture to neighbouring kingdoms. Anterior to its partial inclusion in the British protectorate of North Nigeria, at the end of 1899, it comprehended the territory extending from the south-west of Lake Chad and west of the Shari to the frontiers of the Hausa states; it was bounded on the north by the desert and on the south by the settlements of independent heathen tribes. It was a typical Sudan state, a district of transition from the Sahara to negro Africa. On the east and the west its boundaries were determined with some precision; but on the north and south they varied, and were rather lines of decreasing influence than definite frontiers. Kanem in particular, the country to the north-east of Lake Chad, was ultimately almost entirely independent of Bornu, although at one period the most intimate relations had subsisted between these two districts.

Light in the Dark Sudan

It is not until about 900 A.D. that its history becomes reasonably trustworthy. Bornu is an admirable example of the manner in which states which were first formed on the desert frontiers of the Sudan have gradually shifted their centres of gravity further and further south into

THE CENTRAL SUDAN

what was once pure negro territory; thus the origins of the Bornu kingdom were not in the modern Bornu, but in Kanem, further to the north-east, at the present time the raiding district of the Aulad Soliman. The Kanembu, as they are called from their old place of settlement, together with the Kanuri, form the nucleus of the Bornu population. However, Kanem itself does not seem to have been the original home of the Kanembu, who are related to the Teda in point of language and were possibly an early offshoot of this desert people of the Tibesti, inasmuch as their own traditions speak of earlier settlements lying further northward.

or so improved the cavalry, the most dreaded arm of the Sudanese forces, that his successors were able to advance northward and reduce Fezzan, and also to take the first steps toward the subjugation of Bornu on the south, which was at that time inhabited by heathen negro races in a low stage of civilisation. The kingdom of Kanem seems to have attained its greatest area about this period; it was even in friendly relations with Tunis, and consequently in touch with Mediterranean civilisation.

However, shortly afterwards the process of disruption began, and advanced as it usually does in states based upon feudal



TYPES OF THE TUAREGS OF THE NORTHERN SAHARA

The most important of the Berber tribes is the great Tuareg people, originally settled in North Africa, but driven to retreat southward into the Sahara after the Arab conquest.

A great impulse was given to the kingdom of Kanem under King Hume or Ume about 1130 A.D., when Mohammedanism was introduced, and the land was thereby brought into close connection with the Mohammedan civilisation. The strength of this connection is shown by the fact that the ruler of Bornu undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, in the course of which he died in Egypt in 1151. His son and successor, Dunama II., made three pilgrimages to Mecca, and died in 1205. In the second half of the thirteenth century Dunama III., Dibbalami, became famous as a powerful monarch; he organised the army, and either introduced

organisation. Quarrels about the succession, revolts of powerful vassals, conspiracies of every kind, sapped the strength of the kingdom for two centuries. None the less, about 1360 the conquest of the heathen countries on the south was gradually completed in spite of the desperate resistance of the aboriginal inhabitants, the So, who had defeated four kings of Kanem between 1348 and 1351, and take the form of giants in the legends of the Bornu people. Some portion of the inhabitants of Kanem immigrated into this newly acquired territory, but the aboriginal negro inhabitants were not wholly expelled.

It was, moreover, high time for the rulers of Kanem to find and secure for themselves a new district further removed from the steppe-dwellers and their attacks; for not only were Fezzan and Tibesti gradually slipping from the grasp of the shattered kingdom, but it proved impossible to retain possession of Djimi, the capital. In this quarter the Bulala tribe gradually made themselves masters of the land after a long struggle, and, about 1370, forced the rulers of Kanem to retreat southward to Bornu. Wars with the

Bulala began under the rule of King Daud, and continued until the definite abandonment of Kanem, though the cession of this place by no means made an end of the internal dissensions and disunion of what now becomes the kingdom of Bornu. The Bulala also continued their hostilities for a long period. Meanwhile the re-

Rise and Fall of Bornu

sources of the new district seem to have been gradually developed, and to have proved favourable to the rise of a second era of power. The impulse was given by the energetic king Ali Dunamami (1465-1492), who checked the excessive growth of feudalism, and created a definite centre for the kingdom by founding a new capital, Oasr Eggomo, and especially by extending his frontiers westward. When his son Idris III. had twice defeated the Bulala, about 1500, Bornu again became the dominant power in the Central Sudan and westward as far as the Niger. Under Mohammed V. (1515-1539) the kingdom reached the highest point of its prosperity. A no less distinguished ruler was the "Sultan" Idris IV., Amsami, who reigned from 1563 to 1614. He secured the military supremacy of his kingdom by the introduction of firearms, subdued the small half-independent heathen tribes within the boundaries of Bornu, then extended his influence over the Hausa states on the west and the desert tribes on the north, and in general established his kingdom so firmly that it enjoyed a period of comparative peace and prosperity under his successors.

But the peace thus acquired was but the prelude to a second fall. In the following period most of the rulers were weak-minded pietists, who allowed the military power of the kingdom to decay. The body politic was internally corrupt, and was saved from destruction only by the absence of any more powerful enemy. The inevitable collapse came at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1808 began the Fulbe revolt in the Hausa states, which eventually made this apparently harmless pastoral people the masters of that great district. The Fulbe had also migrated into Bornu about 1560 at latest, and their excitement at the success of their kinsfolk is not surprising. King Ahmed (1793-1810) was, according to the chroniclers, "a learned prince, liberal to the priests, extravagant in



THE SHEIKH WHO SAVED BORNU

In 1800, during the reign of a weak king, Bornu was overrun by the nomad Fulbe, but was rescued by the efforts of Faki Mohammed el-Kanemi, a petty feudal lord, who assumed the title of sheikh and the real power.

almsgiving, the friend of science and religion, kind and gracious to the poor"; but energy he had none. When the Fulbe, under their leader, Othman dan Fodio, attacked Bornu, all resistance was in vain, the more so as the country had been depopulated by a fearful plague. Birni was hastily abandoned by King Ahmed, and fell into the power of the nomad race in 1809.

Bornu, however, was not destined to share the fate of the Hausa states. The kingdom displayed unsuspected recuperative powers. The leader of the Kanembu was the Faki Mohammed el-Amin. el-Kanemi, a native of Fezzan. He entered into marriage relations with one of the petty feudal lords of Bornu, and drove the Fulbe out of his territory by arousing in

The Saving of Bornu

his own followers a spirit of religious enthusiasm which proved a match for the fanaticism of the Fulbe. After the death of King Ahmed, in 1810, his son Dunama X. continued the war against the Fulbe, but met with no definite success, until he was driven to place himself under the protection of the victorious Faki. The king attempted afterwards to recover his independence, with the result that Mohammed el-Amin gained all the real power, he

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himself becoming a mere figurehead. At that time a new capital, Kuka, was founded.

Mohammed, who now assumed the title of "sheikh," found himself involved in a severe struggle with the neighbouring kingdom of Bagirmi in 1817, from which he did not emerge in triumph until 1824, after being forced to procure reinforcements from Fezzan. **Triumph of the Sheikh** When he died, in 1835, he left to his son Omar, and to the nominal sultan, Ibrahim (1818-1846), a strongly established, though not very extensive, kingdom. Omar succeeded in concluding peace with the Fulbe and in reducing the western provinces to obedience; but the adherents of the deposed dynasty seized this opportunity of striking a blow at the usurper with the help of the king of Wadai.

Omar gathered a small army, but was defeated at Kusseri in March, 1846. He then had the sultan Ibrahim executed, and retreated to a strong position in Ngornu. The ruler of Wadai had advanced too far from his base of operations and was obliged to retire for reinforcements, leaving Ibrahim's son Ali, whom he had set up as sultan, to continue the struggle. Ali soon met with an honourable death on the field of battle, and his family became thereby extinct.



SUDANESE SOLDIERS OF BORNU

Omar thus became sole ruler of Bornu. He proved a pious, judicious, benevolent, and generally moderate ruler, and the peace of his reign was disturbed only by the revolt of his brother Abd er-Rahman, who temporarily (1853-1854) drove him from the throne. At this time the organisation of Bornu was much like European feudalism in the Middle Ages. The sultan of Bornu theoretically ruled over several other sultans, who were practically independent. The other territories of Bornu proper were either personal property or were held by the ruling dynasty and the nobles of the royal family. However, many of the smaller princes were mediatised and their titles void of real significance. The king was surrounded by a council, or Nokena, composed of his relatives, the representatives of the different tribes and classes of the population and of the military authorities, which met every morning in the palace.

In addition to the members of the council numerous officials and favourites also existed, whose offices were in many cases sinecures, together with many eunuchs and slaves. The sources of national income were the king's landed property and that of his courtiers, and the profits gained by slave-hunting, which was an industry regularly carried on in the heathen districts in the south. Thus slaves were accepted as payment by the



BODYGUARD OF THE SHEIKH OF BORNU

merchants from the north coast, who brought in European wares, guns, horses, etc., and were often forced to await the return of the troops before their accounts could be settled. Such expeditions against the heathen were always a necessary condition of existence for the states of the Sudan. In modern times Bornu has again been

Bornu in Our Own Time thrown into confusion, though on this occasion the disturbing cause has not come from the Fulbe, but from the east. When Sheikh Omar died, in 1882, after a long reign, he was first succeeded by Aba Bu Bekr until 1885, who was followed by Aba Brahim until 1886, and finally Aba Hashim until 1893, a learned but indolent prince. Events in the Eastern Sudan and the results of the Mahdi revolt proved fatal to him.

While the Egyptians were engaged in the conquest of the Upper Nile district, Zebehr, the slave-hunter, had become so powerful that the Egyptian Government determined to remove this disturbing cause, and, after enticing him to Cairo, kept him prisoner. His son Suleiman thereupon revolted, but was several times defeated in 1880 by Romolo Gessi, and finally surrendered to the Egyptians. But one of the subordinate leaders of Zebehr's army, Rabah, a low-born Arab by extraction, refused to surrender, and retreated westward with a division of the troops, consisting of about 3,000 negro soldiers.

Here he held out until 1891 in Dar Runga; he did not, however, join the Mahdi kingdom, which had arisen during that time. Slave-hunting was probably his chief source of income, supplies being gained by secret trading with the Mahdi district of the Sudan. When his hunting-ground for slaves became exhausted he was forced to extend his operations further westward and to attack the states of the Central

Sudan. He was immediately repulsed by the warlike Wadai; but Bagirmi, being a weaker state, was quickly overcome in 1893. The king evacuated the country almost without a struggle, and threw himself into his fortified capital of Massenya. Bagirmi, however, was regarded by Rabah merely as affording him a passage for attack upon the weak and wealthy kingdom of Bornu. With the help of the Fulbe chieftain, Mallam Hajato of Jamare, who readily joined in the enterprise, he penetrated as far as Kuka, but was there defeated by Kiyari, who had dethroned and executed his weak uncle, King Hashim. However, Rabah's emissaries had previously sown the seeds of treachery and disunion among the nobles of Bornu; Rabah gained the victory in a second battle, slew the king, and subdued his capital in 1894. Dikaua, on the Yaloe river, south-east of Lake Chad, became the capital in place of the unhealthy town of Kuka, which was destroyed.

Conquered by the Slave-hunters Thus it appeared that a new dynasty had been founded, and that this infusion of fresh blood might revive the failing powers of Bornu. As a matter of fact, trade with the north increased, and at the same time the boundaries of the kingdom were extended towards the south and south-west as the result of conflicts with the petty states there situated. However, a struggle with the French led to the overthrow of



OMAR, SULTAN OF BORNÜ, WITH HIS ESCORT
The son of the sheikh who saved Bornu and established it as a strong kingdom.

the conqueror. Several small French expeditions, striving for the great object of a union of the Congo land with the Western Sudan and Algeria, were beaten back or destroyed altogether at the instigation of Rabah. Finally, however, in February, 1899, Rabah was defeated and killed by the French; and at the beginning of 1900 Kanem, or Halifa Djerab, also recognised the French supremacy. How-



THE SULTAN RABAH OF DIKAUA, THE CAPITAL OF BORNU
Rabah, a leader of the slave-hunter Zebehr's army, conquered Bornu in 1894 and made Dikaua its capital. He was defeated in 1899 by the French, whose supremacy is now recognised.

ever, Rabah's son Fad el Allah continued to hold out with his brother Niebe on Lake Chad with the support of the influential Senussi, made an incursion into Bornu, and at the beginning of 1901 expelled Hashim's second son, the sultan Gerbai, who had been set up by the French; but about the middle of 1901 he was driven back to Gujiba in North Nigeria. In the course of a further attempt to invade the Shari delta, he fell on British soil, on August 25th, 1901, in a conflict with the French. Niebe was taken prisoner. In this way the desired connection of the French colonial districts was brought about, although their control cannot as yet be considered more than nominal.

Bagirmi, the neighbouring state to Bornu, is very similarly situated in point of position, and has suffered a like fate. Bagirmi proper consists of the level districts on the Central and Lower Shari, and its lowest part forms the western frontier of the little kingdom of Logone, which is dependent upon Bornu. In the

The north Bagirmi is separated from the State of Bagirmi the desert by Kanem and the most westerly provinces of Wadai; hence its influence extends further south than that of the states of Bornu or Wadai. Further the civilisation of Bagirmi is of considerably later growth than that of its neighbour Bornu. In the sixteenth century several small heathen kingdoms existed upon the area

of the modern Bagirmi. The country was also overrun by wandering Arabs as well as by the bodies of the Fulbe, who were dependent upon the owners of Kanem, the Bulala. The nucleus of an important state was formed by immigrants

from the east, who can hardly **First Prince of Bagirmi** have come from any great distance. The leaders of these foreigners succeeded in shaking off the influence of the Bulala and also in winning the rest of the nomadic population to their own interests. The first prince of Bagirmi, who founded the capital of Massenya, or Massenja, and his immediate successors had not been converted to Mohammedanism. Malo, the last of the heathen kings, was deposed in 1568 by his brother Abdallah, who had accepted the tenets of Islam.

Under the Mohammedan dynasty, which was thus founded, the civilising influences exerted upon Bagirmi came almost exclusively from Bornu. Among Abdallah's successors Mohammed el-Amin is worthy of mention. He extended the area of the kingdom and undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca (1751-1785). At the outset of the nineteenth century Abd-er-Rahman of Bagirmi revolted against Bornu, which seems to have exercised some kind of suzerainty. He was utterly defeated and slain by Sabun, sultan of Wadai, whom the king of Bornu had summoned to his help. In consequence

the country came under the influence of Wadai, and civil war was the result. When Othman, or Burkomanda, eventually gained the throne he was obliged formally to acknowledge the supremacy of Wadai and to submit to the imposition of a tribute. In spite of this, we find him engaged in petty warfare—now with

**A War
With the
Pilgrims**

Bornu, now with Wadai— and making good his losses by marauding expeditions against his neighbours and the heathen races of the south. His son, Abd-el-

Kader (1846-1858), continued this policy until the latter years of his reign, which he was enabled to spend in peace. A curious instance of the Fulbe restlessness, from which Bagirmi had been hitherto spared, proved in its consequences fatal to this monarch. Under the leadership of a fanatic of Fulbe extraction a great caravan of pilgrims marched through Bornu to Bagirmi in complete defiance of the king's regulations. The king attempted to oppose them by force of arms, but was defeated and slain.

His successor, Mohammedu, escaped, and when the band of pilgrims broke up on the death of their leader he took a bloody vengeance on part of them for his predecessor's defeat. For a long time King Ali of Wadai had borne with the unfriendly behaviour of the prince of Bagirmi, his vassal, in silence. In the autumn of 1870 he suddenly appeared with an army before Massenya. After a long siege of this extensive town he succeeded in breaching the walls with a powder-mine, captured the town, and forced the king to fly to the south. Ali had the plunder conveyed to his own capital, settled many of the industrial inhabitants of Bagirmi in Wadai, and about 1885 placed Abd-er-Rahman Gaurang, the son of Abd-el-Kader, on the throne. A fresh outbreak of civil war enabled Rabah to make him-

**Rise of
the State
of Wadai**

self master of the country in 1893. Gaurang held out in the capital of Massenya, and thought himself secure from further attacks; after placing himself under French protection in 1897. But in the autumn of 1899 he was again hard pressed by Rabah, until, in 1900, the French attack on the state of and the death of Rabah gave him a breathing space. In later times the state of Wadai became the dominant power in the Central

Sudan as opposed to the older state of Bornu. Its authentic history begins at an even later date than that of Bagirmi. It is an indisputable fact, at any rate during the Mohammedan period, that the kingdom of Bornu, owing to its favourable situation in connection with the Mediterranean states, was the centre whence all the districts on its eastern frontier gained the means of advancing their civilisation. This is also true to some extent of the Hausa states, since not only was the Bornu civilisation spread far and wide by trade and commercial intercourse, but also because parts of the Hausa race migrated voluntarily or involuntarily into the other countries of the Sudan, and there formed the nucleus of a settled industrial population. In this manner the seeds of a higher civilisation were carried westward to Bagirmi, Wadai, and Darfur.

This was not, however, the line of movement invariably followed. As long as the civilisation which had advanced up the Nile from Egypt continued to flourish in the Upper Nile valley, the light of culture came from the east. It is probable

**Centre of
Sudanese
Civilisation**

that even in antiquity the Central Sudan had received valuable, though not permanent, impulses from this district. Remains of the old civilisation are yet to be found here and there. The Arab traveller Zain el-Abidin, whose narratives are usually trustworthy, visited Wadai in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and speaks of ruins, stone sarcophagi, and remnants of a sun worship which he affirms that he discovered near the capital. This may be considered an offshoot of Egyptian civilisation in remote antiquity; but we have no means of connecting it with the modern history of the country, which hardly begins before the sixteenth century of our chronology.

Until a short time ago Wadai embraced, speaking generally, the district between Lake Fitri and the mountains of Darfur on the one side, the desert and the tributaries of the Shari on the other. The nucleus of the kingdom is formed by the mountainous country on the east, together with the central district. Here dwell the ruling people; while on the south, as everywhere in the Central Sudan, are districts inhabited by heathen tribes of pure negro blood, cutting off all connection with Central Africa in general and the Congo valley in particular. The

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inhabitants of the mountains, the Maba, who are now the ruling tribe, seem from their dark colour to have received a strong infusion of negro blood, though they may originally have been closely connected with the Ethiopians. Their country is by no means unfertile, but its wild nature is reflected in the rough and violent, though energetic, character of this people, which has made them superior in the long run to the unsettled nomads of the desert and a standing danger to the neighbouring kingdoms of the Sudan. In many cases the social system of the Maba races shows remnants of ancient institutions — for

example, of a matri-archal system, the wife's property being held entirely separate from the husband's. As regards religion, some tribes are more fanatical than others.

The modern civilisation of Wadai is of Western origin, but the first impulse to constitutional unity came from the east. The Arabs made their influence felt here before the period of the Mohammedan movement, having crossed the southern extremity of the Red Sea, which has never been any real barrier to communication between Arabia and Africa. With this

heathen Arab group we may associate the Tunjer, who seem to have previously been friendly in Nubia. With the appearance of this Arab race, who are credited with having attained a comparatively advanced stage of civilisation, the history of Wadai begins. The petty mountain tribes of Wadai, constantly at war with one another

Beginning of History of Wadai

and sunk in absolute barbarism, were for the first time united into some kind of polity, perhaps from about 1500-1600 A.D., by the Tunjer, who insisted upon the recognition of their supremacy and upon the payment of tribute. After Darfur had shaken off their yoke the Tunjer continued to rule in Wadai for some time, until

their power was also broken in the latter district. It was not a native leader who brought about their overthrow, but Abd el-Kerim, the descendant of a man of Arab extraction, an immigrant from Shendi, on the Nile. Abd el-Kerim had acquired great influence among the native tribes, and here once again a religious movement became the cloak for a national revolution. This leader was a Mohammedan, and as such the natural enemy of the heathen dynasty of the Tunjer and their sultan, Daud. He won over the Arab races and the dark-skinned mountain tribes, de-

feated the sultan, and forced the Tunjer to the westward. In the new capital of Wara he gathered round him the first Mohammedan congregation, the numbers of which increased rapidly. Darfur had freed itself from the Tunjer rule at an earlier period, and had grown so powerful that it had made the last Tunjer princes of Wadai tributary to itself. Abd el-Kerim, when he seized the inheritance of the Tunjer, was obliged also to accept this dependent position, and, according to custom, a princess was sent to the king of Darfur every three

years. Bornu, which was previously in friendly relations with the Tunjer, had also to be appeased by a payment of tribute. Abd el-Kerim is said to have reigned from 1635 to 1655, and his son Charut from 1655 to 1678.

The power of Wadai gradually increased. In the rude but powerful mountain population the country possessed a race which was indisputably superior in military prowess to the inhabitants of the neighbouring states. These conditions naturally influenced the relations of Wadai and Darfur. A national opposition was apparently organised against the handing over of a princess to Wadai, a form



ONE OF THE SULTAN OF BAGIRMI'S LANCERS

Bagirmi, a Shari river state, suffered a fate similar to its neighbour Bornu, coming under French influence in 1900.

of tribute which had been placed upon a regular footing by the sultan Yakub Arus (1681-1707). The payment of tribute ceased. The sultan Ahmed Bokkor of Darfur was a man of peace, and hesitated before employing armed force to avenge the insult. Arus himself then advanced to the attack, but was forced to retreat,

and, after reaching Wadai with much difficulty, found himself obliged to conclude peace. However, tribute was not again exacted, and when Omar Sele, Ahmed Bokkor's grandson, attempted to restore the old state of affairs and invaded Wadai he was defeated and taken prisoner by Arus.

Under Charut the younger (1707-1747) the country enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. But his successor, Djoda (1747-1795), soon found himself involved in war with Darfur. The army of the eastern state was defeated, and a noble, who gave himself out as the sultan, was kept prisoner for a long time in Wadai. Djoda also undertook eight great campaigns against the heathen tribes upon the south, and thus extended his kingdom in this direction. On the west he conquered part of Kanem. Wadai had encroached upon the rights of Bornu by the occupancy of Kanem, but the sultan Abd el-Kerim Sabun (1803-1813) made the attack upon Bagirmi of which the consequences have been already described, and brought this neighbouring kingdom under his influence. Notwithstanding the unfavourable position of his country, he successfully revived the trade with Tripoli and Egypt, and by settling families from Bagirmi in his territory he raised the standard of manufacture, both of these improvements adding largely to the royal income. Campaigns against the independent negroes of the heathen states were almost an annual event. At that period the real wealth of the

country was not derived from trade and manufacture, as at the present day, but from a highly flourishing system of cattle-breeding and from agriculture. From these sources was drawn the sultan's income, all taxes being paid in kind. The land was considered as the sultan's property. It is only in the original Maba districts that landowners in the full sense of the term were to be found. Still, the tenants in the other districts are by

Agricultural Prosperity of Wadai

no means the sultan's serfs. They are sturdy, independent types of humanity; the comparative ease with which their obedience is secured is due entirely to their social organisation, which seems to be of great antiquity, and is based chiefly upon the division of the members of any one group into old men, youths, and children. Notwithstanding the uncivilised character of the people, religious education is much more advanced than in Bornu or Darfur. In recent times evidence of elementary attempts at scientific inquiry is to be found.

After Wadai had enjoyed prosperity under a succession of capable rulers, Yusef Chorefin came to the throne (1813-1820), the type of a bloodthirsty monarch, conspicuously unsuccessful in all foreign enterprises. The mother of the next sultan, Rakib, who was still a minor, was descended from an Arab slave family; she, together with the numerous representatives of the Arab nationality in Wadai, thought that the opportunity had now come of deciding the old quarrel between the

The Old Nomadic War Revived

nomadic and settled tribes in favour of the Arabs. Though the queen-regent resorted to measures of the utmost cruelty to secure her aims, the plan was defeated by the determined resistance of the mountain tribes—Kodoi—who chose as their ruler Abd el-Aziz (1829-1835), a prince of the royal house, stormed the capital of Wara after a severe struggle, and crushed Sultan Rakib and his adherents. However, peace was not restored by this success. The mountain tribes had found that revolt was an occupation very much to their taste, and proceeded to support pretender after pretender to the throne on which they had themselves placed Abd el-Aziz; when he stopped this dangerous amusement by force of arms Wadai was reduced to great extremities by a famine. An army marched south against the heathen countries to procure a supply of corn; the sultan of Darfur at once availed himself of this opportunity of making an incursion into the disturbed frontier districts of Wadai. Exactly at this juncture Abd el-Aziz died.

Mohammed Sherif, a prince who had been forced to flee from Wadai at an earlier period, succeeded in setting himself upon the throne and in securing his position after the retreat of his friend Mohammed el-Fadl of Darfur (1835-1858). Mohammed

THE CENTRAL SUDAN

Sherif then renewed the war against the sultan of the little mountainous country of Tana, to the east of Wara, which had now become a neighbour of some importance. In 1846 he also interfered in the affairs of Bornu. At Kusseri he crossed the Shari and defeated the sheikh Omar, but was unable to maintain his position in the enemy's country, and ultimately—apparently upon the receipt of 8,000 Maria Theresa thalers—retreated to Wadai. In his own country, of which Abeshe had now become the capital, his avarice absorbed his energies and made him very unpopular. The consequence was a series of revolts and internal dissensions, in the course of which the country of Tana became the invariable place of refuge for the defeated revolutionaries, and ultimately for the eldest son of the sultan Mohammed, whose mother was a Fulbe woman. Mohammed Sherif attempted to punish Ibrahim of Tana for his conduct, and was himself severely defeated.

He was succeeded by Ali, the lawful heir to the throne (1858–1875–76), who deserves credit for the encouragement which he gave to trade and barter, the revival of caravan communication with the Mediterranean, his protection of the learned, his strict enforcement of law, and the peaceful character of his relations with neighbouring states. About 1870 a flourishing trade existed with Egypt by way of Darfur and Julo, with Bornu and Benghazi, the harbour of Tripoli, the exports from Wadai being slaves, ostrich feathers, and ivory. The king himself equipped caravans, and made a larger profit than he could gain by taxation and customs duties. This policy contributed to increase the strength of Wadai and to make it a formidable rival to the other Sudan states.

Latterly Wadai was hard pressed—by the invasion of Rabah, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the rivalry of the European colonising powers, which brought about the Franco-British agreement of March 21st, 1899. Turkey also claimed that Wadai formed part of the hinterland of Tripoli. The natural conditions of the country have endowed the native peoples of Wadai with the highest degree of tenacity and military prowess. To this day the aboriginal mountain peoples of the Maba group form the flower of the population and the ruling class. No sultan

whose mother was not of Maba extraction could hope to ascend the throne of Wadai. The French protectorate has produced no material change in these conditions.

In the neighbouring district of Darfur the influence of Eastern civilisation is more marked; its history also can be retraced further than that of Wadai, which lies, so to speak, in the dead water between the main streams of civilisation in the Central and Eastern Sudan. Little, however, is known concerning the Darfur of pre-Mohammedan times. The nucleus of this state is a mountainous district, the highest part of which, in the Djebel Marra, may be considered as the cradle of the old heathen state Darfur. Its first rulers came from the East, and, to judge from the majority of the royal titles, were mixed with Arabs, if they were not of pure Arab blood. These were the Dajo, a people of little account, and in a low stage of civilisation at the present day; but at one period they were the most important element of the population, and held the country more or less in subjection to themselves from their station in the Marra mountains. The first Dajo king, Kosber, is said to have resided in Debba, at the eastern foot of the Djebel Marra. Tradition speaks of twenty-one, thirteen, or even so few as five Dajo rulers.

We are better informed respecting the Darfur dynasty of the Tunjer. The first Tunjer ruler was Ahmed el-Maqr. The dynasty of the Kera, who brought the Tunjer predominance to an end, sprang from a fusion of native families with the old ruling house. The last Tunjer king was called Shau, the first Kera king was Delil Bahar, or Dali, a half-brother of Shau, the severity of whose rule had provoked a rebellion. Dali availed himself of this favourable opportunity to introduce laws and institutions into the kingdom, which remained in force until Darfur lost its independence. His government may have fallen in the middle of the fifteenth century. The land then seems to have been disturbed by quarrels concerning the succession; continual changes in the government were the natural consequence. Suleman Solon was the first king to grasp the reins of government with real firmness; as a child he had fled to Wadai and had been received by the Massalit, his mother's

**An
Admirable
Ruler**

**Mountain
State of
Darfur**

**Darfur in
the 15th
Century**

relations. He returned to war against his great-uncle Tinsam, established himself in the Marra Mountains, and from this point subdued and extended the territory of Darfur. He is especially noteworthy as the introducer of Mohammedanism. The military strength of the people seems at that time to have been greater than their civilisation. Suleman Solon (1596-1637), by a series of campaigns extended his power eastward beyond the Nile up to the

**Darfur's
Greatest
Ruler**

Atbara, thus ruling over the whole of Kordofan and part of Sennar; he also interfered to some purpose in the affairs of the Eastern Sudan. Less prosperous was the reign of his son Musa (1637-1682). Under his rule a feature peculiar to almost all the Sudan states became very prominent. While remote districts recognised the monarch's authority, tribes which he was unable to subdue were to be found a few miles from his capital. As the inhabitants of the Tama Mountains were a thorn in the side of the kings of Wadai, so the Massabat were a standing menace to Musa; their sultan Djongol laid claim to the throne on the strength of his relationship to the ruling dynasty. At that period, however, the supremacy of Darfur was undisputed over a wide area; Wadai, which had been connected with Darfur since the time of the Tunjer, also recognised its suzerainty.

This condition of affairs was greatly changed during the reign of the next king, Ahmed Bokkor (1682-1722). His policy aimed at making the kingdom a pure Mohammedan state; by encouraging the priesthood and founding schools he hoped to crush heathenism and barbarism at the same time. To this end he settled in Darfur colonies of foreigners whose civilisation was more advanced than that of his own people. Together with peoples from the banks of the Nile he chose inhabitants from Bornu and Bagirmi,

**The Rule
of the
Tyrants**

The next rulers were the tyrannical Mohammed Daura (1722-1732) and his son Omar Lele (1732 to 1739; deceased about 1750 in Wadai), whose followers showed their disgust at his military incapacity by deserting him in the decisive battle against Arus of Wadai. He was succeeded by Abul Casim (1739-1752). When he made an attack upon Wadai to avenge the last defeat, the Furaner freemen deserted without striking a blow,

being embittered by the severity of the taxes and the undue preference given to slaves. His brother Tirab (1752-1785) was then elected sultan; he consolidated his kingdom, undertook numerous campaigns, and enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety. After a series of disputes as to the succession, he was followed by his brother Abd er-Rahman (1785-1799), whose peaceful government greatly increased the prosperity of the country.

During the reign of his son Mohammed el-Fadl (1799-1839) began that revolution in the Eastern Sudan which was destined to prove fatal to Darfur. Kordofan, which had hitherto been under the supremacy of Darfur, was conquered by the Egyptians. Mohammed el-Fadl correctly appreciated the situation, and attempted to strengthen his powers of resistance by subjugating Wadai, but his plans were wrecked by accidental circumstances. His successor, the sultan Mohammed el-Hasin (1839-1873), was occupied chiefly by wars with the Arabs in the south-east of Darfur, the Risegad, and other almost unconquerable tribes. Hasin's campaigns were almost entirely fruitless of result.

**The End
of the
Kingdom**

With Egypt, on the other hand, he was on excellent terms, though he by no means under-estimated the dangers which threatened him from that quarter, and induced the Turkish sultans Abd ul-Medjid and Abd ul-Aziz to confirm his supremacy. With King Ali of Wadai he also concluded an offensive and defensive alliance.

On the death of Hasin, his youngest son, Ibrahim Koiko, ascended the throne in 1873, and the kingdom rapidly approached its doom. The Egyptian Government had appointed Zebehr to be governor, or Mudir, of the province of Bahr el-Ghazal, situated upon the southern frontier of Darfur. In this capacity he attacked and conquered the Risegad, who had made a temporary peace with the sultan of Darfur, in view of the approaching danger. Ibrahim was thus forced to enter into war with Zebehr. The campaign was decided late in 1874 by the battle of Menawatji, in which the sultan Ibrahim was killed. Thus Darfur became part of the Egyptian Sudan. Until 1879, descendants of the king held out against the Egyptians in the Marra Mountains, the cradle of the old princely stock. The remainder of the story belongs to Egyptian history.



THE EASTERN SUDAN

THE NUBIAN PEOPLE, ANCIENT AND MODERN

AS regard the broader lines of development, the Eastern Sudan displays many points of affinity with the western districts; but as its geographical character differs in two main points from that of the countries on the southern frontier of the Sahara, its history in these respects ran a course of its own.

The first point of difference is the existence of the Nile, which creates a narrow strip of fruitful land in the midst of a steppe district. The river, being navigable, makes of this fertile territory a connected whole, though its unity is not that of those arable districts situated like oases at some distance from the stream, while the cataracts have effectively prevented the Nile from serving as an open highway to Egypt proper. Still, civilisation spread by this channel to the districts of the Sudan at an earlier period than in other cases. The second special

**Characteristics
of the
East Sudan**

characteristic is the neighbourhood of the Eastern Sudan to the sea and to Arabia. The narrow channel of the Red Sea presents no obstacle to the crossing of a people, like the Arabs of old, whose merchant ships reached India and Zanzibar. The Arab steppe-dwellers hold with reference to the Eastern Sudan that position which was occupied on the west by the desert tribes, who have so often founded and destroyed powerful kingdoms. No enemy of this kind threatened the Eastern Sudan upon the north. Egypt and her ancient civilisation was at times a cause of fear, but more often of reverence for the priceless gifts which she bestowed. Apart from these special features, the general characteristics of the Eastern Sudan correspond to those of the central and western parts.

During remote antiquity we find that the greater part of the modern Nubia was peopled by a red-skinned race, the Kushites, who were apparently of

Hamitic origin and related to the Egyptians. Further, in the desert land right and left of the Nile valley, we find miserable tribes of steppe-dwellers, who were also Hamites or Ethiopians; and fair-complexioned Libyans are also to be found

who may have made their way

to Nubia from the north coast.

Remote Antiquity in Nubia While Egypt was developing

her civilisation, the Nile valley was uncultivated above the first cataract; its population was on the level of the wandering desert nomads of the neighbourhood. It is hard to say how far northward the negroes extended. Probably negro tribes and Kushites lived side by side where the Nile valley was broader and more fertile, the negroes being in sole possession of the river banks further in the Sudan, perhaps in the same manner as the Shilluks and the Dinka now inhabit the shores of the upper river. The tribute of the land of Kush was always largely paid in slaves.

As the Kushites were related to the Egyptians, the different theories upon the origin of the Egyptians apply equally to them, and need not be discussed anew. Commercial enterprise, and the hope of gain, attracted individual Egyptians southward, until the rulers of the country interfered, occupied part of Nubia, and monopolised the profits. Two very valuable articles were exported from Kush—namely, ivory and black slaves—which appear as the regular tribute payment in the Egyptian picture writing. But interest rose to an extraordinary pitch when rich

deposits of gold were found in

the mountains on the south,

which for a long period were to

be the sole source whence Egypt

drew her supply of this desirable metal.

Wood for shipbuilding was also brought from Kush at the time when extensive forests covered the mountains on the banks of the Nile, which are now absolutely bare. The earliest information which we possess

upon the relations of Nubia and Egypt is derived from an inscription of the sixth dynasty, which, among other subjects, describes the preparations of king Pepi I. for a campaign into the Sinaitic peninsula and the south of Palestine. We are told that on this occasion troops were drawn from the negro countries of Aaretet, Zam,

Earliest Relations with Egypt

Aman, Uaust, Kaau, and Tatam. Thus we see that about this period part of the Kushites recognised the full supremacy of Egypt, which had perhaps been already enforced for some considerable time. We have no information for the period subsequent to Pepi's dynasty.

When Egypt recovered her prosperity, under the eleventh dynasty after the fall of the old kingdom, and Thebes became the capital, Nubia also felt the consequences of the change. The Nubian possessions seem to have been one of the most important sources of the king's revenue; not only the products of the gold-mines, but also the tribute paid by the subject races, came directly into his coffers. However, the district was not completely subjugated until the era of the twelfth dynasty. The name "Kush" is then for the first time applied to the land in the south, and probably referred at first to the territory of the most powerful among the tribes which were then subdued. This tribe must have belonged to the red-brown Ethiopians. Negroes do not appear in these conflicts before Senusret I. Negro labour also seems to have been employed under compulsion in the gold-mines.

Upon this occasion, as before, the advance of the Egyptian kings was due chiefly to anxiety to get possession of the gold-mines and to ensure the safe arrival of their output. Kush was kept in subjection by a chain of military posts, which also formed little oases of civilisation. Senusret III. built a frontier fortress at Semneh above Wadi Halfa [see page 2058], and forbade the negroes beyond this boundary to pass this point in their boats as they sailed down stream. The king secured the frontier by a second campaign, and Kush was henceforward in close connection with Egypt.

It is obvious from the position of this

frontier fortress that only the northern parts of Nubia were in the hands of the Egyptians, and that the modern Dongola never belonged to the kingdom of the Pharaohs. In spite of this fact Egyptian civilisation spread further up the Nile, a development which must have taken place on peaceful lines. Such transmission of civilisation was facilitated by the fact that the Egyptians were in possession of the gold-mines south of the modern Korosko. At Korosko the road branches off into the desert, and, by cutting off a great bend in the Nile, forms the route of quickest communication with the Sudan. It was perhaps at an early period that the beginnings of the later kingdom of Napata on the south came into existence, though the actual foundation of the state is an event which belongs to the period of the Ramessides. This kingdom may, however, have received the seeds of civilisation from another direction. When the prosperity of Egypt revived, under the eleventh dynasty, an unprecedented impulse was given to commercial enterprise, and Egyptian fleets sailed down the Red Sea as far south as the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb. The Egyptians were not skilled seamen, but the desire to



NEGROES OF ANCIENT NUBIA

From a painting in an Egyptian tomb, commemorating one of Egypt's many wars with the Nubians.

secure a supply of that desirable commodity, frankincense, without the inconvenience of dealing with middlemen, had impelled them to venture upon the perilous waters of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, and had thus brought them into communication with the inhabitants of Southern Arabia and Somaliland. The starting-point of the Egyptian voyages must have been somewhere about the latitude of Thebes, where the little harbour of Kossir, or Kosseir, is to be found at the present day. An inscription describes fully how a road with water cisterns was laid from Thebes to the coast through the barren mountain district, and how a ship was built upon the shore which seems to have made a successful voyage to Punt, a name apparently denoting the coasts on each side of the Gulf of Aden. Commercial intercourse eventually became fairly vigorous, and may have



THE STRIKING RESEMBLANCE OF THE NUBIANS OF TO-DAY TO THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

exercised some indirect influence upon the civilisation on the Upper Nile. Under the thirteenth dynasty a prosperous trade with Punt continued. It may then have declined until it was temporarily resumed at the time of the "New Kingdom"; but it gave so powerful a stimulus to the Arab coast dwellers that they were afterward able to become the carriers of the trade in the Red Sea and the northern Indian Ocean. However, they were much more strongly influenced by the Babylonian-Assyrian civilisation than by the Egyptian. That the Nubian possessions were, at any rate, retained during that period is proved by a dumb but irrefutable

witness, a giant granite figure of King Sebekhotep V., which still rises upon the island of Argo above the third cataract, quite close to the modern Dongola.

Long afterwards, when the Hyksos had been driven out and the military "new kingdom" was founded, the kings set to work to recover the influence which the country had lost in Nubia. At first expeditions were sent out, rather with the object of weakening the Kushite tribes than of making a permanent subjugation, but afterward the kings devoted their energy to this latter task. Thothmes I. advanced by land and water, apparently contrived to transport his ships above the



A GROUP OF MODERN NUBIANS: WARRIORS AND A CHIEF

This picture, together with that above, illustrates the very striking way in which the ancient Egyptian method of doing the hair, as well as certain characteristics of dress adopted from the Egyptians, is continued to this day.

first cataract, and, after defeating the Nubian fleet in a great battle on the Nile, subdued all the country up to the third cataract.

These wars with Nubia do not harmonise with the tradition, which is in any case very doubtful, that the Hyksos were expelled with the help of the Ethiopians. Possibly in the course of the struggle with the northern intruders a temporary alliance was formed with some of the "nine bow-peoples," as the Nubians are called in the Egyptian inscriptions. The consort of the first Egyptian king of the victorious eighteenth dynasty seems to have been an Ethiopian. Under Queen Hatshepsut, who was regent for Thothmes III., the frontiers of the Nubian province were certainly extended further southward; at the same time the trade with Punt was revived, and territory perhaps acquired on the coast of the Red Sea. Pictures belonging to the king's reign show the inhabitants of the Upper Nile valley, the red-brown Kushites, and the dark-skinned negroes bringing cattle, giraffes, the skins of wild animals, gold rings, and precious stones as tribute; but even at that period negro slaves were the most welcome of the presents brought from the south.

In this way negro and Egyptian were commingled, and at the same time Egyptian farmers and craftsmen settled on the Nubian Nile, especially after Rameses II. had caused a number of new towns and temples to be built in that district. The gold-mines continued to yield a rich output. The Nile valley was taxed in the same way as Egypt proper, and the tributary tribes on the south made heavy payments to the royal treasury. Nubia was thus an important and carefully-administered province of the Egyptian kingdom. In any case Egyptian civilisation advanced far into the Sudan, and led to results which

were afterward to react upon the destiny of Egypt. When the royal power began to decline in Egypt, and mercenaries became predominant, the native dynasty held out longest in Thebes, as it had done before on similar occasions. After the loss of this town it retreated, apparently to Kush, and there founded a separate kingdom, the rulers of which continued characteristically enough to assume the royal titles of the Egyptian kings. This is the account usually given of the origin of the Napata kingdom, a

name in general use and derived from the capital situated below the fourth cataract.

Napata forms a very remarkable contrast to the Sudan states of modern times. Founded by a fair-complexioned people in a district originally negro, with a civilisation and a religion of northern origin, it seems to have been intended as a second Egypt; upon occasion its rulers even dared to aspire to the throne of the elder state. But its power is not permanent. Its exotic civilisation deteriorates; and the black races, constantly reinforced by fresh infusions of negro blood, lay like a leaden pall upon the state and stifled every upward tendency. The growing strength of the negro races is easily explained. The centre of the Napata kingdom lay at first, as is obvious from its historical development and the position of its capital, in the Nubian Nile valley, and the dominant race were the Kushites, who were commingled with the immigrant Egyptians; but later, when the various attempts to conquer Egypt had definitely failed, the more southerly districts of the Eastern Sudan inhabited by negroes were added

to the kingdom, in particular the important peninsula between the White and the Blue Nile. During the early period of Ethiopian independence a difference between the condition of Ethiopia and Egypt, proceeding from causes purely ethnical, became more and more pronounced in course of time. In Egypt religion doubtless counted for a great deal; but among the duller Ethiopians it became absolutely predominant, and in Napata the priesthood, which naturally was chiefly recruited from Egypt, lived in a golden age. This was partly due to the fact that the priests in Ethiopia appeared as the chief exponents of civilisation; but a more potent cause was the character of the Kushites and Berbers, which has remained unchanged to the present day. Nowhere has Mohammedanism found such faithful, bigoted, and devoted adherents as among the Berbers; without their help, for example, Islam would never have conquered Spain, nor maintained its hold over the country for so long.

These characteristics of the "blameless" Ethiopian people, which were equally strong in ancient times, were highly valued by the priests, and explain why so many exaggerated accounts of the moral purity of the Ethiopians and the high excellence of their civilisation were current in the

ancient world. The Egyptian priests were the source of these rumours, and in this way discharged some part of their obligations to their most loyal adherents.

The confusion prevailing in Egypt upon the downfall of the "new kingdom" not only secured their independence to the Ethiopians, but also enabled the Ethiopian dynasty, which was probably of Egyptian origin, to seize the throne of the old kingdom with the help of Kushite warriors about 840 B.C. This portion of Ethiopian history is again absorbed in that of Egypt, and we can pass on to the time when the Ethiopian dynasty found it necessary to evacuate the territory of the Lower Nile, about 668 B.C.

Our information upon the affairs of the kingdom of Napata after the retreat of the Ethiopians from Egypt is derived from Greek sources and the inscriptions of the Ethiopian rulers. The priesthood had turned the piety of the princes to good account, and had gradually become a directing influence within the state. In the name of their divinity they elected that candidate to the throne whom they preferred, and if a ruler thwarted their policy he was informed that it was God's will that he should expiate his sins by a voluntary death. However, religious conflicts and bloody disputes about the succession were by no means exceptional events. When Egypt had recovered its independence an unsuccessful attack was made upon Nubia; and, in consequence of internal dissensions, part of the Egyptian warrior caste, which had originated from mercenaries settled in the country, emigrated to Ethiopia.

After the separation from Egypt, the centre of gravity of Ethiopia shifted more and more southward. Napata remained the home of the priests, but the kings built a new capital south of the confluence of the Atbara and the Nile, the town of Meroe, by which name the kingdom was generally known in later times. Thus, Ethiopia was in less danger than before of being involved in the further destinies of Egypt. In the time of the Persian supremacy over Egypt the invaders seized a part of Nubia, and in some degree the events of antiquity were repeated in this frontier land; but the kingdom of Meroe was untouched. The overwhelming influence of the priesthood was broken for a time by King Argamon—the Ergamenes

of the Greek accounts—about 270 B.C. The priests, as usual, had sent the old but vigorous prince the command of God that he should put an end to his life; Argamon answered by cursing the priests.

The monarchy thus gained in independence, but this advantage was counterbalanced by the development of another peculiarity, which recurs in manifold form throughout the world. In Meroe the old matriarchal system, whereby children belong to the mother's and not to the father's family, appears to have held its ground with such tenacity that the queens acquired a position of unusual privilege, acted as regents during the minority of their sons, and eventually, when these latter came of age, declined to resign their authority, but left the son in the position of co-regent. Writers of the classical period invariably speak of these queens by their title of Candace.

Ethiopia was gradually transformed into a pure Sudanese state. Its attention was directed chiefly to the negro lands on the south, and its connection with the north steadily relaxed. Once only did a queen of Meroe attempt to revive the old traditions and to enforce the Ethiopian claims to Egypt by force of arms in 23 B.C.; but Egypt was then a province of the great Roman empire. The Ethiopian attack failed miserably before the resistance of the Roman frontier troops, whose leader, Petronius, replied with a punitive expedition, which ended with the destruction of Napata, the old royal capital. The collision had no further consequences. Meroe remained independent of Rome behind the barrier of the desert and the Nile rapids. In the course of the century the kingdom became weaker and fell into a state of disruption. Previously the information received in the north concerning Meroe had been very scanty, and now all communication was cut off by the rude tribe

Decay of the Kingdom of Meroe

of the Blemmyer, who began their devastating raids in the mountain country to the east of the Nubian Nile, and completely blocked the road down the Nile valley. However, fragments of the Græco-Roman civilisation were carried southward, and prevented Meroe and the Eastern Sudan in general from relapsing into utter barbarism.

It was in full accordance with the religious character of the Ethiopians that

Suicide By Order of the Priests

The Priests Defied

the Christian missionaries, who eventually penetrated to their district, should have met with the unexpected success which they obtained. The date of their first appearance in Meroe is unknown; but it is certain that the disruption of the kingdom and the decay of the old priesthood were events no less favourable to

Greek Culture in Meroe

their efforts than was the support gained from the infiltration of the Greek language and culture. In Nero's time the town of Meroe seems to have been in ruins. The kingdom itself was divided by its configuration into two main parts—a Nubian district, for which the name Napata reappears; and especially the south-eastern district, the centre of which was in Axum, among the sturdy mountain tribes of Abyssinia, and in close relations with Arabia. Axum had been strongly influenced by Greek civilisation. Moreover, among the people of Napata, the later Nubians, Greek influence had taken the place of Egyptian in a large degree. The only Nubian prince of whom we have any information during a long period, Silkon, who lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D., used the Greek language in an inscription, though in a barbarous form, assumed the title of Basiliskos, and compared himself with Ares, the god of war. However, at that period Axum was by far the more powerful, and in a sense the more civilised, of the two kingdoms.

It must have been shortly after Silkon's time that the conversion of Nubia to Christianity was brought about. When Mohammedanism raised its standard and subdued Egypt, in the year 639, Nubia became a refuge for the fugitive Christians, as it may have been for the Egyptian priests at an earlier age in time of dangerous revolution. Together with Axum it formed a stronghold of the Christian faith which long withstood the assaults of the Arabs. We may reasonably

History of Christianity in Nubia

suppose that it was these refugees who completed the conversion of the people and fanned the flames of their religious zeal. But though Christianity has held its ground to the present day in the mountains of Abyssinia, in Nubia it eventually succumbed to the attack and persecutions of Mohammedanism. By the Arab immigration across the straits, Nubia was not only severed from Axum on the south, but was also cut off from

all connection with the negro districts, a connection which is indispensable to the economic prosperity of the Sudan states.

In consequence the centre of gravity of the Christian state of Nubia again shifted northward to the modern Dongola. Its area had now been greatly reduced, and here, protected by deserts and cataracts, the little Christian kingdom offered a successful resistance to the attacks and the propaganda of Mohammedanism for a long period. A remnant of the Græco-Egyptian civilisation survived in this district at a time when elsewhere all traces of antiquity had been swept away by the stream of change. In the year 651 bands of Arabs burst into Nubia and besieged Dongola, but met with so resolute a resistance that they contented themselves with the imposition of a yearly tribute of 360 slaves, promising, moreover, to send a present of corn in return.

This connection with Egypt appears to have continued for a long period with occasional interruptions. In the tenth century we hear of various attacks delivered by the Nubians upon

Christian Kingdom of Dongola

Egyptian territory. In the year 962 an ambassador of the Ikshid princes of Egypt was received in Dongola by the king of Nubia; his attempts to convert the king to Mohammedanism proved ineffectual. The king's declaration that his country was more powerful and populous than Egypt seems to show that even then the southern possessions had not been entirely lost. Another source of information speaks of thirteen provinces, which were administered by the high-priests. Even during this later period hereditary rights went in the female line of descent. This fact, and also the dominating position of the priesthood, is in agreement with the organisation of the old kingdom of Napata.

In the eleventh century the power of Nubia began to decline, although it still successfully resisted the attacks of the sultans of Egypt. During the years 1172-1174 a small Christian buffer state, which had been formed on Egyptian soil about Assouan and Elephantine—that is, north of the first cataract—was overthrown. The Nubian kingdom then seems to have been torn by internal struggles. Eventually the Egyptian sultans found that their attacks were no

longer opposed by the united forces of the country. In 1275 the town of Dongola was conquered, and David, the reigning king, expelled. After a series of conflicts which brought the Mohammedan army almost to the southern frontier of Nubia, King David was definitely driven out of the country; his nephew Shekendah became king, and Nubia was made a vassal state of Egypt, and was consequently thrown open to Mohammedan influence.

Yet the strength of the united Christian state had not been entirely broken. Such remnants of Christendom as were left in Egypt looked to Nubia for support. About the middle of the thirteenth century the threatening attitude of the ruling Kyriakos of Nubia put a stop to the Christian persecutions in Egypt; but shortly afterward the ruling dynasty in Dongola accepted Mohammedanism. It was not the old royal house which had adopted the new faith, but a usurper, apparently of the tribe of the Beni Kenzy, or Kenz, near Assouan. That Nubia during this period suffered greatly from internal strife and the attacks of foreign enemies, is proved by evidence from many quarters. It seems that one of the pretenders secured the support of Egypt by adopting the Mohammedan faith. The confusion was probably evoked and fostered by the influence of the bands of Arabs who now began to spread in the Nile valley.

When Christianity had thus lost its hold of the country it disappeared imperceptibly but inevitably. The priests diminished in numbers, the churches fell into decay, and the Christian clergy, who seem, to judge from the case of Abyssinia, to have preached a very degraded form of the Gospel, were replaced by Mohammedan missionaries; nor does it anywhere appear that the process of change was attended by any serious conflict. The ties of connection between the Christian congregations were gradually dissolved in consequence of the increased immigration of Arab tribes, and the Arabs themselves became the dominant power. Nubia thus underwent the fate of all the

Sudan states—the nomadic overpowered the agricultural people.

Henceforward Nubia can hardly be considered as a self-ruled district, for the ruling power passed from one Arab group to another—changes barren of result. The Shaikiah Arabs eventually proved themselves the most powerful tribe. The general stagnation was at length disturbed by the revolutions in Egypt at the outset of the nineteenth century. In 1812 the remnant of the Egyptian Mamelukes fled to Nubia, prevented all pursuit on the part of Mehemet Ali's troops by devastating the Nile valley, and established themselves in Dongola in 1814. In 1820 the Egyptian troops succeeded in driving the Mamelukes from this retreat. Access to the Sudan

proper was thus made possible, and a new and eventful period began for the districts on the Upper Nile.

Christian states also existed in the southern parts of the old kingdom of Meroe. Aloa, the capital of which must have been situated near the later Khartoum, is mentioned in the tenth century; a smaller state was the kingdom of Mokra, between Aloa and Dongola. At a later period a Mohammedan kingdom was formed, Sennar, which again was conquered and reconstituted about 1500 by the Fundj, a tribe apparently related to the Shilluk.

The Fundj extended their influence over Nubia and Darfur, and probably destroyed the last remnants of the Christian states on the Upper Nile. At the same time it seems likely that the Fundj migrations were closely connected with the movements of the Galla, who brought fearful destruction upon the Christian kingdom in Abyssinia about the same period.

As the power of Sennar declined, the kings of Darfur were able to extend their influence beyond Kordofan to the Nile, and even to make Sennar tributary to themselves for some period of time. About twenty small principalities existed on the Nile from Sennar northward toward Dongola, so that Egypt had no great obstacles to surmount when it addressed itself to the

**Mamelukes
in
Dongola**



ZEBEHR PASHA

The most important of the petty trader-princes of the Sudan during the days of the prosperity of the Egyptian slave-trade was Zebehr Pasha, the famous slave-hunter.

**Islam
Replaces
Christianity**

task of extending its influence southward. Mehemet Ali, who had conquered the Mamelukes in 1811 and was striving to make himself independent of the Porte, had every reason for employing the wealth and the admirable soldiery of the Sudan for the struggle which lay before him. The first step to this end was the conquest of

Mehemet Ali in the Sudan Dongola. When the Shaikiah Arabs, the real masters of Nubia, recognised the intentions of Egypt, with which they had joined hands against the Mamelukes, they offered a desperate but fruitless resistance. In 1820 the Egyptian troops, under the command of Ismail, a son of Mehemet Ali, renewed their advance southward. One detachment invaded Sennar, another turned upon Kordofan, both attempts being attended with success. However, the country remained in the hands of the Egyptians, was exposed to the rapacity of the officials for ten years, and was shattered by the occasional revolts of the desperate population. The free negro races on the south felt the weight of the new yoke in all its severity. Their land became more than ever an area for the operations of the slave-hunters.

The inexhaustible supply of black slaves and ivory in the Upper Nile districts was not clearly manifest until the Government sent several expeditions up the White Nile and established communication with those districts without much difficulty. Ivory was at first the staple article of trade. Slaves were occasionally captured or purchased, to be given in exchange for the valuable commodities offered for sale by the natives, who themselves without exception were anxious to acquire slaves. By degrees slave-hunting inevitably became the more important occupation. The native tribes, who lived in their usual state of mutual hostility, aroused the avarice of the traders, with whom they allied themselves against their neighbours. By this

Growth and Death of the Slave Trade means they gained a temporary accession of strength, ultimately falling victims to the rapacity of the slave-hunters. By such processes Egyptian influence was steadily extended—at any rate, indirectly—in the negro lands. The Government had only to follow in the tracks of the traders. Among those traders who ruled as petty princes in their own sphere of plunder, and naturally could not remain permanently at peace with the Government, the most important

was Zebehr of Dar Fertit. The ivory and slave trade had enjoyed only a few decades of prosperity when a storm of indignation was aroused by the expostulations of European missionaries and explorers against this destructive system. Egypt was at that time anxious to be considered a civilised state, and was forced to yield to the pressure. The vice-regent, Said Pasha, appeared in person at Khartoum in 1855, curtly prohibited the slave trade, and especially forbade his officials to make their customary raids into negro territory, an edict which cut off the larger part of their income. The consequence was that the slave trade, if more dangerous, was also more lucrative, and that the officials covered their loss of income by bribes and hush-money.

European influence, and therefore opposition to the slave trade, greatly increased in Egypt upon the accession of Ismail Pasha in 1863. He was a man devoted to Western culture, determined, rather out of vanity than from inward conviction, to declare himself in favour of reform and progress in every direction. At that

Gordon's Work in the Sudan moment the Englishman, Samuel Baker, had returned from his journey to the Albert Nyanza by the Upper Nile with the intention of procuring the assistance of the Egyptian Government against the slave-traders. Ismail supported his plans. In 1869 Baker Pasha entered the Upper Nile district with a small army, and by 1873 had succeeded in extending the Egyptian rule to Lake Albert and the frontiers of Unyoro. General Charles Gordon was now called in to reduce the Sudan to order. During the years 1874–1877, Gordon, under the greatest difficulties, was occupied in bringing the undertakings begun by Baker on the Upper Nile to a conclusion. In 1877 he was appointed pasha and governor-general. He was then called to Darfur by a revolt raised by Zebehr's son Sulaiman, who was defeated and killed in 1879–1880 by the Italian Romolo Gessi. Gordon, however, had been very feebly supported from Cairo. He despaired of completing his task and resigned.

And so we reach the last phase in the history of the Egyptian Sudan. It dates from the beginning of the Mahdist revolt in 1881, of which the story has already been told in the concluding chapter of our account of Egypt.



ABYSSINIA'S MOUNTAIN KINGDOM ITALY'S DREAM OF A COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE highland country of Abyssinia, with its sheer descent to the sea on the east, forms a natural fortress, comparatively easy for hostile access on the southern side alone. The ethnical and political development of the country has entirely conformed to these natural conditions. In the south there is little political union, and the supremacy of the Abyssinian nationality is by no means absolute. In the west the rivers flowing down from the highlands point the way to the Nile and the ancient civilisation of Meroe. Here lie the gates through which some portion of Abyssinian civilisation made its way into the highlands. But the most permanent and decisive influence came from the coast, where the path of the world's commerce passed for thousands of years—a commerce which was almost destroyed for a time by the discovery of the maritime route to India, but has recovered

**A Path of
the World's
Commerce**

more than its former brilliancy by the opening of the Suez Canal. The various influences which have affected Abyssinia are reflected in the composition of its people. The nucleus of the population, and probably the oldest stock, were Hamitic tribes, related to the Nubians and in a more remote degree to the Egyptians. The inhabitants of Punt, the ancient land of frankincense, also seem to have been Hamites. This people covered all the coastline of the Gulf of Aden and was further in touch with the later Phœnicians. Probably here, as in the rest of the Sudan, the frontiers of the negro races lay further northward than in our own times, though it is possible that the climatic conditions of Abyssinia were unsuitable for the negroes. At the present day pure negro tribes inhabit the central parts of the Blue Nile. To the Hamitic was added a strong Semitic element from the neighbouring land of Arabia. A Semitic language eventually became the universal idiom, the Geez, which is now dead and is used

only in the church services, but is represented by two daughter languages, the Amharish and the Tigrish.

The first seeds of higher civilisation must have come to Abyssinia from Egypt by way of the kingdom of Napata, and naturally developed here at a later time than in Nubia. In the course of years, however, the highlands made greater progress than did Meroe and gave proof of stronger powers of resistance. This is partly accounted for by the configuration of the country, which has produced a sturdier type of humanity than the hot districts on the banks of the Nile, and especially by the neighbourhood of Arabia and of the Red Sea, with its constant stream of traffic. When the connection between Meroe and Egypt came to an end the former naturally relapsed into barbarism, and ultimately succumbed to the attacks of its enemies; but in the case of Abyssinia separation from the Nile valley did not imply degeneration, but only obliged the country to strengthen its connection with Arabia and the seafaring races.

**Birth of
Abyssinian
Civilisation**

The cradle of the Abyssinian civilisation and ruling power was the modern Tigre; that is to say, the most northerly province and the one nearest to the sea. South-west of Adua are yet to be seen the ruins of the old Ethiopian capital of Axum, with its obelisks and pillars, the style of which plainly points to Egypt, the parent of all early Ethiopian culture. When the kingdom of Axum became an independent power it is impossible to say. It apparently rose as an offshoot of the Arab coast kingdom Habashat, about the beginning of the Christian era. Some information upon the early history of the country is to be gained from the Abyssinian legends. According to these sources, the founder of the town of Axum was a son of Ham, called Cush, so that the kingdom was founded shortly after the Flood. From a son of Cush named Ethiops.

**Ancient
Ethiopian
Kingdom**

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it received the name of Ethiopia, which it divided with Meroe at an earlier period; but to this name it is now the sole claimant, and it appears to the present day in the official title of the Abyssinian ruler. The legend is conjoined with another Biblical story, that, in the eleventh century B.C., Maketa, queen of Sheba ruled in Axum, and paid a visit to King Solomon, and their son, Menilek Ebn-Hakim, afterwards known as King David I., became the founder of the Ethiopian dynasty, and from him the rulers trace their descent to the present day.

The truth seems to be that civilisation was not fairly established in Axum until the age when Greek influence became predominant throughout the ancient world. While the Ptolemies ruled over Egypt the coast of the Red Sea was constantly visited by ivory traders and others. A trading station, Adulis, was founded near the modern Massowa, and military expeditions were even made into the interior. Greek was gradually adopted as the language of the court, the Greek mythology was partly borrowed or amalgamated with native beliefs, and Greek art and culture were patronised, at least by the nobility.

Several centuries of the Christian era had elapsed when Abyssinia reached the highest point of its prosperity, which was attained about the period when the first Christian missionaries penetrated to the Abyssinian highlands. To the year 333 belongs the boastful inscription which proclaims the king Uizanas, or Aeizanes, as ruler, not only of Northern Abyssinia, but also of large areas in Southern Arabia, thus showing that the kingdom of Axum was then the dominant power on the Straits of Babel-Mandeb. In his inscription Uizanas calls himself a son of the war god Ares; but he may himself have favoured the introduction of Christianity and have received baptism from Frumentius, the apostle of the Abyssinians. The introduction of Christianity definitely determined

the course of spiritual development to be followed by Abyssinia. In this case it was no thin veneer of new doctrine to be wiped away by the lapse of time. In spite of all the calamities of fate Christianity remained permanent.

The succeeding period is shrouded in obscurity; tradition has handed down nothing but a list of kings. Abyssinia maintained its influence in Southern Arabia, though with the consequence that it became thoroughly saturated with Semitic civilisation. However, communication was steadily maintained with the Greek world. About the year 532 the emperor Justinian is said to have ordered Caleb, the ruler of Axum, to put a stop to the persecutions of the Christians which the Jews had begun in Southern Arabia. Caleb obeyed, and took the opportunity of greatly extending the Abyssinian power, which seems to have been slowly retrograding. In 571, the year of Mahomet's

Abyssinians at the Gates of Mecca

birth, an Abyssinian general made an unsuccessful campaign against Mecca. Southern Arabia was then abandoned, ostensibly in consequence of the ravages of smallpox among the Ethiopian troops. Then came the first waves of the Mohammedan movement, which passed harmlessly by, so far as Abyssinia was concerned. But Christianity was to undergo another

trial: the old dynasty known as Solomon's was expelled for centuries by a Jewish family. Jews, known as "Falasha," inhabit Abyssinia at the present day, and there can be no doubt that they originally migrated from Arabia into the African mountains. Israelite nomads are known to have migrated from antiquity to



RUINS OF AXUM, CAPITAL OF ETHIOPIA
According to tradition, Axum was founded after the Flood by a son of Ham. Remains of the king's seat are shown here.

Arabia and to have advanced to the south of the peninsula, and Mahomet's first campaigns were directed against Jewish nomad tribes in the neighbourhood of Medina.

It was during the ninth century of our chronology that king Delnaod of the old Solomon dynasty was driven from the throne by a Jewess. Judith practically exterminated the old royal family and



AN ABYSSINIAN PRIEST



ABYSSINIAN COURT LADIES

secured her power in Northern Abyssinia, while the south, and Shoa in particular, probably remained independent under petty Christian rulers. After her death the crown remained in Jewish hands for more than 350 years. The striking weakness of Christianity in Abyssinia at this time is to be explained partly by the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt, which cut off communication with the rest of the Christian world. Formerly the bishops of Abyssinia had been sent out by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and connection with the religious development of the civilised world had thus been maintained; henceforward the Abyssinians were forced to apply to the Coptic patriarchs in Cairo, whose nominees soon brought the country into a state of religious confusion and discord. It is at this period that the degeneration of Abyssinian Christianity begins.

In the year 1262 the Jewish dynasty was overthrown by a scion of the old royal house of Solomon, the ruler Iquon Amlag of Shoa, who thus united the whole of Abyssinia under his sceptre.

Struggle with Islam The leading spirit of the anti-Jewish movement was the archbishop Tekla Haimanot. It was high time for Christianity to bestir itself. Mohammedanism had long before gained a footing upon African soil, and was preparing to overthrow Nubia and Abyssinia, the two remnants of the Christian Ethiopic kingdom.

Abyssinia was now a united whole, and able to withstand all immediate attacks; but the danger grew ever more menacing. In their isolation the Abyssinian rulers bethought them of their co-religionists in the West. They began to reply to the

Embassies to Rome and Portugal

mes ages which the popes had continued to send them at intervals. The Negus Constantine (1421-1468) even sent an embassy to Rome, and put the Abyssinians in connection with the Catholic Church. But the Negus was anxious for more than spiritual support from his European fellow-believers; he therefore turned to Portugal, where the spirit of adventurous enterprise inherent in the Western races had then reached its highest activity.

His embassy was enthusiastically received. When we remember that it was the hope of finding the legendary kingdom of Prester John which inspired the Portuguese mariners to fresh enterprises, we can well understand the satisfaction of King Alfonso V. at receiving an embassy directly from this kingdom. It was, however, impossible to send any practical help to the hard-pressed Abyssinians before the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1486; and after the discovery of India, in 1498, the attractions of this new acquisition claimed all the energies of Portugal. In 1514, however, a small fleet was sent to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, but was almost at once wrecked in a storm. Thus

Abyssinia found itself entirely alone in the hour of greatest need.

In the year 1527 the Turks had seized the harbour of Massowa, and concluded an alliance with the prince of Harar, Mohammed Ahmed Granj, who thought the time had now come for him to satisfy his inherited hatred of the Abyssinians. He

equipped an army, which Turkish help enabled him to provide largely with firearms, whereas the Abyssinians at that time were armed only with spear and sword, and advanced through the passes into the highlands of Shoa. Spreading devastation as he went, he continued his victorious career northward, destroyed the old capital of Axum, and shook the Abyssinian nationality to its foundations. From 1537 the Galla tribes poured into the desert district between Shoa and Northern Abyssinia; their numbers had swelled to a formidable extent, and they had long been menacing the southern frontier.

At length, in 1541, a small Portuguese force under Christoforo da Gama appeared in Massowa and joined the remnants of the Ethiopian army. The Portuguese leader was slain almost immediately; but Mohammed Abu Granj also fell in the battle. The exiled king Claudius was now able to regain his grasp of the reins of power. His position was not an enviable one; the Portuguese demanded heavy compensation for the assistance they had given, the Galla were threatening the kingdom on the

south, and, as if this were not enough, Rome was beginning to send out missionaries with the object of Catholicising the Abyssinian Church. The first Jesuit mission arrived in Abyssinia in 1555. Upon the death of Claudius, in 1558, civil wars broke out, for which the Jesuits may not have been very much involved, as it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that they acquired any great influence. Correctly appreciating the situation, they represented Western civilisation, and by many public services won people to Catholicism.

But the Abyssinian Church was thoroughly adapted to the character of the nation, and, in spite of its internal decay, was not thus to be remodelled upon a system adapted to the needs of Western civilisation. This fact the Jesuits failed to appreciate. Fazilidas, the son of King Sosnesos, took the lead of the anti-Romanist party, compelled his father to restore the Ethiopian Church, and after

his accession to the throne, in 1632, destroyed the Jesuits and their adherents in 1634.

They returned in 1702, but the progress of the Catholic Church was not rapid. On the contrary, the Ethiopian Church gradually connected itself with the Greek Orthodox Church, whose theology was better suited to the monophysite Abyssinians than the Romans, and thus in course of time entered into friendly relations with Russia.



FACSIMILE OF TWO PAGES FROM AN OLD ABYSSINIAN BIBLE

Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia about 357 A.D., and, in spite of all calamities, has remained permanent, though it degenerated in form, and the Ethiopian Church of Abyssinia has become connected with the Greek Orthodox Church.



RECEPTION OF THE BRITISH COMMISSIONER BY KING THEODORE OF ABYSSINIA
 Theodore, Negus of Abyssinia, who fought his way to the crown in 1855, was incapable of reasonable behaviour to his European co-religionists, and missionaries suffered severely from his capricious treatment. When Mr. Rassam was sent by Great Britain to remonstrate, he was imprisoned, necessitating the expedition of Lord Napier to Magdala.

As years went by the disruptive forces within the kingdom grew stronger. The provinces achieved a greater measure of independence. The country was continually devastated by civil war, much to the advantage of the Galla, who became an influential power as the mercenaries of the princes, and nearly succeeded in making themselves supreme. Civilisation relapsed, especially in the little Abyssinian states on the south, which were separated by the Galla from the northern states. About 1750 the ambitious vassal Ras Michael made himself notorious by his blood-thirstiness. After the abdication of the Negus Tekla Haimanot, in 1777, anarchy became rampant. The princes of Tigre made more than one attempt to seize the supreme power, especially Sabagades in 1823, and after him Ubie. The latter gained possession of Tigre after a bloody conflict won by Ras Mario in 1831, and ruled as he pleased in Northern Abyssinia until 1854. About this time Ras Ali was ruling in Amhara, and acting as the protector of Saglu Denghel, the nominal monarch in Gondar, while the prince Sahela Selassie had made himself independent in Shoa.

**Civil War
and
Disruption**

But the man who was to restore the unity of Abyssinia had already begun his work. By name Kasai, the son of poor

parents, though apparently of noble descent—born about 1820 as the son of the governor Hailu Maryam of Quara—he had won some reputation in true Abyssinian style as a guerrilla leader, and in 1847 became the son-in-law of the Ras Ali

Theodore Reunites the Kingdom of Amhara. Shortly afterward he had a quarrel with his father-in-law, defeated him near Aishal in 1853, and made himself master of Amhara; in 1854 he defeated the Ras Ubie of Tigre near Debraski and thus gained possession of Northern Abyssinia. On February 4th, 1855, Kasai had himself crowned under the name of Theodore as Negus Negesti—literally, king of kings; the ceremony was performed by the Abuna Selama, who had surrendered to him in the church of Deresge Maryam.

The new monarch was soon able to subdue the southern part of the country. The independent Galla princes of the highlands were conquered, and Haila Malakot, the king of Shoa, fled to a monastery in 1856; his son Menelik was allowed to ascend the throne of Shoa as the vassal of the Negus. However, peace was not even then assured to Abyssinia; revolt followed revolt in rapid succession, and the king's troops brought greater misery upon the land than the rebels, for they received neither pay nor supplies, and

devastated the country in a frightful manner. The Negus was equally incapable of reasonable behaviour to his European co-religionists. The missionaries in particular suffered from his violent and capricious temper and his distrustful character; whether, like the Catholics, they were definitely excluded from his favour, or whether, as in the case of the Protestants, a temporary display of partiality was followed by treatment correspondingly severe. In 1864 Theodore imprisoned a number of missionaries, together with the French and English consuls. When Britain sent her commissioner Rassam to remonstrate, he also was imprisoned. A British expedition, under Robert Napier—Lord Napier of Magdala—landed at Sula, or Zoulah, south of Massowa, on January 2nd, 1868. The advance into the highlands was beset with difficulty, but the British encountered practically no resistance, with the exception of an unimportant skirmish when they reached the mountain fortress of Magdala, where Theodore had taken refuge (April 10th). The Negus then released his prisoners. When the British advanced to storm the place on April 13th, the Emperor Theodore committed suicide

on the next day. His son Alemajehu died shortly afterward in England.

Though Theodore had been able to impose only a temporary unity upon the Abyssinian kingdom, he had restored the old prestige of the crown. In Abyssinia, as in different European countries, feudal development had resulted in absolutism.



KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA

After the suicide of Theodore and the confusion and war following, a prince of Tigre secured the throne, assuming the name John.

After some years of warfare and confusion, the prince of Tigre, Kasai, who was nearly forty years of age, was able to defeat Gobesie, the prince of Lasta and Gojam, at Adua, on July 14th, 1871, thanks to the support of the British and the munitions of war provided by them; he then secured the chief power, and ascended the throne on January 21st, 1872, under the name of John. Hardly had he reached the goal of his ambition when he found himself involved in a quarrel with Egypt, which desired to carry out its East Sudan policy in the case of Abyssinia also. The Egyptian troops, under Werner Munzinger Bey, the governor of Massowa, occupied in 1872 two districts belonging to Abyssinia—namely, Bogos and Mensa in the North, John was then occupied in suppressing a revolt among his vassal princes and was unable to prevent this encroachment. The Khedive Ismail was emboldened by

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GENERAL VIEW OF ADUA, THE CAPITAL OF THE MOUNTAIN STATE OF ABYSSINIA

TROPICAL NORTH AFRICA—ABYSSINIA

his success and determined upon the final conquest of Abyssinia in 1875. When he ordered his troops to advance into Tigre, the Negus John collected his forces and utterly destroyed the Egyptian army, who were led by Arakel Bey and Axendroop, a former Danish colonel, in the battle of Gudda-Guddi. Another attempt of the Egyptians in the following year ended in almost equal disaster. Prince Hasan was totally defeated at Gura on March 7th, 1876, and with difficulty escaped to Massowa with a remnant of his troops. Menelik of Shoa then submitted when John marched against him in 1879, and the two princes made peace. In 1880 Ras Adal of Gojam followed the example of Menelik.

At that moment a European Power conceived the idea of extending its supremacy over Abyssinia. Before the general rush of the Powers for territory in Africa had begun, Italy had been induced by P. St. Mancini to secure a trading station and a point of ingress to Central Africa on the bay of Assab, near the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb. When the general partition of Africa began, the Italians turned their attention to Abyssinia, whose favourable situation and Alpine climate appeared specially adapted to the needs of European immigrants. The state of affairs in the Sudan, which was then practically in the hands of the Mahdists, was all in favour of the Italian undertaking, since British policy in Egypt was by no means opposed to the appearance of another friendly Power in the neighbourhood. Thus Italy met with no opposition when she sent her fleet to Massowa in February, 1885, and declared an area of about 600 square miles on the coast to be an Italian protectorate. As the climate of the coast proved unhealthy, part of the

neighbouring Abyssinian highlands was soon occupied.

By this time the strength of the Ethiopian kingdom had been considerably increased, and in its resistance to Italy it was encouraged by certain of the European states. Russia and France, already anxious to place obstacles before the Triple Alliance, had reasons of their own for opposing any extension of Italian power. France, which had also gained a footing on the coast, looked on Italy as an intruder, and Russia was in relations with the Ethiopian Church. This dual alliance, and the support which it gave to Abyssinia, undoubtedly contributed in no small degree to the ultimate defeat of the Italian plans.



KING MENELIK II.

Menelik, Prince of Tigre, obtained the throne in 1889, and raised Abyssinia to unprecedented prosperity.

On January 26th, 1887, occurred the first collision between the Italians and the Abyssinian troops under Ras Alula. A small Italian column was destroyed at Dogali, or Saati, but an attack upon the fortified positions was repulsed with heavy loss to the Abyssinians. In the next year the Negus himself marched against the Italians, who had been considerably reinforced, but avoided a battle in view of the favourable position which his enemies had occupied. On March 9th, 1889, the emperor John fell at Metemmeh, fighting against the Mahdists in Galabat. His nephew Ras Mangasha, who should have inherited the kingdom upon the premature death of the crown prince Area, was not recognised.



MENELIK'S QUEEN

The queen Tai Tou, Menelik's principal wife, had the sole right to use a coloured umbrella and gold jewellery.

There was but one possible successor to the Negus John, Menelik II. of Shoa, born in 1844 at Akober, the son of the then crown prince Ailu Malakot, and the most powerful vassal in the kingdom since 1878. With great foresight he ceded a large part of Tigre to Ucciali on May 2nd, 1889, which, together with the coast line, was formed into the colony of Erythrea.

On September 29th, he accepted the extension of the Italian protectorate over Abyssinia. The districts south of Shoa were then subdued with general success. Harar and Kassa recognised Menelik's supremacy, and Abyssinian outposts were stationed on the Central Juba as far as Berdera. The dangers of Mahdism, which was beating upon the gates, were soon averted, in particular by the Italian occupation of Kassala on June 17th, 1894. Menelik, being now freed in that quarter, could renew his opposition to Italy.

In consequence of the continual outbreak of small disturbances on the frontier, the Italians, under the major-general and civil governor of Erythrea, Oreste Baratieri, crossed the boundary river Mareb in 1894, and at Coatit and Senafe, on January 13th and 16th, 1895, scattered the Abyssinians under Ras Mangasha in Tigre, and garrisoned the important post of Adigrat. They had shortly before strengthened their flank against the Mahdists by the capture of Kassala, already mentioned. Meanwhile, Menelik was making preparations, to which Baratieri replied by occupying Adua on April 1st, and shortly afterward the fortress of Makale, south of Adigrat. But on December 7th, 1895, the Italian outpost—1,050 men—under Major Toselli

was almost destroyed at Amba-Aladji, and Major Galliano, with 1,500 men, was blockaded at Makale. Though additional supplies of money and troops were sent out to Major-General Baratieri, that officer remained incapable of dealing with the state of affairs. Makale was surrendered January 20th, 1896, the garrison stipulating that their withdrawal should be unmolested. Some of the native allies seceded from the Italians, and an Abyssinian army threatened the line of retreat to Adigrat. In this desperate situation Baratieri suffered a defeat on March 1st, 1896, at Adua, which entirely overthrew the Italian power in Abyssinia. In the peace of Addis-Abeba, on October 26th, 1896, Menelik was content to secure the recognition of Abyssinian independence and to limit the colony of Erythrea to the area which it had occupied before 1889.

Thus the dream of a great Italian colonial empire passed away. Meanwhile, Russia and France continued the work of establishing their influence in Abyssinia to their own commercial advantage. Menelik before his death, in 1913, was able to secure his conquests, to subdue the refractory Ras Mangasha in 1898, to set Ras Makonnen over Tigre in 1899, and to raise the power of Abyssinia to its present height, unprecedented in the history of the country.



Lafayette

RAS MAKONNEN, PRINCE OF THE ABYSSINIAN PROVINCE OF TIGRE, WITH HIS SUITE



THE GOLD COAST AND SLAVE COAST

GEOGRAPHICALLY speaking, Senegambia is a transition point between negritic West Africa and the Sudan. With the latter it is brought into connection by the proximity of the desert and of the desert tribes and the rivers communicating with the interior, while its affinity with the former, is shown by the pure negro substratum of its population. The remnants of several peoples in a low stage of civilisation are now settled upon the coast to the south-west as far as Sierra Leone. The Jolof are the most important race in the country; when they first become known to us historically, in 1846, we find them thoroughly well organised politically, though already entering upon a period of retrogression. At an earlier period the Jolof had probably extended much farther into the interior. About 1500, the larger part of Senegambia seems to have formed a fairly uniform state under a Burba-Jolof or Great-Wolof, whose district included even the mountain country of Futa; but shortly afterwards the kingdom falls into a number of petty states, constantly at war with one another—Cayor, Baol, Ualo, Sine, and others—although the tradition of their earlier unity has not even yet entirely faded. It is highly probable that the fall of the Jolof kingdom is to be connected with the rise of the Fulbe military power at that period—in other words, with the events then occurring in the Sudan proper.

**Tribes
Without
History**

With the Jolof we have to mention the Serer, the Barbacin of the Portuguese, the inhabitants of the coast about Cape Verde, who maintained themselves in partial independence of the Jolof and preserved the tradition that they had migrated to the coast from the interior at an early period—in the fifteenth century.

In fact, however, we can hardly speak of the "history" of the scarcely distinguished tribes which have been more or less predominant along the coast. It is not till we come to Ashanti and Dahomeh, behind the actual coastal tribes, that

we meet with what can be called states. Although these two states appear to be primordial in their origin, yet it was European influence which brought about their rise. Both are very similar in their manner of development and their customs, and both lie behind the belt of forest which protects the interior by impeding any advance from the coast. The power of both Ashanti and Dahomeh is founded upon the same basis, and the final destruction of their independence came to pass very nearly at the same time.

Ashanti does not appear as a historical state before the end of the seventeenth century. The name of the new kingdom was first known on the Gold Coast about 1700. In physique, language, and customs the Ashanti population is closely related to many of the dwellers upon the Gold Coast, among whom the Fanti are the most powerful tribe. They themselves, however, have a tradition that their original home was near the town Inta, or Assienta, north-west of the territory they now occupy. We may, therefore, assume that the Ashantis, together with the later inhabitants of the Gold Coast, undertook one of those migrations to the sea of which we hear in the case of other peoples, and that during their progress part of the original race failed to penetrate to the coast and remained behind the forest belt on the first terraces of the highlands.

Before the rise of Ashanti a state appears to have existed in the interior, the capital of which lay to the south of the modern royal residence of Kumassi; according to Ashanti tradition the state was known as Denkjera. The

**Birth of
the State
of Ashanti**

Ashanti are said to have been exasperated by excessive demands for tribute, to have revolted at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and to have utterly defeated the ruler of Denkjera under their king, Osai Tutu, or Sai Totu, in the year 1719, although the former brought cannon into the field, which he had brought from the

Dutch in exchange for slaves. There is the less doubt about the fact of this victory, as the cannon were preserved in Kumassi until modern times and have been seen there by Europeans. But the real cause of the collision, and the consequent domination of Ashanti, was undoubtedly the exigencies of the slave trade. The Denkjera tried to obtain supplies by raiding the Ashantis; the

determined, in consequence of a sudden demand for slaves, to slaughter comparatively few of the captives taken in war and to send the remainder down to the coast.

Osai Tutu, the founder of the Ashanti kingdom, fell in an expedition against the coast tribe of Axim. His successors, foiled in an attack on Dahomeh, directed their excursions mainly to the north; at the close of the eighteenth century they defeated the Sudanese cavalry in several engagements. However, the north could not offer a sufficient supply of slaves to meet the existing demand. Hence the energetic Osai Kwamena, who ruled in Kumassi from 1800 to 1824, first reduced the Mohammedan countries upon his northern frontier, and in 1807 led his armies against the



Ashantis overthrew the Denkjera, and took over the business.

The slave trade was largely to blame for those bloody hecatombs in honour of dead kings which were a regular part of a funeral ceremonial in Ashanti and Dahomeh. The custom of sacrificing human beings to the dead is found among many savage peoples of Africa, but in few cases did it grow to such cruel proportions as in Ashanti and Dahomeh; there it is to be referred to the low value set upon human life, which is the inevitable consequence of continual warfare, and also to the fluctuations in the slave trade, which often made it impossible to export all the slaves on hand at a profitable rate. Sometimes a sudden rise in prices saved the victims already doomed to death; for instance, in the year 1791 the king of Dahomeh



HUMAN SACRIFICE AS FORMERLY PRACTISED IN DAHOMEH
In Ashanti and Dahomeh the custom of human sacrifice grew to cruel proportions. These illustrations show the sacrifice of prisoners captured in war by King Gezo.

coast tribes of the Fanti and disturbed the peace of the European forts. In 1811 and 1816 he repeated his invasions with such success that the British agreed to the payment of a subsidy. When the Governor of Sierra Leone, Charles McCarthy, refused payment, he was defeated and killed by Kwamena, on January 21st, 1824. This was the beginning of the hostilities which were inevitably to bring about the

THE GOLD COAST AND SLAVE COAST

fall of Ashanti in course of time. Kwame's successor again advanced upon the Gold Coast, but the new governor, Niel Campbell, inflicted a terrible defeat upon him, and under the next king, Kwaku Dua (1830-1867), Ashanti remained at peace for a long time. A new war, very much against the will of the peaceful monarch, broke out in 1863, ostensibly against certain of the coast tribes, but also against the British, under whose protection these tribes were living. At first no event of importance took place. In 1868 Kofi, or Kalkalli, ascended the throne of Ashanti, and in 1871-1872 the British took over certain places from the Dutch — Axim, Sekondi, Tshama, Elmina, Anomabo, Apang — and disturbances began upon the coast in consequence. An Ashanti army then appeared in the British protectorate, for the Ashantis looked upon the Gold Coast as a tributary district, where no changes could be made without their sanction. The first campaign ended in long negotiations, until in 1873 the Ashanti army again advanced. This time the British determined to make an end of so undignified a situation. European troops were sent into the country under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, as he then was. After a toilsome passage through

the region of primeval forest the king's army was totally defeated on January 31st, 1874. On February 4th the capital, Kumassi, was reached and burned on the following day. The Ashanti terror was at an end. The corner of the coast between Ashanti and Dahomeh, the modern Togoland, is inhabited, especially in its mountainous districts, by a very mixed population, which must have suffered greatly in the wars of the neighbour states. But here also greater uniformity is gradually rising by more peaceful methods, as the language and civilisation of the Ewe races, which are related to the Dahomeh people, are steadily spreading. The old languages of the inhabitants are partly retained as "fetish dialects."

The history of Dahomeh is very similar to that of Ashanti, although it begins at an earlier period. It contains, however, noticeable points of difference, arising in great measure from the configuration of the country. In the first place, the influence of Dahomeh upon the coast has been greater than that of Ashanti, as the European settlements on the Slave Coast were of less importance than on the Gold Coast. Moreover, Abomeh, the capital of Dahomeh, is situated far nearer to the sea than Kumassi. In the second



KING GEZO OF DAHOMEH

During whose reign the prosperity of Dahomeh began to decay owing to the cessation of the slave-trade, raids being made almost entirely for victims for the infamous human sacrifices.



DAHOMEH AMAZON



DAHOMEH WARRIOR

The ferocious soldiers of Dahomeh, especially the famous Amazon Guard, were a terror to all neighbouring races.

place, Dahomeh was for a long period in some way dependent upon a state with Sudanese civilisation, Oyo, which again seems to have been tributary to the kingdom of Nupe, on the Niger. In the country itself the faith of Islam took so strong a hold in course of time that in the year 1855 the Mohammedans actually planned an insurrection.

Among the people of Dahomeh, the Fon, the tradition runs that they had migrated from the interior of the continent to their present territory. Like the Ashanti, they are the most important members of a group of races related by language, the Ewe peoples, or Asigheh, who extended from the Volta as far as Yoruba and the Niger. The pure dialect of Dahomeh is also spoken in certain places on the coast—in Weidah, in Badagry an old centre of the slave trade, and in the Mohammedan island of Lagos.

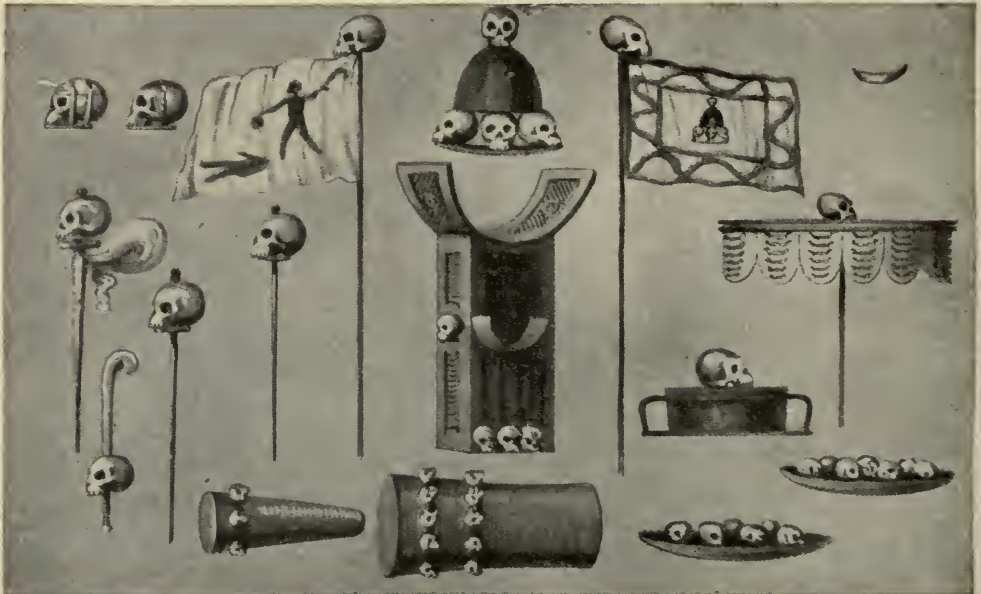
The rise of the kingdom of Dahomeh was certainly brought about by a course of events similar to those which occurred

in Ashanti. The ruling dynasty, to which the foundation of the state must be ascribed, has remained upon the throne until modern times. The first ruler, Takudua, is said to have come forward in 1625. As the line of dead monarchs increased in number, the hecatombs in their honour appear to have become larger and more frequent. The king also had viceroys of a kind, known as "princes of the forest," he himself bearing the title of "prince of the town." In spite of the rather low population the military power of Dahomeh was always important, and became a terror to all neighbouring races in consequence of their constant drill, their incessant campaigns, and their ferocious bravery. Most extraordinary is the fact that even the female part of the population contributed a strong and especially formidable contingent to the army, the "Amazon guard." This institution was no doubt a remnant of the matriarchal stage of society; the Amazon legends of European



KING BEHANZIN OF DAHOMEH
The last native ruler, who was deposed in 1892, when France took possession.

campaigns, and their ferocious bravery. Most extraordinary is the fact that even the female part of the population contributed a strong and especially formidable contingent to the army, the "Amazon guard." This institution was no doubt a remnant of the matriarchal stage of society; the Amazon legends of European



THE MURDER MANIA OF DAHOMEH ILLUSTRATED IN ITS ART

The custom of sacrificing human beings on funeral and other occasions grew in but few cases to such cruel proportions as it did in Dahomeh and Ashanti, where the low value set on human life was a consequence of the continual warfare and fluctuations in the slave trade. The custom is reflected in the decorative use of the skull.

THE GOLD COAST AND SLAVE COAST

and Asiatic peoples possibly point to a similar state of affairs; but it may have come into use at a period when the male strength of the community had been

The Amazons of Dahomeh

brought very low by endless wars. This is the more probable in view of the fact that the kings of Dahomeh were accustomed to put every one into the field, who could stand upright, in order to terrify their enemies with the appearance of overpowering numbers. The enormous losses of men finally brought the kingdom to such a pass that very few pure-blooded Dahomeans remained, and their place was taken by the children of slaves belonging to neighbouring races.

For a long time the affairs of Dahomeh attracted very little attention from Europeans, until, in 1723-1724, and again in 1727-1728, the king Guadjá Trudo appeared on the coast, conquered the rulers of Popo and Weidah and reduced them to vassalage. Several European factories were destroyed on this expedition, and many Europeans were carried off to the new capital of Allada—which was later exchanged for Abomeh; they were, however, released later on, with the single exception of the English governor of Weidah, who had to pay for his hostility to Dahomeh with his life. After the subjugation of the coast, the slave trade revived considerably; Weidah and the neighbouring harbours were the most important export stations for these black cargoes, and the name "Slave Coast" recalls that disgraceful epoch even to-day. An attempt of the coast races to reconquer Weidah in 1763 was a total failure. The ruler who succeeded Guadjá Trudo (1708-

The Disgraceful Slave Coast 1730) was greatly his inferior in warlike zeal, and as the coast was now tributary to Dahomeh, he directed his armies against the less known races of the interior. He overran the district of Togo, which lies between Ashanti and Dahomeh; in the first half of the nineteenth century

Ashanti itself is said to have been tributary to him. On the other side his expeditions seem to have penetrated as far as Benin. The gradual cessation of the slave trade by sea naturally had a great effect upon Dahomeh, as the state's existence depended upon this traffic. The continuance of their raids may be partially explained by the fact that some demand for slaves existed in the Mohammedan states on



THE WONDERFUL NEGRO ART OF BENIN
 Marvellously carved elephant tusks (3 and 4) and admirably cast bronzes in Benin in 1897. The technical perfection of the casting of a winged negro (1), the panther (2), and the chief (5), is extraordinary.

the north, but chiefly by the bloody funeral sacrifices which took place at certain periods of the year, and were almost invariably preceded by a raid into neighbouring territory. Conquest upon a large scale was a thing of the past. Such was the condition of Dahomeh in the last years of Gezo, and under his successors Bahadung, Gelele, and Behanzin, until

Colonel Dodds took possession of the country in the name of France in 1892, and put an end to the bloody rule of the old royal house.

If Ashanti and Dahomeh are to be considered as the head and front of the negro resistance to Sudanese influence, Yoruba is remarkable as being the district

An End to the Reign of Murder

where the civilisation, the religion, and the trade of the Sudan are most deeply rooted even as far as the coast. But it is

only the civilisation of the fair Sudanese races, and not their political power, that is a modifying factor in this district. In the north the town of Ibadan is the main bulwark against the Fulbe. In the south the constitutional principality of Abbeokuta is in a flourishing condition; it was founded as a refuge state about 1820-1825, and the population increased rapidly.

On the other hand, the kingdom of Benin, which had been practically inaccessible to Europeans for a long period, forms a parallel to Ashanti and Dahomeh in certain respects. It was not until the British stormed the capital in the spring of 1897 that information was forthcoming upon the bloody sacrificial customs there prevailing; at the same time material evidence of the highest importance both for the history of the country and for negro art was brought to light in the shape of old bronzes and ivory carvings. These productions mark the culminating point of a native West African art, hardly touched by any external influence. The clothing of the different Europeans represented shows that these works were completed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—at any rate, hardly earlier than 1550; therefore the kingdom of Benin must have been at the height of its prosperity and in communication with the Portuguese about that period. It remains uncertain whether it was European influence which

Wonderful Negro Art of Benin

brought the art of brass founding to the high technical perfection which it attained; but in any case the Benin bronzes are evidence for the artistic gifts of the West Africans, and help to point the contrast with the utter lack of artistic talent among the South and East Africans.

At the close of the eighteenth century, when antipathy to the slave trade was rising in England, which had on her hands a number of slaves liberated during the

American War of Independence, various attempts were made to settle and to civilise liberated slaves on the coast of Africa; these attempts were by no means unsuccessful in Sierra Leone, where the movement was very sensibly directed by the English Government. A few decades later, Liberia was founded from North America. In that country a society was formed in the year 1816—the American Colonisation Society for colonising the free people of colour of the United States—the object of which was to return liberated negroes to Africa and to form them into an organised colony.

After several failures, the colony was founded on Cape Mesurado, and in 1822 obtained a constitution under the name of Liberia, but was governed for some time longer by a white agent, Ashmun, who may be considered the real founder of Liberia; he succeeded in organising the somewhat helpless elements of the new state, and in considerably extending its area. The number of immigrants steadily increased. In 1835 the temperance party founded a special colony, Maryland, which was joined to Liberia in 1857; other companies were content to

Negro Republic of Liberia

found individual settlements within the Liberian territory.

At length the hostility of Britain, who declined to recognise the supremacy of the American Colonisation Company, forced the Liberians to declare their independence on July 26th, 1847; they placed their country under a republican constitution elaborated by Professor Greenleaf, of Harvard University. Roberts, who had hitherto acted as governor, was chosen president, and the first negro governor, Stephen Allen Benson, was elected in 1855. Immigration from America gradually declined, the first hardy colonists died out, and their descendants proved an inferior stock. This deterioration became terribly plain abroad upon the contraction of a loan of 500,000 dollars in 1871, which Liberia obtained upon terms incredibly disadvantageous. In the year 1914 the population consisted of 10,000 "Americans," the immigrants from America and their descendants, and of the natives of the coast, who numbered two millions. On the appointment of an American Receiver-General of Customs, in 1912, a loan of \$1,700,000 was made to Liberia at 5 per cent. by British, American, French, and German bankers.



FROM THE KAMERUN TO THE HORN OF AFRICA

As we pass eastwards from the coast still less is known of the tribes which form the transition zone between the Sudan and the Bantu negroes. The first group we meet with are the Niam-Niam, or Makaraka, a name properly applied to the most eastern branch of the race, and sometimes extended to include the whole.

They call themselves Sandeh. Their district lies on the northern tributaries of the Upper Ubangi; the population is by no means uniform in character, the land being sprinkled with remnants of peoples half or wholly subjugated. When the Niam-Niam were first visited by Europeans they were undoubtedly in the course of a northward advance. Possibly they were originally connected with the Fan of the west coast; but they must have been in contact with the races of the Congo itself for a long period. This is evidenced by the characteristic throwing-knife of the Niam-Niam—which is wholly unlike that of the

A Fierce Race of Cannibals Fan, and is found among the dwellers on the Congo about the mouth of the Aruwimi—as also by the fierce cannibal habits which distinguish them sharply from the races on the Upper Nile. To these latter the Niam-Niam were objects of hatred and disgust by reason of their cannibal customs. The name “Niam-Niam” was given them by the Denka, and denotes “devourer.”

The people of Mangbattu, on the sources of the Ubangi, resemble the Niam-Niam in many points, though they are, or rather were, upon a far higher level of civilisation. They are in many respects a mysterious race. A great deal in their civilisation reminds us of the Wahuma states on the great lakes, especially their use of pounded bark as clothing material. Their general practice of cannibalism connects them with the Congo races. It is however remarkable that the weapon characteristic of this zone of transition, the throwing-knife, is not found among the Mangbattu. Their traditions point to an immigration from the west, and not from the east; nevertheless they show unmistakable

traces of Hamitic blood. George Schweinfurth, the first European to visit the Mangbattu, found them governed in 1871 by two supreme chiefs, Munsu and Degberra. On the north the land was divided by a frontier of desert from the territory of the Niam-Niam.

Hunters Become Hunted On the south lived pure negro races in a low state of civilisation, known by the Mangbattu as Momsu and Mambode. South-west were the remarkable dwarf people, the Akka, which were partly subject to the chief Munsu. The Mangbattu made constant raids in true Sudanese style into the territory of their southern and south-eastern neighbours, and sold the slaves, whom they captured, to the Nubian merchants, who had even then found their way to the northern tributaries of the Congo, until eventually the Mangbattu became the hunted instead of the hunters. Their power collapsed upon the fall of Munsu in 1873.

A transition to the races of the Nile valley is formed by a group of peoples inhabiting the highlands about the southern tributaries of the Gazelle River, of whom the Bongo are the most important. Their comparatively fair colour and several of their manners and customs seem to connect them with the Niam-Niam, though in other points they rather resemble the true Nile negroes.

When we reach the upper channel of the White Nile and the Bahr el-Ghazal we come upon a chain of pure negro tribes which has found a refuge from the attacks of advancing migrations and has dwelt in security for thousands of years. Pottery

The Races of the Upper Nile akin to what these tribes make at the present day is found at a depth of seven or eight feet, which points to their having occupied this region since a remote antiquity. This, moreover, is borne out by their peculiar anthropological character; a very definite development in precise adaptation to their environment. Thus the more northern races of the Upper Nile valley have become typical swamp

peoples. In comparison with the inhabitants of the rocky highlands which surround the Nile valley, the Shilluk, Nuér and Dinka present the appearance of human flamingoes. Flat feet and long heels are distinguishing marks of their physique. Like swamp birds, they are accustomed to stand motionless for hours

The Human Flamingoes of the Nile

on one leg, which is supported by the knee. Their gait is slow, the limbs and neck long and thin. Surely we are here reminded of the legendary cranes with whom the pygmies fought.

So complete a conformation to environment cannot be accomplished in a few centuries; we have here the results of development lasting throughout an immense period of time. Further, an expedition sent by the emperor Nero to the Upper Nile merely brought back accounts of the people "invariably naked" above Meroe, whose customs correspond exactly to those of the modern swamp-dwellers. In spite of their secluded situation, the peoples of the Nile valley were not wholly untouched by foreign influence, as is shown by the progress among them of cattle-breeding and iron-working, two great achievements of civilisation which certainly did not grow up spontaneously among them.

The existence of the most northerly race of negroes on the White Nile is proof of the fact that even this remote corner of the world is not entirely at rest. The Shilluk, who are settled on the left bank of the Nile from the mouth of the Sobat to nearly the twelfth degree of latitude north, and extended even further northward at an earlier period, are a typical swamp people, entirely conformed to the environment of the district they now inhabit; for this reason they must have been long settled in the damp lowlands. According to their own traditions, their first home was not upon the Nile itself, but on the Lower Sobat, where a remnant of the race is still to be found.

The Swamp People's Migration

They left their native swamps about 1700, retreating before the advance of the Galla races, and spread in different directions—possibly several successive migrations may have taken place. The main body settled in the district already mentioned upon the left bank of the Nile; another group, now known as Jur, pushed forward north of the Bongo to the Bahr el-Ghazal on the south; the Belanda were driven yet

further southward between the territories of the Bongo and the Niam-Niam. Finally, tribes related to the Shilluk are now settled where the Nile issues from Lake Albert Nyanza, the Shilu in the Nile valley, and on the heights which come down to the east bank of the river; and the Lur, who have been strongly influenced by the Niam-Niam, have been settled perhaps for some centuries upon the north-west bank of Lake Albert.

A second people, which has apparently inhabited the marshes from the remotest antiquity, are the Dinka, or Denka. Their numerous tribes occupy the whole of the Nile valley from the sixth to the twelfth degrees of latitude, with the exception of the parts inhabited by the Shilluk; they are also settled on the Bahr el-Ghazal and its tributaries as far as the highland frontiers. In spite of their large numbers, which must have always been an inducement to colonisation, they have no tradition of any active migratory movements, but only of losses which they have suffered at the hands of the Shilluk in the north and the Bari in the south.

The Oldest Swamp Dwellers

They are the real nucleus of the peoples in the Nile valley; the reason that their name is not mentioned by the ancients is to be found in the fact that their disruption into small tribes concealed their national unity. Until recent times many of their subdivisions, such as the Nuer, or Nuehr, Kitsh, Elyab, Bor, etc., have been considered as independent tribes, before their connection with the great Dinka family was discovered.

South of the Dinka district the ethnographical conditions become more confused. Here the Nile flows through boundless swampy plains, and its banks do not afford so sure a refuge as further northward. The mountains become more prominent, and the immediate result of this local configuration is a confused mixture of races and racial influences. The Bari still hold a self-contained district between the Nile valley and the surrounding mountains from about the fourth to the sixth degree of latitude north. According to their own accounts they have been settled for only a few generations in this district; they came up from the south and took the land from the Berri, a Dinka race. As a matter of fact, their national type does not wholly correspond to the true Nilotic peoples, the Dinka



FASHODA, THE PRINCIPAL VILLAGE OF THE SWAMP-DWELLING SHILLUK

and Shilluk; but the resemblance is comparatively close, so that their migrations cannot have been very extensive.

Further south, and extending to Lake Albert, side by side with the Shilluk tribes dwell the Madi, a race apparently composed of a fusion of Nilotic negroes with the fair-skinned inhabitants of the frontier district. The fact of this fusion is all the information which we possess concerning their earlier history.

Speaking generally, it may be said that although the negro races have successfully maintained their position in the Nile valley, yet they must at one time have been settled further north. They retreated to the east of the Nile valley before the Hamites, or were absorbed by them.

East Africa displays in miniature the same characteristics as the great Sahara desert, with its civilised states upon its southern boundary oppressed and dominated by the inhabitants of the desert. The Wahuma district on the south corresponds to the kingdoms of Sokoto, Bornu, and Bagirmi; the Sahara is replaced by the extensive and arid district of the east cape, the dreaded Guardafui. At this point the fleets of the seafarers crossed over from early antiquity; here, in the land of incense, settlements were founded upon the barren shores, and trade routes led from the seaboard far into the interior of the continent. The deepest and most lasting influence proceeded from Arabia, which is but a



A VILLAGE OF HUMAN FLAMINGOES, THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

The people of three of the tribes of the marshes of the Upper Nile, of whom the Shilluk are the most important, present the appearance of human flamingoes, being accustomed to stand motionless for hours on one leg.

few miles distant from the African coast. But upon this barren district no civilisation could strike its roots deep into the soil. The population was invariably restless and unsettled, "their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them." Nature herself pointed the direction for their migrations and their incursions. Eastward, the ocean thundered upon a harbourless coast; westward, the swamps of the Nile valley checked their advance. The Abyssinian highland tempted the eyes of the greedy nomads with its wealth; but the most promising land lay southward, in the district of the black races. Southward stretched away the boundless plains, with no obstacle to stay the passage of the nomads and

Why the Negroes Went South

the direction for their migrations and their incursions.

is a uniform whole, with the possible exception of the Danakil. Each of them includes remnants of peoples whose origin is in part doubtful.

The history of the Danakil, or Afar, is very simple. Hemmed in within their old territory in the corner between the Abyssinian highland and the east coast of Massowa up to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, the south was the only direction in which they had room to expand. But in this direction the northern Somali races checked them. Possibly the Somali are a mixed people, including a portion of the Danakil within themselves; at the moment little more can be said as to the relationship of the two races. As to any rate the Danakil have exercised less influence upon their neighbours than any of the other North-east African Hamites, as far as their history can be traced. The Galla, or Oromo, appear in a very different character. They appear on the East African battleground with surprising suddenness and in overpowering strength. Their settlements extend over a wide area, and though they have in some cases become persecuted instead of persecutors, they remain a great and powerful people even to-day, though without political unity. Concerning their origin, many theories are extant. Many writers have erroneously connected



A VILLAGE OF THE NIAM-NIAM CANNIBALS

Among the races of the Upper Nile, the Niam-Niam are sharply distinguished by their fierce cannibalism. This view of one of their typical villages is from a drawing by George Schweinfurth, the first European who visited their country.

their herds. The first bands to pass this way were followed by others, and often the conquerors of one age fell victims to their relatives who followed them in the next; only one of these wandering tribes, the Wahuma, was able to found permanent kingdoms, because they alone found an old civilisation in the lake district, and were protected from later invasions by the configuration of the country. Their development is more conveniently treated in our South African division.

In Northern East Africa at the present day we can distinguish four great groups of Hamitic nomad peoples, more or less mixed with Semites and negroes, the Danakil — plural of Danakli — Galla, Somali, and Massai; none of these groups

them with the Masimba people, which begins to disappear from history just at the time when the Galla are first mentioned. Others place the early home of the Galla near the snow-topped mountains Kenia and Kilimanjaro, so that their first migrations would have been from south to north. More recently a contrary theory has found favour,

The Great and Powerful Galla People

that the east cape of Africa was the cradle of the Galla race, and that in pre-Mohammedan times they were situated to the south of the Gulf of Aden; their own wandering tendencies and the development of the Somali races then drove the Galla west and south from their early home. But in view of the fact that the Galla certainly have a strong infusion of

NORTH CENTRAL AFRICA

negro blood in their veins, this theory does not seem wholly satisfactory, although it is undoubtedly true that negroes were once settled much further north than they are found to-day. Finally, they have been described as "a group of peoples, the central point of which once lay a great deal further north than it does now, probably to the north and perhaps to the west even of Abyssinia; their history, from a general point of view, is the process of their irresistible advance southward."

Part of the Galla under Mohammed Granj acquired a new home in the north at the expense of the Abyssinians in the years 1526-1543; a second wave of migration went south. The vanguard crossed the Tana and reached the Sabaki at its mouth, near Melinde. They seem to have been established in this district at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the mountainous country to the south of Lake Rudolf were settled races of Hamitic origin, perhaps Galla offshoots, which had been forced into these barren lands under pressure from without, while others retreated southward and attacked the negro peoples of East Africa. The

Galla themselves have apparently expelled many negro tribes or taken their territory, as is shown by the existence of pariah tribes among them, which are certainly in part of Hamitic origin, and also by the strong infusion of negro blood which many Galla divisions display. Small tribes of the Bushman type may, perhaps, be referred to this mixture of races.

Historically, the Somali are even later than the Galla. However, it is certain that this people grew up in the east cape of Africa; they were apparently of Hamitic origin and were strongly modified

by an influx of Arab blood and civilisation. The Hamitic stock seems to have been of Tir, which is often mentioned in Somali records. The people thus developed were prompt to seek new pastures and advance southward, in which process they certainly assimilated some Bantu negro tribes.

In North Somaliland Arab influence led to the growth of stronger political formations. At the outset of the sixteenth century the Portuguese under Cristoforo da Gama found the kingdom of Adal upon the north coast; it extended from Cape Guardafui to Tadjurra Bay, and was

governed by Mohammedan princes, one of whom, Imam Ahmed, conquered Harar about the year 1500. The Somali advance soon led to war with the Galla. In Harar, at any rate, the Galla population appears to have repelled the Somali, which fact seems to point to a Galla migration from west to east; but in all other directions, and especially in the south, where the attractive pasture-land diminishes between the mountains and the sea, the Somali were victorious, and before them even the proud conquerors of the negro races fled like hunted animals. Those Hamites who had advanced furthest to the south, and whose most im-

portant offshoot was the shepherd tribe of the Massai, were a far greater terror to the agricultural negroes than the Galla and the Somali. Apparently the Massai were but one of those racial waves which

storm across the plains of East Africa, finally disappearing in mutual collision. Before their period we find a mixed Hamitic people on the east and south-east of Victoria Lake, especially the Wakwafi and Wataturu, who were overpowered by the invading Massai, shattered, and forced to fly in different directions. All these races



A DANAKLI OF NORTH-EAST AFRICA
The Danakil are the only people of the four great Hamitic groups of North-east Africa who are unmixed.

were largely mixed with the negroes, and apparently to a special degree with those of the Nile valley.

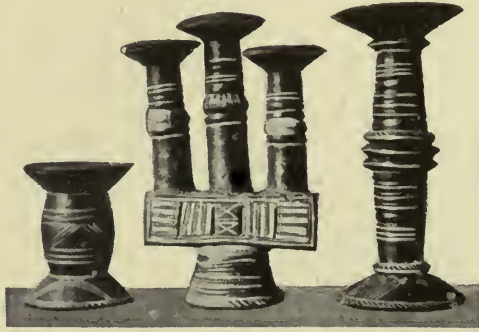
The central point of the Massai diffusion may be placed north-east of Lake Victoria in that district which is now inhabited by other mixtures of Hamites and Nile negroes—Wakikuyu, Burgenedji, Elmolo, Suk, Naudi, Kamassia, Turkana, Karamoyo, and Donyoro. Thence the lust of battle and migration drove them southward. A general picture of East Africa in modern times will show us three nearly parallel lines of movement from north to south followed by the Hamitic peoples—the Somali upon the coast, the Massai in the western undrained highlands, and the Galla between these two. The victims of this invasion were both pure Bantu negroes and older mixed races of Hamitic stock. Before the Massai advanced, a nearly related people, the Wakwafi, or, as they called themselves, the Mbarawui, had already established themselves in the Pare Mountains to the south-east of the Kilimanjaro, and were oppressing the surrounding peoples. Meanwhile the Massai seem to have pressed on to the west of Pare; they now attacked their kinsfolk. The Wakwafi were defeated and scattered.

Some of them found refuge among the negro races, and devoted themselves to the pursuit of the agriculture which they had formerly detested; but the main body streamed back in a north-westerly direction to the Naivasha Lake, until they were again defeated and driven away from that district by the Massai. Once again, many joined the agricultural tribes of the highlands; the remainder escaped to Leikipia, east of the Baringo Lake and north-west of Mount Kenia, and there they at length found peace and security. These migrations are invariably instructive; the Massai pour into the south from the north and drive away their forerunners from the rich plunder; the latter then return to the old barren cradle of the race to recover their strength and again to start for the south.

The Hamitic shepherd race of the Wataturu, who were originally settled to

the north of Lake Eiassi, were in like manner defeated and ejected; remnants of them now lead a miserable existence in the different districts bordering the riverless highland, and have also in part become tillers of the soil. The devastating effects of the Massai wars arose from the fact that their object was not the conquest of new lands, but cattle raiding and plunder. They even planned, though they did not carry out, attacks upon the coast settlements of Usambara. Districts of Usagara were wasted both by Zulus and Massai; the German station of Mpwapwa, founded by Wissmann in 1889 to protect the caravan route, marks the meeting-point of these marauding races.

The power and mobility of the dwellers upon the steppes are contingent upon the possession of cattle. The nomad of the steppes without cattle and sheep is a miserable creature, a wandering hunter, like the South African Bushman, presenting no terrors for his agricultural neighbours. Remnants of these earlier steppe dwellers are still to be found in East Africa; a people living with the Massai as a kind of pariah caste, the Wandorobbo, are a case in point. So long as this was the condition of



CLAY LAMPS MADE IN NUPE, NIGERIA

all the desert races, no obstacle opposed the northward expansion of the black agricultural races. Hence we have in East Africa the same phenomenon as in the Sahara; traces of a negro distribution spreading far northward, then the growth of the steppe peoples and their predominance, and the consequent formation of a broad zone of mixed races, in which the negroes form the passive element.

At the present time the old conditions tend to recur. The outbreak of rinderpest, especially since 1891, has weakened the offensive powers of the nomads, and unless their herds recover from this plague, the consequence will be a fresh advance of the negroes into the forsaken districts. At the same time the despised hunting races are growing stronger and taking possession of the steppes unsuitable for cultivation; at present the Wandorobbo are stronger than the Massai.



THE EUROPEANS IN NORTH AFRICA

THE Portuguese, the circumnavigators of Africa, are the first Europeans to appear upon the scene. Although their voyages were undertaken in the hope of discovering the realm of Prester John, which was placed at one time in India and at another time in Abyssinia, yet they did not despise the work of planting settlements and trading factories from the outset, in order to derive what profit they could from the districts of Africa. Previous to the rounding of Cape Bojador—that is, before the year 1434—but little interest attached to the possession of the barren shores of the Sahara; but when a further advance southward discovered a land of increasing richness and attraction the Portuguese began to tap the resources of this almost unknown country. Gonzales Baldeza, the second mariner to pass Cape Bojador, returned home with a cargo of dogfish skins. After a second voyage, he was able to present the king with the first slaves from Africa and some quantity of gold-dust in the year 1442.

The First Slaves From Africa

The slaves were delivered up to Pope Martin V.; in return he granted a decree assigning to Portugal the right to all the African coast between Cape Bojador and the yet undiscovered Indies. For a time the Portuguese were able to extend and enjoy their African possessions in peace. Shortly afterward, trading companies were formed, in the first of which Prince Henry the Navigator seems to have taken a personal share.

It was not, however, until the year 1461 that Portugal began definitely to establish herself; the gulf of Arguin, the first comparatively secure point upon the coast, has invariably attracted the attention of later colonising powers, and at that period a fort was built there, which afforded a good base of operations for a further advance southward. There is no doubt that numerous settlements sprang up in Senegambia also, though historical information on this point is somewhat scanty. But we have clear evidence of the fact in the traces of a strong influence which must have extended far into the interior, and is

even yet manifest in the existence of numerous half-breeds in certain parts of the coast. The district where the results of this influence are most apparent, the land about the Rio Grande, is in the hands of the Portuguese at the present day, as also are the Cape Verde Islands. When they ultimately reached the Gold Coast they hastened to assure their possession of this promising district by founding the stronghold of Elmina in 1481. They afterward entered into close relations with the Congo kingdom.

The first nation to demand a share in the African trade, in spite of all the threats of Portugal, was England. Holland and France soon followed her example. Portugal gradually lost the larger part of her possessions in Guinea, which had, however, greatly decreased in importance after the discovery of India, and in their best period had never included the whole of the coast line. In the district of Senegal, the natives themselves seem to have thrown off the Portuguese yoke at a somewhat earlier date.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch were the most dangerous enemies of Portugal in West Africa. Their rise begins in 1621, when the States General gave the "West Indian Company" the exclusive right to all territory that might be conquered between the Tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope. At that time Portugal was united to Spain and involuntarily involved in her fatal downfall. The Portuguese rule in Senegambia was practically abolished; the Gold Coast was attacked; in the year

Portugal Loses West Africa

1637 the strongest Portuguese fortress, Elmina, was besieged and stormed; and Portugal gradually lost all her possessions in West Africa. At length she secured her independence from Spain in 1640, and recovered some part of her colonies by a compact with the States General; but she had to accept conditions which greatly restricted her trade. The struggle between Holland and Portugal

was finally brought to an end by the conventions of 1662 and 1669. Portugal has retained to the present day nothing but the settlements south of the Gambia on the Rios Cacheo, Geba and Grande, the chief harbour of which is Bolama.

The Dutch, the most energetic rivals of the Portuguese, have, strangely enough, lost every foot of land which they had ever possessed in Africa. It is certainly true that, with the exception of

the Cape, they never made any wide or permanent settlements on that continent. Such coast stations as they took from the Portuguese remained in their possession for only a short period; it was upon the Gold Coast alone, the district which has attracted every seafaring nation, that Dutch forts and factories have remained during any great part of the last century. The first Dutch ships appeared off the African coast about 1595. In the seventeenth century the Dutch became more active, and not only occupied different stations upon the coast, such as Goree, on the Green Mountain range, but also proceeded to place all possible obstacles in the way of other trading peoples. These efforts were systematised by the foundation of the "West India Company" in 1621, the great object of which was the development of the slave trade. We have already indicated the result of the struggles which ensued. Holland remained in possession of her conquests on the Gold Coast and in Senegambia; but a long period was to elapse before the affairs of the district could be brought into order. The encroaching English were gradually repelled, but in the peace of 1667 retained Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast, and soon founded many new factories. Eventually the Dutch confined their attention solely to their commercial settlements on the Gold Coast, which exported slaves and gold to a large extent, and proved extremely profitable.

Gradually the trade declined, and the larger part of the factories were abandoned. Finally, in 1871-1872 Great Britain took over by convention the Dutch settlements of Tekundi, Axim, Tshama, Elmina, Anomabo, and Apang.

The condition of the Gold Coast is typical of the earlier methods of European colonisation. No commercial state settling there gains any real possession of the land. Nothing is done but to found

The Rise of Britain in West Africa

trading stations, which are invariably protected by fortifications, and exercise a certain influence in the neighbourhood. The occupants, however, are obliged to purchase permission to trade from the local chiefs and to allow the tribes upon the coast to act as middlemen. The natives usually consider themselves the real owners of the forts and factories. Hence, upon the revival of English commerce, it was possible to found a large number of English settlements in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dutch, and indeed for the most different European peoples to place their settlements in motley array along the coast line.

The English appear about the middle of the sixteenth century in African waters. A great expedition was equipped in 1553 and purchased a quantity of gold upon the Gold Coast, but met with no great success in other directions. However, such voyages were constantly repeated from this time onward. In consequence the English soon came into conflict with the Portuguese, who considered all intruders into their commercial waters as pirates. The slave trade was vigorously pursued—the famous John Hawkins was its pioneer—and finally privileges were granted to commercial companies, in 1585 to the Morocco or Berber Company, and in 1588 to the Guinea Company. These, like the Dutch, profited by the unfortunate position of Portugal. The attempts of the British to penetrate into the interior are worthy of note. They made efforts to reach Timbuktu, which was thought to be the source of the gold which reached the coast from the mouth of the Gambia. These attempts were energetically prosecuted by a company founded in 1618.

For a long time the English possessions in West Africa were of little importance, and their extension was further restricted by the opposition of the Dutch, as we have already observed. However, Britain successfully maintained her footing upon the Gold Coast and appreciably extended her influence. She made repeated attempts to settle in Senegambia, and when the close of the seventeenth century brought a period of peace, she possessed a factory on the Gambia, another on Sherboro Island, and perhaps a dozen on the Gold Coast. The first two of these settlements became the nuclei of the present colonies, the territory on the Gambia, with

African Trading Companies

the famous John Hawkins was its pioneer—and finally privileges were granted to commercial companies, in 1585 to the Morocco or Berber Company, and in 1588 to the Guinea Company. These, like the Dutch, profited by the unfortunate position of Portugal. The attempts of the British to penetrate into the interior are worthy of note. They made efforts to reach Timbuktu, which was thought to be the source of the gold which reached the coast from the mouth of the Gambia. These attempts were energetically prosecuted by a company founded in 1618.



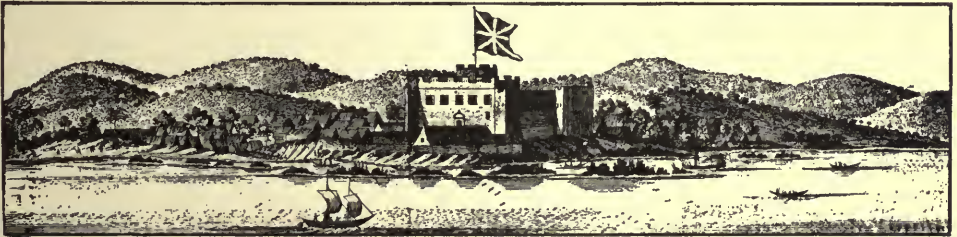
Danish fort of Frederiksborg, on the Gold Coast, about 1670, afterwards ceded to Great Britain.



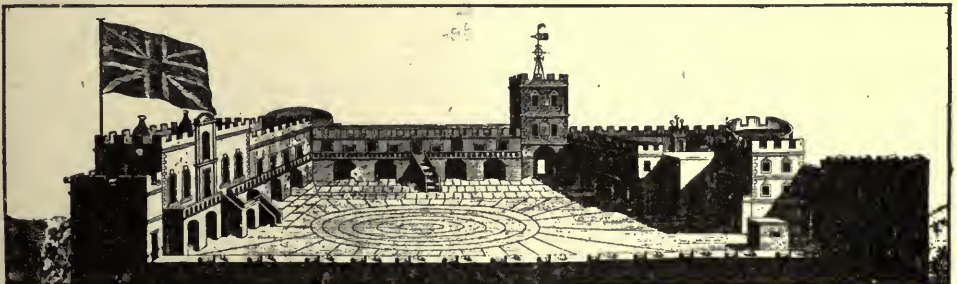
The Dutch fort of St. Anthony at Axim about 1670, a Gold Coast stronghold.



Elmina, the first settlement on the Gold Coast, founded by the Portuguese in 1482, afterwards a British fort.



An English castle in a Dutch settlement, Anomabo, in the seventeenth century.



The British fort at Cape Coast Castle about 1670, afterwards capital of the Gold Coast.

Bathurst and the forts George and Yarboutenda, and the colony of Sierra Leone. At that time they were the property of the "Royal African Company of England," which carried on the slave trade with great energy, though in spite of this it became involved in serious financial difficulties in the course of the eighteenth century. Three

Great Days of the Slave Trade

hundred thousand negro slaves are said to have been exported during the years 1713-1733. The average increased when a new company was founded after the collapse of the old society in 1749, and the restrictions upon the slave trade removed. The trade was shattered by the secession of the United States in 1776, and the new company was obliged to go into liquidation; but the exportation of slaves continued as before.

Meanwhile interest of a less selfish nature concerning this mysterious continent had been gradually increasing in Britain. On June 9th, 1788, the "Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa" was founded; and at the same time a strong antipathy to the slave trade and its horrors was growing up. These feelings were the prelude to a slow but fundamental revolution of the conditions of the African colonies. During the war between England and the seceding United States (1775-1783) a large number of negroes had contrived to escape from the yoke of their American masters and to enter the British service; at the close of the war Britain had to deal with the question of providing for these allies. Certain philanthropists persuaded the Government to take the negroes back to Africa, and to settle them on some suitable part of the coast under British protection. In 1787 the first expedition started for Sierra Leone with 400 blacks and about sixty European women of loose character, whom it was intended to get rid of in this way. The arrival of further contingents, and the foundation of an English company gradually raised to prosperity a colony which had made a somewhat unpromising start; and even the ravages caused by the descent of a French man-of-war were speedily repaired. In the year 1807, Sierra Leone became a Crown colony; the population was greatly increased by the liberated slaves brought in by the

Rise of the Colony of Sierra Leone

British and settled on the land, though the first contingent of negroes who had been brought over from America showed a tendency to despise the new arrivals. The country now became self-governing, and on the whole ran a favourable course of development. The British protectorate, though mild, prevented any gradual relapse into barbarism on the part of the negroes. The settlement of Freetown became the central point of the local civilisation; the rest of the district was inhabited chiefly by indigenous tribes and parts of it were practically unknown.

Upon the Gold Coast, British influence increased, until it became predominant. The native tribes were not disposed to consider themselves as subject to the British, as is shown by the history of the Ashanti War in 1817, the result of which was that the tribute of four ounces of gold per month paid to the Fanti as a kind of rent for the use of the soil was henceforward paid to the Ashantis; the presence of the British was thus merely tolerated. The Ashanti war in the following decade opened disastrously, but was brought to

British Tribute to Ashanti

a successful conclusion, a result which materially strengthened the British power, especially when the Ashantis, in 1831, renounced their supremacy over the allied chieftains of the coast. In the following years Britain exercised little more than a protectorate over the Gold Coast, the notoriously bad climate of which deterred Europeans from making settlements. Disturbances occurred after 1868, due to the fact that Great Britain and Holland had exchanged certain coast settlements with a view to the better delimitation of their territories. Subsequent events are: The short campaign of the year 1874, already narrated; the proclamation of the chief of Kumassi as King of Ashanti, in the year 1894; his degradation after a nearly bloodless war in 1895, which brought the Ashanti kingdom to a well-merited end and marks the beginning of the British protectorate; and a formidable revolt in 1900, during which Frederic Hodgson, the Governor, was besieged in Kumassi from March to June, and reduced to the greatest straits; it was not until July that the beleaguered garrison could be relieved.

Much later in date than the Gold Coast possessions, but belonging to the earlier period of colonisation, is the colony of

Lagos, which was founded in 1861, and has been autonomous since 1886; at first an important centre of the palm oil trade, it is now merged in the great British possessions on the Niger and Binue. Friendly relations with the immediate hinterland of Yoruba have been maintained from the outset.

In East Africa, the islands of Mauritius—a French possession from 1712–1810, as the "Ile de France"—and Rodriguez excepted, England had no colonies or forts for a long period. In 1884 certain places on the North Somali coast—British Somali Coast Protectorate, Zeila, Berbera, and others—were occupied from Aden, a base which has been in British hands since 1839; the important position of Harar was given up to Abyssinia under the convention of June 4th, 1897.

The French began their efforts to gain a share in African commerce at the same date as the English and Dutch. In 1541, four ships left the little harbour of La Bouille, near Rouen, to begin commercial relations with Guinea, and mention is made of the Cap à Trois Pointes in documents of 1543 and 1546. At the outset, the attention of French merchants was concentrated chiefly upon the district which has since become the real centre of France's great West African possessions—namely, Senegambia. Attempts have been repeatedly made to penetrate further into the interior from this point, which is one of the most easily accessible parts of the continent, but it is only comparatively lately that results of any great political importance were achieved. In 1626, St. Louis was founded on the lagoon at the mouth of the Senegal, and became the central point of the growing colony; the island of Goree is also deserving of mention as a second important settlement. By degrees numerous commercial settlements and forts were founded along the



TREATY-MAKING ON THE GOLD COAST IN 1672

The Gold Coast was first in the hands of the Portuguese and Dutch. In 1664, however, the English successfully attacked the Dutch defences, and four years later "the new five-pieces of gold, coined by the Guiny Company," were issued.

Senegal river, especially by André Brué about 1700. Senegambia received her first real impulse to development in the latter half of the nineteenth century (1852–1865) from Faidherbe.

The province of "French Guinea," the coastland of Futa Djallon—hitherto known officially as "Rivières du Sud"—has been separated from Senegambia since 1890 by the Portuguese possessions. France has never exercised any great political influence in this district, but by founding numerous factories has assured her position upon the coast, which is valuable as a point of entrance to the interior of the Sudan.

The claims of the French to the Ivory Coast, which has been in their occupation since 1842, and was governed from the Gabun river before that date, were not seriously put forward before 1893; Abidjean-Adjame, now "Bingerville," has

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

taken the place of the unhealthy Grand Bassam, as the capital. Allada and Abomeh, the remnants upon the Slave Coast of the Dahomeh kingdom subjugated in 1892, have recently risen to importance owing to the increased trade of the harbours of Great-Popo, Weidah, and Kotonu. The first settlements on the Gabun river were made in 1830 and 1845; Libreville was founded in 1849. In 1862 and 1868 the district was extended southward to Cape Lopez and to the Ogowe, the claims to territory further northward remaining undecided. France had no possessions south of the Ogowe before the foundation of the Congo State.

The four great names in the earlier history of African colonisation are Portugal, Holland, England, and France; side by side with these powers other rivals have come forward who have now almost entirely disappeared from the scene. Spain alone has retained something, or to speak more correctly, everything, for her African possessions were never of any great account; for when Pope Alexander VI. declared on appeal that all newly discovered lands were to be divided between the two Iberian colonial Powers, who were the only claimants with a show of legal right by discovery or acquisition, the Portuguese received the whole of Africa in undisputed possession. The claims of Spain were thus confined to the Canary Islands, which are not parts of negro Africa, to the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon in the Gulf of Guinea, and—since 1843—to a small district between Kamerun and Gabun, namely, the strip of coast-line on the Rio Muni and the islands of Corisco, and Great and Little Eloby.

Fernando Po, the most valuable of the possessions on the south, was at first in the hands of the Portuguese, like the whole of West Africa, without rising to any great importance. The few settlements made by the Portuguese failed to prosper, and were entirely destroyed by the Dutch in 1637; it proved impossible to begin friendly relations with the Bube, a Bantu people, who had apparently migrated to the island before its discovery. In 1777–1778 Portugal ceded the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon (south-west of Saõ Thomé), in exchange for territory in South America; the Spaniards failed

in their attempts at colonisation, and abandoned the island. In 1827 the British occupied the favourably situated island, founded Port Clarence—the present Santa Isabel—and settled a number of liberated negro slaves there, who still retain the English language; but all attempts to acquire the island by purchase or exchange were thwarted by the obstinacy of Spain. Since 1841 Spanish officials have been stationed in the island, and a governor was appointed in 1858; but nothing has been done to improve the economic condition of the settlement.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Africa attracted the attention of Sweden and Denmark. The efforts of the Swede, Carl Bernhard Wadström (1764–1799) to found an agricultural colony on the West Coast, resulted in total failure; more successful were the efforts of the Danes, who had been trading on the Gold Coast and founding factories at an earlier date. In the nineteenth century they possessed several strongholds in the eastern part of the Gold Coast, of which Christianborg was the most important, but in 1851 they ceded the entire district to Britain. Ruined settlements are to be found on the Gold Coast over which the flag of a German Power once flew—the old colonies of Brandenburg. A station was procured by treaty on the Gold Coast in 1681, and another on the island of Arjuin in 1684. The king of Prussia, however, sold his possessions to the Dutch in 1717.

A new phase in the history of European colonisation appeared in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the scramble for African territory German South-west Africa was established, and not long after the districts on the Slave Coast and at the mouth of the Kamerun river were placed under German protection. Hamburg and Bremen merchants, whose trade upon the yet unclaimed coast districts had been constantly disturbed, were anxious, if not to establish a formal protectorate, to send German men-of-war into those waters, and to conclude compacts with the negro chiefs. The events in South-west Africa, and the growing enthusiasm in Germany for colonisation, induced Prince Bismarck to accede to these desires. The Togo district on the Slave Coast, where the presence of a German war-ship had been found necessary a short time before, was

**Ivory
and Slave
Coasts**

**Germany's
African
Colonies**

**Spain's
Failure in
Africa**

THE EUROPEANS IN NORTH AFRICA

placed under German protection in 1884. This possession, though certainly the smallest of all Germany's African colonies, was, in comparison with others, developed most successfully. After an agreement with France had been arranged, the British frontier was defined in the Convention of Samoa of 1899, German Togoland thereby advancing to Sansanne Mangu. Hamburg firms had long been active in Kamerun, and trade was increasing. On July 14th, 1884, it was placed under the German flag. The area of the German protectorate on the coast was speedily settled by arrangement with France and Great Britain in 1885. The first occupation was followed by serious collisions with the natives; but subsequently matters took a more satisfactory course.

The new competition for the possession of African territory was raised to fever heat by the advance of Germany; but the first steps in this direction were made by France; she very cleverly employed the several coast stations which she had long possessed as bases for a bold advance into the interior, and advanced systematically towards the realisation of the dream

French Dream of Empire of a great French empire in Africa. The first step was the further extension of the possessions in Senegambia. The British territory on the Gambia and that held by Portugal on the Rio Grande were soon so surrounded by districts under French protection that their further development was impossible; the left bank of the Senegal was entirely under French supremacy, and an advance to the Upper Niger was seriously determined. As early as 1854 the governor Faidherbe had succeeded in checking the advance of a dangerous Mohammedan army which had been collected by the marabout Hadji Omar. Faidherbe raised the siege of Medina in 1857, defeated Hadji Omar, who retired to his capital of Segu-Sikoro on the Niger, and subdued the larger part of Upper Senegambia. Colonisation on a large scale began considerably later, and is nearly contemporary with the events on the Congo, to be related subsequently. In the year 1878 Paul Soleillet made his way to the Upper Niger, and found a friendly reception; a year later the French Assembly voted funds for the building of a railroad from Medina to Bamako, which was to connect the Upper Senegal with the Niger and thus

attract all the traffic of the Western Sudan to Senegambia. The work of construction was vigorously begun, labourers were imported from China and Morocco; but in 1884 only some forty miles had been completed, and this at a cost of 30,000,000 francs. The enterprise was thereupon abandoned for the time and has only recently been resumed. Mean-

Railway Building in Senegal while Joseph Simon Gallieni had advanced to the Niger in 1880, and had concluded a treaty with the sultan Ahmadu Lamine of Segu, the son of Hadji Omar, whereby the valley of the Upper Niger as far as Timbuktu was placed under French protection in 1881; Kita, an important point between the Senegal and the Niger was fortified. In the next year a second expedition defeated the bold guerrilla leader Almamy Samory, the son of a Mandingan merchant of Bankoro, who was born at Sanankoro in 1835; this action took place on the Upper Niger, and a fort was built on the river bank at Bamako. Several smaller movements kept open the communications with the Senegal and drove back Samory, until he eventually placed himself under the French protectorate in 1887. The resistance of Ahmadu, who declined to fulfil the obligations of the treaty which he had made, was not broken down until April 6th, 1890, when the town of Segu Sikoro was captured. In the same year Louis Monteil started from Segu, and went eastward to Kuba in Bornu, making treaties at every point of his journey, and returning by Tripoli to his native land. The French also made a successful advance into the interior from the Ivory Coast. Dahomeh, which was subdued in 1892, was a further possible starting point for expeditions into the Sudan districts. Great Britain had previously agreed with France, on August 5th, 1890, that a line drawn from Say on the Niger to the north-west corner of

Natives Ousted by France Lake Chad should form the boundary line of their respective spheres of influence. In 1893, Samory, the ruler of Bissandugu, Kankan, and Sansando was forced to abandon his kingdom of Wassulu to the French, and to retire upon Kong, which lay to the south-east. In the middle of the year 1898 he was driven from this district and fled, accompanied as usual by a numerous body of dependents, to the hinterland of the Liberian republic.

There he was defeated on September 9th, 1898, and twenty days later was driven back upon the sources of the Cavally by the advance of Captain Gouraud, and taken prisoner; he died in captivity on June 2nd, 1900. From that date the supremacy of France in the west of the Sudan has gained in strength. The vast project of uniting the north coast and the Western Sudan into a great Franco-African empire has been overshadowed

French Supremacy in the Sudan

by the yet more comprehensive plan of extending French Congoland to the Central Sudan, and thus uniting into a compact whole all the French possessions in Africa, with the exception of Obok. From the time when Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza transformed the humble colony of Gabon into the huge "Congo Français," between the years 1878 and 1880, France has made unceasing attempts to extend her territory on the north and north-east. In this connection, the Fashoda incident has been referred to elsewhere. The German colony of Kamerun has, among others, been shut out from further expansion by the French movements. The destruction of Rabah, as previously recorded, has removed the chief obstacle to the main French designs, and so a great compact French colonial empire is practically formed.

The British have made use of their position on the Lower Niger to advance into the interior, and have succeeded in bringing the Hausa states under their influence, with the exception of the greater part of Adamawa. Events have developed slowly, and, comparatively speaking, upon a sound basis, for the trader has preceded the politician—a process exactly reversed in most of the French colonies. The fact that Britain has been able thus opportunely to secure the monopoly of the Niger trade and of the products of the Hausa countries is due to the low estimation in which

British Monopoly on the Niger

Africa was held by the European Powers until late in the nineteenth century. The Niger in particular, the only waterway to Central Africa navigable by ships of great draught, was practically unused until in 1832, 1854, and afterwards, the Scotchman Macgregor Laird made numerous journeys up stream while trading for ivory. However, it was not until 1870 that the first factories were built upon the

river. One of the chief retarding causes was the conformation of the Niger delta, which offers many obstacles to navigation, and is inhabited by hostile tribes. Indeed, at an earlier period no one had supposed that these numerous arms were the estuary of a great river. For this reason, again, the first important settlement of the British in this part of Africa, the town of Lagos, was not made upon the delta, but upon the lagoons further to the west.

In the 'seventies a number of small companies were formed, each of which attempted to embitter the existence of the others, until in 1879 the general agent, MacIntosh, succeeded in incorporating almost the whole number into the United African Company. In 1882 this undertaking was renamed the "National African Company," and extended its operations; on July 10th, 1886, it received a charter from the British Government, and has since taken the title of the Royal Niger Company. Two French companies now turned their attention to the Niger, but succumbed in 1884 before the competition of the British traders, who now

The Royal Niger Company

entirely monopolised the Niger trade. Britain strengthened her political influence, not so much by military operations as by dexterous handling of the native chiefs, who have been very ready to accept yearly subsidies.

Under the deed of transference, executed on June 30th, 1899, which became operative on January 1st, 1900, from the territories of the Royal Niger Company, together with the Niger Coast Protectorate, two new protectorates were formed—Northern and Southern Nigeria. The frontiers were determined as follows: Southern Nigeria extends to the Niger coast of Ogbo to the Cross mouth, is bounded on the west by Lagos, on the north by the sister protectorate, on the east by Kamerun. The chief commissioner has his residence in Old Calabar. The other chief towns are Benin and Akassa. Northern Nigeria is a much larger district, and is bounded on the West by French Dahomeh, on the north by the French Sudan, on the east by the hinterland of the German Kamerun; thus it embraces the old Fulbe and Hausa States—Sokoto, Nupe, Ilorin, Saria, Bautshi, and Muri—parts of Borgu and Gando, and also of Bornu, as far as Lake Chad.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



SOUTH AFRICA

THE NATIVE RACES AND STATES

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

THE YELLOW RACES OF THE SOUTH-WEST

THROUGHOUT the south-western part of Africa the negro is not the aboriginal inhabitant. Where he has established himself, he has done so by conquest, expelling or in part absorbing his predecessors. Of these earlier yellow-skinned peoples two racial groups can be distinguished: the nomadic Hottentots, and the Bushmen, who are wandering hunters. The Hottentot is of medium stature, the Bushman dwarfish. Their languages appear at first to be related, but display many points of difference, as also do their respective attainments in civilisation. However, their relationship can be confidently asserted upon anthropological grounds. It can be seen in the formation of the head, in the fair colour and rugosity of the skin, and in other points of physical similarity, and in the number of clicks used in their respective languages.

In modern times, light-skinned dwarf races, forming a third group, have been discovered at numerous points of Central Africa, usually dwelling in the seclusion of the primeval forests, and, like the Bushmen, belonging to such primitive types as "garbage-eaters," "hunters of small game," or "unsettled peoples." In respect of language, most of them have adopted the Bantu speech of the neighbours round them; but their anthropological characteristics, to which may be added, in the case of the Akka, who have been more carefully examined than any others, the

Primitive Races of Pygmies

rugosity of the skin, leave no room for doubt that we have here also relations of the Bushmen and Hottentots, and that consequently the fair South African races and the dwarf peoples belong to a common race. In order to understand the course of the early history of the Hottentots and dwarf peoples, we must briefly examine their settlements and mode of life, as they appeared when European inquiry first shed light upon them.

At the time of their discovery the Hottentots, or Koi-koin as they called themselves, inhabited most of the modern Cape territory. Upon the east, fronting the Kaffir territory, the Kei River formed their boundary. Further northward the Hottentot district extended in an easterly direction to the western part of the Orange River Colony. Even at that period scattered tribes lived north of the Orange River in German South-west Africa, so that no definite northern boundary of the race can be fixed. The people that dwelt in these districts were shepherds by profession, rich in cattle, sheep, and goats, knowing nothing of agriculture or pottery-making, though well acquainted with the art of smelting and forging iron.

It was quite otherwise with the Bushmen, or San. Their districts partly corresponded with those of the Hottentots, for little bands of nomad Bushmen wandered about almost everywhere among the Hottentot settlements, in some cases carrying

on the profession of cattle-breeding, though they were more generally hated and persecuted as robbers and cattle-stealers. Similarly upon the east of the steppe district to the bordering mountain ranges, San tribes mingled with the South African negroes, especially with the Bechuanas. The Kalahari desert as far as Lake Ngami

The Cattle-stealing Bushmen

is pure Bushman territory. The Bushmen are an unsettled people, collecting the poor possessions of their homes by constant wanderings, hunting the game upon the plains, and also spoiling the herds of the shepherd tribes, and in later times of the European settlers; low in the scale of civilisation, but extremely hardy and simple in their wants.

Races similar to the Bushmen are also found further north. Such are the Mucassequere, a light-coloured race of hunters, living in the woods in the interior of Benguela, near the negro Ambuella, though they do not approach or mingle with this agricultural people. As regards their mode of life, physical characteristics, and civilisation, they are very similar to the real Bushmen.

The dwarf peoples in the narrow sense of the term inhabit a broad zone stretching obliquely through Central Africa, which corresponds very nearly with the area of the dense forest, and is interrupted only where the forest is replaced by the more open savannah land. In East Africa there is one remarkable exception in the tribes of the Wanegé and Wassandani, first discovered and described by Oscar Baumann. The Wanegé are a hunting people of diminutive stature, wandering over the plains to the south of the Eyassi Lake; but the Wassandani, a name which perhaps echoes the national title of San, are a branch of the race which has settled in one spot. Both tribes speak a special language of their own, full of clicks, and utterly unlike the Bantu—the negroes of South Africa

The Dwarfs of Darkest Africa

belong to the Bantu races—dialects; but in other respects, especially in their form of civilisation, they have been greatly influenced by their environment. Yet in such matters as their burial customs they strongly remind us of the customs in use among the Hottentots.

At the same time, it has been shown that there are in Equatorial Africa tribes of the Bushman type who hunt in the plains and are not entirely confined to the forests;

the dwarf peoples have also been found in the lake district. But the larger portion of the dwarf race appears to cling to the forest, and has entirely conformed to this environment. In some cases they are in subjection to their agricultural neighbours, or to a certain extent upon common terms with them. Here and there a complete fusion has taken place, the traces of which are still visible. But in no case do the dwarfs form tribal communities by themselves, for their character does not incline them to this course, and still less does their mode of life. They draw their sustenance from the resources of wide poverty-stricken districts, and thus tend invariably towards isolation.

Of these dwarf peoples the first group is that on the north-east, the Akka. They live about the sources of the Welle, or Ubangi, and, spreading southward, form a junction with the dwarf inhabitants of primeval forest on the Aruwimi, where Stanley first discovered them; in fact, dwarf population of unusual density appears to inhabit the country from the Upper Aruwimi to the western

The Pygmies Discovered by Stanley

lakes at the source of the Nile, while scattered colonies only are found further south as far as Tanganyika. A second great group is that of the Watwa, or Batwa, in the southern part of the Congo basin, especially in the district of the Baluba. A third group inhabits the rainy forests which cover the rising ground from the coast to the West African tablelands—that is to say, the Kamerun and Gabun interior. People of extraordinarily small stature have been found inhabiting the primeval forest district behind the Batanga coast, not living in settlements as village communities, but existing in the woods by hunting.

Apparently there is another dwarf people, the Doko, living in the forest district south of Kaffa—that is, north of Lake Rudolf, in East Africa. Although their existence, or at any rate their relationship with the Akka and Batwa has not as yet been definitely proved, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the native accounts of them. At the present time the Doko seem to be the most northerly outpost of the African pygmies. Our knowledge of the racial movements up to the period of present-day discovery clearly shows us that the fair-skinned

racés of South Africa as a whole, together with the dwarf of the forests, are on the downward grade, or at best are merely holding their own.

In the seventeenth century the Hottentots retreated to the Fish River before the Kaffir or Bantu invasion, and the remnants of Hottentot races left in Natal showed how large a district had even previously been taken from them by the energetic Kaffir race. The dwarf peoples found their territory greatly diminished by the advance of agricultural tribes who penetrated into the primeval forests. Many of them were absorbed by intermarriage with their numerous negro neighbours. Thus, in a general sense at least, the problem of the disruption of this racial group is solved; their early unity was broken by the advance of other peoples; they are the remnants of a population, at one time of wide distribution, which inhabited Central and Southern Africa.

Their migratory character, however, inevitable in a nomadic hunter race, forbids us to infer, from their presence in a given district, that they, and not negroes, were its primeval inhabitants. We must be content to presume that the South African steppes developed a special race in the dwarfs, who have simply accommodated themselves to the conditions of their new home, the tropical forests, whither they were driven when the negroes became an agricultural people and occupied all the ground available for cultivation; with such resources the negroes naturally multiplied far more rapidly than the dwarfs, who had to rely upon Nature's bounty.

The process of expulsion was not carried out without a struggle. It has even been suggested that the wars between the pygmies and the cranes mentioned by Homer refer to a contest between the dwarfs and the swamp-dwellers of the Upper Nile, the Shilluk, Nuer, and Dinka.

Now, as compared with the Bushmen, the Hottentots show sundry affinities with the negro races. Their clothing and that of the Bantu peoples of South Africa, especially their chief garment, the kaross, is entirely similar. The wooden vessels of the Hottentots, in the manufacture of which they show great dexterity, resemble those of the Kaffirs so closely in shape and ornamentation as to be easily confused with them. The same remark applies to their musical instruments. Both races breed the same animals and upon very similar principles. Both understand the art of forging iron. The civil constitution of the Hottentot races corresponds to that of the neighbouring negroes in its main details.

As all these implements and institutions are nowhere to be found among the Bushmen, we may reasonably conclude that the higher civilisation of the Hottentots has been derived from the neighbouring negro races, especially the Kaffirs. If this transference of civilisation followed upon an infusion of negro blood, we have a complete explanation of the anthropological difference between Hottentot and Bushman, and, in particular, of the greater stature of the Hottentot. Moreover, in East Africa a small admixture of Semitic blood may not be wholly inconceivable. At the same time, the Hottentots have not merely taken what the Kaffirs have to give; they also exerted an influence in their turn.

Certain figures of Kaffir mythology are undoubtedly derived from Hottentot legends, as is proved by the phonetic changes of words; the custom of mutilating the fingers for superstitious reasons arose in this way, for, generally, when two races come into contact, the weaker is considered as possessing greater magical powers, and thus influences the intellectual life of the stronger.

On the other hand, the point which differentiates the Hottentots from the



A PYGMY WOMAN

Buchta
A woman of the Akka tribe of dwarfs, a tribe discovered by H. M. Stanley in the dense forests of Central Africa.

cattle-breeding negro races is not any one characteristic, a repetition of which may be sought in far North Africa and West Asia ; it is a point of primal and original difference, common to Hottentot and Bushman. Above all, the Hottentot is not a cultivator, like the Kaffir ; he procures his scanty vegetable diet as the Bushman does, by grubbing up edible roots with a stone - weighted stick. Again, he has lost none of his passion for the chase, by which he often procured his chief food-supply, as, like most nomads, he could rarely bring himself to slaughter one of his cattle. His weapons combine the arsenal of the Bushman and the Kaffir. The great intellectual characteristic of the race, a fatal and yet invincible carelessness, makes the final link of the chain uniting Hottentot and Bushman, and has been handed down to him from his unsettled and uncultured ancestors, who abandoned their destinies to the sport of chance and accident.

The transformation of the Hottentots to a shepherd people probably took place in East Africa ; perhaps the relatively better physical development of the race may be explained by their stay in this more fruitful district. The Bantu peoples, who first instructed them, soon drove them out. Even within historical times, remnants of the Hottentots were to be found in Natal, though the larger part of the race were then living beyond the Kei River, and were soon forced back as far as the Great Fish River. The Hottentots retreated in some cases northward across the Orange River, while others invaded the western part of the Cape ; this district, previous to these migrations, had been in the possession of the Bushmen, who even at the time of European colonisation were wandering about the country in numerous bands, and were constantly involved in bloody wars with the Hottentots. Such were the respective conditions of the Hottentots and Bushmen

First Europeans in South Africa

when, in 1602, the first Dutch colonists set foot upon South African soil. These formidable European adversaries now appeared upon their western flanks, while in the east the Kaffirs continued their advance, inflexibly, though for the most part in peaceful fashion.

Before the year 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck founded a Dutch settlement in Table Bay, the Hottentots had come into

only temporary and generally hostile contact with Europeans. The first Portuguese viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, Don Francesco d'Almeida, had paid with his life for a landing on the Cape at Saldanha on March 1st, 1510. Misunderstandings also took place with the new Boer settlers, which speedily resulted in open war in 1659. Gradually the Dutch succeeded in driving back their opponents. The fickleness of the Hottentots and the hostility of the separate tribes proved the best allies of the Dutch ; thus in the year 1680 a war broke out between the Namaqua and the Griqua, in which the latter were defeated and sought the protection of the colonists.

The history of the war between the Hottentots and the Dutch settlers is not rich in striking events ; the Hottentots were not destroyed at one blow ; we see them gradually retreating and dwindling in a manner more suggestive of fusion and absorption than of extermination. But as the Hottentots retired, and the settlers with their flocks advanced, a new enemy appeared, who considered the Dutch cattle

Early Wars of the Dutch

quite as well worth plundering as those of the native shepherd tribes ; the Bushmen did not vanish as rapidly as the Hottentots, in whose territories they had lived as predatory, hated enemies, but maintained their ground. They soon brought upon themselves the hatred of the colonists. The Dutch had their dealings with the Hottentots, and lived on peaceful terms with them from time to time ; but a ruthless war of extermination was waged against the Bushmen. Thus in a comparatively short time the fate of these related peoples was decided in the Cape itself ; the Hottentots were reduced to poverty, their unity was broken, and they intermingled more and more with the settlers, whereas the Bushmen were exterminated or driven northward across the Orange River.

Relations between the Hottentots and the Kaffirs on the east at that period seem to have been friendly, and produced a mixed race of Kaffirs and Hottentots, the Gonaqua, upon the frontier line. About 1780, their chieftain Ruyter succeeded in collecting a following upon the Fish River and resisting all attacks for some time ; similarly the brothers Stuurman maintained their independence for a considerable period about 1793.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The names of these leaders seem to indicate that these were not movements of pure-blooded Hottentots. Soon after, the Dutch supremacy collapsed, and in 1795 Great Britain first seized the Cape of Good Hope on the absorption of Holland by France, an occupation to become permanent by 1806. After this the Cape Hottentots have no further historical importance, though they performed useful service in the employment of the Government during the different Kaffir wars; the Bushmen had been almost exterminated. The Hottentots who still survived in the Cape were mainly concentrated in the different reservations; the largest of these, in Fort Beaufort district, was originally founded as an outwork against the Kaffir invasions.

But in the north a portion of the race remained independent for nearly a century, an age of long and not inglorious struggle. Here, to the north of Cape Colony, lived the Namaqua; the greater part of the race was settled south of the Orange River, although, even at the time of the discovery, they extended as far north-west as the heights of Angra Pequena. Whether they were then attempting to extend their area, or were remaining quietly within their territory, is not known. The southern part of the race had come into contact with the Dutch as early as 1661, had quickly lost their language and distinctive character, and had received a considerable

infusion of European blood; the northern group, on the contrary, were hardly affected by these influences. This nation was constantly molested by the

Dutch upon the south, and became vigorously aggressive, finding an energetic leader in the chieftain Christian Jager. Christian made attacks and marauding expeditions both north and south; when the Korana Hottentots moved down the Orange River in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and entered the territory of his race, he drove them back with great slaughter. The weakest resistance which he experienced was that offered on the north, where the Bantu shepherd tribe of the Herero was situated; they were now plundered and reduced to slavery by the Hottentots. The marauding expeditions of the Namaqua extended to

Ovamboland and beyond the Cunene; the tribe had been gradually transformed into a mobile nation of riders.

The rule of Jonker Afrikaner, a son of Christian (1836-1862), is marked by continuous warfare and plundering; he completely subjugated the Herero, and at Windhoek and Okahandja he ruled over Nama, Damara, and (from 1861) Ondonga-Ovambo. Under his successor, Christian, this dominion almost entirely

collapsed. The Herero were incited to take up arms by the Swedish traveller, Karl Johan Andersson, whose leg was broken in 1864 in one of these "battles"; Christian was killed in the course of this struggle. But the Hottentot supremacy received its severest blow under Christian's brother, Jan Jonker Afri-

kaner, when the most powerful of the Herero chiefs, Kamaharero, the son of Ka-Tjamuaha, procured supplies of arms and ammunition and fought



AN ABORIGINAL TYPE: THE BUSHMAN
The Bushmen are an unsettled people, extremely hardy, living by cattle breeding and stealing



THE WONDERFUL ART OF THE BUSHMEN
No race in South Africa has shown such profound artistic skill as is seen in the drawings of the Bushmen, a fine example of which, representing a raid on Kaffir cattle, is reproduced here.

against the Namaqua with general success. Under the influence of German missionaries hostilities were suspended; but when a new war broke out Jan Jonker was so utterly beaten that his power was completely broken.

It was now plain that only the interference of a stronger power could put a stop to these continual wars. **Wars of the Boers and Herero** Hardly had Jan Jonker disappeared from the scene, when a new enemy to the Herero appeared in the person of Moses Witbooi, who again troubled the land for another series of years. He was no more successful than his predecessor in thoroughly subduing the Herero; on the contrary, he suffered several serious defeats, and lost the position of leader to the forces of the race, his place being taken by his son, Hendrik Witbooi, who was an even more restless personality.

In the year 1884 Hendrik Witbooi undertook an expedition into the district of the Herero, just at the time when the Germans were making their first attempts at colonisation upon the coast; when he returned, in 1885, he suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Herero, and at the same time Kamaharero placed himself under German protection. A troublesome period of confusion and weakness then ensued, and after the death of Kamaharero, in 1890, Witbooi's invasions were pressed with greater ferocity; he made his fortress of Hornkranz the base for these operations, until, in the usual manner of European intervention, the Germans advanced in force, stormed Hornkranz on April 12th, 1893, and at length forced Hendrik Witbooi to surrender unconditionally on September 9th, 1894. Beside the Namaqua, two other Hottentot races are worthy of mention, the Korana and the Griqua, who settled in the north of the Cape and north of the Orange River. The Korana, who originally dwelt in the interior, did not come into contact with Europeans until a late period. The advance of the colonists threw them back upon their old settlements on each side of the Middle and Upper Orange River, where they were more closely confined as time went on; they made an attempt to extend their territory down stream, but were defeated with great slaughter by the Namaqua. Since that time the people has been broken up into

Colonists Displace the Hottentots

numerous small tribes and is in a state of hopeless disruption.

As the Namaqua had migrated northward, so the Griqua, a race with a strong infusion of European blood, retreated northward to avoid the pressure of the advancing colonists. The main body, under the leadership of their chieftain Adam Kok, a liberated negro slave from the coast of Mozambique, crossed the Orange River in 1810 a little below its junction with the Vaal, and founded a "Free State." In the year 1820 the Griqua were living in three races under the two Koks and Berend, in a district extending from Daniel's Kuyl to the Riet River. When Nicholas Waterboer was elected in Griquatown in 1822, many of the Griqua withdrew and joined other races; a second exodus under Buys moved toward the mountains on the frontier of Cape Colony, and produced the Bergenaers. In 1826, Adam Kok's Griqua went to the Bushman colony of Philippolis, which had been devastated by the Kaffirs. From 1834 the Griqua chiefs were in receipt of British subsidies, and in 1848-1853 the people were under British suzerainty.

After the recognition of the Orange Free State in 1854, the government of that republic pressed yet harder upon the eastern Griqua, who emigrated in 1862 beyond the Drakensberg to "No Man's Land" in Kaffraria. About this time, 1861, the Pondo chieftain Faku, who was threatened by the Kaffirs, resigned his rights in favour of Great Britain, who divided a portion of the territory among the Griqua, Basutos, and Fingos of Adam Kok. This district was united, in 1876, with Cape Colony, as "East Griqualand." Meanwhile, the western Griqua, who were divided from their brethren by the Lower Vaal, had also suffered under the continual advance of the Cape Boers. Finally, on October 27th, 1871, Britain succeeded in persuading Waterboer, the chief, to cede his territory to her, including the newly discovered diamond-fields. Everywhere, by slow degrees and diplomatic skill, a peaceful *modus vivendi* was attained for Hottentots and European settlers alike. But the yellow races of South Africa must eventually disappear from history. Such hybrid races seem doomed to wear out rapidly, unless saved by strong infusion of new blood.

Doom of the Yellow Races

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THE KAFFIR PEOPLES OF THE SOUTH-EAST

THROUGHOUT Southern and Central Africa the negro races speak Bantu dialects. The tribes of the south-east—that is, south of the Zambesi and east of the Hottentots—are generally included under the title of Kaffir, a term of Arab origin, meaning “unbelievers.”

It appears that the Kaffirs migrated from the north southward, and, starting from Abyssinian territory, finally arrived at South-east Africa. The extent of these migrations is probably exaggerated. In the tenth century a kingdom of the Zingis, or Sendsh, existed in the interior of Sofala; the king could place 3,000 warriors in the field, who were mounted upon oxen. The kingdom exported a large amount of slaves, gold, iron, and ivory. Races related to the Sendsh seem to have lived some distance away upon the coast; others who were less civilised lived in the interior and appear from descriptions to have been the ancestors of the Jagga and Masimba. The later kingdom of Monomotapa, or more correctly of *the* Monomotapa—the word means “sons of the mines,” and is undoubtedly applied to the ruling family—is probably identical with the older state of the Sendsh. The gold of the country, which was also worked by the Kaffirs, gave a splendour to the kingdom of the Monomotapa, which was widely exaggerated by the ancient chroniclers; hence the kingdom was finally represented upon European maps as of fabulous extent.

In modern times two races of the Kaffir people of South Africa can be distinguished: an older race, which dates back to the original conquest of the district in antiquity, and a younger, warlike race,

which, migrating back again from the south, presses upon its peaceful northern relations as well as upon other peoples. The people of Monomotapa belong to the older group, and their descendants now inhabit Mashonaland; for the modern Mashona call themselves Makalanga, evidently the same name as that of the inhabitants of Monomotapa, who were called Mocaranga. The Portuguese chroniclers tell us that, about 1600, Monomotapa was divided into three states, separate provinces which had made themselves independent—Sakumbe, Manu, and Chicova.

After this disruption of the wealthy Monomotapa no other great political organisation came into being, and a conquering race would have found itself confronted by a very feeble opposition. In process of time such a race arose among the south-eastern Kaffirs. Our information concerning their internal history is extremely scanty previous to their first collisions with the European settlers; but this is not a serious loss, inasmuch as their great campaigns of conquest, which convulsed Africa as far as the great lakes, were begun at a much later period. Most of the Kaffir races agree in the tradition that they migrated to their territory from the north-east, and the legend is confirmed by the Arab chronicles; these migrations were not simultaneously undertaken, but were slowly and gradually completed. In the seventeenth century the race of the Kosa Kaffirs were living furthest to the south, and had slowly penetrated into the Hottentot district. The northern group of the south-east Kaffirs were collectively



A ZULU WARRIOR

known as "Zulu" and originally inhabited Natal and its northern coastline; the Swazi, who lived in the district which bears their name, were closely related to them in language.

Before the appearance of Europeans movements seem to have been going on within the Zulu group, resulting in the absorption of smaller tribes and the formation of stronger racial confederacies. Meanwhile the Kosa had to reckon with the advance of white colonists.

The first victims of the merciless war which afterward began fell in the year 1736, when a hunting party which had entered the Kaffir territory was murdered. Small skirmishes continued, especially after 1754, without stopping the advance of the colonists, until, in the year, 1778, the Governor of Cape Colony, Von Plettenburg, laid down the boundary line of the Great Fish River. The Kaffirs,

however, paid not the smallest attention to this delimitation; consequently, in the year 1780, the first Kaffir war broke out, when a small band of ninety-two colonists and forty Hottentots successfully drove the Kaffirs across the Great Fish River. Internal dissension had broken out among the Kaffirs themselves, and the races which fled across the boundary river had already been defeated and weakened, and were now forced to give way once more. In the following year the disturbances continued; in the years 1795-1796 the chief Ndlambe had a desperate struggle with his nephew, Gaika, for the supremacy in the Kosa territory.

In 1797 Gaika was proclaimed king of all the tribes to the west of the Kei by John Barrow, private secretary to Lord Macartney; he remained peaceful during the struggles of the British with the chief Kungwa, who died in 1811, on Algoa Bay, and with Ndlambe on the Great Fish River. In the year 1818 he was driven westward after his defeat on the Amalinde plain on the Chumie River by Ndlambe's party under a man of low rank, the prophet and magician Makanna; but shortly afterwards — in 1819 — before Grahams-town on the Cowie river, Makanna fell into the hands of the colonists he had attacked. The further details of the struggle are closely connected with the development of Cape Colony, and are reserved until we reach that subject.

Meanwhile, undisturbed by European attacks, a warrior state had arisen among the Zulus, for which few parallels are to be found in the whole course of the world's history. The Zulus, whose name is now generally extended to include the whole race, were originally nothing more than a small wandering tribe of little importance; but about the beginning of the



THE BIRTH OF THE COLONY OF NATAL

Lieut. Farewell treating with the chiefs under Chaka, the Zulu king, in 1824.

nineteenth century the immense energy and ruthless tyranny of their chief Chaka gave them undisputed pre-eminence. Chaka's mother had sent him for safety to Dingiswayo, chief of the neighbouring and more powerful tribe of the Tetwa, where he was brought up; then about the year 1818 he returned, at the age of thirty, took up the reins of government, and quickly succeeded in incorporating the Tetwas with the Zulus.

The whole state was now remodelled with a view to war and conquest, and the subject members were organised and systematically trained for this purpose. The smaller racial confederacies disappeared one after the other, and family life within the tribe itself was almost entirely broken up. The nation was henceforward divided into army corps, each under its own warrior chief, or induna; the women, who were also subjected to this military system, were nothing more than concubines, and were often not permitted to rear their own children. The army was constantly rejuvenated by enlisting the youthful members of conquered races; the obvious result of this system was that constant wars were a vital necessity for the Zulu kingdom, and that its influence upon its neighbours was invariably destructive. When these neighbours were not destroyed, they fell upon other races in their hasty retreat before the advancing Zulus, until at length a considerable part of South Africa was in a state of ferment and commotion. Thus the Mantati, who had been thrust aside by the Zulus, threatened the Cape itself, after crushing some of the weaker races to the north of the Orange River; however, in 1823, they were defeated by the



ZULU WITCH-DOCTOR MAKING WARRIORS INVULNERABLE

When about to practise their arts these wizards smear their faces with some white pigment. Round their heads they wear fish-bladders. Their bodies are swathed in a dress of bullock's hair. The doctor works himself into a frenzy and dances wildly round the circle of warriors, dashing his switch in their faces and occasionally thrusting a lump of clay and dirt into their mouths.

Griqua Hottentots, and gradually relapsed into quiescence. Remnants of other races, partly Fingoes from the Tugela, partly Zulus who had shared in revolts against Chaka's cruelty, streamed toward the south-west and finally joined the Fingo tribe; from 1835, after the war, some 16,000 of them were settled by the British to the east of the Great Fish River.

In the year 1828 Chaka fell a victim to a conspiracy of his two brothers, one of whom, Dingan, seized the power after a hard struggle with his fellow conspirator. He surpassed even Chaka in cruelty and ferocious energy, and completed the organisation of the army. But the enemies were already approaching who were finally to break the Zulu power.

British colonists had settled on the coasts of Natal; in 1837 Boers crossed the mountains and asked permission of Dingan to settle. The Kaffir chief enticed the leader of the Boers, Pieter Retief, with sixty-six of his men, into his encampment, and for their confidence murdered them on February 5th, 1838; then begins a new page in South African history, one of the many which have been written in blood.

For Dingan the cowardly deed brought fatal consequences. The Boers gathered a strong force, marched into Natal under command of Andries Pretorius, and inflicted a bloody defeat on Dingan when he attacked their laager with 12,000 men on December 16th, 1838. Dingan fled to the Swazi Kaffirs, and met his death among them shortly afterward, about 1840. His successor, Panda, "Prince of the Zulus," who came to power on February 4th, 1840, was obliged to abandon Natal to the Boers, who were shortly afterwards forcibly incorporated with the British colonial empire. Thus an impassable barrier was set up on the south against the warlike tendencies of the Zulus; their attacks upon the north became all the more frequent.

Panda's reign was a period of peace with the British. This state of affairs continued until Panda's son Ketchwayo, or Cetewayo, in 1857, succeeded in defeating his brother Umbelasi in a bloody battle upon the Tugela River, and ousting his father, who had

not interfered in the quarrel. In Cetewayo, the typical warrior Zulu prince again came to light, and upon the death of Panda, in 1872, it became plain that the peace

between the Zulus and the British Government would be of no long duration. Marauding expeditions upon the frontier increased in frequency, and were further incited by refugees from both parties. Cetewayo, who saw what was coming, had raised his army to the number of 40,000 men. The British insisted that this dangerous force should be disbanded, and declared war upon the refusal of the Zulu ruler. There could be no doubt about the final issue. A British

force was, indeed, destroyed by the spears and clubs of the Zulu regiments at Isandhlwana, or Isandula, on January 22nd, 1879, and the base camp at Rorke's Drift, held by 120 men, fiercely attacked by 4,000 Zulus; but as Dingan was

ultimately beaten by the Boers, so was Cetewayo by the British on July 4th, at Ulundi; the Kaffir king was forced to surrender unconditionally, in the forest of Ngome on the Black Umvolosi, on August 28th, 1879. The further advance of the British and their gradual occupation of the country are events which belong to European African history.

The crater of this racial war had thus been violently stopped; but

bands of warriors were spreading devastation over a wide area. At the time when Chaka rose to be head of the Zulu races a part of his people fled away



WIFE OF A KAFFIR CHIEF



THE BURDEN-BEARERS: ZULU WOMEN

from his iron rule. Under the leadership of the chief Moselikatse, the band started north-west in 1818, and first came into collision with the race of the Makololo, who were settled in the eastern part of the modern Orange River Colony. The Makololo retired before their attack, marched northward in 1824 under their chief Sebituane, and crossed the Central Zambesi.

Meanwhile, the Matabele, as the people of Moselikatse called themselves after a Zulu tribe that had long been settled in the Transvaal, met with other opponents between the Orange and Vaal rivers—namely, a part of the Korana Hottentots, and also the Basuto people, who were of the Bechuana race. These latter are said to have migrated to their territory at the outset of the seventeenth century, and to have grown considerably in power by absorbing the remnants of other races. The most important of the Basuto chiefs, Moshesh—from about 1820 to 1868—repelled the Matabele attack in 1831, acquiring thereby both reputation and influence. The Matabele were unable to advance further south, and gradually got possession of the modern Transvaal. However, on one side the Boers, trekking across the Vaal River, defeated Moselikatse in 1837, and drove him north of the Limpopo. The Matabele then turned upon Mashonaland, the old Monomotapa. Here the tribes could offer no effective resistance. Plundering and slaughter was carried on in true Zulu fashion; the wives of the conquered race followed their new masters as prisoners, while the young men were enlisted in the army. As all the attempts of the Matabele to cross the Zambesi were fruitless, the main body of the race remained in Mashonaland, a



THE ZULU WAR OF 1879: FUGITIVES FROM ISANDLHWANA
The Zulu state was remodelled with a view to war and conquest about 1820, and the resulting state of ferment in South Africa was brought to a head when Cetewayo destroyed a British force at Isandhlwana, near the Buffalo River, in 1879

standing cause of annoyance to their neighbours. After the death of Moselikatse, Lobengula became chief in 1870. About the beginning of the 'eighties there was a constant influx of whites into his kingdom, attracted by its wealth of gold; at the beginning of 1889 and 1894 his territory was taken over by the British South Africa Company. The power of the Matabele was utterly broken by the defeat of Lobengula on November 1st, 1893, on the Bembesi River, to the north-east of his capital of Buluwayo.

Less known to us than the history of the Matabele is that of the other Zulu peoples, whose devastating raids extended eastward and far beyond the Zambesi. In their case we have to proceed more

cautiously. In the first place it appears that Kaffirs of an older stock, closely resembling the Zulus in their customs, had been settled in the Zambesi district and the East African highland for centuries—that is, probably since the time of the great migration from the north; the Wayao, who vigorously attacked the Makua on the Rovuma about a decade ago, were probably one of these tribes. But, in the next place, whole races, the so-called Zulu apes, have adopted the manners

and military customs of the Zulus, and have consequently helped to confuse the boundaries of the true area of Zulu distribution, overspread by the "later invasion." Now, this same northern group of Kaffirs seems to have been vigorously active several centuries ago, and perhaps played the same part as the Zulus did in our own times; such at least seems to be the true significance of the Jagg and Masimba expeditions, which are worthy of a closer examination.

The Matabele campaign, which convulsed Central South Africa up to the Zambesi, and indirectly beyond it, were in point of influence even surpassed by the warfare and devastation spread by other Zulu bands upon either side of the Lower Zambesi. The chief Mani-kus is said to have led the first army northward after Chaka's death. Gasaland, the district between the mouth of the Zambesi and Zululand, was first overrun and devastated; the inhabitants, who had previously been a happy and industrious people, were scattered or reduced to slavery, and they now bred dogs for their supply of meat in place of their beloved cattle, which fell into the hands of the Zulus. A similar fate befell

the races on the Lower Zambesi. The regular export of gold had maintained a certain connection between this district and more advanced races, and the inhabitants had made considerable progress in civilisation. Artistic iron and gold

smiths exchanged the products of their industry not only with their fellows, but even with Arabs and Portuguese, and the manufacture of woollen fabrics had spread from the Zambesi far into the interior. The population was composed of very different

elements, for slavery had here been a flourishing institution from an early period, and its usual results, the dissolution and fusion of races, were plainly manifest.

The warlike Zulus, under Songondawe, Mpesen, Suru and Mbonan, Mputa and Kidiaonga, attacked this mixture of races with shattering energy. But in this case they no longer appear under their own name; perhaps they had in part emigrated northward to escape Chaka's tyranny at a time when this people was being consolidated under his iron rule, and had not

entirely imposed the name of its own little tribe upon the general whole. We find such Zulu offshoots as "Landin" on the Zambesi, as "Wangoni" to the west of the Nyassa, as "Masiti" or "Masitu" between the Nyassa and the east coast of the continent, as "Watuta" to the south of Unyamwesi. All these exercised a terribly destructive influence; their example induced peaceful agricultural tribes to assume the dress and arms of the conquerors (the stabbing spear

and the shield covered with oxhide), and in like manner to invade and devastate the territory of their neighbours. Among these "Zulu-apes" may also be included, in a certain sense, the Wahehe, who, as a whole, are closely related to the



CETEWAYO



LOBENGULA

Two of the most famous native chiefs: Cetewayo, the typical warrior Zulu prince, and Lobengula, the last independent Matabele chief.



LORD CHELMSFORD

Whose force was cut to pieces at Isandhlwana in the Zulu War of 1879.



THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF RORKE'S DRIFT: 120 MEN AGAINST 4,000 ZULUS

In the beginning of the Zulu War of 1879, Chelmsford's main force advanced to Isandhlwana, leaving a small band to guard communications at Rorke's Drift. The Zulus evaded him, and burst on the camp, and, but for its heroic defence by 120 whites against 4,000 Zulus, would have invaded Natal. From Lady Butler's picture by the artist's permission.

Wasagara. About 1860, and especially from about 1870, they founded several kingdoms upon true Zulu principles under their chiefs Nyugumba, Matshinga, and Mambambe, which were ultimately subdued in 1896 by the advance of German colonisation. Phenomena precisely similar in kind to these modern aggressive military Kaffir communities had presented themselves three centuries before. When the second Portuguese embassy was staying in the year 1490-1491 with Mani-Congo, the king of the Lower Congo, whose court was at Ambasse, news arrived from the interior that the people of the Mundequete, on the lakes at the sources of the Congo, were preparing for war. The Congo king immediately had himself baptised, like Clovis of old, and successfully beat the enemy. This first movement seems to have been the prelude to further struggles and the invasion of the Jagga. Under their king, Simbo, these "Giacas" advanced toward the west coast, defeated the Congo

troops, whose king had great difficulty in maintaining his position even with Portuguese help, and subdued part of the Portuguese district of Angola.

They renewed their attack from 1542-1546, and, after bringing Congo to the verge of destruction, were finally defeated; the remainder of them then settled in the district of Kassandje. Their original habitation is said to have been about the sources of the Zambesi and of the Congo; so they may very well have been a Kaffir race. Moreover, the military organisation of the Jagga apparently corresponds in its main features with that of the Zulus. The Jagga also increased their strength by incorporating with their troops the youth of the peoples whom they defeated and generally slaughtered. Of their



Elliott & Fry

THE DEFENDERS OF RORKE'S DRIFT

Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, whose six score men held the camp against 4,000 Zulus, saving Natal from Cetewayo.

attainments in civilisation, or of their customs, we know but little; the name Jagga is certainly a Kaffir word, and means "troops," "soldiers," or "bodies of young men."



THE ARAB SETTLEMENTS ON THE EAST

ALMOST throughout Eastern Africa, evidences are to be found of the presence of an early civilisation of which it may be confidently affirmed that it was not indigenous. From Somaliland as far southward as Mozambique ruined stone

The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland

buildings are to be found upon the coast. Many of these doubtless belong to the period of Portuguese and Arabic supremacy; the origin of others, however, is yet unexplained. This chain of ruins is terminated at Mozambique. But further south, beyond the Zambesi, in the interior of Sofala is a large district—Mashonaland—containing a number of extensive ruins, including the famous Simbabwe, the unusual size and solidity of which vividly impress the imagination.

These were stone buildings, all of very similar character; in their simplest form they consist of a circular wall, built of hewn stones without mortar, and often displaying some simple ornamentation of straight lines running round their circumference. Usually a second wall surrounds this first circle, and the intervening space is divided into small rooms by partitions. The entrance is guarded by special fortifications; their whole character indicates that the inhabitants lived in a hostile district in a state of continual war. Strong massive towers, the object of which it is difficult to explain, rose here and there. The ruins are exceptionally poor in objects of civilisation. We may mention a few figures of birds and pots of soapstone, iron implements which perhaps belonged to later inhabitants of the ruins, some porcelain, which may have been brought into the interior by Arab merchants; and this is practically all. In old accounts, especially in those of the Arabs, we hear of strange inscriptions on the gates, which were unintelligible to the visitors; such inscriptions have been discovered in modern times, and appear to be of Semitic origin.

Fortresses of Ancient Gold-diggers

But the reason why those stone castles were built is clear. Everywhere in the neighbourhood of the buildings we find

smelting furnaces, dross, pieces of ore, and remnants of crucibles, and in many of these fragments are still to be found traces of gold; there can be no doubt that these old fortresses were built to protect the gold-diggers

In the next place it is clear from the utter lack of artistic work that the builders were not Indians, Egyptians, or Greeks. In effect, we must attribute the buildings to a Semitic people, with an overwhelming presumption in favour of the Arabs. We are irresistibly led to identify Mashonaland with the Ophir of the Bible.

When and why the district was abandoned it is impossible to say; but the condition of the buildings seems to point to their almost simultaneous destruction by hostile forces. As regards the question of the Arab settlements of Roman times, we have information from writers who belong to European civilisation—namely, the so-called "Peri-

The Real Land of Ophir

plus of the Erythraean Sea," and the Geography of Ptolemy. From these sources it appears that in the second century A.D. there were a large number of trading stations upon the east coast of Africa, with which the Arabs maintained a vigorous and profitable trade. It was just at that period that the Arabs began to monopolise the trade by forcing the Egyptian ships to transfer their cargoes to Arab vessels at the exit of the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb. It can hardly be doubted that the settlements had been in existence long before that period. The most southerly point known to Ptolemy was the promontory of Prasmus, which he places in 16° 25' latitude south. This would nearly correspond to the latitude of the modern Mozambique. He also mentions Rhapta, which is to be found upon the coast of Zanzibar, corresponding possibly with the modern Pangani, which lies upon the river Rufu as the old town did upon the Rhaptus; or it is to be identified with Kilwa. Further north lay Tonike, Essina, and other trading stations. Our informants

THE ARAB SETTLEMENTS ON THE EAST

know nothing of any unusually great export of gold or of the gold-mines and towns of Mashonaland. They lay more stress upon the export of resin from Northern East Africa. Possibly the Arabs were careful to hide the source of their gold supply; that their domination in Mashonaland may have already come to ruin is supported by an observation in the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa, stating that it was not before the year 1000 A.D. that the people of Makdishu—that is, Somaliland—rediscovered the gold-mines of Sofala.

According to Arab accounts of later centuries, trade appears to have continued in a flourishing condition, and to have been

shared by Indian and at times by Chinese ships. About 908 A.D. Makdishu and Borawa, or Brava, on the Somali coast were founded by Arabs from El-Chasa on the Persian Gulf, as also was Kilwa about 975. The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba had been in the hands of the Arabs long before, and even mixed races of Arabs and negroes were to be found on the coast. In the twelfth century we have mention of Malindi, or Melinde, and also of Momba; but Kilwa seems to have been predominant for a long period—probably because it had the monopoly of gold export—while Makdishu was of chief importance on the north. Islam was early transplanted to

Africa and helped to consolidate the Arab settlements. So when the Portuguese finally raised the veil which shrouded these districts, there were a number of flourishing sultanates and rich towns upon the coast, which were in the hands of the Arabs from Sofala as far north as Malindi, while a vigorous communication was kept up by sea between the coasts of East Africa and India. The appearance of the Portuguese was promptly followed by collisions with these Arab settlements. In the south, the Arabs were successfully driven back; but the northern towns, especially Mombasa, though more or less subjugated, were at best a doubtful and expensive acquisition, even during the flourishing period of Portuguese predominance. When Portugal's power declined the strongest and most maritime entered into her inheritance.

This Arab state was Oman, which was situated on the eastern point of the Arabian peninsula, a district facing India and Persia; at an early date its geographical situation gave it a dominant position, and the power of the state was increased by the formation of a special Mohammedan sect, the chief of which was the reigning sultan of the land, with the title of Imam of Maskat. Oman was



RUINS OF FORTS OF THE GOLD-DIGGERS OF OPHIR
Throughout Mashonaland are impressive ruins, probably forts of ancient gold-diggers, the district being identified with the Cypri of the Bible. Those of Simbabwe, shown above, are most famous. A model of the ruins is shown in the top right-hand corner; one of the massive tower fortifications at the bottom, the other objects being sculptures found in the ruins.

torn by internal dissensions for a long period; but in 1624 the Jarebite Nasser ben Murdjid made himself sole ruler. He was forthwith obliged to embark upon a war with the Portuguese, who had several coast towns belonging to Oman in their possession; but it was his cousin and successor, Sultan ben Sef (1649-1668), who first succeeded in taking the last Portuguese stronghold, Maskat, in 1650.

Rise of the Arab State of Oman

During the course of this war Oman had become a formidable maritime power. Sultan ben Sef harassed the Portuguese in India and East Africa, and about 1660 temporarily seized the town of Mombasa. In 1698, his son and successor, Sef ben Sultan, succeeded in capturing Mombasa, stirring up the entire population of the coast against the Portuguese, and thus subduing East Africa as far as Cape Delgado.

Meanwhile it began to appear that the little state of Oman had undertaken a task beyond its powers. If the coast towns—Kilwa, Zanzibar, Melindi, Patta, Fasa—took advantage of the weakness of Oman to declare themselves independent petty states the Arab dominion would be overthrown. This was precisely what occurred. In 1728 Portugal availed herself of the resulting confusion to make a second attack; Patta fell into her hands again, and on March 16th Mombasa, the last Arab stronghold on the coast, was obliged to open its gates. This was the expiring effort of the Portuguese power. As soon as the inhabitants of the coast again united their forces against the foreigners, the towns were lost in rapid

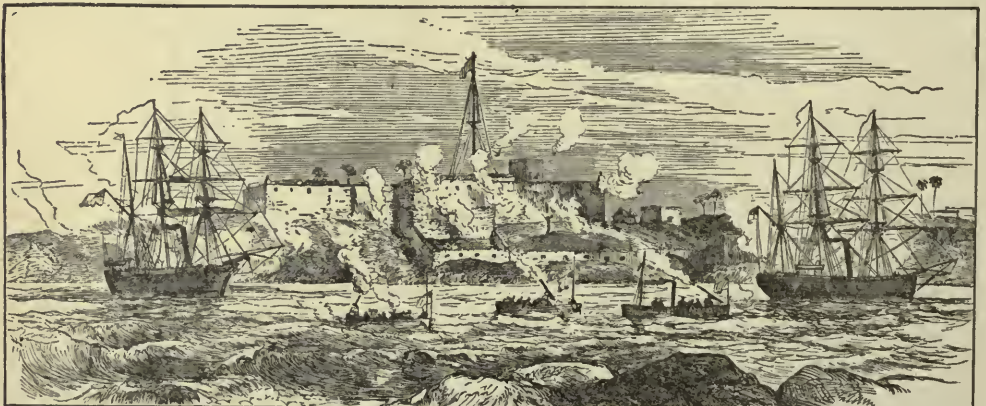
succession—Zanzibar, Masia, Pemba, and on November 26th, 1729, Mombasa.

In Maskat the Jarebite dynasty was replaced by the Abu Saidi family, which rules in Oman and Zanzibar now. The founder of this dynasty was the commander-in-chief Sohar Ahmed ben Said, who ascended the throne in 1744. The change of dynasty led to a second change in the relations between Oman and the African coast towns. Marka, Zanzibar, and Kilwa alone acknowledged the new supremacy; the remaining towns, headed by the ever restless Mombasa, under the brothers Mohammed and Ali ben Osman, declared their independence and found themselves immediately at war with Ahmed ben Said in consequence. At the same time, internal struggles were raging in the several towns, especially in Patta. Ultimately, in 1785, an ingenious manœuvre restored to Maskat the whole coast line, which for a long time bore the mild yoke of the rulers without complaint.

It was not until the governor of Mombasa, Abdallah ben Ahmed (1814-1823) attempted to make himself independent, that the reigning monarch of Maskat, Seyyid Said, was roused to greater energy.

Struggles of the Arab States

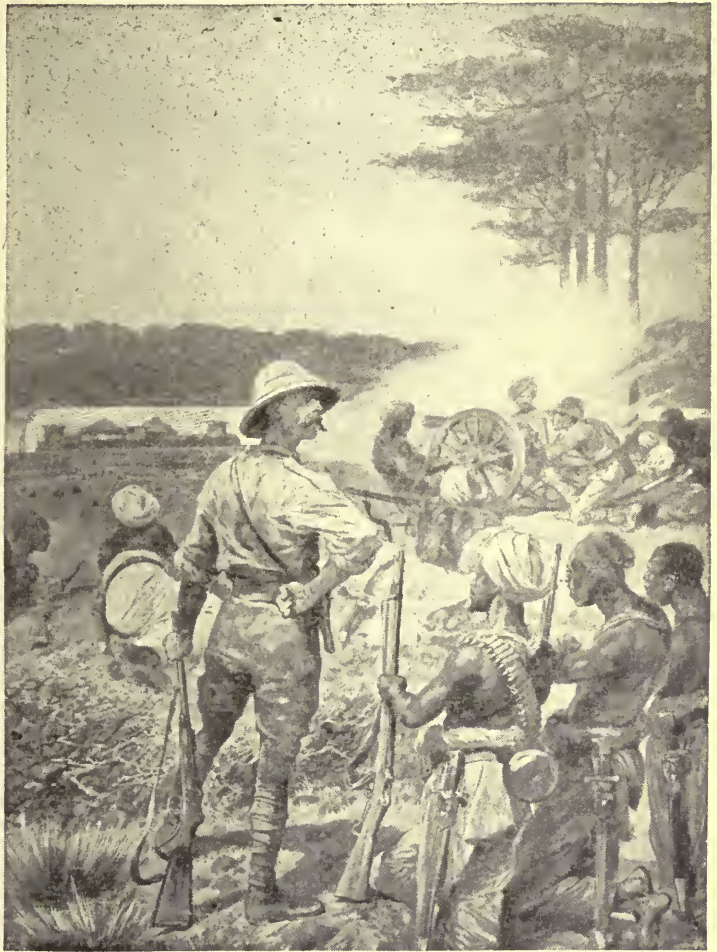
After long hesitation, he sent a fleet to East Africa in 1822, and with the assistance of Mohammed ben Nasser, the governor of Zanzibar, who had remained faithful to him, he speedily reduced Mombasa to a desperate condition. As a last resource Seliman ben Ali placed himself under the protection of the Englishman Owen in 1824. But the British Government did not confirm the



MOMBASA IN THE DAYS OF THE SLAVE TRADE: BOMBARDMENT BY BRITISH WARSHIPS
 Mombasa, the ever restless Arab state on the east coast of Africa, founded before the Portuguese occupation in the fifteenth century, is now the capital of the British East African Protectorate. It was a centre of the slave trade.

convention, and the town was forced to surrender to Seyyid Said, who appeared in 1828 with a fleet of eleven ships of war. Shortly afterwards, however, Mombasa was again in full revolt, until 1837, when Seyyid Said succeeded in recovering possession of the town by treachery and completely expelling the ruling family of the Msara, to which he had previously entrusted some powers of government. In 1840 the victorious sultan determined to transfer his residence permanently to Africa, and chose Zanzibar for this purpose. The connection between Oman and Zanzibar was dissolved by the death of Seyyid Said in 1856, one of his sons, Seyyid Madjid, taking the African dominions, while Seyyid Sueni received the Arabian territory. Great Britain, whose position as dominant Power in the Indian Ocean was now assured, adjusted certain points of variance between the two rulers in 1859, by inducing the sultan of Zanzibar to pay his brother in Maskat a yearly subsidy of 40,000 dollars. She also supported the sultan against one of his younger brothers who attempted to revolt, the later sultan Seyyid Bargash. During the closing years of Seyyid Madjid's life Great Britain paid the yearly compensation due from the sultan to Maskat out of her own resources. After Seyyid Madjid's death, in 1870, the power passed to his brother Seyyid Bargash, who died on April 25th, 1888. Under his government those changes began which have effected a fundamental revolution in African affairs.

The wealth of the Arabs dwelling on the coast and the islands was chiefly derived from their landed property. Mombasa,



THE END OF SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR

With the introduction of the clove-tree and the growth of plantations, the old Arab slave trade of Zanzibar revived, and rose to enormous proportions, until the British intervened. This picture shows the destruction of the last of the slavers' stockades.

for instance, was strong enough to offer a long resistance chiefly by reason of its possession of the island of Pemba, with its rich plantations. Since 1818 the clove-tree had been cultivated there with brilliantly successful results. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the commerce of Zanzibar was very unimportant; the export of ivory was comparatively small; the slave trade was carried on in a very modest way, and the traders, chiefly Indians, were few in number. The introduction of the clove-tree produced a great change. Large plantations now sprang up, requiring many hands to work them; slave-hunting and the slave trade revived. The wealth thus acquired enabled enterprising Arabs not only to get slaves from the coast tribes by barter,

but also to fit out strong, well-armed expeditions for the purpose of breaking down the numerous obstacles to trade, and of buying or kidnapping slaves in the interior. Ivory and cheap slaves now came down to the coast in abundance, and the extraordinary profits which were made at the outset were a stimulus to more extensive raids and trading expeditions. Thus Arab influence spread further into the interior, though the idea was never entertained of establishing any permanent political supremacy on the continent, apart from that already existing in the settlements upon the coast. The Zanzibar government certainly claimed the allegiance of the several Arab contractors who made their way into the interior on their own account; but it could not and would not exercise any control, and generally did not attempt to assert its rights until the return of the caravans.

The increase of the slave trade, and the devastation which it created, compelled the intervention of the British. As early as 1847 they had prohibited the slave trade north of Brava; in 1873, Sir Bartle Frere was sent out to add his persuasions, which were of a forcible character, to those of the Consul-General, Sir John Kirk, and to impose upon the sultan a treaty whereby the slave trade was officially abolished. The result was inevitably disastrous for the Arab plantation owners, who, deprived of the labour necessary to their work, were reduced to poverty and inspired with fierce hatred of every European. The only course open to these ruined men was to try their fortunes at trading on the continent, to collect ivory and kidnap slaves, which were secretly

brought over to Zanzibar. Thus the unfortunate districts of East Africa were sacrificed to marauders of the worst class, and the Arabs became the curse of the country. About the different centres of Arab influence oases of higher culture certainly arose amid the general devastation, which exercised some beneficial influence upon the natives; but such benefits were far outweighed by the attendant misery. The Arabs began to make plantations at these centres also, a fresh demand for slaves arose, and the raids continued incessantly. The earliest and most important base of operations was Tabora in Unyamwesi, which may be said to mark the first and shortest stage of the Arab advance. Further inland is Ujiji, the harbour of Tanganyika, and also the notorious Nyangwe, on the Upper Congo, whence the Eastern Congo valley was cruelly devastated. Many tribes, such as the Manyema became the ready helpers of the Arabs, and took to raiding on their own initiative.

Within the few years ensuing, British influence was strengthened by the appointment of several British officials. But other Powers were now alert to appropriate "spheres of influence" in the Dark Continent. Treaty-making began to be actively carried on in the interior, and presently it became imperative that Great Britain and Germany should come to a definite understanding as to their respective areas of ascendancy. The matter was finally settled by the Anglo-German Convention of 1890, accompanied by an Anglo-French agreement, which virtually turned the northern half of the Zanzibar sultanate into a British protectorate, Zanzibar and Pemba being included therein.



A VIEW OF ZANZIBAR, ONCE THE CENTRE OF THE SLAVE TRADE
Zanzibar, the capital of the sultanate, on the island of Zanzibar, is the principal port on the east coast of Africa, and is under British protection. It was the centre of the East African slave trade in the days of its greatest prosperity.



TRIBES OF NORTH AND CENTRAL EAST AFRICA

AT the present time in Central East Africa it is possible to distinguish with tolerable clearness several zones of civilisation which display the results of long-continued foreign influence. The coast towns and the larger portion of the sea-board are inhabited by the Suaheli, a mixed people with a certain infusion of Arab and also of Portuguese blood, united by a common language and a uniform civilisation. In the fruitful mountainous country behind the coast-line and in the plain districts further in the interior dwell small races often in a very low stage of civilisation. When we penetrate the highlands between the Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, and Nyassa, we reach a district too far from the coast to be demoralised by the influence of the foreigners settled there, and yet sufficiently near to receive all kinds of stimulus. Thus, in this district has arisen a people, the Wanyamwesi, civilised—at least in

Civilised People of Moonland

the African sense of the word—admirably distinguished by manufacturing industry and by an inclination for trade, and likely to be highly important in the future of the continent.

This people has apparently maintained a peaceful intercourse with the coast from a very early period. The word Unyamwesi means "Moonland," and originated among the coast population, who may have heard, like the Arabs, their teachers, of the legendary Mountains of the Moon of the ancients: the name was naturally attached to the most important district of the interior, the goal of all trading expeditions. The natural advantages of the locality, and especially the protection afforded by the plains and lakes against attacks from without, contributed to advance the prosperity of Unyamwesi; so too did the caravan trade and the higher civilisation thereby introduced, which helped to consolidate the different races of the district to a closer political unity. The highest prosperity of this state certainly came to pass at a time concerning

which we have no direct information; but its importance can easily be inferred even in its present condition of decay.

The central point of Unyamwesi is Unyanyembe; even after the disruption of the kingdom, the date of which is unknown, communication with the coast was maintained here, and certain traditions of no great antiquity were preserved. We are probably correct in placing the founder of the present dynasty, Swetu I., at the end of the eighteenth century. Under this ruler the caravan trade, which had probably ceased, must have been reopened—a movement apparently begun by two elephant hunters, Mparangome and Ngogombe, who made their way nearly to the coast and then acted as guides to the caravans of their countrymen about 1825–1830. The Arabs soon availed themselves of the newly opened trade route, and founded Tabora in 1846 as their centre of operations. At this point begins the great modern Arab incursion into Central Africa, with the great revolutions and struggles to which it led.

Other foreign elements were also to be found in Unyamwesi. An offshoot of the Hamitic Wahuma immigrations from the north appears at an early period but did not attain to any political influence in the country. On the other hand, the Zulu raids brought detachments of this warlike race into the district; their influence upon the destinies of Unyamwesi was to become important in later times, when these additions were known as Watuta or Wangoni. About 1850 the Watuta separated from the Masitu, the Zulus

Zulu Raids in Moonland

upon Lakes Schirwa and Nyassa, and, advancing from the north-west end of Lake Nyassa, attacked the Warori, being attracted by their wealth of cattle; finding them too strong, they passed by Urori and advanced to Udjidji in 1858, the Arab inhabitants taking refuge on the island of Bangwe. The Watuta then attacked Uhha, on Lake Tanganyika, and Urundi, with its capital,

Muwukeye, without success, marched through Uvinsa, entered Unyamwesi, and arrived by way of Usindja at the Ukerewe Lake. Here they remained some years, and then returned to Sudussukuma, the chief of which prudently became the son-in-law of the Watuta leader and received his land back as dowry. How-

**East
Africa's
Napoleon**

ever, part of the Watuta went farther south, and became the most reliable contingent in the service of the powerful Mirambo, the "Napoleon of East Africa." Under him they were gradually transformed from a fierce tribe of wanderers to a state which became highly prosperous in the well-watered pasture lands of Ugomba and Ngalla.

Mirambo himself, born about 1830, was of the race of the Wanyamwesi, probably the son of a petty village chieftain; he was a caravan porter, and, being badly treated by an Arab, escaped into the wilderness and collected a band of robbers about him, which was soon as great a terror to the natives as were the Arabs themselves. Upon the death of the chief of Uyoweh, a small district belonging to Unyamwesi, he seized this territory and terrorised the whole of south-west Unyamwesi by his devastating raids. Conflict with the Arabs was inevitable. Stanley, who was travelling through the country just at that period, 1871, took part in the expedition which the Arabs made against Mirambo; their victorious advance was speedily terminated by a crushing defeat. In the same year Mirambo stormed and burned the town of Tabora. He was then, between 1870 and 1880, at the height of his power.

But the system of conquest which he had adopted from the Zulus was not the method by which permanent empires are formed. Unyamwesi, which had been formerly so powerful, did not rise to new prosperity under Mirambo. His power was wasted, as it had grown, by continual war. After his death,

**The Clutch
of Europe
in Moonland**

in 1886, Unyamwesi was more than ever torn by faction, and before a path out of this state of disruption to further development could be found Tabora was garrisoned by the Germans in 1890. This event, together with the defeat of Sikki, chief of Unyanyembe, announced the beginning of a new era for these districts. The clutch of Europe had closed upon the savage region.

Very little is known of the history of the Bantu-speaking peoples settled to the eastward between Unyamwesi and the coast. It is clear that their numbers were once greater and their situation more favourable than now. On the other hand, the state of the Bushman races in the unwatered territory is an argument against assigning the whole of Central East Africa to the Bantu. Here also there was undoubtedly constant migration and fusion of races at an early epoch.

The inhabitants of Usagara, Useguha, Usambara, Ukami and Chutu appear to form a connected group, which, like the Wanyamwesi, has been settled in its territory from an early period. Contrasted with these are those Bantu who have come under Hamitic influence, of whom the chief representatives are the Wagogo, beside numerous smaller tribes further northward, such as the independent Wadchagga at the Kilimanjaro, the tributary Wapokomo on the Tana, etc. The northern races of the Wanyamwesi are originally related to the Wagogo, and the latter have linguistic affinities to the

**Bantu
Peoples of
the East**

Bantu people of the Wahuma states, so that a general connection can be made among them, enabling us to draw several conclusions as to their early history. In more recent times Usambara and the district on the Kilimanjaro have been of special historical importance. About halfway through the nineteenth century Usambara was in a comparatively well-ordered condition, under a king named Kmeri. He resided in Wuga, and was the fourth of his dynasty, possessing for the moment only a part of Usambara, until Bondei and also a piece of Wadigoland, inland from Mombasa, were added by conquest. Useguha, the coast dwellers of which were provided with guns, broke away. His family appear to have been of Arab origin, or at least to have received a large infusion of Arab blood; legend speaks of their immigration from Nguru, or Dshagga. After Kmeri's death, in 1867, the power of the little state declined very rapidly. Simbodja, Kmeri's successor, who resided in Wasinda and ultimately became involved in a quarrel with the Germans, even lost Bondei, where another chief of the Wakilindi family, Kibanga, made himself independent. The historical importance of Usambara may be easily explained by the natural

NORTH AND CENTRAL EAST AFRICA

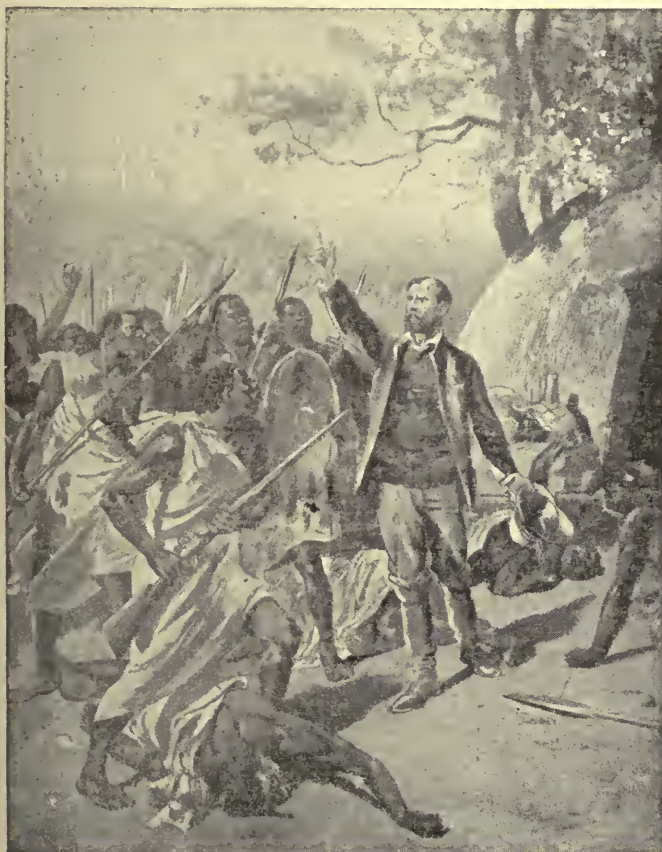
characteristics of the country. A fruitful mountainous district gives protection and security to a strong government until its influence is automatically extended over the surrounding plains, and a state arises with tolerably strong powers of resistance. In this way the power of the races about Kilimanjaro, and especially that of the Wadchagga in the surrounding districts, became noticeable. But the scanty numbers and the disunion of these mountain tribes have invariably hindered the formation of a greater kingdom.

Every district in North-east Africa, inhabited by Bantu tribes, with the possible exception of the little states about Kilimanjaro, has been subjected to the disintegrating and destructive influence of Hamitic races, who advanced from the north. Unyamwesi was one of those East African districts which are so far distant from the coast that the influences of trade

exercised a beneficent rather than a disturbing influence. The same is true to a far greater extent of the lake district, which is surpassed by few parts of the continent in the advantages of its situation. Protected by the lakes, rivers, and steep mountain ranges, without being utterly cut off from communication with the outer world, the several states were here in possession of a fruitful and well-watered soil, and could develop a true negro civilisation. Africa can show but few parallels to the firmness of their structure and external power. Bantu peoples founded these kingdoms in antiquity, and still form the main stock of the population, though they have certainly been greatly changed by intermarriage with other negro races. They have been the real founders of the local civilisation; not only do they till the soil, but they also manufacture those tasteful objects

which have been praised by all civilised visitors to the country. The civilisation of the coast has touched more lightly upon the lake district than upon Unyamwesi, where cotton is planted and woven. In the Wahuma states, as they are generally called collectively, the older art of making cloth from the bark of trees has been brought to unusual perfection.

We know nothing of the political condition of the lake district in that earlier period when the Bantu were at the same time the rulers and the owners of the land; but it is highly probable that there was a settled constitution even then. This constitution did not take its present form until immigrants of Hamitic blood came into the land from the north-east. These immigrants are the Wahuma. The rulers of Uganda were probably not of Wahuma race, but were in any case of Hamitic origin, and must therefore have entered the country from the north-east, as the eastern



THE DEATH OF BISHOP HANNINGTON IN UGANDA

After the appearance of Europeans and Arabs in Uganda, the conflict of foreign ideas provoked great confusion, and both Christians and Mohammedans were persecuted, King Mwanga even ordering the murder of Bishop Hannington.

side is protected by the Victoria Nyanza. The date of the invasion is very uncertain; but on the whole the probabilities are that it took place about the fifteenth century. The Wahuma not only spread over the lake district, they also penetrated into Unyamwesi on the north, where they led a nomadic life in separate groups under the name of

Invasion of the Fair Peoples

Watussi. Their fair complexion and the tradition of their origin mark their connection with the Galla and the other Hamitic peoples of North-east Africa. In Unyoro Emin Pasha heard the following story: Unyoro, together with Uganda, Ussoga, Udda, and Karagwe once formed a large territory, inhabited by the Witshwesi, a black agricultural race. Then many fair people came out of the north who were cannibals. When they crossed the Nile, the Witshwesi fled westward. At Matjum, south-east of Mruli, the invaders, the Wawitu—people of Witu, the “land of the princes” lying in the east—divided into two groups, one of which advanced to Uganda, the other to Unyoro. The remnant of the Witshwesi, who named their oppressors Wahuma, literally Northmen—in Uganda they were also known as Walindi, in Karagwe as Wahinda—went about the country as minstrels or magicians, or were reduced to slavery. From that time the name Witshwesi has been synonymous for serf in Unyoro. The Wahuma now intermarried closely with the Bantu peoples, as is related in their own extraordinary tradition communicated to Speke by King Kamrasi: “Formerly our race was half white and half black, with straight hair on one side and curly on the other.” Whether the word Wawitu is to be referred to the country of Witu or to the old name for Mombasa, Omwita, is extremely doubtful. Philological arguments will not help us here, as the

Half White and Half Black

Wahuma have adopted the language of the subject Bantu in nearly every case. The Wahuma seem to have founded a kingdom which was at first more or less self-contained, the kingdom of Kitara; it extended southward to the Kagera, its centre of gravity lying in the later Unyoro. Internal dissensions led to the despatch southward of further expeditions, and to the foundation of new

states. Of these Ihangiro seems to have been the first; afterwards, twenty generations ago, a Wahuma chief Ruhinda is said to have fled to the country of Wanyambo, situated to the south of Kagera; there he won over the favour of the King, Nono, treacherously murdered him and seized the power.

Such was the origin of the kingdom of Karagwe, which was more or less dependent upon Uganda in later times. Later, however, we find princes of the Ruhinda family in Ihangiro and Ussuwi, or Ussui; for a time the whole group of states formed one kingdom under the name of Ukanga, Ushirombo being also included. Uha was also a powerful and extensive state for some time, and formed the southernmost outpost of the Wahuma power on the north-east coast of Lake Tanganyika. Upon the disruption of this kingdom the power of the Wahuma collapsed utterly in the south, though it was maintained in Karagwe and Ihangiro. When the first Europeans, Speke and Grant, arrived at Karagwe at the beginning of the 'sixties, the benevolent Rumanika was in power.

Speke and Grant in Wahuma

After his death there were disputes about the succession. The country is now within the sphere of German interests.

The history of the south-western Wahuma state Ruanda is uncertain. It cannot be determined whether it originally belonged to Kitara or whether it was connected with Ukanga; the only certain fact is that the supremacy of the Wahuma, who were here known as Wasamboni, was established over the Wavira, and that the power of the kingdom in course of time has rather increased than diminished. The population of Kissakka is dependent upon Ruanda.

The seat of the highest Wahuma civilisation is in the north; here are situated the districts of Uganda and Unyoro, which developed into independent, closely organised states from the earlier kingdom of Kitara.

The early history of Uganda is wholly legendary. Kintu, the first king, marched from the north into the uninhabited lake district, peopled it with his descendants and the produce of the cattle which he had brought with him, and ruled as patriarch over the land. When his people plunged into all kinds of depravity he mysteriously disappeared, and was succeeded by his son, Tchwa. Of the

following kings the fourth, Kimera, stands out more clearly in the mist of legend. He is depicted as a man of superhuman size and strength, and passionately devoted to hunting; but we are also told that it was he who emigrated from Unyoro and founded an independent kingdom in Uganda, after subjugating the native Wiru or Waddu. Kitara appears to have collapsed about that period.

Several kings followed Kimera, of whom legend has but little to relate. Naki-vingi, the tenth king, is the first personality of any importance; he is said to have conquered and subjugated Unyoro, so that the northern province of the old Kitara kingdom was again unified for a short period. The legendary winged warrior Kibaga is said to have been very useful to him during this struggle. Of a long succession of rulers who followed we know practically nothing. Then followed the conquest of Usoga, under the twenty-seventh king Tchabagu, whose reign dates back probably not more than a century. After two more unimportant rulers, Djundju Yunya and Wasedje, Kamanya ascended the throne, the grandfather of Mtesa, the first king visited by Europeans. We have the most divergent accounts of his struggles with the Wakidi in Usoga. These Wakidi are related to the Galla, and are therefore a Hamitic people; the manner of their attacks shows that they had the same wandering tendencies as the Wahuma formerly displayed. The king seems to have repelled the incursions of this race, and to have finally reduced them to subjection.

Under Sunna II., the successor to Kamanya, new influences were brought to bear upon the country by the Arab traders who made their way from the coast to Uganda. Sunna was born about 1820, came to the throne in 1836, and

died in 1860. He was a typical example of the despotic Uganda prince, careless of human life, ever ready to make war and inclined to cruelty, but benevolent and hospitable to strangers. Under his rule the power of the kingdom greatly increased. Ihangiro was conquered, the ruler of Unyoro was humbled, and the ruler of Ruanda beaten. A powerful fleet terrorised Victoria Lake, and even the warlike population of the island of Uvuma was forced to submit. The most formidable sea-fight took place when Usoga revolted and Sunna advanced to reconquer the country with 500 large ships, after the Wasoga had retired before

his land forces to one of the islands of the lake and had mustered a fleet of equal strength. The rebels were blockaded in their island, were ultimately forced to surrender, and were partly massacred in the most ruthless manner. Many marauding expeditions were also made by the chiefs of the frontier provinces, who were constantly seeking to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their neighbours.

Sunna had named the prince Kadjumba as his successor; however, after his death, the chiefs elected Mtesa, who appeared to be of milder character than his tyrannical brother. They soon discovered

that they had made a terrible mistake. There were certain elements of greatness in Mtesa's character, but many more repulsive features, which became very apparent in the first years of the government to which he had been elected with too little consideration. After a great victory over the Wasoga, he named himself Mkavya (he who causes weeping). He was capricious and cruel; at times he seemed inspired with the lust for slaughter, though at the same time he was by no means incapable of appreciating the higher civilisation of Arabs and Europeans. Shortly after his accession the first Europeans, Speke and



THE YOUNG KING OF UGANDA
Daudi Chwa, who came to the throne in 1903.

Grant, entered his capital of Banda—afterwards Rubaga and Nebula-galla were Mtesa's residences—which had already been visited by Arab merchants; they obtained an excellent reception. The different ideas of these foreign visitors soon came into conflict, and wrought endless confusion in Uganda. At first Arab

**Religious
Confusion
in Uganda**

influence was predominant: as early as 1862 Mtesa adopted the Arab costume instead of the native Mbugu, began to read the Koran, and allowed some part of his people to embrace the Mohammedan faith. Then Christian missionaries came into the country, at first Protestants in 1877, followed by the Catholics in 1879. Both persuasions found ready acceptance, in spite of the capricious cruelty of Mtesa, who at one time executed a number of Mohammedans, and at another instituted a regular persecution of the Christians (1881 and 1883), without himself deciding in favour of either of the new beliefs.

Mtesa died in October, 1884. His son Mwangza, who succeeded him, at first showed no special favour to either of the new religions, and followed the example of his father's capricious and bloodthirsty behaviour. Under his persecutions Christians and Mohammedans suffered alike, and he even ordered the murder of a European, Bishop Hannington, in October, 1885. At length Mwangza formed the wild project of massacring his bodyguard, which was composed of Christians and Mohammedans; a general insurrection then broke out, and he was forced to flee to the south. This movement was, however, only the prelude to further disturbance. The adherents of the Bible and the Koran divided the land peacefully between themselves, and elected Mwangza's brother Kiwewa as king. A war then broke out, which ended in the victory of Islam; some of the Christian chiefs were slain, others fled with the missionaries to the frontier lands in the south. As the

**Murder of
Bishop
Hannington**

king Kiwewa had not shown sufficient consideration toward the Arabs, he was replaced by Karema, another of Mwangza's brothers, who now made public profession of Islam. Meanwhile Mwangza, who had been in exile at Bukumbi, had been won over to Christianity by the French missionaries, who had given him a hospitable reception. With the help of the Christian party he succeeded in establishing himself on the

island of Shassa, and after several failures at length defeated Karema in a decisive battle. On October 11th, 1889; he re-entered his capital of Mengo, most of the Arabs taking refuge in Unyoro.

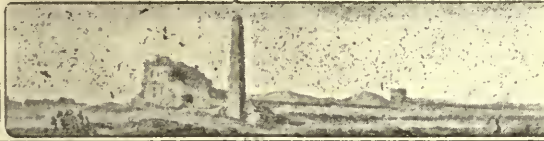
But even now the land was not at peace. The points of dispute existing between the Protestants and Catholics resulted in an open breach, and the exasperation was increased by British attempts to gain a footing in Uganda. Eventually the country was divided among the adherents of the several religions, the Protestants receiving four-sixths, and the Catholics and Mohammedans one-sixth each. Since 1890 the much devastated and depopulated Uganda has been entirely under British influence.

There is but little to be said of the history of Unyoro, except in so far as it comes into connection with the other Wahuma states. Unyoro was undoubtedly the earliest home of the Wahuma and the centre from which they afterward spread; but it was not the centre of the civilisation of the states in the lake district, for the original civilisation of that region

**Marauders
of
Unyoro**

belonged to the earlier Bantu inhabitants and not to the Wahuma. The marauding armies of the country are the curse of the surrounding districts. The unusual force of these nomadic instincts may be partially explained by the fact that Unyoro received a later immigration from the north-east at a comparatively late period; at any rate, according to Emin Pasha, the Wawitu, who are now in possession, did not enter the country before 1800; they have readily coalesced with the cognate Wahuma or Wahinda probably the original name of the people.

South of Unyoro, and east and south-east of Lake Albert Edward lie two other smaller Wahuma states, Nkole, or Ankore, of which the capital is Katwe, and Mpororo, which have only recently been discovered. Here also we meet with the tradition that Wahuma, or Wassamwo, invaded the country from the north and subjugated the original inhabitants. In Nkole the predecessor of Ntali, the present ruler, was called Mutambuka. Under the king Rokay, Mpororo had risen to considerable power, but has decayed greatly under his daughter and successor Nyawingi, and is now hard pressed by the inhabitants of Nkole.



THE TRIBES OF THE CENTRE AND WEST

IN the Upper Zambesi region the most important race is that of the Barotse, who display many characteristics denoting their close relationship to those peoples who founded states in the south of the Congo basin and on the West Coast, which borders that district. The Barotse, extending along both banks of the Zambesi inhabit the central part of the kingdom; they suffered some temporary humiliation at the hands of the Makololo, but soon regained their position as the dominant race among the other inhabitants of the kingdom. The smaller tribes were considered by the Barotse as their slaves. But in 1870-1890, when Holub and Selous visited them, the Barotse were themselves living under an absolutely despotic government. This state of affairs cannot have been of long duration; the existence of a small and of a great council shows that the institutions characteristic of Africa have been handed down from

Barotse Councils of State

antiquity in this case also—institutions which are powerless against a strong ruler, but speedily grow beyond the control of a weak monarch. The very different manner in which the civilisation of the several tribes has developed induces the conjecture that the kingdom did not always cover the area which it now occupies.

Much more strongly marked in the states of Central South Africa than in the other kingdoms of the Dark Continent is the peculiar fact that they are surrounded by boundary zones and not by sharply defined frontier lines. The power of the state is at its strongest in the centre and declines in proportion as the frontiers are approached. The tribes living nearest to the dominant race may be nothing more than slaves, while those at a greater distance merely pay tribute and are generally inclined to shake off the yoke upon any signs of weakness in the supreme power. Hence it is impossible to say how far the influence of the old Barotse kingdom extended previous to its temporary conquest by the Makololo Kaffirs.

The Makololo belong to the western group of Kaffirs, the east Bechuanas, the remnants of which now bear the general name "Basuto." Until the year 1820 they lived in the eastern part of what is now the Orange River Colony. It was about this time that Moselikatse came upon the scene with his Matabele.

The Basuto Kaffirs This event, and a defeat which they suffered in 1823, together with the Mantati—a branch of the Batlokua who belonged to the north-eastern Bechuanas—near Lithaku, at the hands of the Griqua under Andries Waterboer, forced the Makololo to abandon their old settlements in 1824 and to migrate northward. The Bangwaketse, whose chief village was Makabe, first of all made a fruitless attempt at opposition; then the Makololo found an opportunity of interfering in the internal dissensions of the Bakwena, one of the most powerful of the Bechuana races; they raised to the rulership of the people, Setshele, the son of a chief who had been overthrown by his subjects.

The Makololo chief at this period was Sebituane, a born leader of men, and one of the strongest and most attractive personalities of whom we hear in the whole history of Africa. According to Livingstone he was accustomed to lead his troops into battle in person, unlike Moselikatse, Dingan, and other generals. Setshele's support enabled the Makololo to settle in the neighbourhood of the Bakwena. But a quarrel with the Boers obliged them to retreat northward. The history of Sebituane's advance into Northern Bechuanaland is an Odyssey of battles, privations, and sudden changes of fortune. Harassed by the advancing Matabele, he turned westward to the district of the Herero, and then again eastward to the Zambesi. Menaced by the treachery of the island Batoka, he nevertheless succeeded in crossing the river and defeated his enemies in the neighbourhood of the Victoria Falls;

A South African Odyssey

the capture of countless herds of cattle enabled his people to resume their pastoral life in the rich pastures of the district. Sebituane was then able to turn his attention to the organisation and extension of the kingdom, which he ruled in his "capitals" of Sesheke on the Zambesi and Linyanti on the Chobe,

**Death of
Africa's
Finest Ruler**

the north-east point of the modern German South-west Africa. Sebituane died in 1851. He was succeeded by his daughter Mamotshisane and his son Seketetu, who reigned until about 1856. Upon the extinction of the Makololo the Barotse people again became predominant in the kingdom, while at the same time the Mambunda people became an influential power. At this period a new native family gained possession of the throne, which prided itself upon the pure Makololo blood in its veins, although it was founded by Letshulatebe, the conqueror of the last of the Makololo. He had originally resided at Lesotsilebe, east of Lake Ngami. Of these princes Sepopo, who removed his capital from the Barotse towards the Masupia district, became notorious for his cruelty. He succeeded in placing himself upon the throne of the Mambunda kingdom, which was governed by a dynasty related to his own and reverted to one of his daughters upon the death of the last queen. He thus completely unified the Barotse-Mambunda kingdom. He was murdered in 1876, and his kingdom fell into confusion.

His successor, Nwana-Wana, destroyed such slight independence as had been left to the kingdom of Mambunda by forcing the queen to resign the throne in her own name and that of her descendants. However, he speedily fell from his position, owing to the discovery of a plan which he had conceived for the murder of the most important chiefs. In his stead

**Barotse
Under
Lewanika**

Leboshe was elected king, much against his own desire. However, the struggle with Nwana-Wana ended in the defeat and death of the latter. The peace policy which Leboshe inaugurated was not to the liking of his people, who had been demoralised by revolts and battles. After the murder of Leboshe, about 1880, Lewanika waged war in the north-east, in 1882, against the Mashikulumbwe, from whom he took 40,000 cattle, though

his subjugation of this people was not really complete. In the year 1884 disturbances again broke out; the king was driven into exile with his more vigorous sister and co-regent, and Waga-Funa temporarily ascended the throne. In 1886 Lewanika made a successful return, but stained his victory by ingratitude and cruelty. He afterwards maintained his position upon the throne in spite of neighbouring British, Portuguese, and Belgian influences.

To the north-west of the Barotse kingdom, from which it is divided by a stretch of independent territory, lies the second great political state of Central Africa, the kingdom of Lunda, more generally known as the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo. Here, again, there are no permanent or sharply defined boundaries. The central part of the kingdom lies on the Upper Kassai and the rivers flowing parallel to it in a northerly direction. On the west the influence of the king extends nearly to the Kwango, on the south to the watershed between the Congo and the Zambesi; on the north and east the boundary lines vary even during the short

**Character
of the Kingdom
of Lunda**

period over which our accurate knowledge of the Lunda kingdom extends. The Kalunda are the dominant race, a pure negro people speaking a Bantu language. Their civilisation is certainly poorer than that of the Barotse-Mambunda kingdom. It is very remarkable that neither the palm-fibre cloth of the true Congo valley nor the cotton fabrics of the Zambesi district are produced here; nor has the art of iron-working attained any high development. Agriculture is assiduously practised, while cattle-breeding is somewhat neglected.

The political institutions of the country are of the highest importance for its history. In Lunda we also find the king, here known as Muata Yamwo, at the head of the state, with absolutely unlimited powers, surrounded by a body of councillors whose influence varies according to the character of the ruler. Moreover, we find the country separated into a number of small districts, which are divided among individual chieftains, who govern them quite after the manner of the feudal system. These chieftains enjoy complete independence as regards the internal administration of their districts so long as the monarch chooses to refrain

CENTRAL AND WEST SOUTH AFRICA

from interference, but are obliged to pay tribute and provide contingents of troops for the army. Naturally, most of these small districts have not been made by a process of arbitrary division, but are of historical origin, and thus have an additional stimulus to cling to their independence; the result being that, as in the Barotse kingdom, the outlying portions are kept to their allegiance solely by the exertions of the ruler for the time being, while the extent and power of the kingdom is continually changing.

A very remarkable feature in the constitution of the state, and one that doubtless goes back to some older type, is the queen-consort, the Lukokeshu. This female ruler is not the king's wife, but is a member of the royal house, possessing her own court and her own income, and the power of deciding the election of a new Muata Yamwo. She is allowed to marry, but her husbands are officially known as "wives," and, generally speaking, have no influence. Thus in the Lunda kingdom the government has two heads in existence, which are neither mutually exclusive nor in mutual hostility.

Such a state of affairs cannot but be the outcome of previous historical development. In this case we probably have before us the remnant of a matriarchal system of government. At a certain stage of tribal development kinship is recognised through the females, not through the males; and consequently the mother, not the father, becomes of primary authority. Hence arises a female sovereignty. In spite of its inevitable replacement in course of time by a male sovereignty, similar instances remain of its formal survival. In the case of Lunda, tradition declares that the present system had its origin when a Lunda princess married an immigrant prince, and associated him with herself in the rulership. The existence of the Lunda kingdom was known upon the coast as early as the end of the sixteenth century, from the slaves who brought descriptions of it from the interior. Very little, however is known of the internal history of the country, although Portuguese traders must have penetrated to Lunda at an early period.

**Governed
by
Women**

The extent of the kingdom varied under different rulers, as also did the position of the capital, Mussumba (great encampment). Its site was altered with every change in the succession, though it was never removed beyond the fruitful plain lying between the Kalangi and Luisa, tributaries of the Lulua. A short time ago (1896-1897) it was situated on the left bank of the Luele. The burial-place of the royal dynasty is Nsai, on the Kallanji.

**An Ever-
changing
Capital**

Although, generally speaking, the Lunda kingdom is but little troubled by foreign enemies, this advantage is somewhat discounted by the slow growth of an element of danger within the state, which will produce a complete revolution of affairs unless disturbed by European interference. To the south-west of the Lunda kingdom is the race of the Kioko, which has lived in a forest district from an early period, and forms a contrast to the plain-dwelling people of the Kalunda. The Kioko show a preference for settlements in the forest, are excellent hunters, collect indiarubber, keep bees, but also understand the art of agriculture and have strongly marked inclinations for trade; this latter tendency has been the reason of their slow but continuous migration northward. The true home of the Kioko is tributary to the



LEWANIKA

The King of the Barotse, who retained his independence in spite of neighbouring European influences.

Muata Yamwo, and is divided into numerous departments. But for a long period this restless people has been advancing upon its original habitat in two main streams, one on the Kuillu and Loange, the other northward on the Luatshim; everywhere they are outstripping the Kalunda by their industry. About 1860 they had not passed beyond the tenth degree of latitude south; in 1880 they were found upon the seventh degree. The Kalunda eyed them suspiciously, and hinted boastfully of a war to wipe out the unwelcome intruders; but the Kioko had even then become necessary to them for their trading habits and their industrious pursuit of agriculture and metal-work. Moreover, manners and customs were so rapidly exchanged at every point of contact between the two races that any sharp lines of demarcation disappeared rapidly. In the event of war between the Kioko and the Kalunda, the

former would probably become the dominant race; at any rate, a new independent state would be formed in the west of the Lunda kingdom, which is even now upon the point of severance.

In addition to the land of the Kioko, the Muata Yamwo possess a number of districts, some of which are loosely connected with Lunda, and at times break away from it entirely. By far the most important of these is the kingdom

of the Kasembe, the capital of which lies between the Lakes Mweru and Bangweolo and changes its situation almost as frequently as the capital of the Lunda kingdom. In other respects also the country is a counterpart of Lunda, except that it is not governed by a Lukoksha. There is no permanent connection between the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo and that of Kasembe; the power of the latter has diminished greatly within recent times, and the connection between the two states appears to have been maintained not so much by fear of the military power of Lunda as by other influences, perhaps of a superstitious nature. At any rate, when Kasembe resumed the payment of tribute—copper, slaves, and salt—to Lunda in the year 1875, this action is said to have been taken upon the advice of the court magician, who referred several unfortunate occurrences to the interruption of this traditional homage. The Muata Yamwo were considered by many of their neighbours as endowed with special magical powers which made them invincible.

The Kasembe power dwindled more rapidly after the immigration of Msiri; his tribe came from Nyamwesi, and rose to supreme power in Katanga, or properly Garenganja, of which the capital is Mukurru, Bunkea, or Kimpatu, a district further to the west between the Luapula on the east and the Lualaba in the west on the Lusira. About the middle of the year 1880 Msiri possessed from two to three thousand warriors armed with flint-lock guns, and perhaps three times as many archers; but they paid tribute to the magical Muata Yamwo. Msiri's trading caravans went as far as Benguela, and at the same time he maintained commercial relations with the east coast. In December, 1891, he was shot in an affair with the Belgian captain Bodson.

Tribute to the Magician

The kingdom of Kasongo in Urua is tributary to the Muata Yamwo. Here again the ruler demands and receives a superstitious veneration. The founder of the kingdom, Kungwe a Banza, is considered as the most powerful deity and invariably receives a sister of the ruling chieftain to wife. Further, the Kasongo, in their own opinion, are related to the Muata Yamwo. But in the last decade of the nineteenth century this district showed clear evidence of the wide disruption caused by the collapse of the once flourishing negro states of Central Africa, a disaster due to the far-reaching operation of the Belgian Congo State.

When we leave the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo and turn northward to the mighty valley of the Congo, we reach the most mysterious and unexplored district of Central Africa. Even from an ethnographical point of view it has a uniformity and a character of its own, though nowhere does any sharp line of demarcation separate it from the outer world. It belongs wholly to the district of the Bantu languages, and possesses a population

Most Mysterious District

purely negro, with the exception of the dwarf peoples in the forest depths. In the Congo valley the right-angled type of hut with ridged roof takes the place of the round beehive shape and its varieties. The huts are not placed in a circle or in disorderly confusion; but in long, straight streets. But this style of building is also found on the negro west coast, which belongs only in part to the Bantu-speaking region. Moreover, a remarkable similarity exists between many of the examples of ironwork produced in the two districts. The work of the Congo valley has a fairly uniform style of its own. Knives, spearheads, etc., are broad, stumpy, and severely symmetrical. Many knives from the west coast show the same style of workmanship.

On the other hand, the west coast has no knowledge of the Congo valley palm fibre and grass fabrics which are to be found in scattered districts of East Africa and especially in Malay Madagascar. Possibly we have here the traces of an advance from east to west of a civilisation of which the most deeply rooted remnants must be sought in Indonesia.

Cannibalism is found prevailing under the most varied forms in the Central Congo valley. Endocannibalism and

exocannibalism are alike practised—that is, some races eat their own dead, others their defeated enemies. Some eat both.

The Congo valley is connected with West Africa not only by the practice of cannibalism, but also by the custom of skull worship. The whole group of ideas attaching to this subject is not nearly so developed in Africa as in Indonesia, where head-hunting is an "authorised peculiarity" among many island races, and is pursued with true fanatical enthusiasm. None the less, many survivals of the custom are to be found in Congoland. On the west coast it has greatly developed in certain places, and recalls the typical Malay usage.

Many isolated features thus show the Congo valley as the most untrudged and secluded part of Africa—as being, in a sense, a world apart. Yet this isolation has not prevented the general distribution of the American garden plants—maize, manioc, and tobacco, which were introduced by Europeans—and also of the Indian hemp, a narcotic well known in the most central part of the Congo valley.

The knowledge of iron smelting and forging may have been carried over the continent in a similar manner at some earlier period, and certain domestic animals may have found a new home among the races of the interior. The extent to which the land had been opened up by trade in earlier centuries is indicated by the ancient European glass beads in the possession of many Congo tribes, who are now unable to give any account of the source whence these treasures came. Still more notable is the information given by the curious swords of Congoland. Their cutting edge lies upon the inner curve, and in their broad, flat points they conform to the laws of style observed in the ironwork of the Congo. But on a closer examination of the type it appears already strangely familiar; it is in fact the same crooked weapon which we find in Arabia, India, and Abyssinia, but has been altered and modified upon its inclusion within the armoury of the Congo races. Its shape even to-day is evidence of that stream of civilisation which brought it from the north-east coast into the interior.

Another piece of early African history is revealed to us by an examination of the distribution of the throwing knife. This remarkable weapon is found among the

heathen races of the Central Sudan in a characteristic and fairly simple form, and was most probably at one time in use throughout this district. In Bornu at the present time those troops which are armed with the throwing knife form a contingent enjoying special privileges; in Darfur the sultan possesses a number

of these weapons, which his people no longer use. The Teda in the Sahara show a preference for them to the present day. The weapon is a product of pure Sudanese civilisation anterior to the Mohammedan period; it has passed southward, changing its shape in the most marvellously varied manner. During earlier and later times we can trace its movements, which are partly confirmed by other evidence, and which show us that the southern portion of the Central Sudan has been a point of departure for many important racial movements. The Fan carried the throwing knife westward to the Gabun coast. On the east the Niam-Niam brought it to the neighbourhood of the Upper Nile valley. An isolated example on the Upper Blue Nile shows the probability of earlier and even more extensive migrations. Finally, in the Sudan it was brought to the Ubangi, downward as far as the Congo, and was further distributed along the banks of this great river. Here, then, we have traces of a migration into the Congo valley from the north. On the other hand, there is a tradition among the Bateke on Stanley Pool that the ancient home of their race was in the north-west, in the highlands of the Ogowe. This, together with many other indications, points to the fact that the pressure exerted by the negro advance from the Sudan brought about migration into the Congo valley from Adamawa also.

Beside the immigration from the north there is a very remarkable movement from the south-east, and of this the Bashilange at least have preserved a trustworthy tradition. This people dwells on the Lower Lulua between the Central Kassai and Sankuru—that is to say, on the northern frontier of the Lunda kingdom. In reality they are a mixed people composed of an earlier peaceful settled race and the warlike Baluba, who came in from the south-east. Whether this migration was connected with the great racial movements in Africa during the sixteenth and

History of the Throwing Knife

The Untrudged Congo

Remarkable Baluba Migration

seventeenth centuries must remain an undecided question in default of any trustworthy evidence. It is probable that there was some connection between Kalunda and Baluba; one of the leaders of the Baluba migration, Kapuku-Muluba—the other two were called Katana and Kanyoka—was, according to the legend,

Religion of Hemp Worship

a son of that chief Kasongo who lived in the east, and from whom the tribe of the Muata Yamwo is descended. Their

possession of the characteristic Kaffir shield and many other special features invited the conjecture that the Baluba and also the Babunda were a mixed Kaffir race, or, at any rate, under Kaffir influence. East of the Bashilange district as far as Lake Tanganyika are situated pure, unmixed Baluba, differing in many respects from the Bashilange.

Intellectually the Bashilange are better developed than the average negro type; they are readier to learn and are less inclined to blind superstition, though singularly imitative. Among them there has been developed a very peculiar religion, of most inexplicable origin.

The central point of this new religion is hemp worship, and its beginning therefore probably goes back to the time when the custom of hemp-smoking spread from the east coast to the interior of the Congo valley. The adoration and veneration of a narcotic or stupefying drug, and the growth of a conventional worship round such a centre, is a peculiarity by no means exclusively confined to the Bashilange. In the Soma offerings of the Indian Aryans, in the reverence with which tobacco is regarded by many Indian tribes, we have a similar class of phenomena. At first small groups and societies of hemp-smokers appear to have been formed, who not only formed a close bond of friendship with one another but enlisted new members with passionate zeal, until they

A State of Hemp Smokers

attained a preponderating power. In this way friendly relations within the state were maintained and strengthened.

The hemp-smokers promulgated decrees of a mildness wholly exceptional in Africa. Their manifestations of friendship were not confined to the members of their society, but were also extended to foreigners—not always to their own advantage. The keen, industrious Kioko took advantage of the inexperience of the Bashilange

to plunder them in every possible way. They sold into slavery whole trading caravans which had entered the Kioko territory in unsuspecting confidence. They themselves brought powder and guns to the Bashilange, and thus enabled individual chieftains to increase their influence. When Pogge and Wissmann, the first Europeans to visit the land of the hemp-smokers, entered the country, they found two rival chieftains in predominance, Kalamba and Tshingenge. Meta, a sister of Kalamba, occupied a position analogous to that of the Lukoksha in the Lunda kingdom.

In recent times the raids of the Arabs and their native allies, especially the notorious chieftain Zefu bin Mohammed, or Zappu-Zapp, the son of Hammed ben Mohammed, or Tippu-Tibb, have thrown the Eastern Congo valley into total confusion, depopulated entire districts, and shattered the civilisation of the interior. There were, however, migratory movements in constant progress at an earlier period. The inhabitants of Uregga on the south still preserve a definite tradition of

East Congo Civilisation Shattered

their immigration from the north to their present settlements towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the Arab wars the tribe of the Man'yema adopted the profession of raiders, and not only provided the Arabs with their most valuable auxiliary troops, but entered the business of slave-catching on their own account. Consequently, other races, such as the Basonge, to the east of the Bashilange, were broken up and partly destroyed. At the expense of the civilisation and culture of wide districts, those Arab settlements have been formed which on a cursory glance appear to be the starting-points of a new and higher manner of life. European interference betokens all the introduction of further change, and change, let us hope, of a more beneficial nature.

In the central part of the Congo valley the peoples settle most thickly upon the river, which exercises a power of attraction like that of the ocean. It affords an abundant supply of fish, easy communication between the settlements, and, in case of hostile attacks, a secure refuge in the thickets on its banks, in the islands, and the opposite shores. The same remarks apply on a smaller scale to the navigable tributaries of the Congo, which in some cases have set a limit to the marauders'

CENTRAL AND WEST SOUTH AFRICA

raids, and are consequently thickly populated on one bank, the other being barren and deserted. The tendency to advance towards the stream, the shocks of great racial movements transmitted from the outer world, are impulses felt even by the inhabitants of the most central part of Africa. But there is no general connection in these migrations; none of those huge and rapidly constructed states could be formed here as they were in other parts of Africa. The boundless forests, the numerous broad streams, are so many obstacles in the way of any impetuous advance; on the river itself, intercommunication, the first great incentive to the peaceful formation of states, never attained any high stage of development.

now become the trade language for the district above the falls. European influence early made itself felt in the lower part of the Central Congo, with the result that the river banks in this district became in a measure a zone of attraction for unsettled tribes. The yearning for the sea seems to have been equally prevalent among the races about the lower falls. The kings of Loango were in constant warfare with the Anzig; the coincidence of sound in the names Anzig and Banyansi is probably wholly fortuitous, for the latter are more properly called Babangi, and gained the name by which they are now known, which means "fleas," from the parasitic manner in which they gained their livelihood.



SÃO SALVADOR, THE CAPITAL OF THE NATIVE KINGDOM OF CONGO, ABOUT 1670. In the 16th century the Portuguese entered the great kingdom of the Congo and induced the rulers to embrace Christianity, Portuguese customs also being adopted and the name of the capital being changed to São Salvador.

Stanley alone was able with the help of European weapons to fight his way through the fierce cannibal tribes. To the natives the inviting waterway is a closed path beyond the boundaries of their own tribes.

These conditions have certainly undergone a fundamental change since the arrival of Europeans. In particular, the small fishing tribes who lived on the islands and banks of the river have extended their journeys, and in some cases have become enterprising traders, founding colonies among other tribes. In the lower reaches of the river beginnings had been made in this direction at an earlier period. The Bayansi especially have become a typical trading people. Their dialect has

In the forest districts, and especially among the negro races who have inhabited their settlements for a long period, an important ethnical transposition has been brought to pass. These negroes could not fail to come into contact with the dwarf peoples, and, finally, perhaps after long struggles, they arrived at a common *modus vivendi* which was bound to have its effect upon each race. Such a community of existence must have resulted in course of time in a more or less extensive fusion of races which led here and there to the formation of actual mixed tribes. We have already mentioned the Bashi-lange, who had probably received a strong infusion of pygmy blood; but the most numerous settlements of this mixed race

**Opening
the Congo
to Traffic**

are to be found in the forests of the Upper Aruwimi—that is, near the smaller lakes at the sources of the Nile, where the ancients laid the scene of the war between the pygmies and the cranes. From a purely philological point of view, the west coast tribes form a special group of Bantus. Physically, they give the impression of a very mixed race, united only by the tie of language.

A large number of petty states originally existed upon the coast of Loango, until a prince belonging to Zerri in Kacongo subjugated the larger portion of these states and made Loango his capital. The town is said to have had a population of 15,000. In the south, Kacongo, or Malimba, and Ngoyo, or Kabinda, maintained their independence in certain respects; but the other parts of the country were in no very close connection with their suzerain. The power of the rulers varied with the prestige which they were able to maintain, and a strongly centralised organisation was rather the exception than the rule. At some period in the last part of the sixteenth century, at any rate before 1648, the date of the arrival of the Portuguese, Loango is said to have been a province of Congo, though we have no certain information as to the nature of the relationship. The influence of the Portuguese and of Christianity did not

make itself felt until a comparatively late period. The king of Loango was certainly converted about the middle of the seventeenth century by a zealous missionary; but as both missionary and convert died shortly afterward, no permanent result was effected. It was not until the year 1766 that missionaries again entered the country. On this occasion they were a French party, and settled in Kacongo.

Meanwhile, the kingdom of Loango was entirely overshadowed by its powerful and prosperous neighbour, Congo. For a time, indeed, it appeared as if Congo was to be a Christian state, and to become the starting-point whence Christianity and European civilisation were not so much to conquer as to overspread the Dark Continent. But it became apparent only too quickly that the seed which had so rapidly sprung up could bring forth no fruit; it was in turn choked and destroyed by the growth of native weeds.

When Diego Cao, with Martin Behaim, anchored in the mouth of the Congo in 1484, he found the country south of the river to a point nearly reaching Angola under the supremacy of one prince, the Mani-Congo, whose capital was at Ambasse, in the interior of the coastland.

The Portuguese at once perceived that if they could gain over this ruler to their side, and succeed in converting him to Christianity, they would be able rapidly to extend their influence over a considerable part of the country. They took some of the Congo inhabitants back to Lisbon, and in 1490 sent a formal embassy to Ambasse, obtaining permission to build a Christian church. Certain special causes made the success of the embassy even more brilliant, and led to the complete conversion of the king and of his people. One of these causes was to be found in



NATIVE CARVINGS OF LOANGO
 Beautiful ivory carvings showing traces of the influence of the Portuguese who entered Loango in the 17th century.

the state of political affairs within the Congo kingdom. It was a kingdom characterised by a lack of solidarity. Beside the central portion, whence it took its name, there were other provinces governed according to the invariable negro custom by their own semi-independent princes. Any temporary weakness on the part of the overlord enabled the provinces to acquire a further measure



BANZA LOVANGIRI, THE CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF LOANGO, ABOUT 1670

About the beginning of the 16th century, a native prince subjugated a large number of the petty states on the coast of Loango, making Loango his capital. In the upper part of this engraving are seen the royal buildings and market-place.

of independence. Complete defection occasionally resulted, when the solidarity of the kingdom had to be maintained by force of arms. Of the provinces in this relation to the kingdom, the most important was Songo, a district immediately south of the mouth of the Congo; after its chieftain had come into contact with the Portuguese, he was accustomed to call himself "count," and later "great prince." The count of Songo was always an untrustworthy vassal, especially during the period when the Congo power began to decline. In 1631 the count succeeded in conquering Kaongo and Ngoyo, whereupon he felt himself strong enough to throw off his allegiance to Congo.

At the same time the Congo king had attempted to hand over Songo to the Portuguese as a reward for services rendered by them. On two occasions, in 1636 and 1641, the king of Congo was utterly defeated. Even at the time when the Portuguese were beginning their missionary labours, a certain jealousy existed between Songo and Congo, in consequence of which the Songo prince, who was the weaker of the two, entered into close relations with the dreaded foreign arrivals, and embraced Christianity in the year 1491. At the very time when the Portuguese were laying the foundations of their

church in Ambasse those great migratory movements began of which the attack of the Mundequete upon Congo may be considered as the prelude. Portuguese narratives would make it appear that the Mundequete were settled on the great lakes in the far interior and had "revolted" against Congo, thus giving an incredible area of extension to the Congo kingdom. The truth is that we meet in this case with one more instance of those constant migrations to the coast, probably occasioned by the beginning of upheavals elsewhere, which were to devastate districts in Africa far remote from any visited by the warrior Mundequete.

However this may be, the unexpected incursion of their outnumbering foes placed the king of Congo in a most embarrassing situation. His glance fell involuntarily upon the Portuguese. They, with their crosses, their rose wreaths and bells, their admonitions and preachings, seemed to be proclaiming a new magic which would assure victory; and they may very well have promised the king more practical assistance in the last extremity. The defection of the ruler of Songo was not without its influence; the king had himself baptised his whole court under the name of Dom Joao da Silva, and countless numbers of his

The Magic of the Portuguese

Counts of Songo and Congo

subjects hastened to follow his example. The army, sprinkled with holy water and protected by the banners of the Cross, utterly routed the Mundequete in a fierce battle, and the victory of Christianity was thereby assured. Numerous churches arose, priests and monks found a wide field open for their efforts, and in 1534 a

Influence of Christianity on the Congo

bishop was consecrated for the newly acquired province. Congo itself was more powerful than ever; its influence must have extended far into the interior, and, under the protection of the Portuguese king, is said at that time to have reached even the great lakes.

This state of affairs was rudely interrupted by the invasion of an even more formidable enemy, the Jagga. In the year 1542 this cannibal tribe of warriors first appeared on the borders of the Congo kingdom, spreading terror and panic before them as they came. The Congo army was utterly defeated; the capital, which had been called São Salvador since the conversion of the people, was stormed and burnt to the ground with its cathedral and chapels; the ancient civilisation of Congoland was almost destroyed, together with the carefully ingrafted European culture which it supported. The king, Dom Alvaro I., whose palace had come to ape the style and manners of the court at Lisbon, deserted its capital, and fled to an island of the Congo, where he passed several miserable years. After four years of war, the utmost efforts of his people and the valuable assistance of Portuguese troops drove the Jagga out of the land in 1546. The country recovered its prosperity, and its connection with Portugal was naturally even closer than before.

Loango suffered from the incursions of the Anzig, with their little bows bound with lizard-skin, even as Congo had been troubled by the Jagga; but these two

Cannibals Devastate the Congo

peoples seem to have been of different origin. For a long time the Jagga were the terror of all the land about the Congo estuary. Angola was devastated; the town of Loanda is said to have been in their possession for seven years. Between 1590 and 1600 Benguela was the object of their marauding raids; Battel, who visited their encampment at that period, estimates their fighting strength at 16,000. Eventually they abandoned the pursuit of

war and settled in the district of Kassanje near the Upper Kwango, where remnants of them are said to have survived up to the present day.

The weakness of the civilisation founded in the Congo kingdom and the superficial character of its conversion to Christianity were soon to become apparent. In the year 1636 began the unfortunate struggle with Songo already mentioned, which weakened the kingdom to a considerable extent. These internal weaknesses finally led to an open breach; the king, Antonio I., threw off his allegiance, and drove the clergy out of the country, obliging the transference of the bishop's see to São Paulo de Loanda, which had been founded in 1574. A Portuguese army made a successful invasion of the Congo kingdom, but it was henceforward left entirely to itself. Further struggles with Songo in 1667, and with Bamba, which also declared its independence in 1687, brought about the final collapse of the Congo kingdom. Angola now became the centre of the Portuguese power. It had originally been

Congo Kingdom Collapses

a province of Congo with its "capital" Mapungo, under the name of Dongo, or Ambonde, had been raised by Portuguese interest to a considerable height of importance, and, after a revolt in 1578, had become partly dependent upon Portugal. The power of Congo, on the other hand, rapidly declined. It was not until 1882 that the missionaries again entered the country and made some 2,000 converts. But the once powerful ruler of Congo remains, and has remained throughout the nineteenth century, the helpless chieftain of the fallen town of São Salvador. Christianity, which was apparently deeply rooted in Congo, also disappeared entirely in course of time.

It was only by slow degrees that the Portuguese gained possession of the whole of Angola. The rising of 1578, or 1580, cost the lives of many Portuguese, and was followed by many lesser struggles, in which the advantage generally remained with the whites. Most tedious of all were the wars with the queen Ginga Bandi; after poisoning her brother she received baptism, but then continued for thirty years in hostility to Portugal. Eventually, in 1648, the Portuguese firmly established their supremacy.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



BRITISH & DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

CAPE COLONY AND ITS EXPANSION

THE story of European colonisation in South Africa before the last quarter of the nineteenth century was, with one exception, a story of coastal settlements, never extending an organised government into the interior. None of these has been established on a basis such that an autonomous state could be constructed thereon: none of them have been colonies in the full British sense of the term, any more than Madras and Calcutta and Bombay were colonies.

But there has been one exception. In the extreme south a European group established itself at the Cape, and formed itself into an agricultural as well as a trading community. For more than a hundred and eighty years expansion was slow enough. Then, not eighty years ago, began a great movement northwards and eastwards, extending past the Orange River, past the Vaal River, on to the Limpopo: always to the east of the junction of the Orange and the Vaal. Then the expansion spread from its old starting point in the south to the north, till it reached the Zambesi and passed beyond it into Central Africa.

In this movement, wholly distinct from other colonial movements in Africa—though not, in its last stages, uninfluenced by them—two peoples were concerned, Dutch and British. On the harmonious fusion of those two peoples in the future depends the successful development of a great African state analogous to the Canadian Dominion in another continent; a Dominion where also the harmonious fusion of the British with another race has been the condition of success.

It was the Portuguese who first discovered the Cape of Storms, re-christened the Cape of Good Hope. But for more

than a century and a half no practical attempt was made by any European power to treat the place as anything more than a port of call for the East India trade. At last, in 1652, the Dutch East India Company took possession, and planted a station at Table Bay under the command of Van Riebeeck. Although for the next twenty-five years England and Holland were intermittently at war, and some years elapsed before France ceased to be a rival to these two Powers in the contest for the empire of the seas, the Dutch position at the Cape was unchallenged. France was satisfied with the Mauritius, and England with St. Helena, which she took from the Dutch. In France, England or Holland no one as yet was thinking of establishing an African dominion.

For nearly another hundred and fifty years, then—from 1652 to 1795—the Dutch were left to themselves. Emigrants did not flock from Holland; but the settlers made their homes in the new country and imported Dutch wives. In 1685 the whole Dutch population was under 1,000. But in that year Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes; the Huguenots were driven from France, and some hundreds of them found a refuge at the Cape, where they amalgamated with and materially modified the Dutch stock. This was the easier because in matters of religion both Dutch and Huguenots were rigid Calvinists.

The white population increased and multiplied; by 1770 it numbered some 10,000. There were the inevitable occasional collisions with the Hottentots, who were more or less in occupation of the country; as yet the Bantu negroes had

not approached near enough to bring on conflicts. The system of negro slavery was established, but these negroes were imported, as also were Malays. It was not till 1778 that the gradual expansion of the Dutch colony brought it into touch with a Bantu tribe. Then the attempt to open friendly relations was promptly accepted as a sign of conscious weakness, and was followed by a Bantu raid. At this time, the Great Fish River was fixed as the eastern boundary of the Dutch colony. Settlers had moved inland, northwards, but were only just reaching as far as Graaf Reinet. The colony was administered in a highly arbitrary manner by the Dutch company; and the idea that citizens of a colony have the same rights and privileges as citizens of the mother country had not dawned in Holland any more than it was then accepted in England. The hunter and farmer "Boer" population had remained untouched by the intellectual movement of the eighteenth century in Europe, while intercourse with the Hottentots and the practice of slavery tended on the one hand to lower moral standards, and on the other to intensify the peculiar Old Testament religiosity which has been a common characteristic of Calvinistic puritanism—and incidentally an extraordinary source of strength and confidence to puritan armies.

But the régime of the Dutch company was coming to an end. The French Revolution sent the French Monarchy toppling and then the Republic challenged all the monarchies of Europe in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Presently the French overran the Netherlands. The hereditary Stadtholder, William of Orange, took ship to England, to which Power, in 1795, he transferred the colony, in order to preserve it from falling into the hands of France, which proceeded to convert Holland into the "Batavian Republic." Accordingly, in June of that year a British squadron arrived at the Cape. The authorities there, uncertain as to their allegiance, disputed the occupation, but after some show of resistance capitulated to superior force. A subsequent attempt of the Batavian Republic to recover possession was frustrated without difficulty, and the Cape remained under the British administration till the

Peace of Amiens in 1802. It was then restored to the Dutch Republic, which took over the administration, and conducted it on new and excellent lines for nearly three years. But the exigencies of the renewed war produced a fresh British expedition to secure a point of such importance to naval strategy; the authorities were again unable to offer more than a nominal resistance, and on January 18th, 1806, they capitulated. With the downfall of Napoleon, in 1814, the European monarchies were restored and William formally ceded the colony to Great Britain, receiving \$30,000,000 as compensation. The Cape had already changed hands by right of conquest; that was now permanently confirmed by right of purchase. Holland's direct interest in it was at an end.

It is the business of the historian not merely to narrate events, but to investigate problems of causation; the last hundred years of South African history afford him a peculiarly interesting subject. Great Britain takes over the administration of a large territory, in which a population numbering perhaps 25,000 of Low German stock, with an admixture of French Huguenot blood, dominate an immensely larger servile or semi-servile native population. Pressing on their borders are hordes of militant negro tribes, quite distinct from those under their rule: not the indigenous inhabitants, but no less emphatically invading conquerors than the Europeans themselves.

The Briton entering upon the task of ruling a new dependency must always be satisfied that he is possessed of an indefeasible legal title, for his conscience will not endure illegality. He enters upon it with a firm and justifiable conviction that English ideas about government are the best in the world, and that English officials as a class are the most disinterested, the most incorruptible, the most fair-minded in the world. He has a conscientious determination to "keep troth," to "be just and fear not." Hence, no subject-populations in the world have enjoyed such security of person and property, such immunity from extortion and positive oppression as the subject-populations of the British Empire.

But the rectitude of which he is somewhat aggressively conscious is not always so obvious to others; to them, the legal

Cape Ruled from Holland

Cape Transferred to Britain

Problems of Empire

CAPE COLONY AND ITS EXPANSION

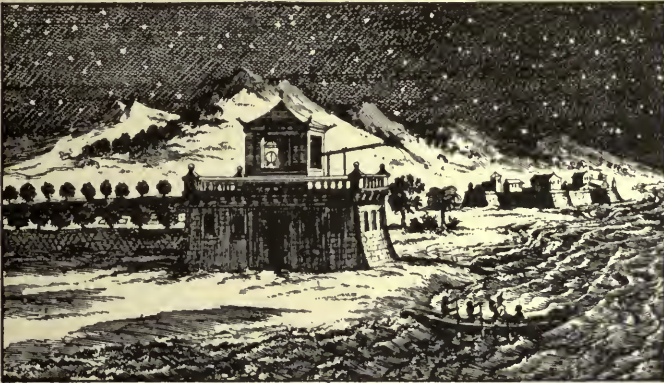
indefeasibility of his title to rule may not be equally convincing. They mistrust professions of disinterestedness which issue in territorial annexations. They are not equally assured that English methods of government are superior to those for which they have a traditional predilection. They do not see any benefit to themselves in the absorption of all higher official posts by Englishmen. And when Englishmen set about ruling over races which are near akin to them, this spirit of antagonism becomes intensified: It completely wrecked their attempts to dominate Scotland. It has made the government of Ireland an eternal struggle. It lost them the American colonies. It has played a disastrous part in South Africa. Nevertheless, this spirit of antagonism has

Title by right of conquest pure and simple is always liable to be challenged if the conquered become strong enough to rebel. Between 1806 and 1814, that was the nature of the British rights at the Cape. After 1814, the title was no longer open to any such challenge, the cession having been made by a friendly Government for adequate consideration. That question at least did not arise till another score of years had elapsed. Moreover, at the outset, the actual British population was very small, while the character of the government was such as the circumstances obviously demanded. The governors were practically absolute; but they did not materially interfere with the established system of local government, the established customs of the population, or the established relations between Boers and natives within the colony. Boers and natives were probably quite as well content as they would have been as a Dutch colony under the Dutch system. Nevertheless, a primary source of friction soon made itself felt in the disposition of the Government to intervene between Boer and Hottentot, generally in favour of the Hottentot. About 1820 an important change was inaugurated. The governor, Lord Charles Somerset, obtained the support of the Home Government in obtaining a supply of British immigrants, who were planted in the eastern portion of the colony, hitherto unoccupied. Hence it came about that a substantial British element was added to the Boer population, and predominated in the eastern section, much as, after the American War of Independence, Lower Canada remained French while Upper Canada became British.

Absolute British Governors

The First Boer Grievances

In this decade the racial grievance began to develop; the Government, adopting a series of Anglicising measures, which, if they had been cheerfully accepted by the burghers, would have tended to the early fusion of the races, and would have improved the system generally. But, unhappily, they were not so accepted.



THE FIRST EUROPEAN STRONGHOLD IN SOUTH AFRICA
The Portuguese were the first to discover the Cape of Storms, re-christened the Cape of Good Hope; but it was not until 1652 that the first Dutch fort was built, a picture of which, as it was in 1687, is given here.

habitually presented itself to the English mind as preposterous and unreasonable.

In the matter of race, even the Scot is—or was a hundred years ago—hardly nearer akin than the Hollander to the Englishman. The Huguenot admixture in the South African Boer rather increases the similarity than otherwise; but his Puritanism is of the Scottish rather than the English type, and, broadly speaking, the antagonism of the Boer to the Englishman—whom he is apt to differentiate from the Scot—is closely analogous to the ancient antagonism of the Scot to the Englishman. At length, however, Englishman and Scot realised that amalgamation was better than antagonism. The time has at last come when we may hope that Briton and Boer are realising the same truth in South Africa; but in the nineteenth century it had not come.

The Dutch, who formed five-sixths of the white population, objected to having English imposed as the official language, and to the abolition of the traditional system of local government in favour of English methods. They objected also to an ordinance which placed Hottentots and whites on the same legal footing, and they found no consolation in the appointment of a small advisory council which was supposed to be a check on the absolute power of the Governor.

Then came a measure, excellent in itself, which entirely exasperated the old inhabitants. Already, in 1807, Great Britain had declared against the slave trade; now, in 1833, she resolved on the total abolition of slavery in all British territory, the people in the British Isles voting the huge sum of \$100,000,000 to compensate the slave owners. But of that sum only about \$6,250,000 was allotted to South Africa, where the official valuation of the slaves amounted to \$15,000,000. Moreover, it was impossible immediately to replace the slave labour by free labour. The pastoral employments of the great bulk of the Dutch population were worked by slave labour, and to immense numbers of them emancipation meant something like ruin. It was not yet known that the compensation would be so inadequate, and exasperation had not yet reached its height when Sir Benjamin Durban arrived as governor in 1834, to find himself confronted with the additional problem of dealing with the Bantu Kaffirs on the borders.

For fifty years past there had been periodical collisions with the Kaffir tribes beyond the Fish River; two of these Kaffir wars had taken place since the establishment of British rule. Practically the whole population, official and other, held a single view with regard to the Kaffirs; with the exception of one element—the missionaries. In the view of these

Missionary View of the Kaffirs

the Kaffir was a peaceable and simple person, who became troublesome only when goaded by the whites. In the view of the rest the Kaffir was a born marauder, who abstained from robbery and murder only so long as he feared superior force. At this time, the Zulu Tamerlane, Chaka, and the kindred armies of the Matabele, had for many years been devastating and slaughtering on the east and north; the

Kaffir closer at hand had been feeling the pressure. Whatever might be thought in England, where the missionaries had the ear of the public, to men in Africa it was obvious that the Kaffir tribes were a serious menace.

The Governor then sent the principal representative of the missionary societies as a commissioner to obtain from the chiefs assurances of their peaceful intentions. They gave the assurances, but took the fact that they had been invited as an indication of fear, and therefore of weakness. While Sir Benjamin Durban was giving an official Christmas entertainment news came to him that the Kaffirs were across the Fish River, raiding, robbing, and slaughtering. Thus a new Kaffir war opened. The operations were ably conducted by Sir Henry Smith—who became Governor some years later—but nearly a year passed before the Kaffirs fairly submitted. Sir Benjamin then planted in the belt of territory across the Fish River a number of tribesmen whose hostility to the group, with whom the war had been going on, would prevent a dangerous coalition, so that, in fact, these would serve as a buffer. The territory beyond these was to be under British military control, though the chiefs were to retain much of their powers. The whole scheme was regarded as generally wise and satisfactory. But it had to be submitted to the home authorities.

The home authorities listened to the missionary societies, and to no one else. The theory of the missionaries was that the Kaffirs were a harmless and persecuted people, who should be left independent under their own chiefs, wherever the chiefs were well disposed to missionaries. Consequently, an astonishing despatch reversed Durban's arrangement, and signified that the missionary theory was to be carried out. The dwellers in the eastern districts, exposed to the Kaffir attacks, saw no possible prospect before them but anarchy and chaos. The Governor protested, and was thereupon recalled.

This was precisely at the moment when the colony was realising the full extent of the losses entailed by the abolition of slavery. Deprived of the labour by which their farms had been run, and faced by the fact that the wisest and most moderate of governors was unable to provide against

CAPE COLONY AND ITS EXPANSION

the Black peril so long as the missionary societies remained all-powerful in London, great numbers of the Boers resolved to shake off their feet the dust of the British colony, and to seek new pastures beyond its borders. There was nothing to prevent them from doing so; the law-officers of the Crown declared that there was no power to prevent British subjects from emigrating out of British territory. Thus began the Great Trek. The emigrants were only later to realise that the Crown declined to admit that, in passing out of British territory, they ceased to be British subjects. Whither should the stalwarts make their pilgrimage? Virtually, the limits of the colony were the Orange River on the north, and the Fish River on the east. To trek into the Kaffir country between the mountains and the sea, beyond the

Fish River, would obviously be worse than useless. The warrior Matabele had crossed the mountains; they had raided and depopulated most of the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers; but for the most part they had settled beyond the Vaal. Here, then, between the Vaal and the Orange, the emigrants had the best chance of making a new home.

But the first adventurous caravans were determined to betake themselves as far as might be from British territory. These passed the Vaal; far northward, the bulk of them were trapped and slaughtered by the Matabele. A remnant struggled through to the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay.

The next group, a larger body, stopped short of the Vaal, and made friends with a local chief who was living in fear of Moseilikatse and his Matabele. A few members of the party, including their "commandant," Hendrik Potgieter, went exploring across the Vaal, and almost to the Limpopo. They returned to find that the Matabele had already cut off and massacred a party of twenty-five, and, having been repulsed by others, were likely to return in force. Potgieter chose his ground, drew his whole company—forty guns, and their women and children—into laager—that is, constructed a fortified position with the waggons—and awaited the attack. The Boer fire proved too much for the Matabele, whose rushes were repeatedly broken by the hail of bullets. The laager was not entered, but the cattle were carried off. The party was extricated from its dangerous position by a third band under Gert Maritz, who had arrived at Thaba Nchu, and sent up cattle to draw the waggons, in place of those which the Matabele had carried off.

Maritz and Potgieter having joined forces, were nowise daunted by these experiences. On the contrary,



THE BIRTH OF CAPE COLONY

When the French overran the Netherlands in 1795, William of Orange transferred the colony at the Cape to Great Britain; a British squadron was sent there, and the British flag hoisted, to preserve it from the hands of France.

they took the offensive, marched, 150 strong — including some half-breeds — to smite the Philistines, surprised a kraal, or military village, routed the “regiment” which occupied it with considerable slaughter, drove home a mighty herd of cattle, and fortified themselves at Winberg — so named in memory of the victory.

Boer Wars on the Matabele

There they were reinforced by a number of fresh emigrant families; and there, in June, 1837, they drew up for themselves a republican constitution, naming Pieter Retief, one of the recent arrivals, their “commandant-general.”

The next step was a second attack on Moselikatse; 135 Boers marched into the heart of the Matabele country, found the chief at the head of a force outnumbering their own by not much less than a hundred to one, fought him for nine days, and wrought such immense havoc that the Matabele threw up the struggle, fled north across the Limpopo, and turned their attention to the peaceful Mashonas. The entire country from the Orange to the Limpopo having been thus evacuated by the Matabele, who had succeeded in very nearly wiping out the previous inhabitants, the new republic proceeded to proclaim itself lord of the whole — which corresponds approximately to what afterwards became the Orange Free State and the South African or Transvaal Republic.

While Potgieter had been occupied in the expulsion of the Matabele, Retief and others were investigating the possibility of crossing the mountains and effecting a settlement nearer the sea — in what is now Natal, and was then dominated by Dingan, the successor of Chaka, the ruler of the Zulu military state. By grace of Dingan there were a few British residing at Port Natal, but the Cape Government exercised no sovereignty in that region. The natives, up to

First Settlement in Natal

the Tugela, regarded these Britons as their chiefs, while recognising perforce the supremacy of the Zulu king. Retief and his comrades, with the approval of the English at Port Natal, sought and were granted an interview with Dingan, in order to treat with him for a grant of land. Dingan received them hospitably, promised them the land, then suddenly, at the moment of parting, turned on them and slaughtered every

man of them. Then he despatched a host against the most advanced of the Boer camps, and massacred its occupants — men, women and children, whites and Hottentot servants — to the number of over 400. One youth alone had time to spring on horseback, ride for his life, and give the alarm at other camps. At each one, the waggons were promptly laagered, and when the Zulu hosts appeared they were met with so fierce a resistance that they failed to carry a single one. Next day the scattered camps were able to concentrate. The resolve was promptly taken not to budge, but to exact vengeance for the massacre.

The commandos from over the mountains came down to join their comrades; the British at Port Natal made common cause with them. But they could not unite under any one leader. British and Dutch advanced against Dingan in two separate columns. The Dutch were drawn into an ambush, from which they fought their way out with difficulty. The British column — seventeen whites and some 1,500 natives — was trapped by a Zulu force of

Zulus Defeat Dutch and British

five times its strength, and was cut to pieces after a terrific struggle, only a third of the whole number escaping (April, 1838). For a time further offensive action was paralysed.

The arrival of Andries Pretorius in November provided a new and capable leader. Leaving a garrison in the camp, Pretorius, with a force 460 strong, marched against the Zulus, scouting constantly and forming laager at every halt. Through captured Zulus, messages were sent offering to treat for peace. Dingan sent not envoys, but an army. On December 16th, “Dingan’s Day,” they fell upon the Boer laager, to meet with an overwhelming defeat. Four of the Boers were killed; 3,000 Zulu corpses were left dead on the field; the stream that flows hard by has been known from that day as the Blood River; Dingan’s Day has been celebrated annually ever since.

Though Dingan had to flee from his chief kraal for the time, he was not yet crushed; hence, instead of scattering over the district, the Boers concentrated at Pietermaritzburg. It was not till Panda, a half-brother of Dingan, rebelled and allied himself to the white men that Dingan’s power was finally broken. It was Panda’s force that actually inflicted

CAPE COLONY AND ITS EXPANSION

the decisive defeat in January, 1840, on the king, who was shortly afterwards assassinated. Panda was established in his place, as a vassal of the new republic, which proclaimed its dominion over Natal—a dominion which it might fairly claim to have acquired by right of conquest in a war whose justification was quite indisputable.

The new Government, however, was inexperienced in administration; moreover, it made arbitrary regulations concerning its Bantu subjects, and it attacked a native chief in the territory which lay

was besieged. There the British held out behind their entrenchments till a relieving force arrived. The Boers then withdrew their resistance. The assertion of British supremacy was accepted as an accomplished fact, the British action being warranted mainly by the theory that the

British Supremacy Asserted

Boer conquerors were British subjects, who could not on their own responsibility set up a dominion free from the British allegiance. The bulk of the emigrants withdrew westwards across the Drakensberg Mountains to the lands where



THE SECOND OCCUPATION OF THE CAPE: BRITISH TROOPS IN CAPE TOWN IN 1814. After the Peace of Amiens, of 1802, the Cape was restored to the Dutch, but was re-conquered by the British in 1806, and formally and permanently ceded for \$80,000,000 to Great Britain in 1814.

between Natal and the Cape Colony. British sentiment, still guided by the missionaries, demanded protection for the natives, and the demand cannot be regarded as unreasonable. There was an agitation to compel the emigrant Boers to return to the colony. The Dutch volksraad continued its arbitrary course, and presently the British Governor ordered Port Natal to be occupied.

The military operations took the regular course. British troops were marched on Port Natal, a party of them was met in arms by the Boers, was defeated, and was driven into the camp, where the force

as yet the British made no claim to extend control. Three years later a British government was definitely established in Natal.

The experiment was now tried of establishing border states under British influence and protection between the British colony and the interior—not without some expectation that the Boers would thus find themselves cut off, and would be compelled to return to British territory. To this end, the Basuto chief Moshesh was recognised as ruler over a great part of the upper Orange River basin; and west of Moshesh a Griqua state was recognised under Adam Kok. But in both these

regions there were now a considerable number of the emigrants planted, who had no mind to submit to the sovereignty either of a Basuto or a Griqua. Under these conditions it was natural that troubles should soon break out in the treaty-states, where Adam Kok, assured of British support, asserted the authority which the Boer settlers repudiated. British intervention had as its only practical result the withdrawal of most of the farmers to a more remote district. A general conference of the various parties interested brought about a new arrangement: a portion of Adam Kok's territory was allotted to the emigrants under a British Governor, who were to pay a sort of tribute to the Griqua chief.

**Basuto
and Griqua
States**

Meanwhile, affairs on the Kaffir frontier were in an unsatisfactory condition; Kaffir raids were not duly checked by the chief, and presently the friction developed into a new Kaffir war—counted as the seventh. The operations, though costly, demand no special record. But the war itself had at last the effect of inducing the Ministers in England to recognise the folly of governing the Cape according to a priori theories affected in London instead of in accordance with the judgment of the men who really knew the conditions. Hence Sir Harry Smith was sent out as Governor.

Sir Harry at once took up the policy in which Durban had been checked. The belt of Kaffir territory on the near side of the Kei River was made a British province, Kaffraria, the chiefs in general retaining much of their authority. The nominal authority of the Griqua Adam Kok over the settled district was abolished, the chief receiving practical compensation. The Boers made no demur at first to the proclamation of the "Orange River Sovereignty" as a province under British administration. Presently, when the farmers to the northward, headed by Andries Pretorius, rose in arms to resist, they were defeated in the field at Boomplaats, and withdrew beyond the Vaal. Then, in 1850, the Kaffirs again revolted. This eighth Kaffir war was long and bloody. After two years it was concluded, practically by the exhaustion of the tribes.

The Orange River Sovereignty found itself in difficulties—primarily because Moshesh was dissatisfied with the existing arrangements. He permitted or

encouraged disturbances among the minor chiefs. Sir Harry Smith instructed the Governor, Major Warden, to intervene by force when expostulation failed. Moshesh at once dropped the pretence of submission. The section of colonists who continued disaffected to British rule made a compact of neutrality with him, and then invited the intervention of Pretorius and the Boers across the Vaal. Pretorius, technically a rebel against the British, but now residing beyond their formal jurisdiction, informed Major Warden that he would not intervene if the independence of the Transvaal territory were guaranteed; otherwise he would. Major Warden could not deal with so strong a combination as that which threatened: Sir Harry Smith could not reinforce him in the thick of the Kaffir war. The Governor of the Cape, seeing no alternative, arranged a conference between the Transvaal leaders and British commissioners; and the result was the Sand River Convention in January, 1852, guaranteeing to the Transvaal—thereafter acknowledged as the South African Republic—the independent control of its own affairs.

**Independence
of the
Transvaal**

About this time, Sir Harry Smith was replaced by Sir George Cathcart, who before long was able to employ troops released from the Kaffir contest to restore order. Moshesh made prompt submission before it was too late, while his prestige was at its height. The submission was accepted, Cathcart withdrew, and immediately afterwards the Home Government made up its mind to retire from the Orange River Sovereignty altogether. By a convention signed at Bloemfontein in February, 1854, the Orange River Sovereignty was transformed into the Orange Free State, with a guarantee of independence.

Nearly twelve months earlier the Cape Colony had been granted a new constitution. The first ineffective limitation on the Governor's arbitrary powers had been made a little, but not much, more effective by the appointment of a nominated Council in 1834. In 1853, the Cape Colony was given two elected Assemblies, which had practically complete control of legislation. Full responsible government did not arrive until eighteen years later. Natal, as well as Kaffraria, continued to be governed in connection with Cape Colony, but Natal was separated in 1856, when it received more restricted representative institutions.



RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATES A GENERATION OF DEVELOPMENT

AT this time it was the prevalent conviction among politicians of all parties in England that colonies inevitably separate from the mother country as soon as may be after they are strong enough to stand by themselves. The old notion that they are to be treated as mere dependencies existing for the convenience of the parent state, to whom they must remain subservient, had been virtually destroyed in the British mind by the American War of Independence. The modern conception of colonies as forming a group of states whose common interest it is to stand fast together on terms of practical equality, under a single flag, had hardly come into existence. The outcome of the intermediate attitude was that the mother country was generally anxious to avoid responsibilities herself, and willing to leave the colonies to manage their own affairs—provided that they did not irritate humanitarian sentiment, or entail expenditure at home.

Thus the recognition of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State appeared to be a convenient method of creating responsibilities on the north of the Orange River. The recognition was so nearly unconditional as to make any subsequent attempt to assert British authority exceedingly difficult in fact, and questionable in law. In other words, the way in which the thing was done very gravely complicated the South African problem for those whose larger imagination pictured the ideal of a homogeneous South African state or federation.

The problem, as we have already noted, bore a strong analogy to that which, before the eighteenth century, confronted those statesmen in England and Scotland, from the days of Edward I., who realised the immense advantage which unification would bring to both countries, subject always to the conditions that there should be no subordination of the one to the other, and that the union should be accepted with goodwill by the bulk of both populations.

In Africa, indeed, there was no danger of the subjection which the Scots had feared, but rather of absorption. Unification could come only under the British flag, as in Canada, unless Great Britain altogether lost her place among the nations.

Primarily, what Ministers in London effected was to establish one state half Dutch and half British south of the Orange River; a second British state in Natal, with the subject native territory of Kaffraria intervening; a practically independent native state in Zululand beyond the Tugela; another in Basutoland, flanking the new Orange Free State; and between the Orange and the Limpopo, with the Drakensberg for their eastern boundary, the Boer Orange Free State, which rapidly developed an excellent organisation; and the Boer South African Republic, which was hardly organised at all. Each of these developed on its own lines, until the complication of their mutual relations attained a degree of entanglement for which politicians could find no solution save the arbitrament of war.

The Governor who was placed at the head of Cape Colony in 1854 was Sir George Grey, who had already won high distinction as an administrator in Australasia, and notably in New Zealand. Had Sir George been given a perfectly free hand the history of South Africa during the last sixty years would have been less disturbed, for he was possessed of the large imagination which looks far into the future, and also of the resolution, the tact, and the sympathy, without which it is not possible to carry out a policy wherein the opposing interests of rival races have to be reconciled. He recognised in Africa the necessity, repeatedly demonstrated in British-Indian history, of exercising a constant influence over native communities through the presence of British Residents and Agents. He saw also the need of fusion

Cutting Loose the Colonies

A Governor of Large Imagination

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

between the two white races—of unification as opposed to the political disintegration consequent upon the breaking up of South Africa into a number of independent states. But he was debarred from giving his policy effect in any high degree. The

**Union
With Dutch
Checked**

existence of the Boer republics checked, though it did not altogether prevent, the amalgamation of the Cape Dutch and British. The principle of non-intervention was maintained, with the result that, as in India, intervention was ultimately forced on the Government at the cost of bloody wars.

Grey's time Kaffraria became the scene of a gigantic tragedy, a psychological phenomenon of a very remarkable character. Grey introduced excellent schemes calculated to civilise the natives; but the benefits therefrom were not immediately apparent—much as, almost contemporaneously, Dalhousie's measures for the advancement of the natives of India were viewed by them with the most grotesque suspicion—and it is clear that in Africa there was a great undercurrent of hostility to the white man's rule. As skilful agitators in India played upon the superstitious terrors or the religious



GREAT BRITAIN IN SOUTH AFRICA: MAP OF THE BRITISH STATES AND PROTECTORATES
Beginning with the half British and half Dutch State of Cape Colony, British influence in South Africa has expanded, through the anti-colonial period, when the Boer and native states were established, until the whole of South Africa south of the Limpopo river, with the exception of German South-west Africa, has come under British rule or protection.

Internally, the premier colony progressed. The same may be said of Natal and of the Orange Free State. But the Cape had its troubles with the native dependency of Kaffraria, as the Free State had in its turn with the Basuto power, and Natal with Bantus within her own borders, and ultimately with the Zulu state on the north-east.

British Kaffraria did not form a part of Cape Colony. It was administered on different lines, the population being practically entirely black; but it was under the Governor of the Cape in his capacity as High Commissioner. During Sir George

prèjudices of the uneducated classes and of the sepoys, so in Africa superstition was the lever by which conspirators or fanatics sought to let loose a black avalanche upon the alien which should destroy him. The bulk of the population of Kaffraria

**A Gigantic
Kaffir
Tragedy**

belonged to the Kosa tribes, against whom the series of Kaffir wars had been waged. Suddenly among them, beyond the British border, there came a prophet, Umhlokaze, who claimed that he and his niece Nongkause, were mediums, mouthpieces, through whom the spirits of departed Kosa heroes spoke their bidding.

RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATES

Umhlakaze had seen them in the flesh, spoken with them, heard their message. In due time, the white men were to be wiped out utterly; but there was to be a time of preparation. When the great day arrived, the heroes would come back to earth, and lead the faithful to victory; crops, in plenty unheard of, would spring from the soil in a day; cattle would cover the pastures. Meanwhile, the faithful were bidden to slaughter cattle and destroy crops—in effect, to clear the land of all means of obtaining a food supply. The principal Kosa chiefs took up the cause with enthusiasm; the European observer more than suspects that what was really hoped for was that when the population suddenly found themselves utterly destitute they would hurl themselves upon the white man and the white man's lands in sheer desperation. Certainly, nothing but a frenzy of superstition could have made the masses deliberately destroy all they had to live on.

The Cape Government, through the early months of 1857, when it had appreciated the nature of the hideous illusion which had taken possession of the Kosas, made every preparation to resist the anticipated onslaught, and to accumulate stores to alleviate the terrible destitution, which was daily becoming more inevitable as the Kaffirs continued to slay cattle and to destroy grain. It must be supposed that among the leaders many had veritably persuaded themselves of the prophet's truth. At any rate, nothing

else, it would seem, can explain the fact that no measures were taken to gather the fighting men in arms, so that when the day arrived they might be launched at once against their foe, or upon their prey. The day came. The grain was gone; the cattle were gone; the warriors were not assembled. And the fresh grain did not sprout nor the divine cattle appear; nor did the dead return to lead the living. Proclamation went forth that the "day of resurrection" was—postponed. But it was

vain to attempt to organise war after the process of starvation had begun, when the illusion of superstition was already shattered to fragments. There was no war, other than where starving Kaffirs fought each other for scraps of anything edible that could be found. Driven by famine, they poured in streams over the border, crying for food. But the destitution was more overwhelming than the available resources could cope with; 25,000 at least perished, possibly even double that number.

At the end of 1857 the Kaffir population was but one-third of what it had been when the year opened. On the deserted lands settlers were planted from the Cape, England and Germany. The white immigration changed the character of the district, and seven years later—in 1865—Kaffraria was formally incorporated with Cape Colony.

Meanwhile, the Orange Free State was organising itself on lines which showed the marked political capacity of its citizens.



HENDRIK BRAND

President of the Orange Free State during the litigation as to the ownership of the diamond fields.



THE CAPITAL OF ORANGE RIVER COLONY: THE MARKET SQUARE, BLOEMFONTEIN

Edwards

The chief authority lay in the Volksraad, elected by all full citizens and naturalised citizens with a property qualification. The executive functions were vested in an elected president and an executive council. Coloured inhabitants might be accorded the vote by a resolution of the Volksraad. A high standard of efficiency was attained in administration, but the conditions under which the Republic had been established made it inevitable that there should be difficulties with the Basuto Moshesh, who aspired to recover for the Basuto kingdom

as President. He renewed the appeal for arbitration to the Governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse. Wodehouse, after careful and impartial examination, restored the old line of demarcation claimed by the Free State. The Basutos refused to withdraw from the territory they had occupied, and the second Basuto war began with savage raids on the part of the Basutos, from whom, on the other hand, the burghers captured several positions. Moshesh, who wanted a delay, obtained terms of peace; but fifteen months later he again challenged the Free State. This time victory lay more decisively with the Republic, and Moshesh begged the British to assume sovereignty and extend him their protection. The request was granted, and the Free State was in part deprived of what it had a strong title to regard as the legitimate fruits of victory in a war which it had not sought. Basutoland became a British Protectorate in 1869. While the Basuto war was in progress a discovery was made



KIMBERLEY, THE DIAMOND TOWN

the widest area of ascendancy which it had held in the past—an area which included a portion of what the Free State claimed as its own territory, and quite accurately regarded as essential to its existence. In 1858, disagreement reached a head, and the Boers invaded Basutoland with little success. With an uncertain prospect of the Free State being joined by the South African or Transvaal Republic, the President invited, and Moshesh accepted, the mediation of Sir George Grey, whose award was in the main favourable to the Basuto. On the other hand, the Griqua sold their territory to the Free State, and removed themselves to Griqualand East, on the south of Natal.

Moshesh, however, made it evident that he meant to grasp even more than had been conceded by the Grey award. The friction again went on until, in 1865, Hendrik Brand succeeded Martin Pretorius



Edwards

THE EARLY DIAMOND MINES OF KIMBERLEY

In 1869 diamonds began to be found in lands claimed by the Griquas, who sold them to Great Britain, though the Orange Free State had the legal title, afterwards recognised by compensation. Since that time the mines have become the world's most important diamond supply.

which was vitally to affect the attitude of the British Government towards South Africa. First a few stray diamonds and then, in 1869, a very magnificent stone were found. The war was hardly over when digging for diamonds began in earnest. The diamond fields were on the west of the two republics, on lands which no one had



VIEWS OF CAPE TOWN AND ITS OVERSHADOWING MOUNTAIN

Cape Town, the seat of the first European settlement in South Africa, in 1652, has always maintained its supremacy among South African towns and its importance as the seat of British influence. The general views of the town and its harbour, and of Table Mountain, at the top and bottom of the page, give an idea of the beauty of its situation, while the photos of the Houses of Parliament and the General Post Office, on the left and right, indicate the importance of its public buildings.

Photos, N. P. Edwards and Underwood & Underwood, London

hitherto very definitely claimed. The Griqua chief, Nicholas Waterboer, asserting his ownership of the most valuable fields, sold them to the British Government. Waterboer's title was disputed by the Transvaal and by the Free State. The dispute between Waterboer and the Transvaal was referred to the arbitration of the

**Legal Fight
for the
Diamond Fields**

Governor of Natal; and on the evidence laid before him Mr. Keate gave judgment entirely in favour of Waterboer.

The Free State, however, declined to recognise an award to which it had not been a party. Great Britain claimed the land by right of purchase. But then, under the British flag, disputes as to title arose, and the courts, after examining all claims, rejected Waterboer's. President Brand appealed to England. British courts had now found that the land claimed by Waterboer had never been his to sell.

In this dilemma the British Government, deprived of its technical claim, fell back on the principles of high policy, and affirmed that its responsibilities as paramount power in South Africa compelled it to retain the diamond districts in its own hands; but it presently recognised that the Free State, in being thus deprived of territories to which they had a legal title, had a legitimate grievance. Compensation, therefore, was offered, and the republic accepted \$450,000. The transaction amounted in effect to this: that the Paramount Power claimed the right of compulsory purchase on its own terms when reasons of state should make such purchase practically necessary. The claim, of course, rests on the principle that the Paramount Power acknowledges obligations to the maintenance of the security of the minor states which make the reservation of corresponding rights imperative. On the other, the Free State would in this case have found the control of the mines and the mining population

**The Free
State's
Bargain**

so serious a task that the bargain was a better one than appears *prima facie*. In this connection, the Transvaal Republic was in a different position from the Free State. The Keate award had been made on the understanding that the President was authorised to pledge the republic to abide by the award; and the authorities were entitled to regard the question as having been thereby definitely settled. But the Boers repudiated their

President's pledge, in consequence of which he resigned. Thus the point remained one as to which it was obviously possible that fresh dispute might arise in the future. It was to become evident, however, that something of more importance was involved for the Paramount Power than the mere possession of the diamond mines, since it thereby secured access to the interior, with possibilities of development which had not hitherto been taken into consideration.

The development of the diamond industry reacted curiously upon Natal, which now demands our attention. The relations here between the whites and the Bantu natives differed somewhat from the position in other colonies, the whites forming only some eight per cent. of the population; hence the necessity for a strict limitation of the black man's opportunities of acquiring a vote. A degree of representative government had been granted shortly after the recognition of Natal as a separate colony, but responsible government did not arrive till the last decade of the century.

There was one quite necessary restrictive law in Natal—that all Bantu owners of guns should be registered.

**Diamonds
and Zulu
Risings**

A portion of the country had been settled by Hlubi tribesmen, who had withdrawn from Zulu territory. Their chief, Langalibalela—or more briefly, Langa—allowed some of his young men to betake themselves to the diamond fields; and they, with the money thus earned, purchased firearms, with which they returned to Langa's country, evading registration. In fact, it became clear that Langa's people were arming surreptitiously. The Government summoned Langa to answer for his people; his replies were evasive; in fact, he was concocting plans for defying the British. An armed force was sent to compel obedience to the Government demands; an advance party narrowly escaped being cut off, and in doing so half a dozen lives were lost.

Every European in South Africa knew that nothing but a very convincing demonstration of superior force would prevent a general rising. The Boer Republic promised aid if needed; Natal and Cape Colony were prompt to take decisive measures. Langa hoped to raise the Basutos as allies; but he himself was caught and compelled to surrender, while

RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATES

his forces were scattered after a hot skirmish, before he had succeeded in effecting his object. He was removed from the colony, after full trial, and detained in a very comfortable captivity for some twelve years, while the Hlubi settlement was broken up, and the land transferred to fresh occupants. All danger of further insurrection was averted. The colonists, however, were—according to the standing rule—irritated by the intervention of the Home Government on behalf of the insurgent tribe.

A source of future difficulties for other parts of South Africa as well as Natal was created by the importation to that colony of coolie labour from India, the Bantu proving themselves wholly impracticable as plantation-workers. The measure was successful enough commercially; but it resulted in the permanent settlement of considerable numbers of Indians, whose presence is now regarded with aversion by the whites—both as an industrial danger, and as complicating the native question. On the other hand, the Imperial Government can hardly approve the exclusion of British subjects, as the Indians are, from free access to British dominions. Some observers are in favour of diverting the immigration, which tends to continue, to the more tropical region, where it would, at any rate, not affect the prospects of the white labourer or tradesman.

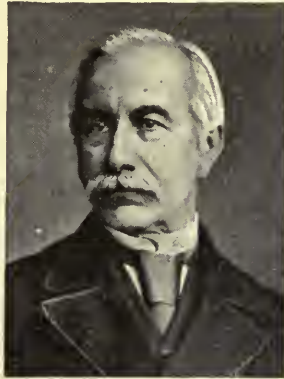
In 1877 Sir Bartle Frere arrived as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner, having been appointed by Disraeli's Government with a view to the carrying out of Lord Carnarvon's aims for the unification of South Africa. Native

questions, however, demanded his immediate attention. Prompt measures rendered a Kaffir rising abortive; but beyond Natal, still graver dangers threatened from the Zulu power, with its capital at Ulundi. The great military organisation of Chaka had met with a set-back when his successor, Dingan, was overthrown, and his place taken by the comparatively lethargic Panda. But Panda himself had been followed by his son, Cetewayo, who

inherited not a few of Chaka's qualities. Under his sway the systematic development of a polity organised exclusively for military purposes was revived. Disagreements between this formidable potentate and the South African Republic threatened to issue in open war. In 1878, Frere as High Commissioner inter-

Beginning of Zulu War of 1879

vened to arbitrate on the points in dispute. But the Zulu menace was found to be so serious that his award, favourable enough to the Zulus, was joined to what was in effect an ultimatum to Cetewayo, requiring not only reparation for injuries of which his people had been guilty, but also the disbanding of his army, and the admission of a British Resident at Ulundi, Cetewayo's capital. The demands passed unheeded. An



SIR BARTLE FRERE
Appointed Governor of the Cape in 1877 and made the scapegoat of the disastrous Zulu War of 1879.
Photo: London Stereoscopic

attack by Cetewayo would almost certainly mean a general Basuto rising in Natal. Sir Bartle Frere judged that the attack must be forestalled. A powerful force was dispatched against the Zulu king, in three divisions. Two advanced, successfully repulsing the forces sent against them, till the fate of the third division compelled them to halt and maintain a defensive attitude. The main body, under Lord Chelmsford, advanced to Isandhlwana, leaving a small band to guard communications at Rorke's Drift. Chelmsford moved

with the bulk of his force to attack a Zulu kraal, leaving some 1,300 men, more than half being whites, in an unfortified camp. On that camp suddenly burst the Zulu torrent: 15,000 warriors. They had evaded Lord Chelmsford, and encircled the downward force before the situation was realised. The British were cut to pieces. But for the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift, where six score men under Chard and Bromhead held at bay 4,000 Zulus on that same night, Cetewayo's men would have been into Natal.

For the moment, the invading forces were compelled to mark time; but reinforcements were pushed up. Within six months of Isandhlwana, Lord Chelmsford had shattered Cetewayo's army at Ulundi, and the king was a fugitive. When presently he fell into the hands of the

British, he was detained under surveillance till, in 1883, he was allowed to return to Zululand as a vassal monarch, an experimental form of government in the interval having proved quite unsuccessful. The restoration was contested. On his death next year, his son, Dinizulu secured the succession, with assistance—in return for a cession of territory—from the Transvaal. Continued disorders made annexation imperative in 1887, when the recalcitrance of Dinizulu and other chiefs necessitated his deportation. Subsequently his return was permitted; but the Natal authorities charged him with fomenting fresh disturbances. He was tried before a special court and was convicted of harbouring rebels and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

By a common perversion of reasoning processes, it was held that Sir Bartle Frere's policy was wrong because a British force had been cut up. He was recalled in 1881, the victim of wholly unmerited censure; and there was a general reaction in England against the "forward" doctrines of the Beaconsfield Cabinet.

The story of Zululand has carried us out of our chronological course, and we have now to revert to the career of the South African or Transvaal Republic. This had been chequered enough, ever since the recognition in 1852. The Transvaalers were the extremists, the stalwarts among those Boer families which had resented control; they had no disposition to adopt, even among themselves, any government of so carefully organised a type as that of the Free State. Their attitude to the native races was derived from their Old Testament conception of the relations ordained between the children of Japhet and the children of Ham. For some time after 1852 they were broken up into four communities; it was not till 1860 that these managed to unite as a single state with a single President. They found themselves engaged in desul-

tory hostilities now with one great Basuto tribe, now with another, and habitually without funds sufficient for decisive action. These quarrels were in part dealt with by arbitration under the Keate award mentioned already.

Then, under President Burgers, new complications arose with the natives.

But a rigid puritanism made the Boers believe that their arms could not prosper under a President who was an avowed Freethinker; and when they took the field, the voice went forth: "To your tents, O Israel," and the burghers departed to their own homes, though they knew well enough how to fight when they had a mind. The situation demanded energetic measures—and money. And they had no money.

On this scene of anarchy appeared Sir Theophilus Shepstone as British Commissioner, with extensive powers from the Government. To him it appeared—though not to the Boers—that they were doomed to destruction at the hands of the Zulus, and much more would be involved in that than their own ruin.

Moreover, such residents as were not themselves Boers saw their only refuge from anarchy in a British annexation. No open opposition was offered, and the Transvaal was annexed by proclamation, in April 1877. At the moment, Imperialism, sane or otherwise, was dominant in England. The successful unification of British North America had inspired hopes of an equally successful unification of South Africa, despite the antagonism of the Dutch element within Cape Colony as well as outside it.

The annexation of the Transvaal, supposed to have been accomplished with the assent of its inhabitants, was accepted as a step in this desirable direction. The awakening was rude.

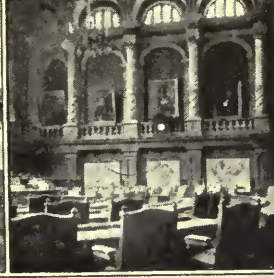
Although the new order was accompanied by an access of unwonted prosperity, the Boers sent successive deputations to London to urge the cancellation



PAUL KRUGER
Elected with Pretorius and Joubert to the government of the Transvaal Republic at the rebellion of 1880, later made President.



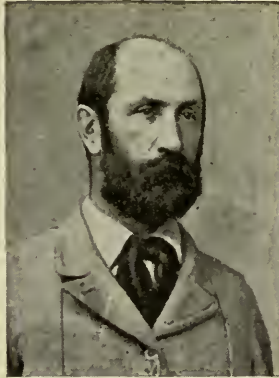
PIET JOUBERT
Commander-in-Chief of the Boer army and Vice-President of the South African Republic, 1896-1900.



PRETORIA AND JOHANNESBURG, CHIEF CITIES OF THE TRANSVAAL.
The Transvaal was founded about 1833 by Boers who trekked from British territory on the abolition of slavery. The market square at Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, is seen at the top of the page, and the Courts of Justice and the interior of the Legislature immediately below on the left and right. Below, Johannesburg, the goldfield capital, in the early days of the mines, is contrasted with the city of to-day, while above, in the centre, one of the large mine workings is shown.

Photos, N. P. Edwards and Underwood & Underwood, London

of the annexation. Their protests fell on deaf ears. The fall of the Beaconsfield Cabinet gave them new hopes, but Mr. Gladstone declared against a retrocession. Then the burghers bade defiance to Great Britain, elected Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert to conduct the government, called the old Volksraad together, and, on December 6th, 1880, hoisted again the flag of the South African Republic. On the same day a collision between a party of Boers and the military at Potchefstroom opened hostilities. Four days



SIR GEORGE COLLEY
Whose force was defeated by the Boers in 1880 at Laing's Nek and Majuba, where he was killed.
Photo: Maull & Fox

later a small detachment was attacked, and forced to surrender at Bronkhorst Spruit. Sir George Colley marched from Natal with a force of 1,000 men, but was beaten back with considerable loss at Laing's Nek. On the night of February 26th he occupied the summit of Majuba Hill, commanding the Nek; but a small party of Boer volunteers climbed the hill, the Regulars were seized with panic, and Sir George himself was killed.



THE FATAL HILL ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF MAJUBA

Although a large force was by this time collected under Sir Evelyn Wood, orders had been sent from England in accordance with which first an armistice was arranged, and then a peace, restoring in terms not too free from ambiguity the independence of the South African Republic under British suzerainty. The retrocession has been the subject of stormy controversy; but when it is treated as a party question in England it is as well to remember that if Gladstone was the prime mover, the most trusted and brilliant leaders of advanced Imperialism at the present day were at least consenting parties. The im-

pression had suddenly become dominant that Great Britain had arrogantly and without sufficient consideration annexed a free state; that the state was justified in taking arms in defence of its liberty; and that justice forbade the obviously mightier Power to penalise the smaller one for its courage. Where the discrepancy between the resources of the two nations was so enormous, the giant could surely afford to be magnanimous to the pygmy, and any well-conducted pygmy would recognise the generosity with which it had been treated. Such at least was the hypothesis which obtained from the British nation a somewhat

dubious assent to the action of Ministers. Unhappily, events showed that the pygmy had not taken a correct view of the giant's conduct. The mass of the Boer population, as distinct from a very few intelligent men among the leaders, attributed the British action to a despicable pusillanimity; and contempt proved an unsatisfactory basis for the new and pleasanter relations which it had been hoped to establish. But for the time at least the truth was not realised in England; and when, in 1884, a deputation arrived in London to procure modifications in the Convention of 1881, a revised Convention



KHAMA
The enlightened native chief of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATES

was conceded, of which the wording was so careless as to leave it open to question whether any tangible suzerainty was left to the British at all.

About the same time the inaction of the British and Cape Governments enabled Germany to establish a protectorate in south-

west Africa. Now, however, a reaction demand was giving way to an inclination to extend the area of British activity, of which the first fruits were the Bechuanaland settlement. This great district, lying on the west of the Transvaal, formed the highway into the interior. In this field the great explorer, Dr. Livingstone, had laboured as a missionary, and had successfully foiled the efforts of the Boers to bring it under their sway. Here for some years past there had been much unrest and internal discussion between the tribes, which began to call in to their support the aid of groups of white adven-



THE PRINCIPAL STREET IN BULUWAYO, CAPITAL OF RHODESIA



CECIL RHODES

Russell

As a young politician of the Cape, he dreamed the vast dreams out of which grew Rhodesia.



RHODESIA'S GEM: THE VICTORIA FALLS

tically partition Bechuanaland among themselves. The apparent inertness of the British Government led the Transvaal President, Paul Kruger, to proclaim the protectorate of the South African Republic over the disturbed districts in September, 1884. But the districts were under the general authority of the High Commissioner, though the first efforts to bring them into order had been only tentative in character and ineffective in result. The Imperial Government declined to recognise the validity of Kruger's proclamation, and a force was sent up to Bechuanaland under Sir Charles Warren. The adventurers, who had constituted themselves into the so-called Republics of Goschen and Stellaland, found themselves manoeuvred out of any possibility of resistance; they were removed, the natives reinstated on the soil, and Bechuanaland was organised as a Crown Colony, the more remote territory, under its particularly enlightened chief Khama, forming a protectorate.

There now ensued a period of expansion. Already in the Transvaal discoveries of gold were being made which were entirely to transform the character of that republic—a subject to which we shall shortly revert. Beyond

Bechuanaland and on the north of the Transvaal were established the Matabele under Lobengula, with his headquarters at Buluwayo, with the peaceful Mashona beyond, up to the Zambesi.

In Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes, a young Englishman who had already achieved political prominence, was dreaming vast dreams, and watching with an exceedingly practical eye for stepping-stones to their realisation. The Germans from the west were beginning to turn acquisitive glances towards the unappropriated lands. From Lobengula Rhodes obtained mining concessions; by patient organisation he bought out or absorbed rival syndicates, whose aims were limited to a desire for gold-mines. The High Commissioner was induced to declare Matabeleland under British protection; and, in 1889, Rhodes's company obtained a charter from the British Government which placed in its hands the administration of the territory up to and beyond the Zambesi—to be known afterwards as Rhodesia. It was not long then before the Chartered Company extended its administrative sphere across the Zambesi, and included therein Barotseland. Meanwhile, on the south and west of the great Lake Nyassa, British settlements, primarily of a missionary character, had been taking root for some years past. Now the definite organisation of a British protectorate in those regions was resolved on. Negotiations with the native chiefs were conducted through agents, of whom the most notable was Sir Harry Johnston, and extended its control as far north as Lake Tanganyika; and the whole of the territory north of the Zambesi up to that lake and west of what was recognised as Portuguese was divided between the Chartered Company and the Imperial British Central Africa (or Nyassaland) Protectorate.

South of the Zambesi the Chartered Company had a more serious task in some respects than on the north, for there the territory included Matabeleland, where Lobengula ruled those warlike tribes who

had been the terror of their more peaceful neighbours further south, till the advance of the Boers had driven them over the Limpopo. The Matabele in their present quarters had been in the habit of raiding their neighbours as of old—neighbours whom they had dispossessed and robbed. After the coming of the British, Lobengula was to all appearance friendly. But he fell a victim to the delusion that because the British displayed no violence, they too might be bullied and defied. In 1893 he dropped the mask. Careful inquiry subsequently proved that the company had no alternative except war or evacuation. They chose war. The military Matabele were crushed by the company's administrative chief, Dr. Jameson, and the peaceful Mashonas were relieved from an intolerable tyranny. Buluwayo—the name meaning the place of killing—

became the capital of Rhodesia. It must be borne in mind that the Matabele were not the old possessors of the soil, but a conquering horde which had only recently taken possession.

Hitherto we have found the British colonisation in South Africa always in some sort taking the form of expansion from the Cape. But the general scramble in the



MAP OF THE BASIN OF THE ZAMBESI

European Powers for African territory led to the establishment of another British protectorate in equatorial regions, which are included in our South African division. We have already seen that affairs in Zanzibar brought about a critical partition of that state and of its hinterland as "spheres of influence" mainly between Britain and Germany. British East Africa lies north of German East Africa. In 1888 administrative control over what was so far recognised as the definitely British sphere was placed in the hands of the Chartered British East Africa Company—that is, from Mombasa inland to the Victoria Nyanza. On the west of this lay the kingdom of Uganda, under King Mwanga, which was declared a British protectorate in 1895 and reorganised in 1901.



THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE NEW CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

WHILE the British dominion was expanding northward and setting a girdle round the two Boer states, so that all prospect of their extending their territory inland or acquiring an oceanic outlet disappeared, the Orange Free State continued to prosper on its own lines, and to present to the world something of the character of a model republic. Prosperity in the shape of material wealth was also descending upon the sister state; but there her best friends could not admire the system of government.

As a simple community of farmers the people of the Transvaal had excited in England a certain sympathy—with an element of patronage about it—resulting in the Conventions of 1881 and 1884. But just after the latter it was realised that in parts of the Transvaal territory there were rich gold-mines. The usual influx of settlers in the gold districts followed. The town

of Johannesburg grew up, and its population was mostly British—politically, if not racially. The Uitlanders were

soon, in numbers, a formidably large proportion of the white men in the territories of the republic. The simple farmers turned the new state of affairs to account. They taxed the mining industry to its utmost capacity; they required the Uitlanders to hold themselves liable to military service; the once empty coffers of the state treasury were comfortably filled. But the Uitlanders were as firmly barred from citizen rights as the aliens whom an ancient Greek city admitted within its gates. Years had to pass before naturalisation was granted, and the community from which the state drew nearly all its wealth was in effect refused any voice in the control of its expenditure, and any share in the administration.

Now, the government was not without a certain excuse for this attitude. If full citizenship had been placed within easy grasp of the Uitlanders, there was reason

to fear that their numbers would soon enable them to become the controlling political factor. The Boers saw no sufficient reason for allowing themselves to be politically swamped in their own territory. The Uitlanders might come

**Isolating
the
Transvaal**

into the country if they chose to accept the conditions; if not they might stay away. The Transvaal wished to remain isolated, and carried the principle to such a pitch that the cost of importing foreign goods by what was virtually the State railway became prohibitive, and even the Cape Dutch took to sending their merchandise by waggons across the drifts or fords on the frontier, instead of by rail. When the President proposed to go the length of closing the drifts, he found that his isolation from even Dutch sympathy, as well as from foreign intercourse, would be more dangerously complete than he had expected. That attempt was a failure.

Granted the existence of excuse for this policy, the grievance of the Uitlanders must equally be admitted. Civilised nations do not treat industries established by aliens within their boundaries as inexhaustible fountains of taxation; and they permit the alien himself to acquire citizenship on reasonable terms. That is, if we use the term civilised in the European sense. Non-European states which adopt such an attitude are apt to find the wall of isolation forcibly broken through, if the incentive is strong enough. Englishmen conceived that they had a right to

**Grievance
of the
Uitlanders**

expect from a White State the normal conduct of a White State; all the more when Great Britain claimed a suzerainty, however ill-defined, over the state in question. Least of all did it seem tolerable that a state which would not have been in existence at all but for the British reverence for the conception of freedom should treat free Britons as a subject population.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

To reconcile such irreconcilables was a sufficiently difficult problem; but the difficulty did not end even here. In some form or other a South Africa united under one flag, and under free governments, was the ideal of every far-seeing statesman, however remote its realisation might be. To that end Cecil Rhodes, now Premier at the Cape, had been working with promise of success. The race antagonism of British and Dutch in that colony was already becoming mitigated, and yielding to the idea of a South African patriotism. It did not seem vain to hope that the enlightened Government of the Orange Free State would shake off the prejudices

**Ideal
South
Africa**

secure public sympathy for unofficial intervention on their behalf. A Transvaal Government reorganised, with the rule of the stalwarts at an end, would simplify the whole situation. Rhodes and his administrator in Rhodesia, Dr. Jameson, lent themselves to the scheme; but to meet with success, absolute unanimity was necessary, every detail must be agreed upon. But there were hitches. Before the hitches were removed, the official administrator of Rhodesia made a dash for Johannesburg at the head of a troop of mounted police on December 30th, 1895. It was the wrong moment for the Uitlanders; as things stood, an attempt at insurrection would only have made



THE AMAZING BLUNDER: DR. JAMESON'S RAIDERS CAPTIVES OF THE BOERS

The extraordinary action of Dr. Jameson, whose portrait is inset in the above picture, in making a dash for Johannesburg in 1895 alienated official sympathy from the Uitlanders, who had genuine grievances against the Transvaal.

created in the past, and fall in with the ideal. But while the northern republic maintained its attitude of dogged, obstinate antagonism, it was not merely a passive obstacle, but served to quicken the race-hostility outside its own borders.

The action of the Transvaal Government in the affair of the drifts had gone far to alienate even Dutch sentiment, when an amazing blunder turned the tables. The Uitlanders in Johannesburg were meditating the feasibility of bringing about a revolution by some means more active than constitutional agitation. To that end they would need outside help. Their case seemed strong enough to

matters worse. The raiders found themselves in a trap and had to surrender.

Nothing could better have served the purposes of the Transvaal President; from being in a distinctly critical position he had suddenly become complete master of the situation. The official

**The
Tables
Turned** position of Dr. Jameson could not be ignored, nor was it possible to deny that Mr. Rhodes was more or less implicated in the plot. The home authorities repudiated any suggestion of complicity; but the official inquiry which followed gave a certain speciousness to the allegation that there was more behind. The Uitlanders had

THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

gone quite far enough to warrant any Government in turning a deaf ear to their appeals. Mr. Kruger's position had been rendered technically impregnable, while a situation that was practically intolerable was prolonged. Perhaps from the British point of view the most serious result was the revulsion of Dutch feeling in favour of the attitude of the republic.

Instead of the pressure on the Uitlanders being relaxed, it was intensified; to all protests the raid was a sufficient answer. The President began to act as if the conventions had established the republic as a sovereign state. The imputation to the British Government of sinister designs, against which precautions were warranted, was made plausible by the fiasco of the raid inquiry. Sir Alfred Milner, sent out as High Commissioner in 1897, came very definitely to the conclusion that if Great Britain was to remain a power in South

The Boer War Declared

Africa she must assert her title resolutely, and bring pressure to bear for the remedying of grievances. The very question of suzerainty under the 1884 Convention was disputed. The Colonial Office expressed itself vigorously; the President was immovable, and the Free State, under a new President, Steyn, gave him moral support and the promise of material assistance. Before, as well as since, the raid, the Transvaal had been arming. Now British troops began to concentrate. Negotiations failed to produce any basis for agreement. Then the President sent an ultimatum on October 9th, 1899, demanding an undertaking to withdraw the British forces within forty-eight hours. On October 12th the Boer commandos were over the frontier, and war had begun. In England and among the British at the Cape the conviction had gained ground that President Kruger was actuated by something more than the determination to preserve the independence of

the Transvaal. There is no doubt that in certain quarters among the Dutch of South Africa the idea had taken root that a Dutch ascendancy might replace that of the British. It is not to be supposed that intelligent Dutchmen imagined that they could overthrow the British supremacy single-handed. If any such plot had been formulated at all, it rested on the expectation that Britain would find her powers so fettered by European complications that the obvious odds in her favour would be made nugatory. Nor is it, in fact, clear that such an ambition was widespread, or was anything more than the dream of a few politicians. But as the enormous expenditure of the republic on the secret accumulation of munitions of war for some years past

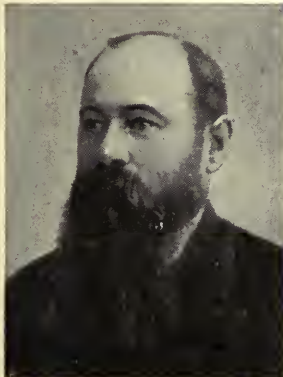
came to be revealed, Englishmen refused to credit that these had been dictated by considerations merely of self-defence against hypothetical British aggression. It was believed that Kruger had deliberately sought occasion to fling down the gage of combat at a moment which he regarded as favourable. The great bulk of the population was satisfied that no diplomacy, no concessions which could be made with honour, would have averted the war; nor did the vigorous protests of a minority affect the practical unanimity with which the challenge was accepted and the struggle fought out to the end.

No less doggedly did the Boers set about their task, whether with the more ambitious aim attributed to them, or with merely a stern determination to fight to the last for the independence which, since the use they made of the concessions after Majuba, they could hope to preserve only by decisive victory. There could be no more similar experiments in magnanimity. The British Government and the British nation entered upon the war under an extraordinary misconception of the nature



Barnett

LORD MILNER
Who was sent out to Cape Colony in 1897 as High Commissioner.



PRESIDENT STEYN
President of the Orange Free State, who supported President Kruger at the declaration of war in 1899.

of the problem before them. It was estimated that the whole Boer population capable of bearing arms in the two republics did not exceed 30,000. Obviously, however, the whole adult male population could not take the field, deserting the avocations on which their livelihood depended. Fifty thousand regular troops, then, should have no sort of difficulty in demonstrating that any resistance the farmers could offer must be futile.

For misconception as to the relative value of the burgher troops and British Regulars there was perhaps some excuse, such disasters as those of Laing's Nek

consummate horse-masters and dead shots. What history taught, expert military advisers on the spot emphasised; but their warning was disregarded. It was, indeed, true that in the impending contest the odds were so overwhelming that if Britain proved determined the Boer resistance must at last fail, if only because the Boer population would be ultimately eliminated. But the British nation conceived that it had only to give a clear demonstration of superior strength, and the affair would be comfortably over.

The Boers, too, had doubtless miscalculated. Majuba had made common a quite erroneous estimate of the British



ELANDSLAAGTE, THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE CAMPAIGN, FOUGHT FROM LADYSMITH
 One of the first objects of the Boer campaign was the investment of Ladysmith, during which Sir George White was forced to fall back on Ladysmith, fighting the battles of Talana Hill, Elandsblaagte, and Nicholson's Nek on the way.

and Majuba appearing in the light of accidents. But, in fact, the British had to deal with a people solidly determined to fight to a finish, occupying a huge territory, with a mountainous frontier eminently adapted for defence, and containing large districts peculiarly suited for guerrilla warfare. History has proved repeatedly that the subjugation of such a country is a matter of enormous difficulty if the local levies avoid concentration and refuse pitched battles. Scotland of old had defied England, Switzerland had defied the Empire, Spain had defied Napoleon. The men, moreover, were

soldiery and of British persistency. Very few realised that the retrocession of the Transvaal had been accepted by the British people in a spirit not of pusillanimity, but of generosity; it was imagined that a few reverses would make the British Government eager to find an excuse for coming to terms. It was believed, too, that other European Powers would intervene, and that no great masses of troops could be spared for South Africa. It was not understood that until England's sea-power can be effectively challenged she has no vulnerable point except India, though she herself is equally

THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

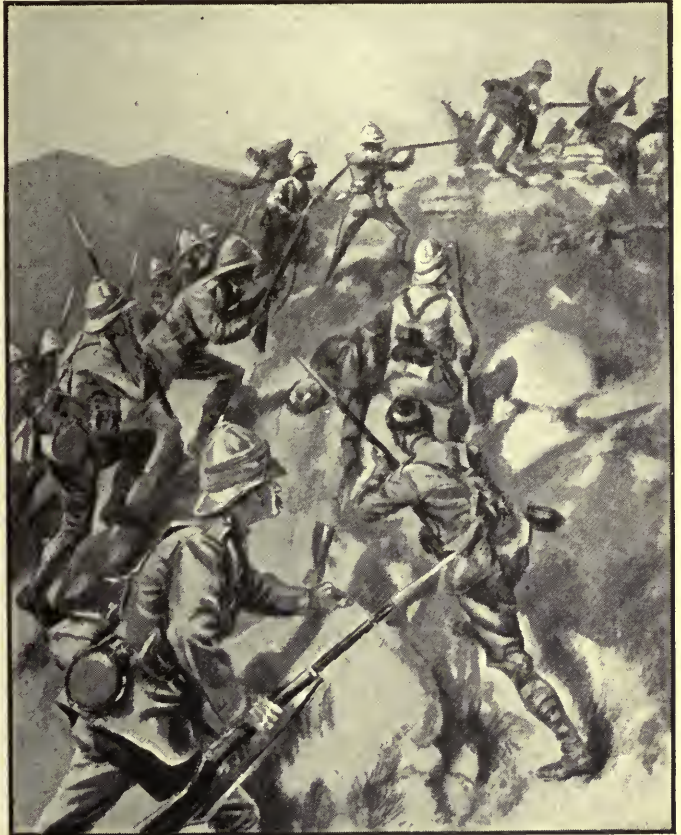
unable to attack except by sea. It was imagined, too, that the Dutch south of the Orange River would convert the Cape itself into practically hostile territory. President Kruger had timed his defence skilfully, so that the Boers could immediately assume the offensive while the British forces in South Africa were still wholly inadequate.

Additional forces were, indeed, to be expected very shortly. But at the moment, the regulars in South Africa numbered only about 22,000. Half of them were for political reasons gathered at Ladysmith and Dundee in the north angle of Natal—strategically, about as bad a position as could have been occupied, both sides of the angle being exposed to attack, while Ladysmith, topographically speaking, was peculiarly ill-fitted for defence. On the opposite side of the Free State a small British force held Kimberley, and to the north, on the Transvaal border, Mafeking. Fortunately for the British, Mr. Rhodes quartered himself at Kimberley. Now, until reinforcements arrived, it was impossible for the British to do anything but stand on the defensive; the attack lay with the Boers.

Between Ladysmith on one side, and Kimberley on the other, the Free State ran south into British territory like a half-sausage. Thus, the British had an immense frontier to guard, with their posts hundreds of miles apart; the Boers at the centre could strike on one side at Ladysmith, on the other at Kimberley, or make a direct invasion of Cape Colony southward, and could transfer forces from one to another of these fields of operation with great rapidity, which the British could not. And the Boers could at the moment send to the front two, or perhaps three times as many men as the whole of the British forces. If they had sent merely

“containing” forces to keep Ladysmith and Kimberley in check, and had thrown themselves in force into Cape Colony, they would probably have brought the bulk of the Cape Dutch to their standard, and the British would have had to reconquer the whole country, just as with the Ganges Provinces in the Indian Mutiny.

They did not realise their opportunity, however, but expended the whole of their energies in investing the towns of Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking.



THE TRAGEDY OF THE SPION KOP VICTORY

The Dublin Fusiliers, rushing the Boer trenches at Spion Kop, near Ladysmith, on the bitter day when the British won the Kop, did not know it was won, and so lost it.

Sir George White's force at Ladysmith held an advance post at Glencoe, close to Dundee. The campaign opened with an attack at this point. On October 20th was fought the battle of Talana Hill—a British success. But it revealed the fact that the Boer artillery commanded a longer range, and that the Glencoe position would soon be untenable. The only chance was to fall back on Ladysmith before retreat was cut off. The Boers

were multiplying fast. White, from Ladysmith, engaged them in the battle of Elandslaagte, and the difficult march from Dundee was successfully completed on October 26th. On the 30th followed the battle of Ladysmith, terminated by the disaster of Nicholson's Nek.

The Siege of Ladysmith

A detachment had been sent to occupy that position. In the night the mules stampered. On their backs were not only the ammunition but portions of the guns. The artillery was made useless. The force held on, knowing that it was its business to cover White's flank in the impending battle. No help came to it. All through the 30th it was the object of a concentrated attack; finally it found itself with no alternative but surrender. In the main battle, after much hard fighting, White had been obliged to withdraw his troops into Ladysmith, and the investment began. But one touch of good fortune had befallen; a naval detachment with naval guns had been sent up from the coast, and joined the defenders of Ladysmith.

Meanwhile, on the west, large forces were investing Mafeking and Kimberley, since the Boers were possessed with an overmastering desire to capture Cecil Rhodes at all costs. But no invasion of Cape Colony proper was taking place. With November, the reinforcements from home began to assemble, and soon the attack passed from the Boers to the British. As the Boers had divided their attack, so now did the British. Sir Redvers Buller, with the main army was to advance from Natal, and join forces with the Ladysmith garrison; on the west Lord Methuen with a second army was to proceed to the relief of Kimberley. The new troops were strengthened by volunteer detachments which the loyalty of the Colonies had sent to the aid of the

mother country. To reach Kimberley and raise the siege, Lord Methuen had first to pass the Orange River and then the Modder, and then fight his way up to the besieger's lines. To reach Ladysmith, Buller had to force his way over the Tugela, and then through a mountainous region eminently adapted for defence. In the former region the Boers had neglected any attempt on the British line

British Advance Begun

of communications. In the latter, they had secured the north bank of the Tugela, and made a belated raid into Natal, but not until the accumulation of troops there had already made the operation ineffective.

The British, holding the passage of the Orange River, made their advance in the middle of November. Between them and the besieging force lay General Cronje.



THE APPARENT RETREAT OVER THE TUGELA

General Buller's last, and successful, move in the campaign for the relief of Ladysmith was a flanking movement which involved re-crossing the Tugela, apparently a retreat, but in reality an enveloping movement which compelled the retreat of the Boers investing Ladysmith. Inset is a portrait of General Buller.



THE RELIEF OF LADYSMITH BY GENERAL BULLER

After a fierce siege of four months, during which the garrison was reduced to sore straits, Ladysmith was relieved by the success of General Buller's flank attack across the Tugela river on the Boer position. This picture shows the meeting of the relievers and the besieged, a photo of Sir George White being inset.

On November 23rd a small Boer force, skilfully entrenched, gave the British a hard task in dislodging them at Belmont. And now Methuen was to face Cronje himself on the Modder. And with Cronje was Delarey. It was not anticipated that material resistance would be offered at the river, and Lord Methuen unexpectedly found himself involved in a very hot struggle to force the passage. But the thing was done at last. Another step had been gained. Cronje, however, had only fallen back to a new and very strong position at Magersfontein.

Tragedy of the Battle of Magersfontein

To face that position Methuen made the arrangements on the night of December 10th. The Highland Brigade was to effect a night surprise; but the Boers were prepared for that. At the end of a long march, as the Highlanders were almost

on the enemy's lines, though unaware of their extreme proximity, while they were advancing in the close quarter-column formation—deployment can take place only at the last moment in a night attack—suddenly out of the darkness where the Boers lay in perfect cover, belched a devastating storm of fire. Over 600 men fell in some three minutes. The Highlanders broke—no mortal troops could have done otherwise. The moment they reached cover they rallied, but a fresh advance was impossible. With the day came help, and all day the struggle continued; but the Boer position proved impregnable. The repulse was decisive. It is remarkable that of the 1,000 casualties on that day, two-thirds occurred in the few minutes described. Meanwhile, to the south, Boer forces were at last entering Cape Colony in the district where there were many disaffected Dutch. Here, on December 9th, General Gatacre made an unfortunate attempt to take the offensive. Warning

reached the Boers of the surprise contemplated. The tables were turned at Stormberg. Half the attacking force was cut off from the rest, and 600 men were obliged to surrender. It was fortunate

The Black Week

that the enemy took no further advantage of the victory. The news of Stormberg and Magersfontein opened the "black week." The next news was that of the battle of Colenso, where the Boers held the north bank of the Tugela. The river was to be crossed at two points by Hart's and Hildyard's brigades. The former was led to a loop in the river where it was exposed to a cross fire, and efforts to discover a supposed ford proved fruitless. Hildyard's brigade made its attack at Colenso itself, and made good progress. But the artillery which should have supported it

met with disaster. The guns dashed forward to attack Fort Wylie; but, exposed to the full fury of the rifle-fire from the trenches, men and horses dropped—the guns could neither be withdrawn nor worked. In spite of desperate attempts to recover the guns, in which the only son of Lord Roberts lost his life, they had to be abandoned. The infantry attack, unsupported by artillery, could not be carried through. The first attempt to cross the Tugela had been disastrously repulsed on December 15th. For reasons unexplained, Buller's movement was made two days before the date he had notified to White in Ladysmith, so that nothing was done by way of co-operation in that quarter. On the other hand, White entirely declined to consider Buller's suggestion that he should surrender on the best terms he could get. The British nation was roused only to a sterner resolution by the week of disaster. From every quarter of the empire volunteers flocked to add fresh regiments to the increasing army in South Africa. Roberts and Kitchener, the two generals whose reputation stood highest in the British Army, were given the task of turning the tide of war. But before they arrived on the scene Ladysmith had victoriously repelled a determined attack, and the relieving force had been beaten back a second time. Never has a more splendid display of stubborn valour—on both sides—been made than on January 6th, when the Boers stormed the posts known as Waggon Hill and Cæsar's Camp, and the British hurled them back in rout. Yet hardly less splendid was the conduct of the troops on the bitter day when the British won Spion Kop, did not know that they had won it, and so lost it again.

Two divisions had been added to Buller's army since Colenso. In the third week of January a series of skilfully-designed movements enabled Buller to carry a large

part of his force over the river at a point higher up, and the Boers had to re-trench to face a flank attack. On the 19th and 20th, Sir Charles Warren, who was in command, carried through the next stages of the turning movement. On the night of the 22nd picked regiments climbed Spion Kop. There all day they held their ground under constant fire—waiting for guns. No guns came. Woodgate was shot; Thornycroft was placed in command. Hour by hour the men held on, till it seemed to their commander that before the next morning came there would be no men left to fight or to retire. He gave the order to retreat. It is said that the Boers were actually preparing to retreat themselves when they discovered what was going on. On the next morning Spion Kop was still held by the Boers.

Once again the relief failed, when a new key to the Boer position was found in Vaalkranz. The Boers were beguiled by a feint, and Vaalkranz was carried. Then it was found that the key did not fit the lock, and Vaalkranz was abandoned.

And still Ladysmith held out grimly, and far away Kimberley and Mafeking maintained the one a stubborn and the other a light-hearted defiance; and General French in the neighbourhood of Colesberg held the Boers in that region in check, though in the perpetual skirmishes which took place fortune distributed her favours pretty evenly between the combatants.

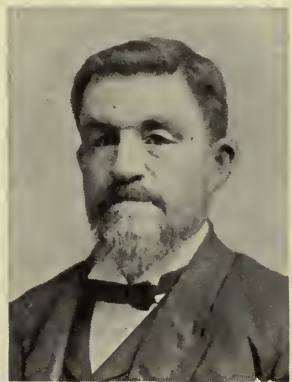
But by the second week in February the newly-arrived commander-in-chief had his new plan of campaign in order, and new hosts were accumulating on the line of advance to Kimberley. The army had been drawn back south of the Modder. While he kept the Boers alert to resist an advance on the west, General French had been placed in command of a large cavalry force which was to circumvent them on the east. Starting on February 12th, through



Russell

LORD ROBERTS

Who, with Lord Kitchener, was given the task of turning the tide of the war after the "black week."



Russell

CHRISTIAN DE WET

Whose genius for guerrilla warfare was mainly responsible for the long continuance of the struggle.



CRONJE'S MEN MARCHED AWAY CAPTIVES AFTER THE BATTLE OF PAARDEBERG
 The last days of February, 1900, definitely decided the British supremacy in the theatres of war. The Boers investing Ladysmith were ousted from their position, and General Cronje, whose portrait is inset above, entrapped at Paardeberg.

four days of hard riding, here rushing a drift, there sweeping off an outpost, French raced round to Kimberley, meeting with no check which could stay him. On the evening of the 15th his force was encamped triumphantly in the neighbourhood of the beleaguered town, the Boers decamped, and the siege was raised.

Not at such speed could Roberts move the main force, whose extended lines were now intended to encircle Cronje in a net. In that enveloping movement, Cronje saw his doom, and he made a sudden and furious dash to escape before the net closed round him.

He passed the gap behind French, yet not so quickly but that a detachment was able to hang on his rear, and detain his retreat. It sufficed to give French time

**Cronje
 Trapped at
 Paardeberg**

from Kimberley to head off the course of his march. Cronje was trapped. On February 28th

was fought the battle of Paardeberg, one of the hottest encounters in the war, often criticised as a superfluous waste of life, since the doom of the Boer force was already sealed, and was hardly even hastened by that engagement. The next day the British battalions were

gathering round the position where he had entrenched—one might say buried—himself. But it was still necessary that he should be crushed before the Boers could gather all their forces to come to his relief. The preparations were carried out steadily and without haste. The movement which was to bring the trenches under an enfilading fire was effected on the night of the 26th. On the 27th Cronje's whole force had no alternative but surrender.

**The March
 Towards
 Bloemfontein**

Lord Roberts began preparations for the march upon Bloemfontein.

Meanwhile, Buller had made his final and decisive move. This time he was going to try turning the Boer's left flank, which meant first clearing them from the positions they held on the south of the Tugela. The new attack began within forty-eight hours of the relief of Kimberley. On that day the flanking movement was completed. By the 20th the whole south bank was secured. On the 23rd the Irish Brigade did not succeed in capturing Railway Hill, but carried and held the slopes. Then there seemed to be a deadlock, and men saw with bitterness that British troops were passing back over the Tugela. But it was only to carry out a

further enveloping movement. The right wing held its ground, serving as a pivot on which the army swung. The fresh move converted it into the left wing. On the 28th the Boer position was practically carried. The enemy now no longer hoped to prevent the relief of Ladysmith, and were soon in full retreat. The long endurance of the worn-out garrison had found its reward at last. It may be that the events of those days on the west had drawn off a substantial proportion of the Free Staters to oppose Roberts. In any case, those last days of February definitely established the British supremacy in both the theatres of war.

The Relief of Ladysmith

On March 6th began the advance on Bloemfontein, with an intervening force commanded by Christian De Wet, who now showed his extraordinary genius for exciting envelopment. The Boers never again fought a pitched battle with the main British army, though they fought skilful rearguard actions and harassed the advancing foe, who never got them in his grip. Such actions were those of Poplar's Grove and Driefontein. On March 13th Lord Roberts was in Bloemfontein. There a six weeks' pause was necessary before the advance on the Transvaal and Pretoria could be made in force, while the army suffered severely from an epidemic of typhoid fever. In the interval, the annexation of the Free State was proclaimed—following the example of the Boers, who had formally "annexed" every district which they occupied in force. Before Pretoria itself was reached the sportsman-like defenders of Mafeking had been relieved by a small detachment, to the natural if somewhat delirious delight of the British public.

The Free State, however, still had an active force in being, while General Botha commanded the Transvaal army which lay in the neighbourhood of Pretoria. By September the old President had finally taken flight, and the British had carried their arms to Komatipoort. Technically, the conquest was completed. Yet the desperate struggle continued for another eighteen months. Nothing short of a European war could have altered the ultimate issue, but as long as it was possible to fight at all, the Boers fought. The English have emerged successfully from innumerable conflicts, simply through the dogged

Fight to the Finish

tenacity which refuses to know when it is beaten; the Boers showed the same quality, though with results less fortunate for them.

Hence, on the one hand, the whole period was full of incident. Mobile Boer forces, flashing from point to point, would snap up an outpost here and ambush a convoy there. British garrisons holding remote posts, or small bodies of troops on the march, would find themselves suddenly cut off, and conduct sometimes a brilliant and successful defence for days or weeks till relief arrived, sometimes find themselves forced to surrender because food or water or ammunition had given out. The brilliant dashes of the irrepressible Christian De Wet excited the sporting admiration of the foes, through whose enclosing forces he repeatedly ran the gauntlet, escaping time after time by the skin of his teeth. On the other hand, extended movements swept several bodies of Boers into the British nets. The regrettable frequency of breaches of parole and of abuse of the white flag, coupled with the conduct of the occupants of farms in contravention of what may be called the recognised rules of the game, necessitated a vast amount of destruction which otherwise would also have been against the rules of the game; and led further to the establishment of "concentration camps," in which the families of the Boers were maintained by their adversaries.

But the struggle was vain. Lord Kitchener, left in charge after the departure of Lord Roberts, steadily and persistently perfected the system of block-houses, which formed a barrier increasingly difficult to penetrate: the lines drew closer and closer. The time approached when the Boers would find themselves pressed into a corner from which there would be no escape, by a force now immensely superior in numbers and in equipment, which had, moreover, thoroughly learnt those conditions of warfare which at the outset had been so completely misapprehended. President Kruger, now in the Hague, still fulminated; but in Africa the facts of the situation became too palpable. At last the Boer leaders made up their minds to recognise that they had fought to a finish and had been beaten. More than once during the eighteen months they had been offered terms, but had refused to treat on any basis save that of recognition

The Guerrilla War

SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

of complete independence for the two republics. Now at length, at the end of March, 1902, they opened negotiations. For two months discussion continued. On the last day of May they signed the treaty which ended the long strife.

The republics lost their independence, or partial independence, and were definitely incorporated in the British Empire. To begin with, they were to be governed as Crown Colonies, an obvious necessity; but, in course of time, it was the desire of the victors that they should receive responsible government on the same basis as the other states comprised in the British dominions. Great Britain was to provide fifteen million dollars to place them once more on a working financial footing; the Dutch language was to be allowed in the schools and law courts. Such were the main provisions of the Peace.

SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

SINCE the British Empire at the Present Day will form the subject of detailed treatment in a later volume, we may here confine ourselves to rounding off the narrative of South African history.

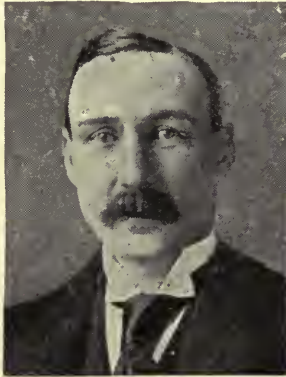
Pacification, the calming of the waters which had been so troubled, the harmonising of the races which had been so fiercely at feud, was no easy task. The British population of Cape Colony had suffered heavily, directly and indirectly; and not a little natural animosity was felt towards rebels—those of the Cape Dutch who had taken part with the Boers. There were many outcries—very much in the nature of the Royalist complaints when the Merry Monarch was taken back to England in 1660—that the Act of pacification was one of “Indemnity for the King’s enemies and oblivion for the King’s friends.” Adjustments where generosity in one quarter looks like injustice in another are always peculiarly difficult; but where goodwill subsists at bottom, such heart-burnings gradually lose their bitterness.

The work, first in the hands of Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner, was entrusted in 1905 to Lord Selborne. The

principle was clear. There were two lines open: either the Boers were to be treated as a vanquished but still hostile people, who had brought their own doom on themselves at the cost of an immense expenditure of blood and treasure to the conquerors, and were to be held under; or they were to be offered the right hand of fellowship and something more, on the hypothesis that they would grasp it in a frank and loyal spirit. That there were dangers in this course, risks that loyalty was merely assumed, was obvious; but, on the other hand, it was the one condition without which the concord of the two races in South Africa was clearly impossible. So long as there could be talk of “top-dog” and “bottom-dog” the bottom-dog would eternally seek every occasion to reverse the positions. The bolder course of autonomous government was adopted.

governorship of the Cape was separated from the commissionership, and during the Crown Colony period the control both of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony was vested in the High Commissioner. The rehabilitation of the country after the damage and losses of the war has offered serious problems. The great

common peril to the whites—that of a native rising during the war—had been successfully averted; but in the general disorganisation native labour became much more difficult to obtain, and white labour in the mines is costly. Hence a scheme was carried out for obtaining coolie labour from China, which involved the application of extremely strict regulations and conditions of contract. A storm arose over this question, the argument being, on the one side, that coolie labour was necessary to the development of the industry, and the coolie was better off than in China; while, on the other, it was held that if the mines could only be worked under these conditions—and “free” Chinese labour was an obvious impossibility—it would be better for the community that they should not be



LORD SELBORNE

Who, as High Commissioner for South Africa at the conclusion of war, had the task of pacification.

worked at all; although it was not admitted that the exclusion of Chinese labour need, in fact, prevent the mines from being worked.

The preponderant sentiment, however, in a short time definitely declared itself against Chinese labour, and steps were taken to bring the system to an end. Again, politics were perpetually complicated by suspicions and accusations of racial or class intrigues to capture the machinery of government in the Cape Colony, and in the two newly-organised states, so soon as representative government should be established; while hot controversy raged as to the wisdom or folly of granting responsible government for some years to come. Nevertheless, the Transvaal received its constitution at the end of 1906, and the Orange River Colony some months later. It is a healthy omen that the opponents of that policy have shown a frank readiness to make the best, instead of the worst, of a situation which they feared; and, on the other hand, there has been no sign that the Dutch element—ably led now in the Transvaal in politics, as formerly in war, by Louis Botha—will use its weight in the political scales in a spirit hostile to the

The Chinese Labour Problem

British. In Natal native questions have inevitably a peculiar prominence. Now, as always, there is a section of the British public which is particularly alert to any suggestion of injustice to natives, and ready to demand the interposition of the Home Government; now, as always, the men on the spot claim that such interposition is invariably harmful. In the nature of things, therefore, friction is exceptionally apt to arise in this quarter. Passing northwards, it is to be remarked that the control of the military force in Rhodesia was withdrawn from the Chartered Company after the Jameson Raid, though the general administration of the territories remains in its hands.

By the South African Act, 1909, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State—for the old title of the last named was restored—were constituted the four provinces of the legislative Union of South Africa, provision being made for the possible inclusion of Rhodesia. The Union was inaugurated in 1910—the seat of government being at Pretoria, and of the Union Parliament at Cape Town—with General Louis Botha as Prime Minister.

Native Question in Natal

A. D. INNES



SWEARING-IN THE MINISTERS OF THE TRANSVAAL'S FIRST PARLIAMENT



Langfieri

RIGHT HON. LOUIS BOTHA, P.C., LL.D.

THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

General Botha became Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa at its formation in 1910, and was soon faced with difficulties, not only within his own party, but also on the Rand, where the trade unionists are well organised and aggressive. General Hertzog left the Nationalist party in 1912, protesting against its "Imperialism" and, with a comparatively small following, formed a "Veldt" party; but the secession was not formidable enough to upset the ministry. The labour troubles commenced on the Rand in May, 1913, over the question of the length of the working day, and at the beginning of July the Miners' Association declared a general strike. Riots followed, martial law was proclaimed, and on July 5 the troops who had been called out fired on the strikers in Johannesburg. The total casualties during the few days of tumult amounted to more than 250, including many deaths. For a time sullen peace ensued, but discontent was rife. Early in 1914 a big strike was declared on the State railways, on the ground that the Government, in cutting down expenses, had thrown a large number of men out of work instead of reducing the hours of labour. The strike spread to the mines, and the Government at once declared martial law, mobilised its burgher forces, arrested all the responsible labour leaders, including Mr. Cresswell, the leader of the Labour party in the Union Parliament, and deported nine of these leaders from South Africa without bringing them to trial for any stated offence. Again a sullen peace followed the disturbances. But the deported trade unionists on their arrival in England were received with every expression of sympathy by their fellow unionists, and a monster demonstration in Hyde Park was held to protest against what was called "the high-handed action" of General Botha. Official remonstrance on the part of the British Government was declared to be impossible, the Union of South Africa enjoying full and complete self-government. For the same reason no official pressure could be brought to bear upon General Botha to procure the return of the deported labour leaders. The fact is, the enormous native population is a serious menace when labour disturbances take place; and this menace largely explains the severity of General Botha's Government in dealing with strikes.



THE NON - BRITISH EUROPEAN NATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL, BELGIUM, AND GERMANY

UNTIL the last quarter of the nineteenth century the European nations had not started on the scramble for African territory. Only one Power had preceded the Dutch in the attempt to establish permanent stations in the southern half of the continent. Except for the French in Madagascar, the Portuguese efforts alone have a history before 1876.

Portugal First in South Africa

Portugal, however, was taking the lead in maritime exploration as early as the fifteenth century. Before that century closed, 150 years earlier than Riebeeck's Dutch settlement at the Cape, Vasco da Gama rounded the southern point of Africa in his search for a new route to India, and failed to secure a footing at Mombasa and at Mozambique.

In 1502, however, he was more successful in Sofala; and during the ensuing year several fortified posts were established on the east coast—such stations being of the utmost importance to the Portuguese dominion over the Indian waters. The first fort was planted at Kilwa in 1505. Henceforward the coast was kept under the surveillance of a flying squadron. In the year 1512 the fort at Kilwa was abandoned, and the settlement in Mozambique which had been begun in 1507, now became the chief base of the Portuguese power in East Africa. At the beginning of 1507 the admiral Tristão da Cunha made a punitive expedition against the enemies of the sheikh of Malindi, and at the end of March burnt the town of Brava, which had hitherto been consistently hostile; he made, however, no attempt upon Makdishu. As every fleet sailing to India or Eastern Asia touched at the East African coast, the Portuguese predominance was rapidly assured, to the great advantage of the nation, which drew a considerable income from the coast trade and the gold-mines of Sofala.

But at no period was there an absolute cessation of disturbances and struggles, which were especially frequent in the north.

By the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese were in occupation of several coastal positions from Sofala northward, but had made no attempt to take possession of the interior. Mining operations in search of silver were set on foot, but with disappointing results. The power of Portugal had collapsed with her absorption by Spain, and was not recovered with her independence in the middle of the seventeenth century. She found herself unable to overcome the Arab resistance; she was driven from Maskat, and then from Zanzibar, and in the eighteenth century retained only a somewhat vague command of the coast from Cape Delgado on the north to Lorenço Marquez on the south.

In the meanwhile, a somewhat similar fate had attended the Portuguese efforts at colonisation on the west coast. Portuguese influence was early established in the Congo kingdom, where the native monarchs adopted Christianity, were baptised with Portuguese names, and in other matters sought to imitate the Portuguese example. Towards the end of the sixteenth century a Portuguese station was secured in Angola, which developed into the city of São Paulo, and some unsuccessful attempts were made to penetrate into the interior and to reach the settlements on the east coast. But

Dark Days of Portugal in Africa

in the disastrous period of her subjection to Spain, Portugal could do little beyond maintaining her ground against hostile native rulers. And when emancipated Holland attacked her as a member of the Spanish empire, her chances of effectively extending dominion practically disappeared, and she retained her ascendancy in Angola

THE NON-BRITISH EUROPEAN NATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

only with great difficulty. It was not till near the close of the eighteenth century that Portuguese colonial activity revived in Africa; even then it was doomed to receive an early check from the cruel burden thrown upon Portugal during the Napoleonic wars. After that troublous time, however, she gradually extended her dominion and the sphere of her influence from Angola. Both in that province and on the east coast administration progressed, though few will question that the rigid enforcement of economic isolation was a serious drawback to commercial development. Later jealousies arose over the prospect of the British dominion extending itself into Central Africa, and permanently separating the eastern Portuguese dominion from the western; also over British claims to rights in Delagoa Bay, the southern limit of Portuguese East Africa.

The latter question was settled by the arbitration of Marshal McMahon, at the time President of the French Republic. His award was wholly in favour of the Portuguese claims; but British interests had been safeguarded as against rival Powers by a preliminary convention securing a right of pre-emption to whichever party should be defeated in the arbitration. The Central African question was settled by an altogether distinct agreement on the delimitation of the respective spheres of influence of the two Powers, which has been productive of a satisfactorily harmonious spirit between them—viewed not without some acrimony by a rival colonising Power.

Progress in Portuguese East Africa This agreement took final form in the convention of 1891. Angola is fairly entitled to be called prosperous, while the commercial prospects of the eastern colony have been distinctly improved by the activity and enterprise of the British in Rhodesia. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Central Africa began to engage

the serious attention of the European Powers. The history of the Congo State begins on September 15th, 1876, with the foundation by King Leopold II. of Belgium of the "Association Africaine Internationale." Its chief objects were the exploration of Central Africa, the civilisation of the natives, and the suppression of the slave trade; the foundation of permanent settlements was therefore an essential part of its policy. Meanwhile the Congo problem had been solved by H. M. Stanley. Not content with the accomplishment of purely scientific achievements, the great explorer saw plainly that the Congo river offered the only possible route by which a large part of Africa could be opened up without loss

of time and with resources comparatively scanty. Full of bold schemes, he returned to Europe in August, 1877, and gained a friendly reception from the new company and King Leopold. The company determined to work the recently discovered district for itself.

It was high time. France, in the person of the Count Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, had already seized a part of Congoland. On November 25th,

1878, Stanley founded the branch company in Brussels, "Comité d'Etudes du Haut-Congo," returned to the Congo in 1879, founded the settlement of Vivi, and began to make a road from the river's mouth to Stanley Pool, or Leopoldville, in 1882. He also concluded many conventions with the negro chiefs, thus forestalling De Brazza, who had founded or was preparing to found the stations of Franceville, Brazzaville, and Poste de l'Alima between 1880 and 1881. Meanwhile Portugal, supported by Great Britain, with whom she made a convention on February 26th, 1884, laid claims to the territory at the mouth of the Congo, which were vigorously resisted by most of the other states. With the object of relieving this state of tension, Germany invited the Powers to a conference.



MAP OF THE BASIN OF THE CONGO

The practical result was the recognition of the Congo Free State under the sovereignty of the King of the Belgians, the theory being that the administration was to be cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism did not prevail for long; by degrees, all the official posts were absorbed by Belgians. In the last decade of the century

**Belgian King's
Oppression
of the Congo** a sharp conflict with the Arabs terminated with the total expulsion of the Arab power from the Congo territory. The effective conversion of what had been intended to be a state under international management into a private estate of the Belgian king proved by no means satisfactory to other Powers. The trade of the Upper Congo regions, instead of being kept open, was virtually made a Belgian monopoly. Very evil reports were made by Protestant missionaries of various nationalities as to the malpractices, the oppression, and the violence of the administration. British feelings were further outraged by the quasi-judicial murder of a trader, Mr. Stokes, without trial, on a charge of supplying the Arabs with powder, and by the repeated acquittals of the official who sentenced him.

The stories of administrative atrocities were virtually confirmed in all their ugliest features by the official report made at the instance of the British Government by the British Consul, Mr. Casement. Hence a continuous agitation was maintained, more especially in Great Britain, for a vigorous intervention, while the late King of the Belgians emulated the example of the Sublime Porte when the concert of Europe started the tune of Armenian or other atrocities. There were indications at length that the patience of at least one Power was nearly exhausted. A solution has perhaps been found by the transfer of the sovereignty—and the responsibility—to the Belgian nation from the Belgian monarch, a process

**Germany
in South
Africa** arranged by the Treaty of Cession of 1908.

The history of the German colonies in Southern Africa begins officially on April 24th, 1884, when Prince Bismarck proclaimed a German protectorate in South-west Africa. On August 7th of the same year the German flag was hoisted in Angra Pequena, and at other points of the coast shortly afterward. By slow degrees, the British Government was induced to recognise the German protectorate.

Great Britain retained possession of Walfish Bay and the adjacent territory, and also of the islands on the coast, to which she had priority of claim. Namaland and Damara-land were gradually brought under German supremacy, a process which ultimately led to a definite arrangement with Great Britain on July 1st, 1890. By the terms of this agreement, the lower course of the Orange River was to be the southern boundary of the German territory, the eastern boundary was the twentieth degree of longitude east (of Greenwich), but from the twenty-second degree of latitude south the frontier was to extend to the twenty-first degree of longitude east. On the north a small strip of German territory was to run as far as the Zambesi.

The compact with Portugal of December 30th, 1886, determined the Lower Cunene as the northern frontier, and thus placed Ovamboland under German protection. German South-west Africa was undoubtedly the most important German acquisition in Africa, and the only one capable of being gradually transformed into an entirely German district. The Herero, however, continue to be restive, and assured tranquillity in the colony appears still somewhat remote. The existence of a German sphere of ascendancy in East Africa originated with the "German Colonisation Company," which was founded on April 3rd, 1884.

It conceived the idea of sending an expedition into the hinterland of the Zanzibar coast, acquiring territory there, and awaiting the further results of its action. Karl Peters, who had started the company, and was the leader of the little expedition, concluded a number of treaties in November, 1884, with different chieftains in Usagara, Nguru, etc., which were officially confirmed on February 27th, 1885. At the same time the company obtained an imperial charter. Seyyid Bargash, sultan of Zanzibar, endeavoured to put legal obstacles in the way of the settlement, and to assert his rights to the hinterland of the coast by the despatch of troops to that district—action which was attributed in Germany to British intrigue.

When Germany vigorously rejected these claims, the French Government declared their intention of abstaining from any interference. On August 13th, 1885, the parties interested came to a temporary understanding. By the agreement between

THE NON-BRITISH EUROPEAN NATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Great Britain and Germany of October 29th, 1886, the coast remained the property of the sultan ; but the harbours of Dar es Salaam and Pangani were to be at the disposal of the German East African Company, which was formed on September 7th, 1885.

The company at once set to work, extended its territory further inland, began experimental plantations, and founded stations. When the custom-houses of the coast were leased to the company on April 8th, 1888, and a permanent income was thus definitely assured, it appeared as if no obstacle now remained to check the course of a sound development.

Unfortunately the actual resources of the company were totally inadequate to meet the claims upon them, or to provide against the dangers of the situation. The whole of the Arab power raised the standard of opposition. The occupation of the coast settlements had dealt the slave trade a deadly blow, and had thereby destroyed the second chief source of Arab wealth —the plantations, which were worked by means of the cheap labour brought down from the interior. Utter ruin was now threatening the once prosperous Arabs of the coast. Their profession of slave-hunters and slave-traders had made them fierce and lawless, and inspired them with a passionate hatred of foreigners.

Ruin of the Slave-Traders

The most formidable opponent of the Germans was the Arab Bushiri, who had stirred up the revolt in Pangani, and from this point guided the movements upon the coast. Moreover, he found allies in the Masiti and advanced with them against Bagamoyo from the south-west. He was defeated, however, and ultimately captured and executed in December, 1889. The administration has certainly been painfully lacking in efficiency. Notwithstanding this, the capital Dar es Salaam has developed satisfactorily, and plantations of considerable extent have been made in the Tanga hinterland, which has been partly opened up by a railway.

The final delimitation of the colony was under the Anglo-German convention of July 1st, 1890, whereby Zanzibar was placed under the British protectorate, an agreement which dealt a heavy blow to the development of the German protectorate district, and, according to German views, was extravagantly favourable to Great Britain. The coast from Umba to Rovuma was left entirely to Germany ; the sultan Seyyid Ali of Zanzibar received the sum of four millions of marks as compensation. Of late years the colony has developed fairly satisfactorily in spite of bad harvests.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
A. D. INNES



ANTANANARIVO, THE CAPITAL OF THE ISLAND KINGDOM OF MADAGASCAR
Inset is a view of the palace where the Hova queens of Madagascar reigned before it became a French colony

Edwards



MADAGASCAR AND THE MASCARENES

By Dr. Heinrich Schurtz

MADAGASCAR, with the Mascarenes, must be associated with Africa, though ethnologically its connection is much closer with Malaysia. Its dark-skinned inhabitants, like its fauna, seem much more closely related to the Melanesians than to the negroes, though it is impossible to say positively that they are not of

Madagascar's Connection With Malaysia

African origin. The Malays were clearly brought to Madagascar by more than one of those marvellous migrations which have become of paramount importance for the history of Indonesia and Oceania. Certain similarities favour the view that Sumatra was the point from which the colonisation of Madagascar started. The date of the most important immigrations cannot be satisfactorily determined, but, considering the comparatively high culture of the immigrants, we should not venture to place the beginning of the migration in a very remote age. The immigrants brought with them the art of iron-working, but do not seem to have been acquainted with cattle-breeding, since the Hova word for ox is borrowed from the East African Swahili language. They were not unfamiliar with the loom, but apparently employed it to weave palm fibre, not cotton. Their social divisions were hereditary nobles, or Andrianes, free men, and slaves.

Since, on the arrival of the Europeans, the Mascarenes, which lie to the east of Madagascar, were found uninhabited, these migrations could not have reached Madagascar through these islands. It is possible that the seafaring Malays, who by piracy and trade commanded the shores of the Indian Ocean before the Christian era and until the beginning of the Hindu trading expeditions to Malacca and Java, may have reached the coasts of Madagascar in this way from the north, and founded settlements there in course of time. All connection with their eastern home was then abandoned, and the settlers on Madagascar

continued to develop independently of the mother country, but not without experiencing in a considerable degree the influence of Africa. Among the Hovas, who must be regarded as the latest immigrants, the legend is still current that their forefathers came from a distant island on a marvellous road of lotus leaves to the coasts of Madagascar; and that then, to escape the malarial fever, they penetrated far into the hill country. The legend says nothing of any aboriginal inhabitants.

The most pure-blooded Malays are the Hovas, who live in the central province of Imerina, and number at present about a million souls. The Betsileo, some 1,200,000 strong, who inhabit the hill country south of Imerina, seem to be more contaminated by negro blood. The Betsimisaraka, on the east coast, are more nearly allied to the negroes than to the Malays. Besides the light-complexioned races of Madagascar and the remnants of an undersized primitive people there are also, especially on the coasts and in the south, dark inhabitants of a negro type, although at present no hard and fast line can be drawn between the races.

The negritian portion of the Malagasy population speaks Malay dialects, and must have been long subject to a distinct Malay influence. The main body of the dark population, whose most important branch are the Sakalavas, inhabit the west coast of the island opposite Africa, which points to an African origin for them. On the other hand, their skill as navigators has its parallels in Melanesia, but not in Africa. The Arabs made their influence felt on the coasts of Madagascar at a comparatively early period, possibly long before the growth of Islam, and evidently owing to the vicinity of the gold-mines of Sofala.

The name Madagascar is first mentioned by Marco Polo, who derived exact information about the island from the

MADAGASCAR AND THE MASCARENES

Arabian navigators, and heard in this connection of a gigantic bird, the roc. The fabulously exaggerated account may refer to those gigantic ostrich-like birds which clearly inhabited Madagascar down to historical times.

The religious controversies after Mahomet led to further Arabian immigrations, principally of sectaries, such as the Zeidites, a branch of the house of Ali, who may have partly come to Madagascar at the close of the eighth century; also about the same time a number of Ishmaelites immigrated. We know in any case that Sunnite and Shiite Persians emigrated to East Africa. Descendants of all these immigrants can still be identified in Madagascar.

The Portuguese, after the circumnavigation of South Africa, reached Madagascar also. The first of them to do so was Fernando Soarez, on February 1st, 1506, St. Laurence's day, from which circumstance the island received the name of San Lourenço. It was repeatedly visited by Portuguese afterward, but no permanent settlements were founded. The Dutch also soon abandoned their attempts at colonisation, which were made in the years 1595-1598.

At the end of the sixteenth century, as an indirect consequence of Arabian influence, the great Sakalvan kingdom of Menabe arose, which, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, planted many offshoots, especially Iboina. The real founder of the power of Menabe was Andriandahifotch, who died in 1680. These conditions were first changed by the appearance of the Hovas, a genuine Malay people, in the heart of the island. The eighteenth century

Rise of the Malay Hovas saw the completion of the national union of the Hovas, who gradually realised their own strength and became a menace to the surrounding tribes. King Andrianimpoina began the first campaigns against the Betsileo, who lived in the south. His son Radama I. (1810-1828) continued the operations with still more success, became master of the greater part of the northern highlands, and pressed on to the east coast, where he

made a treaty with the British. Provided with firearms by the latter, he then commenced war on the Sakalvas, compelled them to recognise his suzerainty, nominally at least, and proceeded to assert his claim to the dominion over the whole of Madagascar, a claim which was still absolutely opposed to the actual state of affairs. The sovereignty of the Hovas was never really acknowledged in the south and south-west districts of Madagascar. Radama soon quarrelled with the European Power which had long cast envious eyes on Madagascar—that is, France. The early French settlement, Fort Dauphin, had been founded in the year 1642, on the south-east coast of the island. An attempt of Colbert to form an immense colonial empire out of Madagascar and the surrounding islands, and to raise the necessary funds by founding an East India Company in 1664, seemed to promise success at first, but in consequence of the arrogant behaviour of the governor, La Haye, it ended with the massacre of all the French settlers and the destruction of Fort Dauphin in the year 1672. All plans for the time being were thus stopped. In 1750 the island of Sainte Marie was acquired, and the ruined Fort Dauphin re-garrisoned in 1768. Soon afterward Count Benjowski appeared as French governor

of the possessions in Madagascar. He was an enterprising but untrustworthy character, who obtained from some chiefs on the coast the concession of the entire island, and, when he laid down his office, regarded himself as owner of Madagascar, which he repeatedly but vainly offered to the French Government.

The wish to occupy the island could not fail to clash unpleasantly with the budding hopes of the Hovas for the overlordship. Under the reign of Queen Ranavalona matters came to open hostilities, which did not end gloriously for the French. Fortunately for France, the queen, who conquered parts of the south-east of the island, roused Great Britain—whose competition in the island had made itself felt by the occupation of Tamatave, in 1810—also against her by her passionate

affairs. The sovereignty of the Hovas was never really acknowledged in the south and south-west districts of Madagascar. Radama soon quarrelled with the European Power which had long cast envious eyes on Madagascar—that is, France. The early French settlement, Fort Dauphin, had been founded in the year 1642, on the south-east coast of the island. An attempt of Colbert to form an immense colonial empire out of Madagascar and the surrounding islands, and to raise the necessary funds by founding an East India Company in 1664, seemed to promise success at first, but in consequence of the arrogant behaviour of the governor, La Haye, it ended with the massacre of all the French settlers and the destruction of Fort Dauphin in the year 1672. All plans for the time being were thus stopped. In 1750 the island of Sainte Marie was acquired, and the ruined Fort Dauphin re-garrisoned in 1768. Soon afterward Count Benjowski appeared as French governor



QUEEN RANAVALONA III
Deposed by the French, who made Madagascar first a French protectorate, and then a colony.

hatred of foreigners and by her expulsion of the English missionaries in 1835. In the years 1838-1841 the French occupied some more points on the north-west coast, particularly the island Nossi Bé, and in this way consolidated their influence among the Sakalavas. But for the time being there was no idea of a decisive and consistent policy.

A Feeble Copy of New Japan

The intolerable misgovernment of Queen Ranavalona finally forced the Hovas themselves to seek help from without. Once more the French and British began to intrigue one against the other, and dangerous complications had already arisen when the sudden death of the queen, in 1861, and the accession of Radama II., who was friendly to France, completely changed the aspect of affairs. An age of reforms then set in, which presents a feeble counterpart to the similar and almost contemporary process in Japan. Even when Radama had been murdered, on May 12, by the reactionary party, reforms were continued by his widow and successor, Rasoaherina. The real power lay, however, in the hands of her husband, Rainitairivoy, the first Minister, a member of the Hova family Rainiharo, which founded a sort of palace government. The "reforms" gradually assumed a character which was very serious for France.

When Rasoaherina died, on April 1st, 1868, Ranavalona II. mounted the throne. On February 21st, 1869, she, together with her husband, again, of course, the chief Minister, adopted Christianity, and joined the Anglican Church, which had been in the meanwhile extending its influence among the Hovas, and now acquired complete ascendancy. The news of the French defeats in the war of 1870-1871 naturally caused a further diminution of the influence of France in Madagascar.

France Asserts Her Claims

The pretensions of the Hovas finally compelled the French Government, after long and unprofitable negotiations, to assert by force of arms their claims to Madagascar, which was more and more inclining to the side of Great Britain. On June 13th, 1883, Tamatave, on the east coast, was occupied. The death of the reigning queen, on July 13th, and the accession of Ranavalona III. Manyake were followed by an abortive French

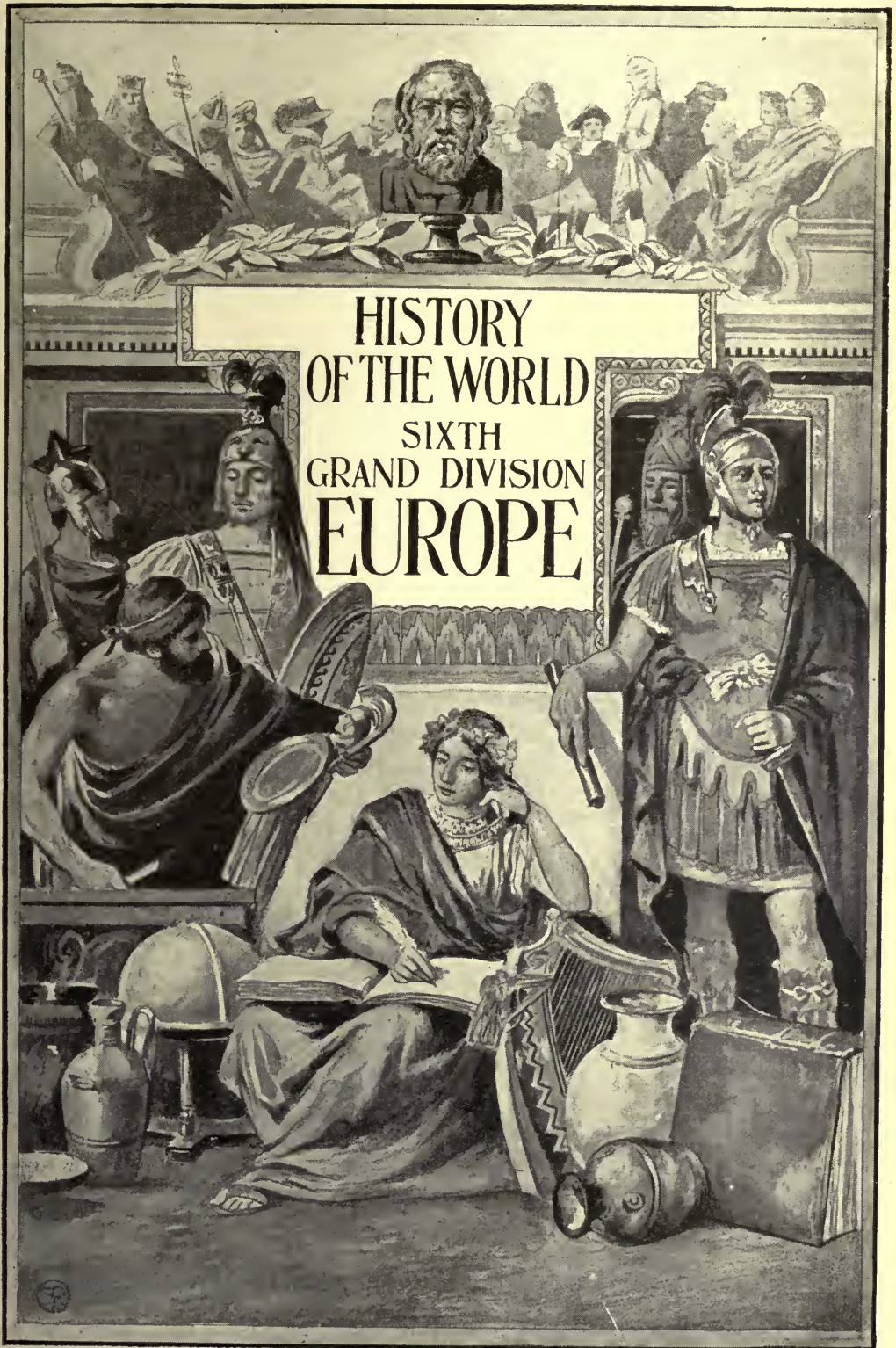
expedition into the interior. But a treaty favourable to the French was concluded on December 17th, 1885. By this treaty Madagascar became a French protectorate; a resident-general was placed in the capital, Antananarivo, to control the foreign relations of the state. This treaty was not, however, regarded very seriously by the Hovas until, in 1895, a new expedition, starting from the north-west coast, under Lieutenant-General Duchesne, took the capital on September 30th, after a singularly feeble resistance on the part of the Hovas, and then asserted the French protectorate by force of arms.

Madagascar was declared a French colony on August 6th, 1896. Rainilairivony, the husband of the queen, was banished to Algiers; she herself was left for a time in possession of her title, but in 1897 she, too, was deposed and brought to Réunion. In this way the kingdom of the Hovas has been brought under French influence; but the island as a whole has yet to be subdued. Under the rule of France the trade of Madagascar has greatly improved, and a preferential tariff has succeeded in checking the British imports in favour of the French; the exports, of which the most important articles are gold, vanilla, and indiarubber, are now sent chiefly to France.

The French in the Mascarenes

The history of the French claims on Madagascar is closely connected with the fact that on the Mascarenes, in Mauritius and Réunion, French colonies were founded and plantations opened, with considerable success. The islands when discovered by the Portuguese Pero Mascarenhas in 1505 were totally uninhabited. Mauritius was for some time in possession of the Dutch (1640-1712), and was colonised in 1715 by the French, who had held settlements since 1646 on Réunion. Between 1734 and 1746 Bourdonnais, whom we have already met in India, was French governor here. For seventy years its position as a naval station made it a thorn in the side of the British on Indian waters. The introduction of the remunerative industry of coffee-planting increased the prosperity and the population of the Mascarenes during the course of the eighteenth century; afterwards sugar-growing was extensively introduced.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



HISTORY
OF THE WORLD
SIXTH
GRAND DIVISION
EUROPE



SIXTH GRAND DIVISION EUROPE

Following the geographical scheme on which this history is based, we now reach the Grand Division of Europe. But here a difficulty arises. The history of Europe must itself occupy one-half of the entire work: so that it requires a separate scheme of subdivision for itself, while the nature of international relations precludes this from following simple geographical lines; the attempt would produce not lucidity but confusion.

Nevertheless, it is possible to discover certain main lines, a scheme of historical grouping, which will help to give us clear pictures: a grouping which corresponds to historical fact.

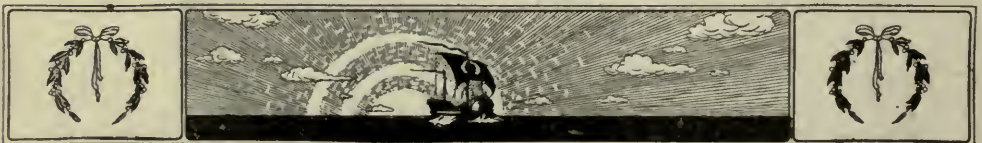
First, then, we observe that, in strong distinction from the East, the recorded history of organised communities in Europe does not begin till well within the last thousand years B.C. Even tradition carries us little further back; we have to rely only upon conjectural reconstructions of earlier communities based upon comparative archaeology. But from the moment that we find organised communities leading a settled existence in Greece development is rapid. Italy appears and takes definite shape while Greece is at its zenith; Rome gathers both the barbarian West and the Hellenised East under her shadow; Western Europe becomes historical precisely as it is brought into contact with the expansion of Rome; Europe is the Europe of the Roman Empire.

What lies outside is unknown: big with the future, but as yet formless. Then that outside world batters on the Roman ramparts, bursts through, rends it in twain, and deluges the western half. Thenceforth East and West work out each their own career in only partial contact. Here, then, we get our first dividing line. European history forms a unity till the time when the Roman Empire was sundered.

But here the river divides; the eastern and western streams flow separately for thirteen hundred years, when the forces which drive them towards unity receive an additional impulse from the Napoleonic struggles. In the east the Byzantine Empire carries on that of Rome, till its overthrow by the Turk; in the outer region the Naomic nationalities develop, and the Ugrian Magyars construct a state in Hungary.

Our second division, then, must be the history of Eastern Europe down to the Revolution epoch; meantime, the complexity of Western Europe history compels us to give it two divisions—the third and fourth, covering the same period—chronologically distinguished, but not otherwise, as Mediæval and post-Reformation. Here the Keltic, Teutonic, and Latin elements blend or are differentiated anew into the western nations of modern Europe, developing into sharply defined states.

At this epoch European history again becomes a unity, treated in the fifth division, which brings us down to our own day; while the survey of Europe in our own time forms the sixth division. For the convenience of our readers we shall provide for each of these divisions a *conspectus* such as we have hitherto given only for the Grand Divisions.





EUROPE
FIRST DIVISION
TO THE SUNDERING OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Until about the close of the fifth century of the Christian Era the history of Europe means in effect the history of just so much as fell within the ken of the Greeks and Romans. In other words, it is first the history of the development of the states of Greece, of that Hellenism which still remains the source of all intellectual life; secondly, the history of the rise and expansion of the Roman dominion which taught the world the meaning of Public Law; and, thirdly, the rise of the Christian Church as an organic body. Yet to follow the evolution of the Greeks and Romans we must first examine the ethnological and geographical conditions under which they developed—that is, the Early Peoples of South and West Europe. Thus our division falls into four clearly marked sections, to which are prefixed two essays: on the relation between European and other civilisations, and on characteristics of the Mediterranean Sea. Thus we shall see how the most brilliant of all civilisations—that of the Greeks—came into being, and how and why it failed to maintain—hardly, indeed, acquired—a real political predominance, though it remained a supreme intellectual influence. And next we shall see how an Italian city acquired first local leadership, then territorial dominion, and finally the lordship of the known world. Lastly, we shall see new barbaric forces crushing in upon it, and destroying its fabric; while another fabric of a new order—the Church—comes into being.

THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

By Professor Flinders Petrie

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

By Count Wilczek and Dr. H. F. Helmolt

EARLY PEOPLES OF SOUTH AND WEST EUROPE

By Dr. Karl G. Brandis, Professor C. Pauli, and Dr. Heinrich Schurtz

THE GREEKS

By Professor Ronald Burrows and Professor Rudolf von Scala

ROME

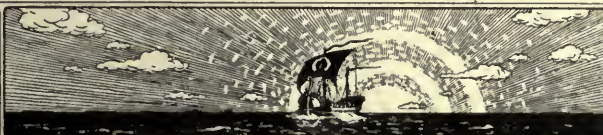
By Professor Julius Jung and W. Warde Fowler

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

By Professor W. Walther

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

By W. Romaine Paterson





GENERAL MAP OF EUROPE, ILLUSTRATING THE SIXTH GRAND DIVISION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD
 The geographical scheme on which this history is based now brings us to the Grand Division of Europe, which must occupy one-half of the entire work, so that a separate scheme of subdivision is required. This cannot follow simple geographical lines as in previous Grand Divisions, in consequence of the complexity of international relations; but a scheme of historical groupings combining geographical features with historical fact has been devised. This plan of treatment, embracing six subdivisions for Europe, is elaborated on page 2354.

EUROPE'S DEBT TO THE PAST

A STUDY OF THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

BY PROFESSOR FLINDERS PETRIE

IN recent times the primitive instinct of the corporate life of the nation has begun to regain its proper position. In primitive states of society men will cling together to the death as a tribe, and will endure much to keep up the traditions and possessions that they have inherited from their ancestors.

The ascetic life imported from India to the west undoubtedly did much to break up this corporate feeling. Preparation for a future life became an obsession, which extinguished every interest in maintaining continuity with the life of this world. And the monastic corporations when they arose formed a new world in themselves which had little to do with surrounding life. Later than this influence the large increase in knowledge during the last three centuries has not only regained much that had slipped away, but has pushed forward until it seems as if it had lost contact with the simpler conditions of the past. The bald utilitarianism of a century ago was but another name for ignorance

The View of Things a Century ago

and lack of sympathy. It would deny any value to aught but the purely material conditions of an animal existence. Every interest outside of those which are common to all countries and all planets alike was condemned as sentimental. Bentham and Mill led a school to live in the icy air of pure reason; and akin to this feeling was that of the French Revolution, denying all continuity, and uprooting everything for the pleasure of starting as if dropped from another planet.

The last two generations have seen an enormous change in the vision of life, wider and deeper than it has ever been comprehended before. And as our knowledge has grown, the narrow utilitarianism has shrivelled off us, and we see the use and value and nobility of lands and ages far outside of the scope of our forefathers. There are three causes which have led to this truer appreciation of the world, and

to the revival of the sense of continuity. First, we have learned far more about other existing civilisations. We do not look on them as wrong in differing from ourselves; we begin to understand that they are each adapted to the country and people

The Enormous Change in the Vision of Life to which they belong, and we are not so certain that we can improve everybody by trying to make

them imitate us. This has given us more insight to understand the differing civilisations of the past. Then, secondly, we have learned far more about what has gone before us; we no longer trifle with the few scraps of early history that have come down to us, and try to make some new sense of them, but we go direct to the remains and records of the time and read the history of Egypt and Babylonia, and Crete and Asia Minor, from the very things that were made and used in past ages. Lastly, another great influence has been that of unifying our ideas of living Nature, and regarding it as a whole, developing, growing into new forms and interacting in all its parts.

The modern view of life leads directly to a truer view of the past. We now realise the immense unity of all life, wrought into infinite diversity by the conditions and opportunities which surround it. Ever thrusting forward with a pressure of potential variety, life in one form or another finds its lodgment in every cranny of the world. The lichen, the flower, the bacillus, the fish, the reptile, the bird, the quadruped, each fill some possible scope, each has a power of adaptability and of variation that fits it to

The Immense Unity of all Life accept every variety of the openings for life that surround it. And every one of the countless varieties that we see has been led up to by an ancestry fitting itself to every chance, growing forward to every opportunity.

The realisation of this penetrating view of the unity and continuous development of Nature makes it impossible for any

reasoning man to dream of sweeping away the present basis of civilisation and starting afresh. He might as soon try to kill off all existing life and create a new set of organisms. All that can ever be done with success is to direct the growth of

**How We
May Help
Nature**

civilisation as a gardener directs the growth of new and improved varieties of fruit. He gives the best specimens the opportunity, and rejects the others. That is what Nature is constantly doing with mankind, and all we can do is, like the highest function of a physician, "to help Nature." When Nature lets a stock degenerate by bad living—high or low—let it disappear. And whenever a promising variety appears let it have every chance.

Just as the most real knowledge of Nature is gained by following out the variations of life, and tracing its changes, so the truest knowledge of man is in tracing how every variety of civilisation has grown from what it started as, and where it has paused, fallen back, or made fresh strides. There is no death, no legacy of a past; but an ever-flowing amount of life, handed on without break, without hesitation, ever changing and flowing in fresh channels. And at no point can be made a division that would not seem monstrous when we look at the age itself; whether it is the longer scale of the Saurians, the coal forests, and the silent seas of shell-fish and corals, or in the shorter scale of the stone-worker, the bronze-smelter, or the ironsmith, the chain of life knows no break in its ceaseless dependence on the past and production of the future. It is ever the result and the cause. Each age is but the trustee for the accumulated knowledge, powers, and facilities of life—called wealth—which are to be passed on—improved, if possible—to the future.

This continuity is not only in the important and great affairs, but also in the most trivial matters; not only in whole phases and styles, but in every little detail. The smallest point of character or of invention will continue to affect the detail of future things which may be quite different in nature and extent.

Two extreme instances of this may be given. The English gold coin was worth 20s. (£5.00) down to the Commonwealth. But as silver was the standard

of value the pound-piece used to fluctuate from Charles II. to Anne's reign at any value between twenty and thirty shillings, but was generally at twenty-two. George I. fixed the exchange at twenty-one shillings, a mere accident of the time; and for a hundred years it continued at this value, until in 1817 the weight was reduced to fit the old value of twenty shillings. Here, an accident of exchange, and the inertia against changing the weight of the coin, has led to a guinea becoming fixed as the unit for all professional fees—except lawyers, who stick to the older "mark" of 13s. 4d.—all prices of articles of luxury—paintings, plate, carriages, jewellery—and all subscriptions.

Again, in the beginning of railways a carriage was built to hold so many people, the wheels were set on in the most convenient way, and there happened to be 4 ft. 8½ in. between them. The rails had to be laid down to fit them. More carriages and more rails were made, until now all Britain and much of the world elsewhere is tied to this mere accidental size of the experimental gauge. The strong attempt

**Decisive
Effect of
the Trivial**

to get a 7 ft. gauge almost succeeded, but it could not overcome the original accident of size made by a man who never thought that he was controlling so much of the future.

How important these gauges are is little supposed. Two neighbouring Powers on the Continent had different gauges; A changed to the same as B. B in fright changed to another gauge, so that A could not overrun its lines. Then A made axles with sliding wheels to fit both gauges. The uniformity of a gauge may make or ruin the whole future of a nation. As the Japanese advanced into Manchuria with a narrower gauge than the Russians, they shifted the lines, and cut off the ends of all the sleepers, so that no Russian truck could run without entire renewal of the line.

It is impossible in private affairs to trace such distant causes of mere accidental events, of no apparent importance at the time; but in these great public results we see how continuous is the cause and its effects, and how impossible it is to get away from the results of acts which do not even depend on great or conscious decisions.

The fact that most marriages depend on very casual conditions of acquaintance

THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

in their origin shows how the future of most people is conditioned by even small events. This view may seem to be somewhat fatalistic, as if all was hopelessly conditioned by the past. And so it is if we do not exercise foresight and judgment. With more foresight there would never have been trouble with guinea accounts and with irregular railway gauges. But just as circumstances offer infinite opportunities for favourable variations in organisms to succeed, so circumstances also offer full scope to will, exercised in foresight and judgment, to select the best, and by selection to rule and advance.

The wider and more intelligent view of the past has brought us to realise that we should not look at earlier forms of civilisation as blundering attempts to reach our present position and failures by just so much as they differ from our standards, but that we should look on each great institution as being the best solution that could be devised to meet the difficulties of its day. Each age has its own troubles and dangers to be met, just as we have; and each age is responsible for meeting those difficulties by applying and developing the various means that are at its hand. There is nothing in our conditions at present different in character from those of past times, and probably future times will look back on us as merely an indistinguishable stage of affairs.

When we look at the various institutions in the history of England we can see how each of them was conditioned by the surrounding facts of life, and how each was the best solution which could be fitted to those facts. Given a very scattered population, living largely by hunting, with no central power, and continually in tribal wars, the conquered were mercifully treated by being made slaves instead of being killed off; slavery was in that stage the best solution, and in one stage of society it is almost essential to progress. Given a scattered population settled in pastoral life, in carefully reckoned families and clans; in order to check the habits of violence and to keep the peace, every injury up to murder was assessed at a given fine in cattle, and this fine was to be charged on all the guilty man's relations, out to minute fractions on fifth cousins. Thus, everybody was his brother's and his cousin's keeper, and

it was the business of everybody for his own sake to see that no violence occurred. Blood-money was the best solution for law in that stage.

When the headstrong northern nations came into touch with Roman civilisation and the Church, long discipline was needed to develop self-restraint. Here the severe penitential system and the strong legal power of the Church were of the highest service, and proved to be the right solution of the difficulty by appealing to what was best in the wild natures they had to bring into order. What that nature was—raiding, plundering, burning, and slaying, with very light hearts—is, perhaps, best seen in a tale of a party of Norsemen who had taken a batch of captives, and ordered them to sit in a row along a fallen tree while one went along with a sword to lop off their heads. One head fell, and another, and another, till one dropped off so absurdly that they all burst out laughing, and both sides enjoyed the joke so heartily that they really did not see why any more heads should be cut off, and so the survivors were let off and probably remained as serfs.

Without any general police force, and with a large number of strangers and "broken men" in the country, from both Welsh and Danish sources, it was essential that everyone should be answerable to a higher authority, just as now in the East every man must be under the authority of some head-man or sheikh. Hence, the stranger who could not produce any credentials was treated more severely than we now treat an actual thief. For a population living in scattered homesteads in the woods such law was the best solution. Not only had the stray outlaw to be dealt with, but the great danger from the immense hordes from the whole of Scandinavia and the Baltic had to be met. The old system, good enough against Welsh enemies, was entirely useless against the Danish host of ten thousand men well armed, who could break through Saxon England from side to side in great raiding marches at their pleasure.

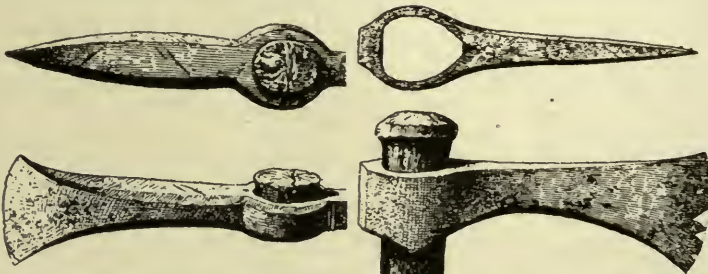
The system of great castles was the only salvation of the land, centres so strong that only a long and regular siege could subdue them. A strong baronage and great castles were the best solution of

the Norse affliction. These, however, in their turn, became a means of oppression, and required a check. and the greatest service of the Norman kings was in their control of the baronage. An unexampled line of strong men held the English throne, many wrong, but all strong — only one weak man in nine during more than two and a

half centuries. This made England far more prosperous than any other land, and a powerful sovereign was a counterpoise to the baronage, while these two forms of authority formed the best government, in the absence of sufficient education in other classes to enable them to take part in affairs.

Coming later, the strength of the Church and of the baronage was injurious, and a strong king was needed to reduce them. The hosts of armed retainers, which had been needed when the land was disturbed were a waste and a danger under a firm government, and Henry VII. abolished them by merciless fines. The absorption of men and money in monasticism was a waste and a moral injury, and for a century not a single endowment had been given for such purposes in London; Henry VIII. abolished the system, which had ceased to be useful. The strong Tudors were essential to England. But kingship of such a strength, having done its work, needed a counterpoise. The same power of compulsory rule was tried by a democracy under the Commonwealth, but proved an entire failure in government. A pause followed, and then a new solution was found and applied under William III., of toleration, bounded only by political necessity.

Barons and Monks Reduced



THE SPLENDID WEAPONS OF Every race has cried out on the ways of and the Saxon conquering Britain was coming civilisation; yet, he was better his weapons were really splendid, as battle-axes which were found in the peat-

To come nearer would lead one to questions of present politics and debate; but the principle that in each age the institutions have been the best working solution of the difficulties and conditions of the time is clearly seen in these

examples. There has been a continuous adaptation of means, without break or rest. The difficulties have been new, depending on changes in knowledge and in movements of races, but there has been a continual course of meet-

THE SAVAGE SAXON newcomers as barbarous, looked on as a savage over-armed than the Briton, and may be seen from these fine moss of Nydam in Sleswig.

ing them out of existing resources, step by step. We, too, have to deal with changes in transmission, both of persons and of news, and in the using of natural forces, which must result in immense remodelling of all the systems of life. We have faced much of it, and have even more yet to deal with. But the only road is that of continuous change, just as past times have met their new conditions. The one general lesson is that successful adaptation depends on incessant gradual movement, and that a jerky progress by fits and starts is the most damaging to the social machine.

The continuity of civilisation has been much obscured by the changes that it has undergone. What we have in general are very one-sided accounts, and naturally each race has cried out on the ways of newcomers as hateful, oppressive, and barbarous. It is difficult to realise at first that the people who are objected to as savages may be really on a higher plane in abilities, in knowledge, or in morals. Yet such has been the case. The Saxon conquered Britain, and is looked on as a savage overcoming civilisation. Yet he was better armed than the Briton, with beautifully made chain mail, and splendid weapons, while his handiwork in shipbuilding was of the best. Gildas, the British historian, calls the Saxon "fierce and



impious," yet he calls his own people cruel, false, luxurious, and licentious, laity and clergy alike. The fierce and impious Saxon was the better man in every way, as well as the more skilful and able. In spite of the high culture which the Saxon quickly developed, as we see in the great historian Bede, he soon corrupted, so that Alfred wrote: "So clean was learning fallen off among English folk, that few there were on this side Humber that could understand the Service in English . . . so few that I cannot bethink me of one south of the Thames." The Dane was the remedy, another wave of the same stock and civilisation which had overflowed the Briton. He had far better organisation and governing power than the Saxon. The great Canute gave England a time of strong and good government, trusting entirely to English support, better than the country had ever known before.

Lastly came the finest race of all — the indomitable Northman, educated by the Roman civilisation of France, the Northman who in Sicily founded the most splendid civilisation of tolerance and ability that had ever been seen in the world. In England, he made England what it is; and in no other two centuries has the land changed so much as between Edward the Confessor and Edward I. Thus, harsh as these great changes were, and however much our sympathy may be with the conquered in each case, it was the better man that won, and there was more throw-back by the degeneration in peace than there was by loss in war.

But a great lesson from this view is that no race or class can long continue that is not of the best ability and usefulness in the world. Without striving, there is stagnation and stagnation inevitably means decay and disappearance. If man will not strive with Nature, he must strive with his fellow-man or pass away.

We must not look merely on only one idea of civilisation — there are many different lines. Each is a form of civilisa-

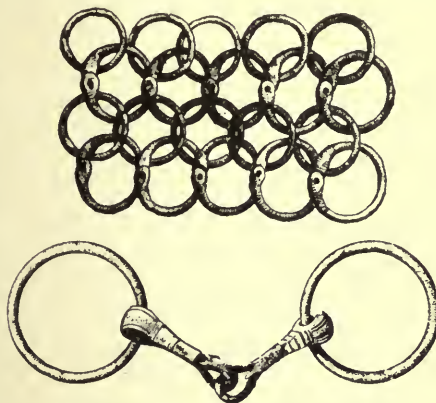
tion, but no people ever united them all together, and few have even been great in more than a single line. There is moral civilisation with a strong ethical sense, developing generally as a religious spirit. There is artistic civilisation, splendid and attractive to all future ages. There is scientific civilisation, the knowledge of Nature and the power over it. And there is the civilisation of luxury, display, and wealth. Each conduces to the ability for the communal life of man, the power of the *civis*, or citizen, which leads to being citizenised or civilised.

To make this more clear, let us notice a great and exclusive instance of each of these forms of civilisation. There was the moral force of the Puritan, who hated art, who despised science, and who ignored wealth; yet he gave the force of character which made the Englishman's word trusted, and which moved most of the humanitarian improvements of modern times. There was the ancient Greek, supreme in the sense of the beautiful, who was grossly immoral, who knew very little of science, and who was a poor dweller in a barren land. There was the Jesuit, great in scientific skill and the advancement of knowledge, whose moral

sense is a byword, who had no feeling for art, and who was vowed to poverty and self-denial. For wealth and luxury none could excel the later Imperial Roman; yet his morals were infamous, his science trivial, and his art detestable. Each of these peoples were truly and highly civilised, but each in only one direction.

We now turn to actual examples of continuity in various pursuits of life. In art there are many striking instances; indeed, it appears that each land has an artistic style which belongs to it through all ages and changes. In France there is a spray carved on bone by Palæolithic Man which might belong to an ivory carving of the Middle Ages [see page 151]. The style of the earliest Iron Age, as found at La Tène, is closely like the ironwork

Different Kinds of Civilisation



BEAUTIFUL SAXON CHAIN-WORK
A specimen of the beautifully-made iron chain-mail of the conquering Saxon, from Denmark; the same excellence of workmanship is seen in the horse-bit.

No Thriving Except by Striving

designs on the church doors of the fourteenth century.

The lumpy curves in high relief of the late Keltic bronzework revived again in the Louis Quinze style, especially furniture. In Germany the bronze decoration of

Roman times found on the Rhine might well be a piece of modern German work in its fulsome style; and the crowded design of the embossed gold plates of the great altar of Milan, made by a German a thousand years ago, recall the close packing of a Dürer wood engraving. In Italy, the old Etruscan style of figures, with staring eyes and coarse straight hair, was suppressed for four centuries by Greek influence, but revived in the age of Constantine. And the long, straight legs and stiff posture of the figures on Roman sarcophagi in North Italy reappear in the paintings of a thousand years later. The continuity of art and feeling appears to belong to the land itself, and to revive in each race that comes in and after each eclipse by an alien influence.

But this does not at all account for style as a whole. There is a strong influence of each age, widespread in all lands that are in touch with each other. Beside the direct influence due to actual immigration, such as the Roman work all round the Mediterranean Sea, or the modern European style which is spreading over all the world now, there is also a fashion of each age—as, for instance, the mediæval Arabic illuminations closely like French work of the same age.

The history of art, then, may be likened to a piece of woven stuff. The long lines of warp represent the continuing styles of each country, always reappearing; while the cross threads of woof are the fashion of each age, being threaded through the

permanent warp and binding it all together. This analogy is not only true of art, but also of political thought, and perhaps of all branches of civilisation. History is the fabric woven of space and time, the abiding threads of each country being chequered by the times, now bright, now gloomy, which affect all countries alike. And the patterns that are woven in the loom of

history depend upon whether the thread of time or the thread of place is uppermost. We can see the threads of warp stretching into the future, and know that they will not change; the woof of the times shot across them is the only thing in man's power, and is what we cannot foresee, but can direct.

Religion is, perhaps, of all forms of thought that which shows most continuity; this is partly owing to a sense of sanctity, preventing change, and to its being not often challenged by ethics, and still more seldom by facts. We may take one example—the worship of the Great Mother goddess, supreme in

Mediterranean lands, "whom all Asia and the world worshippeth." After the cruder early worships had died down, being withered by the theology of gods which came down into Greece from the north, then the spread from Egypt of



GERMAN ART 1,000 YEARS AGO



THE ART OF DÜRER, 600 YEARS LATER

Each land has an artistic style which belongs to it through all ages. Thus the crowded design of the gold plates of the great altar of Milan, made by a German 1,000 years ago, recalls the close packing of a Dürer engraving.

THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

the worship of Isis as the Great Mother covered all civilised lands. In York, in Germany, all through France, Switzerland, and Italy, in Africa and in Syria, Isis was the Queen of Heaven, the mother to whom all appealed.

Her service of tonsured priests in white, with litany and sacrifice, resounded in all lands. Isis and her son Horus had won the worship given to the Great Mother around the Mediterranean. And then a compromise with Christianity became inevitable. With an easy compliance the Syrian Maid Miriam, or Mary, became called the Queen of Heaven; and the Divine Teacher, the Man of Sorrows, was, with bold transformation, viewed as the infant Horus, a type new to Christianity. The substance of the old worship remained under altered names, and the Great Mother and her Infant are still the adored of Mediterranean lands. Again, Dr. Evans has found that in Crete some one or two thousand years before Christianity, the Greek cross was the object of worship in the form which still distinguishes the Greek Church. It is familiar how the so-called festivals of the Church were far older religious ceremonies which were adapted to the new doctrine. The celebrated letter of Pope Gregory in 601

A Wonderful Continuity in Religion

A.D. gives the change in detail:

“The temples of the idols of the English ought not to be destroyed . . . let altars be erected and relics placed . . . and because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to devils, some solemnity must be exchanged . . . as that on the day of dedication on the natiivities of the holy martyrs . . . for it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds.”

In short, no beliefs can be expelled from a whole people; they can only be overlaid by other ideas, transformed and modified. What men now believe in

England and America is not only some religious formula, but a host of far older ideas of luck, of places and things and numbers, which have come down from untold ages.

How much has passed from very early times to present common use is seldom understood. The ancient Babylonian chanted in sorrow :

“O my Lord! my sins are many, my trespasses are great;

And the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease and with sickness and sorrow.

I fainted but no one stretched out his hand; I groaned, but no one drew nigh.

I cried aloud, but no one heard.

O Lord, do not abandon Thy servant.

In the waters of the great storm hold Thou his hand.

The sins which he has committed, turn Thou to righteousness.”

So sang the penitent Jew long after him, so wept the Church all through the Middle Ages, and so echoes the chant in every cathedral to-day. The Book of

Psalms is but little changed from the religious songs which rose from the Euphrates long before Moses; yet it formed the most important and all-present book of the Church for many centuries, recited through entirely every day by millions of men. Such is religious continuity.

In government there is not only continuity but continual repetition of the same idea age after age. The world gets no older. The steady growth of institutions, transformed in each age without a breach, is a ground-principle of English life.

In Rome we see the same idea, for, immense as was the change from the Republic to the Cæsars, and from the Cæsars to the later Empire, yet each change was grafted on what preceded it. Each emperor was a consul and a tribune; and the solemn farce of votes of power, as Tribune and



ART'S CONTINUITY IN ITALY
The continuity of art was strikingly illustrated in Italy, where the old Etruscan style of figures with staring eyes and coarse hair was revived four centuries later in the age of Constantine, seen in the head from a medallion on the right.



CROSS BEFORE CHRISTIANITY
Continuity in religion is well illustrated by the marble cross, found in Crete, used some thousand years before Christianity.

Pontiff for ten years at a time, which was begun in the second century, became most prominent in the fifth century, when it was farthest from any real meaning. Thus do forms of government survive by the clinging of man to continuity.

The various types of government have all been in use in different ages. Constitutions flourished in Greece as a political epidemic, so that the description of their varieties was a main part of political literature. Every obscure city was changing continually through the range of democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies.

It may be thought that the latest phase of the present time is something new. Yet read this: "All ought to enjoy all things in common, and live upon the same amount of property; and not for one to be rich and another miserably poor, nor one to cultivate much land and another to have not even enough to be buried in. . . . I will make one common subsistence for all, and that, too, equal." "But how then if any of us do not possess land, but silver and gold, personal property?" "He shall pay it in for public use . . . for it will be of no use to him at all." "Pray why?" "No one will do any wickedness through poverty, for all will be possessed of all things." "But if one lose a lawsuit, how will he pay damages?" "But there will not be any lawsuits." "Not if a man disputes his debts?" "No; for there could not be a lender unless he had stolen the money." "But in case of assault, where are the damages?" "Out of the man's food rations." "But will there be no thieves?" "No; for all shall have subsistence; and if anyone tries to steal a cloak it will be given up readily, because there is always another better to be had from the common stock." "But what sort of life shall we lead?" "Common to all. For I say I will make the city one single house, having broken up

all into one, also that they may go into each other's houses." Is this Mr. H. G. Wells? No; it is Aristophanes, with his tongue in his cheek at the visionaries of his day. And, seriously, much such a frame of life existed and was actually worked in a Greek state, which is more than can be said of any modern country. The production and training of children was a matter of the state, not left to any individual notions. Incessant

Socialism at Work in Greece

inspection and supervision left not a moment outside of state control, and training was incessant. Men dined together on precisely the same fare; and all servants, dogs, and horses were public property. Houses were of the plainest and simplest materials. Agriculture was the main industry, and commerce was prevented. Capital was so hardly dealt with that if any were acquired it was stored abroad in other states. Such was Sparta, the best and most successful example of a socialist state, where the public power was supreme, and no shirking of burdens was allowed. This was a more complete experiment than any that have been carried out since to such an end. The result was that advance was impossible, and not a single benefit, or improvement, or addition to knowledge, was made by the whole people. Later ages would never have missed them, and their neighbours would have been much happier without them. The past has sufficed to try the varieties of government, and we need only to look through what mankind has already found out if we wish to know how various systems and checks practically work. The success of any particular type of government entirely depends on the character and abilities of the rulers and the ruled.

The Far-back Basis of English Laws

In laws there is the same continuity of civilisation. Much of the world is governed by Roman law, of which the changes may be followed in history from the primitive twelve tables of the Republic, gradually expanded to the Code of Justinian. That Code, fortified by a digest of illustrative decisions, has formed the legal groundwork of all Latin Europe for 1,300 years. England and the northern peoples, on the other hand, cling mainly to developments from the tribal laws of prehistoric ages. And all countries have been influenced, more or less, by the Canon Law of the Church, which is Semitic Hebrew law in its foundation, changed by western associations.

In all ages and countries some means have been found for adapting laws to new conditions without violating their continuity. It is easier to add a patch rather than make a new article—it does not clash with the feelings of people, and it avoids touching laws which often have acquired a religious sanctity. The easiest way of adapting a law is by a legal fiction,

THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

by which difficulties are overcome without actually altering a law. For instance, a common transfer of shares at the present day requires the amount paid on the other side of the bargain to be stated, but as it is often a bequest or a gift, the amount could hardly be named; so a convenient custom of saying that one dollar has been given for perhaps thousands of dollars, worth of property is a legal fiction to save trouble. The same document calls to witness the signatures and seals of the sellers and buyers, but their seals — which were so

essential in the Middle Ages, as now in the East — are, by a legal fiction, represented by a row of little embossed red stamps exactly alike. And, further, the date of signing is supposed to be written before the signature, but is always left blank, so that no difficulty may arise about the document being handed in too long after signing. Here a form used thousands of times daily entirely rests in the most important particulars upon a series of fictions, in order to save trouble in altering the laws.

Another way out of the difficulty of continuity is by altering the law to meet the hardship of the individual case where it might work unjustly, a power reserved to the court through its high officials, under the name of Equity. The appeal for evading the consequences of the ordinary law may be made to the law, where the practical working of it is against those principles; or sometimes an appeal has been made to a so-called "Law of Nature," which merely means the average conscience of man, or those conditions which are necessary for any social life.

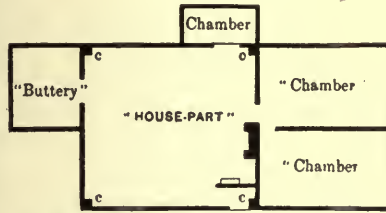
The continuity sometimes requires to be broken, and a new law set up, and this is done in England in an Act of

Parliament; but this is very rarely the case, as most Acts deal only with the relative power of various parties already acting, and are but slight modifications of the conditions. In geography and astronomy our knowledge has been built up continuously on that of thousands of years ago. How far the Babylonian and Egyptian astronomers had gone we have not enough records to show. Certainly by 4,700 B.C. the Egyptian could fix the north point, or meridian, to within a minute of angle or less.

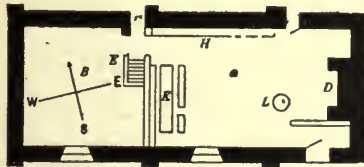
We reach the complete treatise on geography and the positions of the stars in the grand work of Ptolemy, the astronomer of Alexandria about 150 A.D. When we consider that he had to build up his map out of all kinds of irregular material, we may be surprised that it is, on the whole, so true. There were no surveys of any extent, but he had only distances along a network of roads, records of voyages, and a few notes of the number of the hours in the day in summer or winter; and where these materials did not check each other, as in the scanty accounts of distant lands, it was no wonder that prominences — such as the Kentish foreland, the Egyptian Delta and India — were not understood. And it is not till within the lifetime of present people that we have exceeded the accuracy of Ptolemy

in every respect, as his map of Central Africa was not bettered till the days of Speke. His astronomy, giving the places of over a thousand stars, all registered by latitudes and longitudes, was a grand work, which is still of value in some inquiries. Altogether, Ptolemy, by rescuing the earlier work of Hipparchus, and improving and extending it, made one of the greatest steps in the systematic knowledge of Nature. He did for geography and astronomy what

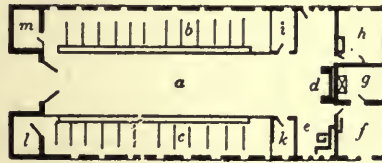
How Geography Grew Up



PLAN OF A MEDIÆVAL HOUSE
The mediæval house was a large hall with a fireplace at one end and two chambers, the master's bedroom, and a storeroom, behind it.



A SIXTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE
The 16th century house had two floors connected by a stair (e) from the general house (a and b) where there was a fireplace (d).



SAXON HOUSE ARRANGEMENT
In domestic architecture there has been entire continuity from the old style of Saxon house, with its cattle stalls (b, c) on both sides of a long hall (a), through its mediæval modifications to the two-floor 16th century building. From Addy's "Evolution of the English House."

The Law Saving its Character

Linnæus did for botany, and Buffon for zoology. When we turn to the arts of life, the chief of them, architecture, seems so peculiar to each country that the continuous descent of it is not obvious over long periods. But one of the best fields for studying the growth of variation is in English buildings. Over some six centuries, 1000-1600 A.D., the unbroken descent of one form from another is beautifully continuous. And if the last three centuries have stopped the evolution, yet the other forms used have been entirely intentional copies of older works, stepping back to pick up various designs which were the best of their times. And though in formal architecture on a large scale the chain of continuous descent has been dropped, yet in domestic building it has continued down to recent times.

The mediæval house was a large room or hall, with a fireplace at the upper end; and later it had two chambers behind this fire, with a door on each side of the fire. These were used for the master's bedroom and a store-room, while the servants slept on straw in the hall. Where cattle were kept for a farm, the old style of Saxon house had stalls down both sides of a long hall. The next type was formed by putting boards up on the tie-beams of the open roof to form a platform to sleep upon. Thus an upper floor was begun. Then the hall was encroached upon by more chambers being cut off around it, the ladder or stair still going up out of the hall, as before. The idea of a passage giving entrance to several rooms did not come into use till the eighteenth century; till then the



THE BLOUSE OF THE SAXONS
Which lasted to the present day in the English smock-frock and the French blouse.

rooms merely led one out of the other even in palaces, as Hampton Court or the Louvre. Then a lengthening out of the hall took place, so as to give access to all the rooms separately, and the modern passages appear. The master's meals and living retreated from the hall to his own private room, and then the "servants' hall" remained. Lastly, the hall has shrunk to the modern entrance passage, only just wide enough to pass in, and we have the idea of the house as a group of chambers fitted together, with the least possible space wasted on passages for access. Thus in domestic architecture there has been entire continuity. Now the movement is to limit each family to one floor, and to construct flats. The next

stage may be to have kitchens in common, and order all food from a central supply; and the use of large reception-rooms, which are seldom wanted, may be enjoyed in rotation, as required.

When we look at earlier architecture, we see how very strong is the continuity of forms. In Egypt, where colossal stonework was built during thousands of years, the essential features were the slope of outer sides copied from brickwork, the roll extending down the corners copied from houses of palm-stick or maize stalk, and the overhanging cornice copied from the heads of the palm-sticks nodding over. In Greece, all the features of the marble architecture were copied from woodwork; the beams, the roofing boards, the nail-heads were all elaborately made in stone, like the modern cast-iron imitations of stonework. In Rome the system of coffered ceilings, which was entirely of



SAXON
TROUSERS

This example of one of the oldest garments of our forefathers, showing a continuity in the form of dress over probably 2,000 years, is from the peat-moss of Nydam, in Sleswig.

THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

woodwork design, was not only made in marble, but was copied in immense concrete castings. In every country and age we can see the strong effect of continuity in architecture after the real causes of form have passed away, and it has ceased to have a structural meaning.

When we turn to the more personal protection of man in clothing, we see the same continuity. The oldest garments of our forefathers that we can show are the smock or blouse and the trousers, found in the peat moss of Sleswig, and made two or three centuries before the Saxons moved from those parts. Similar garments were used further east, in what is now Roumania; but there the blouse was rather longer, and tied with a girdle round the waist, while the trousers had no foot-piece, but were tucked into a leather shoe laced up the front. This type of dress lasted down to the present days, in the English smock-frock and the French blouse. It is the dress of Northern Europe, in contrast to the dress of the Mediterranean, which is more akin to the Eastern robe.

The jacket is an entirely different garment, probably belonging to Central and Eastern Europe. The trousers in the Sleswig example have a foot covering attached, like the hose of pages in the fifteenth century. They were held up by a girdle passing through loops round the top edge, a better form than the modern workman's loose sash round the waist. Thus there is a continuity in dress over probably a couple of thousand years. Though fashions are always changing, yet the variations are only in the details

of form, while the general shape remains much the same. The waistcoat has lengthened in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and then shortened again to its present size. The coat is sometimes fuller, sometimes plainer, but the forms practically continue.

Woman's dress has varied greatly in detail, but in its essential forms it has continued with hardly any alteration. The flounced skirts of the Cretans, over 3,000 years ago, might well be a modern fashion. The bodice, though so open, was almost rivalled by some a couple of centuries ago, and is, in principle, a modern form.

The ornamental additions are akin to those of modern days, and there has not been any new type permanently added to woman's dress since the prehistoric times. In the various crafts, different styles, when once started, are continued for ages as a basis for growth and variations. The characteristic clay and colouring of Greek pottery begins to be used as early as 5400 B.C., being found in the tombs of kings of the first Egyptian dynasty; and the patterns and forms begun then continue to develop onwards for 4,000 years. New ideas and types then came in; but yet the old colouring and clay, and family of forms went on down to the Roman Age, without any great break.

In shipbuilding the advance was great in the prehistoric ages. The large size of the vessels as far back as 6000-7000 B.C. proves the skill of the builders. The ships were at least 50 ft. long, or more probably over 100 ft., by the



MODERN FASHIONS 3,000 YEARS AGO

Woman's dress, in its essential forms, has continued with hardly alteration, as may be seen in the flounced skirts of these Cretan priestesses which, over 3,000 years old, might well be a modern fashion. From Dr. Evans' report on the excavations at Cnossos.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

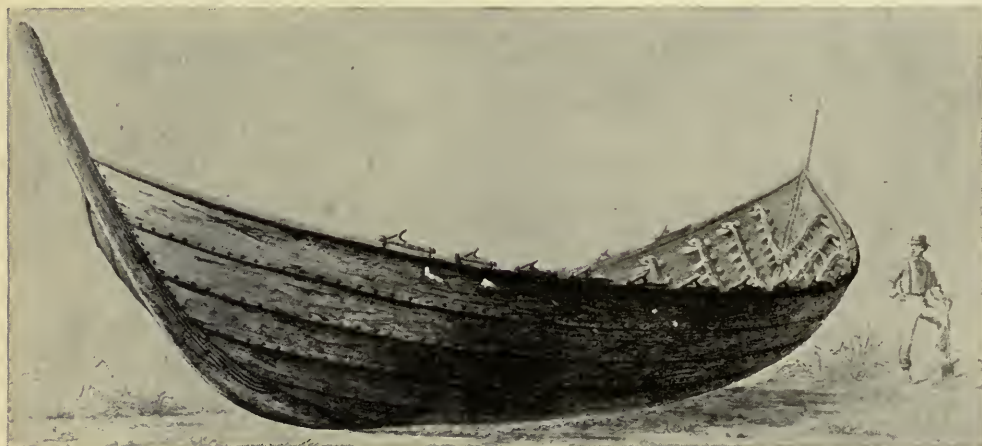
proportion of the cabins built upon them. And the structure of a wooden vessel of this size must be fairly good to be seaworthy at all.

The first actual example of shipping that is preserved is that found at Nydam, in Sleswig, belonging to about 200 A.D., two or three centuries before the Saxons

Earliest Ship in Existence crossed over to England. This is a clincher-built boat, each plank being attached to the next with iron nails. The framing is elaborately made to give elasticity and play, useful both in strains of position and in changes of wetting and drying, as the vessels were hauled up in winter. In place of nailing the boards on to the ribs of bent timber, each board was worked down, leaving projecting

used by the Saxons before the use of copper, perhaps 4,000 years ago, the *ceosel*, or flint stone, passed through the mediæval *cisel* to the Middle English chisel; the Saxon *hamor* is supposed to mean originally the "stone," and this gave all the northern nations the word hammer.

The forms of modern tools have been almost unchanged for 2,000 or 3,000 years. From the Bronze Age in Italy at about 800 B.C. descend the various forms of chisel—the round stem with wide shoulder and square tang, the square stem, the octagonal stem, the wide smoothing chisel, the socket chisel, and the mortise chisel. These are all thoroughly well designed, with wide shoulders to prevent their being driven



THE EARLIEST SHIP NOW IN EXISTENCE: A SAXON BOAT OF 200 A.D.

A remarkable boat, preserved in the peat-moss of Nydam, elaborately built to give elasticity against great strains. Continuity in boat-building has been unbroken, and this design has not been departed from for 2,000 years.

lugs of wood to come on both sides of each rib. These pierced lugs were then lashed to the ribs by raw hide strips, leaving necessarily a good deal of play. Thus the boat was really an elastic shell of joined planks, which was kept from being crushed out of shape by lashing to a stiff frame inside. This, and other boats of the same class, are considered to be thoroughly adapted to the ocean-raiding work for which they were built. The design has not altered for nearly 2,000 years, and perhaps much longer, and continuity in boat-building has been unchanged, except in adaptation to larger forms and iron construction. Beside the continuity in works there is a similar continuity in the forms of tools. The very names cling to them long after they have been changed; the flint cutter

up into the wooden handle, and rings of thickening on the sockets to prevent their splitting. Gouges are also found of the same age, as well as curved knives with a socket handle.

Other modern forms are found in the earliest steel tools known, of about 670 B.C. made by the Assyrians. The chisels have

The First Tools Made of Steel not the wide, thin shoulder all round, but a stout projection on the under and upper surfaces, and none at the sides. There are

very strong iron ferrules for the handles, showing that they were beaten. The forms are the stout cutting chisel, the mortise chisel and the smoothing chisel. A brace was also used, as some bits with square shanks show; the centre-bit has a middle pin, but scraped the way on both sides, instead of one side cutting the edge; the scoop bit

THE CONTINUITY OF CIVILISATION

is an excellent form for hard wood. Two pieces of iron, which are probably parts of the brace, were found with these. An elementary file is formed like a very thick knife, hatched by chisel cuts on both sides and back; it is the original of the modern sawfish. The long rasp is exactly of the modern pattern, with points raised by punching.

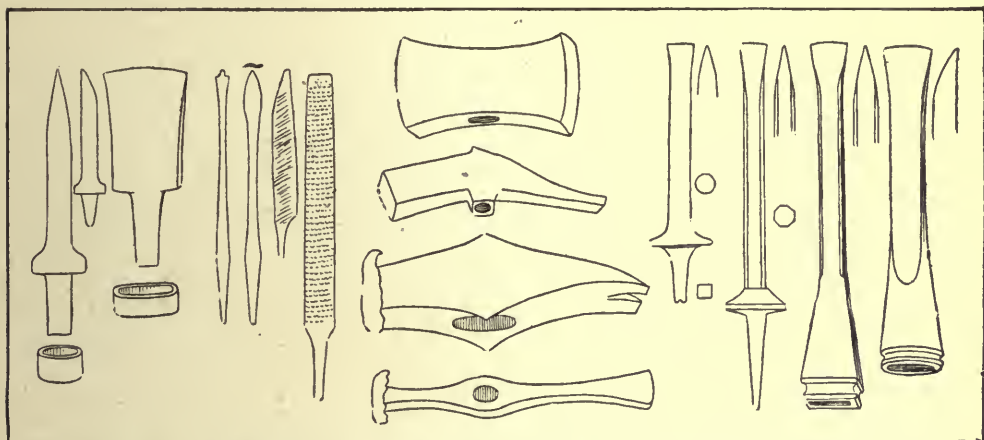
Thus the main tools were well known 2,500 years ago; they have been improved in some cases, but others continue exactly as then used in the days of the Jewish kingdom.

When we come to Roman times, the rest of the modern tools appear. The grand quantity of tools from Pompeii, which were made about 70 A.D., are supplemented by various discoveries in Britain and other lands. The

ators all unity; so that $\frac{7}{8}$ was written $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$, or, $\frac{5}{6} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$, or, $\frac{19}{24} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$. The Babylonian took a more complex, but in some ways a more convenient, system of 60 as a base, thus divisible by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 20, 30; and he dealt with fractions as multiples of smaller and smaller units. The hour was the time unit, and the

degree was the angle unit, both being divided into minutes and seconds. And this system seems now to have been stamped on the whole world for ever. We have seen how the alphabet of Europe has continuously developed from ownership marks, during about 8,000 or 9,000 years, until it has now spread over the world, and may perhaps drive out some of the other systems of Arabia, India, and China. A

**Our Time
is From
Babylon**



TOOLS IN MODERN USE, DESIGNED FROM 2,000 TO 3,000 YEARS AGO

The forms of modern tools have remained almost unchanged for 2,000 or 3,000 years. The group of bronze chisels on the right, made in Italy about 800 B.C., hardly differ from chisels now in use, and many modern tools—cutting and mortise chisels, centre-bits, file, and rasp—are seen in the group at the left of the earliest steel tools known, made by Assyrians about 670 B.C. The Romans produced the hammer, specimens made about 70 A.D., being seen in the centre.

hammers are of several types—the heavy smoothing hammer for beating metal, the caulking hammer, with a square edge, the clawhammer, and various others. The axes are of many forms, most of which may be seen now in Italy. Picks for breaking stone and for picking up the ground, are

**Decimals
are
Egyptian**

usual! Knives are very varied, usually with a curve, like modern Italian forms. Lastly, we may look at the mode of record and notation. The Egyptian had developed a pure decimal system, with a different sign for each place of figures up to millions [see page 246], and this has lasted for over 8,000 years. He also invented a system of fractions with numer-

similar growth is now going on in the use of mathematical and chemical notations, which are continually receiving fresh signs and conventions. These will last, with perhaps some simplifications, and be the vehicles of knowledge for future ages.

In every department of man's activities we see then the same continuity that belongs to life itself. A really new thought or invention is very rare; each step is conditioned by the past, and could not have been reached without the previous movements that led up to it. In every respect—physically, intellectually, and spiritually—man is "the heir of all the ages," and his future welfare lies in giving the fullest effect and expansion to his glorious inheritance.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE



Cartagena a port of the Western Mediterranean, founded by the Phœnicians of Carthage.



The Rock of Gibraltar, one of the Pillars of Hercules, guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean.



The harbour of Corfu, an island gem of the Ionian Mediterranean.

TYPICAL SCENES ON THE SUNNY MEDITERRANEAN

EUROPE TO THE FALL OF



THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

By Count Wilczek and Dr. H. F. Helmolt

ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN WORLD HISTORY

THE importance of the Mediterranean in the history of the world rests, in the first place, on its geographical position. Although of comparatively limited extent, it is enclosed by three parts of the earth which differ completely in their physical, geographical, and ethnological character. If we picture to ourselves the "Pillars of Hercules," through which the Atlantic Ocean penetrates deep into the heart of the various countries, as closed, and the whole basin of the Mediterranean, together with its extensions—the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov—as dried up, then the continent of the Old World would appear a connected whole. Without any visible divisions, the lands would blend and form a terrestrial unit, which, in consequence of its enormous expanse, would exhibit climatic and meteorological conditions as unfavourable as Central Asia. But owing to this inflowing of the ocean, certain sharply defined parts have been formed, each of which is in itself large enough to constitute a clearly marked continent.

The contours of Europe, Asia, and Africa are therefore really formed and individualised by the Mediterranean, though the sharpness of the demarcation is accentuated by an arm of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea. The eastern boundary between Europe and Asia alone remains undefined, since it lies beyond the formative and modifying influence of

the Mediterranean. As a result of the sharp separation between the three continents, these physical peculiarities, together with the whole attendant train of local phenomena, come far more prominently forward than could have been the case had there been only a gradual transition from land to land without the severing expanse of sea. The eastern border of Europe offers another striking proof of this. The Mediterranean determines not merely the external outline of the continents at their points of contact, but preserves for them in a most remarkable manner the peculiar stamp of their characteristics.

The effect, however, of this expanse of water is not only to separate and distinguish, but also to unify and assimilate. Above all else it extends the meteorological and climatic benefits of the ocean to the very heart of the land and gives it a share in those blessings which are denied to entirely enclosed continental tracts. Owing to the Mediterranean, the south of Europe and the west of Asia enjoy a climate as favourable, both for the development of useful forms of organic life and the conditions of human existence, as is to be found in any other spot on the earth's surface, even though the present state of the north coast of Africa seems a contradiction. The present sterility of the coast of the Syrtes, or even of Syria, does not alter the fact that the Mediterranean basin

shows all gradations of the typical peculiarities of the temperate zone, which is the most suitable and most beneficial to the nature of man. Notwithstanding the extraordinary difference of its separate branches, the Mediterranean basin must be regarded as a geographical whole. A sharply defined sea necessarily establishes

The Historical Focus of the Mediterranean

an intimate geographical connection between the coasts it washes. Every organism is most deeply influenced by the soil from which it sprang or into which it was transplanted, and from which it derives all the essential elements of its existence. There can be no doubt that where natural conditions are favourable, the effect on life of every kind will also be favourable, and vice versa. This favourable influence has, in point of fact, been found in the basin of the Mediterranean from the earliest times. The result is that this basin appears not merely as a geographical, but more as a historical whole, as a focus in which are concentrated the common efforts, conscious and unconscious, of a considerable fraction of mankind. Thus the Mediterranean supplies an excellent argument in favour of the fellowship of the entire human race.

When the first rays of Clío's torch began to illuminate the Mediterranean countries nations were already to be found differing in external appearance, mode of life, and social customs; the race character was clearly stamped on the separate groups. The coasts of the Mediterranean were, as we find in quite early times, inhabited by three distinct races, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Berber. Roughly speaking, these three groups of peoples coincide with the three continents, since the European coasts were mostly inhabited by Aryans (Indo-Europeans), the Asiatic coasts mostly by Semites, and the African coasts mostly by Berbers. There were exceptions. In Asia

Minor, for example, there was an Aryan and a pre-Aryan (Hittite) population, as well as the Semitic; Egypt was inhabited by people, possibly of mixed origin, which cannot with certainty be assigned to any one of the three ethnological groups; and there were indubitably pre-Aryan populations still holding their ground in Europe. There is no more difficult date to fix than that of the first appearance of the Aryan tribes, who inhabit the northern

First Light of History on These Nations

border of the Mediterranean basin—that is, South Europe, the countries on the Black Sea, and Asia Minor. They have as rich a store of legendary gods and heroes as the inhabitants of India, originating probably in events which impressed themselves ineffaceably on the memory of later generations; yet these legends can only seldom be traced to facts and are still more seldom reconcilable with chronology.

At the dawn of history the Aryans of the Mediterranean appear as already having attained a comparatively high degree of civilisation; they have become settled peoples, dwelling in towns and carrying on agriculture. To some extent they already possess art and the skilled trades; the metal-working of the Etruscans in Upper Italy seems very old. The Pelasgians are the first to be named; yet this name does not designate a distinct people so much as the earliest stage of civilisation in that Aryan stock which afterwards divided into Italic and Hellenic, and, besides that, left minor branches in the Thracians and Illyrians, which, like detached boulders of ethnography, are still distinguishable as Albanians.

Oldest Seats of Aryan Civilisation The Pelasgians had fixed abodes from the earliest known times. Remains of their buildings are preserved in the Cyclopean walls at Tiryns and Mycenæ; they founded many towns, among which the name Larissa frequently recurs. Some slight aid to chronology is given by the mythical founding of a state on the island of Crete by Minos, perhaps about 1400 B.C.

With the name of Minos is connected a series of laws and institutions of public utility, marking the island of Crete as one of the oldest seats of a higher civilisation. Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, founded, so the legend runs, on the southern coast of Asia Minor the kingdom of the Lycians, who early distinguished themselves by their works of art. West of these lay the pirate-state of the Carians. About the same time Teucer is said to have founded the kingdom of the Dardani on the west coast of Asia Minor, whose capital became the famous Ilium, or Troy.

The heroic legends of the Greeks have great historical value when stripped of their poetical dress; thus, in the legend of Jason's voyage to Colchis, the expedition of the Argonauts, the record is preserved of the first naval undertakings of Greek tribes; and the exploits of

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Hercules, Theseus, Perseus, and other heroes point to the effective work of powerful rulers in the cause of civilisation.

The western shores of the Mediterranean remained the longest shrouded in darkness. The dates at which the half-mythical aborigines, after long wars, blended with the Kelts, who had immigrated in prehistoric times, and formed new nations cannot be approximately determined. The first historical light is thrown on the subject by the oldest settlements of the seafaring Phœnicians on the Spanish coasts, and the founding of Gades, or Cadiz, about 1100 B.C. About the same time the Phœnicians founded the colony of Utica on the north coast of Africa and thereby first revealed the southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The subsequent

points of contact between the three chief stocks of the basin of the Mediterranean—namely, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Berber, and furthered their fusion into a Mediterranean race.

This Mediterranean race played a predominant part in the history of civilisation and influenced decisively the development of the human race. This is one result of the influence of the Mediterranean. We find the inhabitants of most of the countries on the Mediterranean—with the exception of the Egyptians—in a state of movement which extended both over the mainland and over the wide sea. When and from what centre the impulse was given which set nation after nation in motion, and what the im-

Unceasing March of the Nations



MAP SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONNECTION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN COASTS
Were it not for the Mediterranean Sea the continent of the Old World would appear a connected whole, of such enormous expanse that its climatic conditions would be as unfavourable as those of Central Asia. Owing, however, to this inflowing of the Atlantic the climate is as favourable to human existence as is to be found in any spot on the earth's surface.

founding of Carthage, about 814 B.C., makes known incidentally the first step towards civilisation made by the autochthonous Berber states. Eventually Carthage shook herself free from the Phœnician mother country. The seafaring Phœnicians were followed by seafaring Greeks of various stocks, who also planted settlements first in South Italy and Sicily, then, continually pressing further westward, in Spain (Saguntum), in Africa (Cyrene, 631 B.C.), in Aquitania (Massilia, or Marseilles, 600 B.C.). These in turn became the centres of flourishing colonies, and in combination with the Phœnician settlements played an important part in the establishment of numerous

PELLING cause of it was—these are questions which only the primitive history of the nations can, and some day will, answer. It is enough for us to know that the stream of nations kept on moving throughout prehistoric times, and to notice how the waves rolled unceasingly from east to west, and only now and again took a backward course. We recognise further in the universal advance of the tide of nations from east to west that, as soon as it reaches the Mediterranean and splits into a northern and southern current, Aryans are predominant in the former and Semites in the latter; while over the surface of the sea itself both press on side by side. On the northern coasts of the Mediterranean the trace of ancient

migration is shown as if in geological layers, whence we can see that the intervals between the changes in the ownership of the soil were long enough for separate layers to be deposited. Over the Iberians, Armoricans, and Aquitanians is imposed a stratum of Kelts, and later, in consequence of their assimilation, one of Keltiberians and Gauls. Over the Pelasgians are superimposed strata of Italians and Hellenes, and over the old peoples of the Black Sea, Scythians and Sarmatians, a stratum of Armenians, etc. Already there loom up in the distance, continually pressing forward from the east, the indistinct outlines of new families of the great Aryan race, the Teutons and the Slavs, destined to play so important a part in transforming the world. We have already noticed on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Semitic peoples pushing towards the west, and at the same time we recognise in the return of the Hyksos and the Israelites to Asia an example of a returning national movement.

The importance of these movements fades into the background in comparison with the migration of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians to the very easterly end of the Mediterranean; after them press onward the Aryan Bactrians, Medes and Persians. In consequence of these events, which culminated in the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, Aryan life finally found a home on the eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The Semitic race, continually pressing westward, attained fresh vigour among the Carthaginians, and by conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain encroached on Europe itself.

However varied may be the character of the different national movements as typified in these separate instances, one common feature marked them all. They always reached their goal on the Mediterranean.

The Common Goal of the Nations This singular fact can be quite naturally explained. The van of the great migrations which continued for thousands of years from east to west was bound to strike the Atlantic, which forbade all further advance. Since, however, the pressure of the rearguard never ceased, the vanguard, not to be driven into the ocean, had to give way laterally, and in part reached the shores of the Mediterranean. Here all further progress was

barred, and with what result? It was impossible to force the way back against the stream of onward-pressing nations, and the knowledge of their original home had meanwhile sunk into partial or complete oblivion. They had no alternative but to establish themselves permanently, and to resist as far as possible those who still pressed on. The determination to do this was strengthened by the smiling blue skies which arch the basin of the Mediterranean, by the pleasant climate, by the natural beauty of the sea-framed landscape, its luxuriant flora, its rich fauna, its bountiful store of every necessity of life.

All these combined to make the shores of the Mediterranean, especially the European shores, appear to the newcomer a desirable home, for the perpetual possession of which it was worth while to fight. Besides this, the unparalleled irregularity of the coast-line in the northern and eastern parts, with its great number of neighbouring and easily accessible islands, offered sufficient space in the future for expansion and the foundation of cities; and the sea itself afforded in its wide limits the never-failing assurance of an easy livelihood. It is surprising what mighty strides forward in civilisation are made by almost every people after the shores of the Mediterranean become its home.

The Home of Great Civilisations Civilisation is in itself admittedly no special product of the Mediterranean alone. It had famous homes of vast antiquity in the Far East, in Chaldæa, in the highlands of Iran, in India and China; and certainly germs of Chaldæan and Iranian civilisation accompanied the Semitic and Aryan stocks on their wanderings and were not developed until they reached the Mediterranean shores. But even the development of these germs of civilisation assumes under the local influences of the Mediterranean (again excluding Egypt) a form quite different from that which they have in their eastern homes. In this typical peculiarity of intellectual development lies the bond of union which encircles the groups of nations in the basin of the Mediterranean and brings them into a firm and close connection, which is best expressed by designating them all as the "Mediterranean Race." We must emphasise the fact that this designation is to be understood in the historical and not in the

ethnographical sense. The settlement in close succession of variously divergent, but kindred peoples allows them to be easily amalgamated, and by repeated accessions promotes within these groups a more frequent change of language and nationality.

If we take Italy as an example, we perceive in the course of centuries a gradual transformation of the inhabitants without their complete expulsion or extermination. Without any violence the original settlers became differentiated into the numerous peoples of the Italian peninsula; these were united to the Romans, and from these eventually, by mixture with Lombards, Goths, Franks, Greeks, Normans, and Arabs, were formed the Italians. Similar changes occurred in Spain and France, and still greater variations in the east of the Mediterranean. This readiness to transmute their nationality forms a striking contrast to the stiff and almost unalterable customs of the East Asiatic peoples, whose development is cramped by the spirit of narrow exclusiveness, in this sense forming but barren offshoots of the universal life of civilisation. The Mediterranean nations are, on the

**Nations in
Ceaseless
Transformation**

other hand, in constant transformation. Ceaseless contact sharpens and rouses every side of their physical and intellectual activity, and keeps it in an unbroken ferment, which leads sometimes to progress, sometimes to retrogression, but always to the active expression of powerful vitality.

Of great importance to the nations on the Mediterranean was the fact that on their long journey from their primitive home to the shores which became their new abodes they had gradually freed themselves from the caste system, a burden which weighs heavily on the development of primitive nations. Caste is a primitive institution peculiar to no especial race; it is found in a pure form among the Aryans of India and the Semitic-Berber Egyptians. Even among the Indians of America caste was traceable. Wherever this institution has appeared, it has always crippled the development of a people, checked its national expansion, stunted its political growth; and while it has restricted knowledge, education, prosperity, and power, and even the promotion of art and trade, to privileged classes, it has proved itself a clog on the intellect and an obstacle to civilisation. Thus it was a fortunate dispensation for the Aryan and Semitic stocks,

from which eventually the Mediterranean nations sprang, that during the prehistoric period of their wandering they had been forced to abandon all vestiges of any caste system they may have possessed. They appear as masses which are socially united, though severed as nations. Despite their universal barbarism they had the great

**Caste System
and its
Development**

advantage that their innate capacity for civilisation was not hampered by the internal check of a caste system. Every discovery, every invention, every higher intellectual intuition, perception, or innovation could redound to the benefit of the whole people, could penetrate all strata, and be discussed, judged, weighed, accepted, or rejected by all. Nourished by a many-sided and fruitful mental activity, by comparison, imitation, or contradiction, the existing seeds of civilisation yield a fuller development.

The peculiarity of the Mediterranean civilisation is contrasted with other civilisations, and the secret of its superiority stands out most sharply in its capacity for progress under favourable circumstances; and though Mediterranean civilisation has experienced fluctuations and periods of gloom, it has always emerged with inexhaustible vitality, more vigorous than before. For manifestly it is dominated by one ideal, which is wanting to all other nations, the ideal of humanity. This consciousness of the inner unity and of the common goal of universal mankind did not indeed arise all at once on the Mediterranean. But the separate steps in this weary path may be recognised with tolerable distinctness, and they lead by the shores of the Mediterranean. Here we come across the first ideals of national feeling, out of which the conception of humanity is gradually evolved. First of all comes the dependence of the individual on the minute band of those who speak the same language and inhabit the same country

**The Great Ideal
of Mediterranean
Civilisation**

as he. This relation of dependence declares the existence of an important altruistic feeling; it is the foundation of patriotism. Patriotism is a sentiment foreign to the great nations of the East, for these had no social feeling outside that of membership in the tribe and the family; and the peculiar conditions of civilisation in the Orient have prevented the evolution of this sentiment into the higher one of membership in a nation. The

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

small number of individuals in the peoples of the Mediterranean nations, with their countless subdivisions, and their almost universally hostile relations, furthered the impulse towards combination, since it made the individual a valuable member of the

Recognition of the Rights of the Individual

whole. A second point is the conception, which is equally peculiar to the Mediterranean races, of the existence of personal rights, which marks out for the individual a wider sphere of action within his community; and a further result of this is the legal establishment of the social and political system.

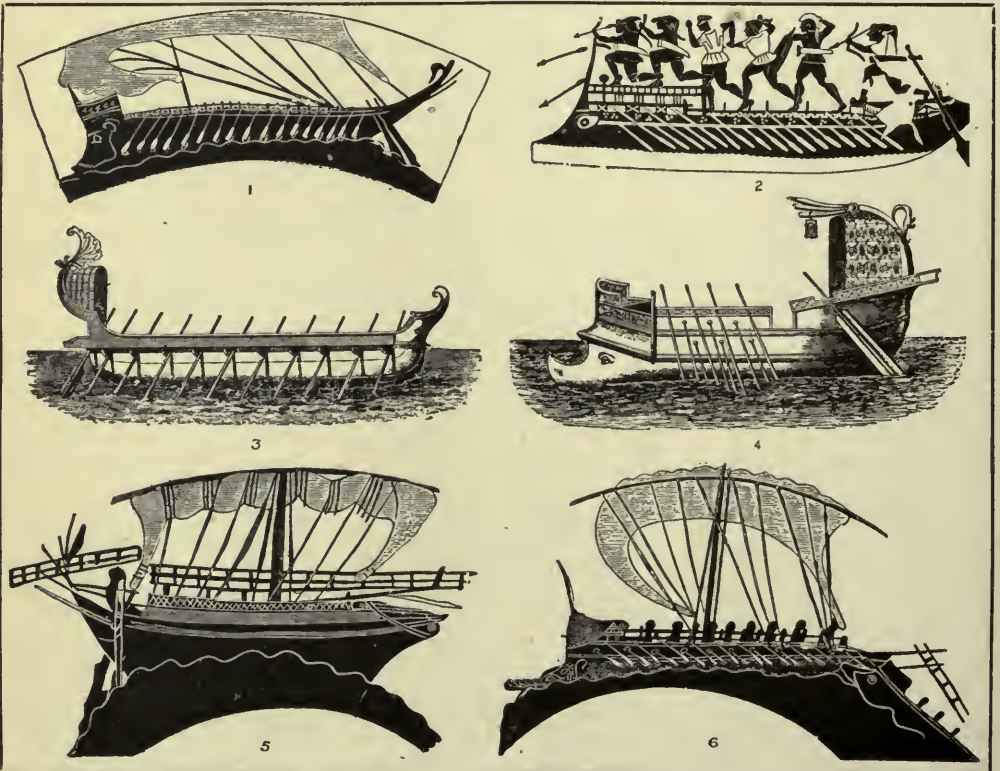
This idea is also more or less foreign to the great peoples of the East; while fostering all other forms of intellectual culture, the old Oriental despotism has not allowed a distinct conception of rights to be formed, but lays down the will of the lord as the highest and only law, to which the good of the individual must be absolutely subordinated. The passive and even fatalistic character of most Oriental peoples has at all times been

reconciled to absolute government and the identification of the State with the person of the prince or with a ruling class.

The Mediterranean nations, on the contrary, if they ever possessed this characteristic, shed it during the era of migration. And although among them, too, a despotism is no rare phenomenon, yet it has assumed a stamp quite different from the Oriental form; it is no longer a natural thing, unalterable, and inflexible. On the contrary, we often notice among the Mediterranean nations, at an early period, an effort to extend the right of free activity from the individual to the community, to expand personal liberty into political

Foundations for the Rise of Humanity

freedom. In the striving after liberty we recognise one of the most striking characteristics of the growth of civilisation on the Mediterranean, such as is nowhere else to be found as a primordial element. National feeling, patriotism, the conception of rights, and the existence of political liberty were the foundations on which humanity found it possible to rise.



TYPES OF THE SHIPS WHICH SAILED THE MEDITERRANEAN IN ANCIENT TIMES

These illustrations of ancient Greek and Roman ships, from vases and sculptures, include the Greek galley of 600 B.C. (2), the Greek unireme (1), the bireme (6), the merchant-ship (5) of 500 B.C. and two Roman galleys (3, 4) of about 100 A.D.



THE DOMINANCE OF GREECE & ROME

THE MEDITERRANEAN AT ITS HEIGHT

THE Hellenes, or Greeks, come before us as the most important nation of antiquity on the Mediterranean, and the one which exercises the most powerful influence on the far distant future. But the Hellenes do not appear to us as a compacted national entity. They break up into many separate tribes, and their state system presents a spectacle of disunion which finds a counterpart only in the petty states of mediæval Italy or Germany. Nevertheless, Greek life shows such a similarity in all its parts, so active a national consciousness of fellowship prevails, and such a community of purpose in their institutions, that the Greeks seem a united nation.

Never was any people more happily or splendidly endowed by Nature than the ancient Greeks. Disposed to cheerfulness and the light-hearted enjoyment of life, loving song, the dance, and manly exercises, the Greeks possessed also a keen and clear eye for Nature and her manifestations, a lively desire for knowledge, an active spirit, which, far removed from the profound subtleties of the Egyptian or Indian philosophers, set itself boldly to the task of investigating things from their appearance; they possessed also a highly-developed social impulse, and an unerring delicacy of feeling for beauty of form. This natural appreciation of beauty is characteristic of the Greeks and raises them at once to a higher level than any other people. Grace in outward appearance, beauty of form, symmetry of movement in joy as in grief, melodiousness in utterance, chastened elegance of expression, easy dignity in behaviour—these were the qualities the Greek prized highest; these ideals are expressed in the almost untranslatable *καλὸς κάγαθός*, which implies that beauty and goodness are in truth inseparable. Even among the Greeks of the Heroic Ages we have already the feeling of being in "good society." This

was the ultimate cause of the idealistic tendency of the national mind, of the worship of the Beautiful, which with no other people reached such universal and splendid perfection. This finds its expression in the national cultivation of

Worship of the Beautiful poetry, music, the plastic arts, and to an equal degree in their religion, philosophy and science.

In closest connection with this intellectual tendency stands the hitherto unparalleled degree of freedom and versatility in the development of the individual. Besides all this, the Greeks were physically hardy and strong, brave in battle, cunning and shrewd in commerce, adept in all mechanical crafts. And since they felt themselves drawn towards a seafaring life and navigation, they soon established their complete superiority over all their neighbours.

Hence came their national pride; what was not Greek was barbarous. This boastfulness was not like the dull indifference of the Egyptians, and still less like the bitter religious hatred which the Israelite bore against every stranger, but asserted itself in a sort of good-natured scorn, based on full consciousness of self. The Greeks liked, by means of intercourse, example, and instruction, to draw to themselves what was strange, in order to raise themselves; and without hesitation they appropriated whatever strange thing seemed worthy of imitation. Thus they acquired by observation from the Egyptians astronomical and mathematical knowledge, and from the Phœnicians the arts of shipbuilding and of navigation, of mining and iron-smelting. Hellenism offers the first historical instance of a conquest, which was effected not by war or commerce, but through intellectual superiority.

Compared with the significance of the Greek race in the history of civilisation, its political history sinks into the back-

Splendid Endowment of the Greeks

The First Intellectual Conquest

ground. The universal disorganisation is originally based on the diversity of the tribes, which, it is true, spoke the same language, but established themselves on the Mediterranean at different times, coming from different sides. Whole tribes—Æolians, Dorians, Ionians—always sought out the coasts or their vicinity; the

Political Disunion of Greece

Greeks nowhere, Greece proper excepted, pressed into the heart of the country in large numbers.

The only exception to this is presented by the Dorian Spartans of Lacedæmon, who could never reconcile themselves to maritime life; they also in another respect took up a separate position—they prided themselves not so much on morality as on a somewhat theatrically vainglorious exaltation of bodily strength and hardihood.

Varied and manifold as the tribes themselves were the communities founded by them and their forms of constitution. The original type, monarchy, came usually to an early end, or was preserved only in name, as at Sparta; yet a form of it persisted in the "Tyranny," which differed from monarchy only in its lack of hereditary title. The "Tyranny" was found in Greece proper as well as on the islands and in the Greek parts of Asia Minor, Lower Italy and Sicily; but for the most part it was of short duration, since it required a definite conspicuous personality, after whose death it became extinguished. The high standard of universal education, the wide scope conceded to individuals, and the small, easily surveyed extent of the separate communities, brought about the result that gradually more and more sections of the people desired and won a share in the conduct of public business.

Thus was established the extended republican form of constitution peculiar to the Hellenic race. It is strange that this thoroughly Greek conception of a republic should have found no Greek expression,

The Greek Form of Government

while the word democracy signifies for the Greeks merely a party or class government.

According as wider or narrower circles of the people took part in public affairs—that is, in the government—distinction was made between Aristocracy, Oligarchy, and Democracy. These constitutional forms underwent constant change; a cycle is often observable which goes from Oligarchy through Tyranny to Democracy and then begins

afresh. Such frequent internal changes obviously could not proceed without civil dissensions and the conflict of antagonistic views; yet these internal struggles passed away, thanks to the mercurial temperament of the people, without any deep-seated disorders. Far from being a barrier to progress, they helped to rouse and stimulate their minds.

The mutual relations of the individual states to each other present the same features. They are almost continually at war in order to win the spiritual headship in national affairs, the hegemony, but without hatred or passion, as if engaged in a knightly exercise; with all this they do not lose the feeling of fellowship, which was always kept alive by the national sanctuaries—Dodona, Eleusis, Delphi, Olympia—the regular Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, and the Amphictyonic League, as well as by a warm feeling for oratory, the stage, poetry and art, which showed itself stronger than petty local jealousies.

At the same time the Greeks did not neglect the practical side of life. The

Flourishing Commerce of Greece

poverty of Greece proper in productions of the soil made the necessity of ample imports early felt, and natural conditions pointed exclusively to the sea as the way by which these should be brought.

The dense population of Hellas depended entirely on foreign countries for corn, wine, fruit, wool, leather, and timber, while it possessed valuable articles of export in the products of its mines and technical industries. Thus a flourishing maritime commerce was developed, which in the east of the Mediterranean put even that of the Phœnicians into the background. There was awakened among the Greeks, fostered by the extensive coast-line of Hellas and Asia Minor, and by the great number of densely-populated islands, a love and aptitude for sea-life which is almost unequalled. The Phœnicians carried on navigation for commercial ends; the Greeks devoted themselves to it as an amusement. From privateering, in which they also indulged, they were led to develop their shipping for warlike purposes, and so became the founders of a navy. At sea they showed themselves a match for a numerically superior enemy, as the Persian wars testify, in which the enormous fleets of Darius and Xerxes, mostly composed of Phœnician ships,

THE DOMINANCE OF GREECE AND ROME

could not withstand those of the Greeks. The city-states of Athens, Argos, Ægina, and Corinth; the Ionian Islands; the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Samos, Chios, Paros, and Thera; in Asia Minor the towns of Phocæa, Ephesus, and Miletus; the colony of Naucratis in Lower Egypt; in Magna Græcia the towns of Tarentum, Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, Syracuse, Messana, Leontini, and Catana—all these were maritime powers, and not less so were the colonies of Miletus on the Black Sea (Sinope and Trapezus), the Corinthian colonies in Illyria (Apollonia and Epidamnus), the Phocæan colonies in the west (Saguntum and Massilia), and the colony in Africa founded from the island of Thera—Cyrene, which afterwards, under the dynasty of the Battiadæ, and as a republic, developed into a flourishing power. While the Phœnicians from fear of competition were wont to make a secret of their voyages, the Greeks gave publicity to their own. A thirst for learning and a delight in travelling, both innate qualities of the people, induced not merely sailors and merchants, but men of far higher

Greeks the First Explorers

education to take part in these voyages, and their narratives and records widened men's knowledge of the Mediterranean. The Greeks were the first to concern themselves not only about their own nation, but about foreign nations and lands, and that not exclusively for political and commercial ends, but out of scientific interest. They studied these foreign lands, their natural peculiarities, their products and needs, the life and the history of their inhabitants. Similarly the Greeks were the first who made no national or caste-like secret of the fruits of their explorations, but willingly placed the results at the disposal of the whole world. While they in this way made the knowledge of geography, natural history, and past events accessible to wider circles, they became the founders of the exoteric or popular sciences, while the scientific efforts of all other civilised races became less profitable for the masses from their esoteric character. The spread of knowledge enables Hellenism, as much as its æsthetics, which are based on the pleasure felt in beauty and proportion of form, to exercise an educating and ennobling influence on its surroundings, and firmly cements all who are of kindred stock and spirit. The varied and comprehensive unfolding of Greek life,

drawing to itself the outside world, is bound up with a surprisingly rapid local expansion.

The formative influence of Greece on the entire Mediterranean region was fully exercised, not during a lengthy period of peace, but in the midst of internal and external disturbances. Greece was split

Greece Split up into Petty States

up into countless petty states, but experienced at first no danger from the fact, which rather had a beneficial result, since it gave scope to the capabilities of many individuals. We can thus understand the part which was played by Solon, Pisis-tratus, Pericles, and Alcibiades in Athens, by Lycurgus, Pausanias, and Lysander in Sparta, by Periander in Corinth, by Epaminondas and Pelopidas in Thebes, by Poly-crates in Samos, and by Gelon and Dionysius in Syracuse. Even hostile collisions between the individual states were, at least in earlier times, harmless; the winning and the losing party were alike Greeks. Then a violent storm gathering in the east came down on them. In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the nation of the Persians roused themselves under their king Cyrus, and so quickly extended their power in every direction that their newly-founded kingdom became at once the first Power in the ancient world. The annihilation of the Babylonian kingdom, the subjugation of the Armenians and Caucasian Scythians, and finally the conquest of the Lydian king Cræsus, who ruled over a mixed race, made Cyrus lord of Nearer Asia; even the Greeks of Asia Minor submitted to him, some willingly, some under compulsion.

When, however, Cyrus's successor, Darius I., began to extend his conquests to the regions of the lower Danube in Europe, they became concerned, and supported the attempted revolt of their tribal kinsmen in Asia Minor under the leadership of Miletus. Thus arose the fifty years war between Greece and Persia,

Fifty Years of War With Persia

which ended in the victory of the former, in so far as the Persians were forced to renounce all further attempts at conquest. Much ado has been made of the successful defence of tiny Greece against the enormous Persian realm. Considered more closely the matter is not so astonishing. The heroic deeds of a Miltiades, a Themistocles, and an Aristides, of a Leonidas, a Xantippus, and a Cimon, deserve all honour; but the true reasons for the

Persian failure lie deeper. Let us remember how weakened the apparently mighty world-empire of Spain emerged from the eighty years war against the diminutive Netherlands. Moral superiority, higher intelligence, and greater skill in seamanship had secured victory to the Greeks. Yet they had not gone through the war without internal loss. On the

**Greece's
Loss by
Victory**

one hand, familiarity with Asiatic luxury, made inevitable by the war, exerted a disastrous influence. On the other hand the rivalry of the states and their internal factions were rendered keener by the political and diplomatic intrigues running parallel with the war. This led to mutual aggression and the infringements of rights, and finally to regular war between the two leading states, Athens and Sparta. The Peloponnesian war (431-404), so bitterly waged, undermined the political power of both. Almost all the Greek states, including the islands and Sicily, took part in it. The exhausted victors, however, soon afterwards submitted to the Thebans, who were ambitious of the hegemony. But they also were too weak to maintain the leadership. The result of the contest for supremacy was the enfeebling of all.

At this point began the political downfall of the Greek petty-state system, but at the same time there came a new and strange increase of the national greatness in another direction, a renaissance of Hellenism generally. While the smaller states were rending each other, the hegemony had been transferred to a stock which had until now been disregarded as comparatively backward in civilisation, but was nevertheless thoroughly vigorous and Greek—that of the Macedonians, who had early founded a kingdom in Thessaly and Thrace, and were ruled by a royal family which prided itself on its descent from Hercules. King

**The Rise of
a New
Greatness**

Philip II. of Macedon (359-336), in consequence of the internal disorders of Greece, had formed the plan of making himself master of the whole country, and carried it out, partly by force, partly by diplomacy and bribery. While he used his victory with moderation and knew how to pose as the guardian of the rights of the separate states to self government, he managed so that the league of the Amphictyons nominated him commander of the league in

the aggressive war planned against the Persians. During the preparations for the war Philip was murdered, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, then a young man of twenty (336-323 B.C.). He not only carried out all his father's plans, but went far beyond them.

The gigantic apparition of Alexander the Great at the head of his Macedonian and Greek armies raged like a storm-cloud over Asia and Africa. An unprecedented idea had mastered the royal youth—the conquest of the entire known world, and its union under his sceptre into one single empire, in which Hellenic and Oriental culture should be blended. In an unparalleled series of victories Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, Cyrene, Media, Babylonia, Parthia, and Persia were conquered; the armies of the Persian king Darius were annihilated in decisive battles; and in the capital, Persepolis, the enfeebled Persian nation did homage to the conqueror. Then his progress was continued northward against the Scythians and eastward against the Indians. The valiant re-

**The Gigantic
Apparition
of Alexander**

sistance offered by the ruler of the Punjab, King Porus, caused Alexander to interrupt his victorious career and to return to Babylon, in order thence to govern the mighty empire which his sword had won. Fate allowed him no time to carry out his great plan: overcome by excesses, Alexander died, and left a shattered and incompletely reconstructed world behind him.

The empire, which lacked any internal bond of union, was destined to break up, all the more after Alexander's death, since neither the question of succession to the throne nor the organisation of the empire had been settled. In the wars of the "Diadochi," able and great men among the Hellenes fought for the sovereignty of the world. The powerful Antigonus and his son Demetrius, the "Town Destroyer," claimed the title of "Kings of Asia." They found in Europe a counterpoise in Antipater and his son Cassander, who usurped lordship over Macedonia and Greece. Other generals joined one side or the other, and carried off as spoils whole provinces, a truly bewildering confusion. The battle of Ipsus first ended it; Antigonus fell, and with him his proud structure, the kingdom of Asia, crashed to the ground. Meanwhile

THE DOMINANCE OF GREECE AND ROME

Hellenism had been playing a predominant part, and all the other nations looked on in silence. The conquerors divided among themselves the inheritance of Alexander. Cassander took Macedonia and Greece, Lysimachus took Thrace, Seleucus took the whole of Nearer Asia, and Ptolemy Egypt. But only the two latter succeeded in founding lasting dynasties. Cassander's dominions fell to the descendants of Antigonus, and the Thracian kingdom of Lysimachus sank into ruins. On the other hand, new Greek states arose.

Some fifty years after the death of Alexander, the divisions of his inheritance, from which the central Asiatic countries were severed, assumed a more lasting form, Mediterranean in character. This was the era of the Hellenistic monarchies. The preponderant influence in the political history and civilisation of Hellenism passes from Hellas proper, which gradually sinks into decay, to the border-lands. As such appear the kingdom of Macedonia under the descendants of Antigonus, the kingdom of Epirus under the Pyrrhidæ, the kingdom of Syria under the Seleucidæ,

the kingdom of Egypt under the Ptolemies, the town of Pergamum in Asia Minor under the Attalidæ, and the kingdom of Bithynia in Asia Minor, founded by Nicomedes. In a certain sense we may include the later kingdoms of Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Greater and Lesser Armenias, former parts of the Syrian empire of the Seleucidæ since their royal houses had been greatly influenced by the Greek spirit. So, too, many Greek islands regained their political independence: Crete became a dreaded nest of corsairs; Rhodes attained a high civilisation.

Hellas proper, divided into the Achæna and the Ætolian Leagues, sought a return to her former republican greatness, but could not release herself from the Macedonian power, and wasted her remaining strength in fighting against it, as well as in conflicts between the two leagues, so that finally it became an easy prey for the Romans. Hellenism meanwhile unfolded its most beautiful blossoms in the monarchies. Admittedly it lost more and more of its national character and became more markedly cosmopolitan; but to the world at large this tendency was profitable. The houses of the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and the Attalidæ especially, produced enlightened patrons of science

and art. The towns where their courts were, Alexandria, Antioch, and Pergamum, became capitals of vast splendour, size, and wealth, centres alike of intellectual culture and world commerce. They were adorned with magnificent buildings, temples and palaces, with academies, museums and libraries, with art treasures of every kind. They were filled with manufactories, stores of merchandise and warehouses. The ever active and eagerly creative spirit of the Greek people, from whom the weakening and distracting occupation of politics had been withdrawn by the monarchical form of government, threw itself with redoubled energy partly into scientific research and artistic production, partly into the industries, trade, and navigation; and in all these branches it achieved triumphs which were spread over every coast by the medium of the sea.

The age of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which comprises the last three centuries before the beginning of the new chronology, marks the zenith of Hellenistic culture; it is the period when the greater world, revealed by the conquests of Alexander, was explored by science and its value practically realised. To this period belong the delicate perfection of the Greek language, the rich literary productions in the departments of philosophy, mathematics, physical science, geography and history, and a great assiduity in collecting; all these laid the foundation of a real science. Then, also, trade and navigation were organised, not on the basis of a monopoly, but on that of free competition, and these drew the connecting bond still closer round the nations of the Mediterranean. But, above all, this age is that of the admitted supremacy of Greek life, that gentle power which irresistibly draws to itself all that is outside it, and assimilates it; that power which has absorbed the Phœnician, Syrian, and Egyptian civilisation, and has not passed over the Jewish without leaving its trace. On the other hand, the invasion of many strange peoples could not but react ultimately on Hellenism. It lost its homogeneity and the feeling of nationality, weakened already by independent political events. These causes, and the fact that it was the common possession of different states

**Hellenism's
Most Beautiful
Blossoms**

**Greece
Sinks into
Decay**

**Zenith
of Greek
Culture**

continually at war with each other, eventually made Hellenism the foundation on which the Roman people built up the proud structure of their greatness.

Before the Romans began to influence powerfully the people on the Mediterranean, the Carthaginian nation, on the western shores of it, had already appeared

The Great Days of Carthage

on the stage of history. The Phœnician colony, in which the noblest families of proud Tyre had found a new home, soon

broke off connection with the mother country, drew the remaining Phœnician settlements in Africa to itself, and formed with them one flourishing state, in which nothing, except their descent and their liking for the sea, reminds us of their original home. Even the nationality of the Carthaginians seems to have shown an independent stamp, owing to the influence of their surroundings, although their language remained Phœnician. The territory of the Carthaginian state, bounded on the east by Numidia, on the west by Mauretania, was soon covered with numerous towns, not only on the coast, but also in the interior, where agriculture could be carried on profitably. Colonisation spread from the coast towns as far as the Balearic Islands, Spain, the Atlantic coasts of Africa, and to the great Mediterranean islands, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily. On the last-named island Greek settlements already existed. Hence a long conflict broke out between Carthaginians and Greeks in Sicily for the possession of the island, in the western part of which the former, and in the eastern part the latter, maintained their supremacy. The army and fleet of the Carthaginian general Hamilcar were destroyed by the Syracusan leader Gelon, at Himera, in 480 B.C.

Though possessing considerable resources and great wealth, Carthage performed no especial services in the cause of

Carthage Did Nothing For Civilisation

civilisation. The oppressive rule of an aristocratic oligarchy at home, a religion which craved for human sacrifices,

and a vein of cruelty peculiar to the whole people, characterised the Carthaginians. A civilising influence on their Berber neighbours can be inferred in so far as these nomads became partially settled, built cities (Iol and Tingis in Mauretania, Hippo and Zama in Numidia), and adopted a regular form of government in

the kingdoms of Mauretania and Numidia. The more the power of Carthage extended in the Mediterranean, the more often must she come into conflict with the power of Rome, which advanced at first only towards the west. Each of the two powers saw in the other the chief hindrance to its prosperity, a dangerous rival, with whom it was impossible to live in peace, and who must be annihilated at any cost. In Carthage, as in Rome, the consciousness of the necessity of a struggle for life and death had become an article of the national creed, and served to foster the bitterness between the two nations. The war broke out in 264 B.C. Sicily once more was the immediate cause of it. Owing to the tenacity and the military efficiency of both combatants, it lasted, with interruptions, until 146 B.C., after it had been waged in many places, in Sicily, Africa, Spain, Italy, and at sea. In the years 218-215 B.C. the war, owing to the bold march of the Carthaginian general Hannibal through Spain and Southern Gaul over the Alps into Italy, presented a surprisingly favourable prospect for Carthage, and brought

Rome on the Brink of Ruin

Rome to the brink of ruin; but after the Romans had found a valuable ally in the Numidian king Masinissa the war ended definitely with the fall of Carthage. The town itself was destroyed, the country came as a province to Rome. The same fate befell the African kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania. Julius Cæsar had Carthage rebuilt as a Roman town; as such, and later as the capital of the Vandal kingdom, it played in subsequent years a part in history. The Punic population as such preserved its identity up to the conquest of the Vandals and even to the invasion of the Arabs, and exercised great influence on Christianity through St. Jerome and other Fathers of the Church.

The ruins of the Carthaginian power formed the first stepping-stone for the world-empire of the Romans, the people in whom the "Mediterranean spirit" is most clearly seen. The Roman people, or, more correctly speaking, the Roman state, emerged from an obscure beginning through the consistent and successful prosecution of one leading idea. The development of the Romans struck out a path quite different from that of their kinsmen, the Greeks. With regard to the poetical embellishments of their origin,

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history has but followed the spirit of the times; but this much is clearly established, that a fragment of the old Italic people of the Latins, inhabiting Central Italy, founded Rome on the Tiber after their severance from their kinsfolk, and regarded it henceforth as the national centre. The national pride of the Romans, highly developed from the very outset, their military capacity, and their successful wars against their neighbours, soon raised the town to prosperity, greatness, and power, and made it a nucleus to which all the other peoples of Italy either voluntarily, or under compulsion, in time attached themselves.

This pre-eminence of Rome rested on a fundamental moral conception, precisely like the pre-eminence of the Hellenes over the east of the Mediterranean: but the morality of Rome was quite distinct from the Hellenic, and therefore had different effects. Roman life was developed from the idea of the state, the lofty conception and never failing manifestation of the indivisible unity, the majesty and omnipotence of the state in itself. The "Res Publica" was the highest ideal for the Roman. He felt himself not an individual, as the Greek did, but an inseparable element of the state, only thereby entitled to exist, but for that reason, too, of an exalted greatness. The common weal was the first law for him; to this all else—nationality, individuality, civilisation and religion—was subordinated. Not that he would have been intolerant of foreign nationality and civilisation, or foreign creeds; those were matters of indifference to him. He demanded of every man who obtained a share in the state an unqualified submission to the ideas of the state. Much narrower limits were, therefore, set to the assertion of individuality than among the Greeks. Personality counted for little in public life, in which all was concentrated, all tuned in a single key.

In consequence, an unshaken firmness was developed in the fabric of the state, an inexhaustible vitality, which, guided by a many-headed but single-voiced will, was always directed into such paths as led to the deepening and widening of the state-idea. Heterogeneous tendencies and internal struggles doubtless existed; there were radical changes of political plans and forms of government, transi-

tions from monarchy to an aristocratic and thence to a democratic republic, and thus to oligarchy and imperialism. Nevertheless, one common characteristic belongs to all factions and régimes—namely, the compacted structure of state-unity and state-omnipotence. The peculiar tendency of Roman life is displayed in an advance in

The Unity of Roman Public Life civilisation, which influenced the nations on the Mediterranean and beyond to a degree no less than the Greeks did. The development of the ideal side of civilisation, as well as its material promotion by manufactures and trade, the two paths so successfully trodden by Hellenism, remain somewhat foreign to the Roman nature and are only followed after the example of others. But the Romans turn as pioneers to the social question, which stands in intimate connection with the development of the state. They are the first to make progress in this sphere and in a threefold direction.

In the first place they were early inclined to restrict all expression of public and private life to strict forms, to stereotype these by written laws, and equally to bind all members of the state, without exception, to their observance. By this means caprice and partiality in the judges were checked, the popular idea of justice was strengthened, and a strong respect for law was infused into every section of the people. This feeling was one of the firmest props of the authority of the state; the knowledge of law and jurisprudence was developed hand in hand with it into a science peculiar to the Romans.

Again, the Romans were the first people to recognise the danger which threatens a state in a large class of pauper citizens. They directed their efforts, therefore, towards establishing an equal division, as far as possible, of property, especially real property, by a

Dangers of Pauperism Recognised classification of the citizens, by agrarian laws, by gratuitous division of state-lands among the poorer classes, and by a gradually improved adjustment of the conditions of tenure. The entire scheme failed, because of the growth of the state and the increasing complexity of its relations. Still, credit is due to the Romans for having recognised the importance of the question and for having attempted its solution.

Thirdly, they assigned to woman an honourable position in the family and in society, and that from the very beginning. They recognised in the family the strongest foundation of society; therefore, they kept a strict watch over the sanctity of marriage and invested woman with the dignity and privileges of a citizen. Even the Greeks

Woman's High Position Under the Romans

themselves with all their striving after the ideal—to say nothing of the Semitic and Oriental peoples—misunderstood the position of woman, whom they treated as an inferior being and kept in slavish dependence; the influence which individual hetairæ, distinguished by beauty and wit, exercised, only marks the low position in which women were intentionally kept. The Romans, on the contrary, strongly insisted on modesty in their women, and they therefore showed them due respect; and though there was no social intercourse between the sexes in the present meaning of the word, women took with them a far higher position, both in public and private life, than with any other people of those times.

While the Romans perfected the most complete constitution which antiquity possessed on the Mediterranean, their state system, partly through successful wars with the other Italian nations, partly by alliances and voluntary accessions of territory, grew increasingly in extent. Rome began to exercise a spell, from which even the Greeks of Lower Italy could not withdraw themselves, and the Roman citizenship became a greatly prized privilege. Though national differences in Italy did not entirely disappear, the Latin branch maintained a distinct predominance over all others, and Latin became the prevailing language. From South Italy the Romans encroached upon much-coveted Sicily, and in so doing brought about the war with the Carthaginians, in consequence of which they were able to create the first province,

Beginning of Rome's Vast Empire

adding in the following years Sardinia and Corsica. From this point begins the vast and gradually increasing expansion of the Roman empire. Attacks from without furnished the immediate stimulus; the annoying piracy of the Illyrians and the continual unrest caused by the Celts of Cisalpine Gaul compelled interference. The Gauls were then in the course of a backward migration—that is, one from west to east. The terrible disaster of the year

390 B.C. was not yet forgotten, but a century and a half had not passed over the land in vain; the Roman state was already strong enough not only to repel the attack, but to subdue the country across the Po as far as the Alps. Then their task was to ward off the second and most violent attack of the Carthaginians. This Second Punic War, after many vicissitudes, added Spain, wrested from the Carthaginians, to the Roman provinces. Hannibal's plan of uniting the Hellenistic monarchies of the east against Rome was wrecked by the superior policy of the Romans, who shattered the alliance and conquered its most active member, King Philip III. of Macedon.

The war with Macedonia and the Achæan League permitted the Romans to join a firm footing in Greece also, where they already had an ally in the Ætolian League. Rome's lust for conquest only became greater; for the Hellenistic states, dazzled by the good fortune of Rome, were accustomed in all external and internal difficulties to turn to her as arbitrator. The greatest impulse to the irresistible expansion of the Roman power was given

Rome Conceives the Policy of a World-Dominion

when the Third Punic War had ended in the incorporation of the Carthaginian state as the Province of Africa in 146 B.C. The thought of a world dominion, up till now merely casual, and the natural consequence of favourable events, from this moment confronts us as a political motive clearly realised and carried out with iron resolution by means of the raising of immense armaments and astounding diplomatic skill. Almost simultaneously with Carthage the completely shattered Macedon was incorporated, and then came a rapid succession of new provinces—Greece (Achaia), Pergamus, left by King Attalus III. as an inheritance to the Romans (Asia propria), Transalpine Gaul, Cilicia, Cyrene, Bithynia, bequeathed to the Romans by King Nicomedes III., the island of Crete, the kingdom of Pontus on the Black Sea, wrested from the powerful Mithradates VI.; Syria, snatched from the Seleucidæ; the island of Cyprus, Numidia, Mauretania, Egypt, taken in the year 30 B.C. from the Ptolemies, and Galatia. Thus the Roman dominion had completely encircled the entire coast of the Mediterranean, and had penetrated deep into the interior of three continents. Then came a series of fresh provinces, some in Europe, some in Asia; only the

THE DOMINANCE OF GREECE AND ROME

German races dwelling between the Rhine, Danube, and Elbe were able to protect themselves against that iron embrace.

This gigantic frame was held together by one single force—Rome, which administered the bewildering conglomeration of the most heterogeneous nations. The ruling people, the Romans, left to their subjects their language and nationality, religion and worship, manners and customs, trade and industries, unchanged; nothing was required of them but obedience, taxes, and soldiers. And the nations obeyed, paid taxes, furnished recruits, and were proud to be members of the mighty empire. This result would be incomprehensible, despite all the advantages of Rome, if the influence of the Phœnicians and Greeks had not prepared the way. The Phœnician and Greek nature had shot the varied warp of the national life of the Mediterranean nations and woven a stout fabric, from which the Romans skilfully cut their imperial mantle. The myriad relations which had been formed between the different members by their mediation could not fail to instil, at

All-Embracing Idea of the State

any rate in the upper strata, a homogeneity in mode of thought, feeling, and contemplation, which gradually deepened and revived the consciousness of the original and long since forgotten affinity.

The Roman world-sovereignty opened up the glad prospect for the different nations that, without being forced to renounce their national individuality, they might study the promotion of their own prosperity in peaceful contact. The place of the ideas of nationality, home and fatherland, which alone had been predominant until now, was taken by the all-embracing idea of the state, of a state which to some extent embodied mankind and took the welfare of all alike under its sheltering wings. This fabric appeared constructed for eternity. Nothing seemed able to shatter the solidity of its framework; neither the onslaught of external foes nor internal dissensions, nor finally the change in form of government—republic, dictatorship, triumvirate, empire. The state-idea was never lost from sight, even in the civil wars with their extermination of the noblest. In the genius of Cæsar, the divine Julius—whose name has become the title of the highest grade in monarchical rank—is found the most splendid embodiment of the Roman conception of the

state. And when his great-nephew Octavianus Augustus succeeded in attaining the highest dignity in the state without infringing the time-honoured system of administration, and in making the great office hereditary for some time, the proud edifice seemed to have received its coping-stone. The Roman empire of that age formed

The World of the Empire's Only Limit

a world-empire in a stricter sense of the word than that of Alexander the Great: it was no mere collection of discordant and divergent entities welded by the sword, but an organic living body, which had Rome for its head. The organising genius of the Romans had created a system whose threads met in one central point. The capital offered also, with its palaces, temples, theatres, race-courses, monuments and baths, with its processions, feasts, gladiatorial shows, and a thousand dissipations, an endless series of attractions. For the Romans there was but one city, the "Urbs Romana"; but one limit to the empire, that of the "world." The Roman spirit did not cling to its city: it spread over all provinces, not deeply penetrating and absorbing, like the Greek spirit, but commanding respect by its self-trust, calm earnestness, and systematic order. Thus the Roman ideals are a valuable supplement to the Hellenic civilisation. On every shore of the Mediterranean they come into contact, and by mutual interpenetration blend into that distinctive Mediterranean spirit which now begins to awaken to self-consciousness.

In the new order of things which had been created in the region of the Mediterranean by the enlargement of the Roman empire, the teachings of Christ produced a revolution in the intellectual world such as history has but seldom seen. The effect of this change was neither political nor national, but purely intellectual and social. Since all worldly ambition was

Effect of the Christian Revolution

wanting in the first adherents of the Christian religion, who were mostly "mean people" from the poorer and more ignorant classes, they exercised at first no immediately sensible influence on a public life unalterably cast into the flexible forms of imperial Rome. The first attack on them proceeded from Judaism, which was just then being annihilated as a political influence and as a nation; but the dispersion of the Jews contributed largely to the

spreading broadcast of the seed of Christianity. It was an equally important point that the Christian teaching at the very first broke down the rigid barriers of national Jewish thought, filled itself with the Greek spirit through the immense activity of Paul, who had received a Greek education, while he had been brought up by a

Ever-Widening Power of Monotheism

Pharisee, and was thereby enabled to enter into sympathy with all mankind. An ever-widening power belongs to monotheism. This power, freed from shackles of nationality, was the more effective from the union, in the Christian teaching of the belief in one God; with a moral code which, through its gentleness and its love, embracing all mankind without distinction, spoke to the hearts of all. For the first time the principle appeared that all men, without distinction, are the "children of God," all of equal spiritual worth, all called to the enjoyment of equal rights.

From the beginning of historical times every social organisation had been based on inequality; and although it was only among the Egyptians that this principle was carried out on the Mediterranean in its strictest form—that is, "caste"—yet in every nation a strict division of classes existed. The idea of a "people" comprised usually only a section of politically privileged citizens, more or less restricted in numbers, while under them a large population, without political rights or personal freedom, existed as slaves. Free labour was the exception. Then suddenly the Christians came forward and asserted that there was no distinction between high and low, bond and free, master and servant; that all men were equal, and had no other duty than to love and to help each other. The first Christians certainly made no attempt to introduce this doctrine into ordinary life; they emphatically declared that their kingdom was not of this world;

Christianity and the Social Life

and, waiting for the realisation of their hopes in the world to come, willingly adapted themselves to their appointed condition. But when such tenets penetrated the dense masses of ignorant bondmen, was not a mistaken interpretation of the question possible? Would not this part of the population be inclined to seek the promised equality and fraternity in this world rather than in the next? Would not the traditional order of society thus be

threatened, and the very existence of the state be endangered? A war of all against all seemed imminent.

We can estimate from this how the first appearance of Christianity with its unheard-of demands must have untold, uncompromising and threatening, the picture of the social question. The followers of Christianity were either to be ridiculed as unpractical enthusiasts or to be hated as dangerous innovators. The ideal core of Christianity, the manifestation of a pure humanity, was different from the Jewish, Hellenic, and Roman nature. Mankind must first be educated to understand it. As long as that was not accomplished, the Roman state must offer resistance to the new teaching and strive to suppress it by force. Yet it was destined to discover that the power of thought is greater than that of external violence. Notwithstanding all the heat of the conflict, it gradually was made clear that both pursued, although on different roads, the same end—namely, the establishment of the superiority of the universal to the individual. If Rome strove after political sovereignty

Christianity Reconciled With the State

over the world, Christianity strove after its spiritual union under one faith, one worship, one moral law. The close relationship between these two apparently dissimilar aims must lead finally to a mutual understanding—a compromise was made. The state abandoned all attempts to suppress by force a faith which had already penetrated the higher social strata and had lost its revolutionary appearance. Christianity, on the contrary, renounced its dreams of a millennium, and assumed an attitude of toleration towards the calls of earthly life.

In the end, both parties recognised that they could make good use of each other: the state recognised in a universal religion, which rested on a foundation of morality, a firm cement to bind together the loosening fabric of the empire; Christianity learnt to value in Roman life the power of strict organisation, and was busy in turning this power to the good of its own welfare: Then came reconciliation. The state became Christian—that is, Christianity became the religion of the predominant circles, while its opponents were confined, both in space and social influence, to continuously lessening classes. Christianity organised itself as a Church, after the model and in the spirit of the Roman state.



MEDITERRANEAN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE GROWTH OF THE EUROPEAN CONCEPTION

THE Roman empire, whose development and extension had placed it in a favourable position for uniting no inconsiderable portions of mankind, had long been the hammer; it was now destined to become the anvil. The "great fly-wheel of all history," the migration of nations, had stood comparatively still while the world-empire of Rome was being built; at least, the far-off effects of it had been less appreciable on the shores of the Mediterranean. Now the empire received a blow of tremendous violence, dealt by the Germanic tribes, under the shock of which the fabric of the world creaked. Many a strange rumbling had preceded the shock.

The first signs of the new movement go back to the onslaught of the Cimbrians and Teutons on the Roman power, some hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, and are repeated at short intervals with increasing strength. The

The Fabric of the World Creaks

German tribes on the further side of the Rhine and the Danube became more and more restless; and though the Suevi in Roman Gaul were conquered by Cæsar, all attempts to extend the Roman sway beyond the two boundary rivers were in vain. Soon Rome saw herself restricted to the defensive, and even that position became more and more difficult. The Dacians on the Lower Danube were subdued only with difficulty and partially Romanised by numerous colonies. At the mouths of the Danube and on the coasts of the Black Sea the Goths established themselves, after dislodging and subduing the Scythians and Sarmatians, and thence overran in numerous predatory hordes the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor and Greece; after occupying Dacia, which the Romans had given up, they founded a kingdom which stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

Besides this, in the extreme east of Rome's Asiatic empire the renewed attacks of the Parthians gave cause to suspect that

the great reservoirs of population in Central Asia were once more about to be poured out. This outbreak occurred in full force at the precise moment when the Roman empire, which had already become rotten to the core, split under the burden of its own weight into two halves, a western and an eastern, with Rome and Constantinople as capitals. The

The Roman Empire in Halves

Huns, a numerous nation of horsemen, Mongolian in race, living in Central Asia, being hard pressed, began to move and drive everything steadily before them in their march westward. On the Volga the Huns came upon the Alans, also a nomad nation of horsemen, consisting of a mixture of Germans and Sarmatians, and hurried them on with them. Both together hurled themselves against the new kingdom of the Goths and shattered it. While the eastern portion of this people spread with the Huns and Alans into the Dacian-Pannonian lowlands, the western Goths threw their whole weight first against the eastern and then against the western Roman empire. Athaulf, Alaric's successor, led them out of Italy into Gaul and Spain.

In the meanwhile the impact of the Huns, which had destroyed the Gothic kingdom, had set in motion all the German tribes westward of the Vistula, and had caused their general advance towards the west and south; hence ensued a migration with women and children and all movable

A Migration that Flooded Europe

possessions which flooded Europe and did not break up or halt until the Mediterranean shores were reached. But before the equipoise of the nations, which were crowding on each other in storm and stress, could be restored, new masses kept rolling onwards. The Germanic tribes were followed by the Slavonic, who occupied the habitations which the former had left, and gradually began to spread over the broad stretch of

land between the Baltic and the Black Seas; and behind these more hordes of Mongolian origins kept the line moving westward.

The fate of the Roman empire was sealed. It could not withstand such pressure. Even that splendid system went down before the flood of rapacious barbarians. All in vain did the Romans take troop after troop of these barbarians into their own pay; in vain they conceded to them border state after border state as a bulwark; and when the western Roman government, in order to protect at least their ancestral Italy, recalled their own legions from the provinces, these were immediately inundated. Among "the first who knew nothing of the last," the Germans poured over the empire. At the beginning of the fifth century the Franks established themselves in northern, the Burgundians in eastern, Gaul; the Vandals marched to Spain, and, driven thence by the West Goths, who were vacating Italy, crossed into Roman Africa. Meantime, the West Goths settled in Spain and Aquitania.

But even Italy itself had not drained the cup of misery to the dregs when the bands of Alaric plundered her. Attila, "the scourge of God," dreaming of a world-empire, had led the hordes of horsemen from the kingdom of the Huns, Alans and Goths, against Western Europe. He encountered in Gaul the Roman commander Aëtius, under whom the Franks, Burgundians, West Goths, Gauls, and the remnants of the Romans had united in common defence. Attila, compelled on the plains of Châlons to retreat, swooped down on Upper Italy, where he destroyed the flourishing town of Aquilia. He died, it is true, as early as 453; but Rome found in his place two dangerous enemies. The German Odoacer, who had been entrusted by the Romans with the protection of Italy, deposed the last Roman emperor and, without opposition, made Italy Germanic. Meantime the Byzantine emperor, Zeno, had shaken the threatening presence of the Pannonian East-Gothic kingdom from off his neck by prompting Theodoric to conquer Italy. The great East Goth succeeded not only in making himself king of Italy in the place of Odoacer, but in transmitting the sovereignty to his descendants. His chief aim was to abolish

the national differences between Romans and Goths. Unfortunately, the Goths, when they became Christians, had adopted the doctrine of Arius, which Church and State had rejected; and even if they adapted themselves to the Roman forms in government, the union was limited to the peaceful occupancy of a common territory.

During these changes in Italy new German kingdoms were rising in the former Roman provinces on the west and south. In Gaul the Salic Franks, under Chlodwig, or Clovis (486), had annihilated the last remnants of the Roman rule and had adopted the Christian doctrine sanctioned by Rome. From this germ grew the Frankish power, destined for such future greatness. In Spain, Athaulf had already laid the foundation of a West-Gothic sovereignty. Eurich and his successors ruled over this West-Gothic elective monarchy until 711. The amalgamation of Goths and Romans in Spain proceeded far more smoothly than in Italy, especially because King Reccared in 587 was converted from Arian to orthodox Christianity, and formed a legislature for both nations in common. Dislodged by the victorious West Goths, the Vandals had already withdrawn to Roman Africa. Their king, Geiserich, had conquered the whole province in 439 and made Carthage the capital of a kingdom which was destined to live for nearly a century. The Vandals, who had become a considerable maritime power, then acquired Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands, and were dreaded not only in Italy (where they sacked Rome in 455) but also in Byzantium. Yet the warm climate and the luxury of later Rome soon sapped the strength of the northerners. A blending with the Romans had been impracticable, since the Vandals, who, in contrast to the other Germans, were intolerant in religion, as zealous Arians relentlessly persecuted the adherents of the Roman Church.

At this time the East Roman empire took a fresh lease of life under Justinian. This prince, hard pressed in the north by the Bulgarians and in the east by the Persians, entertained the idea of restoring the unity and the greatness of the pristine Roman empire. The success and skill of his brave generals, Belisarius and Narses, made this goal seem actually attainable. After the annihilation of the disintegrating Vandal power, the southern coasts of West-

Italy's
Cup of
Misery

Roman emperor and, without opposition, made Italy Germanic. Meantime the Byzantine emperor, Zeno, had shaken the threatening presence of the Pannonian East-Gothic kingdom from off his neck by prompting Theodoric to conquer Italy. The great East Goth succeeded not only in making himself king of Italy in the place of Odoacer, but in transmitting the sovereignty to his descendants. His chief aim was to abolish

Gothic Spain were conquered and held for some time. Then the Byzantine armies turned to Italy, and after twenty years of fighting the power of the East Goths was ended.

But the times were unfavourable for a complete restoration; fresh hordes were following the main body of migrating eastern nations. The territories in Pannonia and Dacia, which had been abandoned by Theodoric, had been occupied by Langobardi (Lombards) and Gepidi. In the wars of extermination which had broken out between the two races the Langobardi won the day; but they had to yield to the pressure of the Tartaric Avars, and moved westward. In the year 568 the Langobardi, under Alboin, reached the borders of Italy. In a very brief period they had conquered almost the whole land.

The independent spirit of the Langobardi hardly tolerated the rule of their own kings, and each duke sought rather to become a ruler on his own account. Thus the first foundations were laid for the political disintegration of Italy. After King Authari in 589 had married the Bavarian Theodelinde, an adherent of the Roman faith, close relations arose between the conquerors and the conquered. Steady amalgamation made the German spirit retreat further and further into the background, until at last it was stifled by the Roman. In the struggle against powerful vassals, against the remnants of the Byzantine exarchate at Ravenna, and against the influence of the Bishop of Rome, the kingdom of the Langobardi gradually sank to ruin, until, in 774, a foreign invader gave it its death-blow.

The mighty movement in the north of the Mediterranean, outlines of which have been sketched in the preceding pages, has its counterpart in a later movement on the eastern and southern coasts. Here also a migration begins, not indeed from unknown regions, but starting from a definite local centre. It advanced not as a half-unknown natural force, but springing from one individual will. The south-eastern angle of the basin of the Mediterranean, the birth-place of monotheistic religions, once more produced an idea of the One God, which united in itself the obstinate zeal of the worship of Jehovah with the expansive power of the Christian religion. Islam, the doctrine taught by Mahomet, not only quickly took root in Arabia, its home, but

grew irresistibly greater. All nations on the face of the earth were to be converted to the belief in Allah and his Prophet, and by the sword if other means failed. Thus the previously isolated Arabian nation suddenly swept beyond its borders with overwhelming power, the leader in a second migration. The invasion of the Arabs did

The Mighty Movement of Islam

not drive the other peoples before it, as the German migration had done; it overwhelmed them. The successors of Mahomet, who as caliphs were the spiritual and temporal rulers of their people, immediately began an attack on the two great neighbouring powers. Omar deprived the Byzantines of Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, and the north coast of Africa. His successor, Othman, conquered Persia and destroyed the royal house of the Sassanides.

Hardly had the Arabs settled on the Mediterranean when they became inspired with the life of the Mediterranean spirit; and although the situation of their country, bounded by three seas, had in thousands of years never once caused them to turn their thoughts to navigation, they now became navigators. On the Phœnician coast, the classic cradle of maritime life, they created for themselves, as it were in a moment, powerful fleets, with which they not only ventured on a naval war with the Byzantines, but also seized the world's trade into their own hands. The influence of the Mediterranean asserted itself. Contact with the Græco-Roman civilisation aroused in them a spirit of research and a love for science.

At a time when Europe was retrograding intellectually and morally through the flood of barbarous nations and the subversion of all institutions, the Arabs became almost the only transmitters of culture. Under the caliphate of the Omayyads (661-750), who transferred their court to Damascus, the Arabian supremacy was extended still more widely.

Culture Preserved by the Arabs

While it spread in Asia as far as the Caucasus, the Caspian and Aral Seas, the Syr Daria and away towards India, it invaded Europe from Africa in a direction just opposite to the path of Vandal invasion. In the year 711 the Arabs put an end to the kingdom of the West Goths, swarmed over the Pyrenees into the kingdom of the Franks, and occupied the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and even Tarentum.

If we consider as a whole the movement of the nations, continuing from the middle of the fourth to the eighth century and beyond, we notice before everything else a predominant line of advance from east to west on both sides of the Mediterranean. In the north the movement begins earlier and penetrates deeper; in the south it is

Circle of Nations Round the Mediterranean a deliberate course of action. In both cases it is brought to a halt by the Atlantic Ocean, and is

compelled to describe a right angle and to strike out into a new direction. Determined by the nature of the ground, their march leads the wanderers across the sea at the point where the continents are closest to each other, at the Straits of Gibraltar; here the two currents meet and join their waters. Thus the living strength of both is destroyed. The moving circle of nations round the Mediterranean is now completely closed. The whole movement must come to a stop, even if the pressure from behind continues, for it can no longer go forward; the two ends of the thread have been joined, and form a tangled skein, which prevents all progress. Now the problem for the nations is how to plant themselves firmly in the ground, to hold fast to the conquered territory as far as possible, and to keep off the next comers.

As for the basin of the Mediterranean itself, which again became the scene of events in the history of the world, it showed itself for the second time to be the mighty breakwater, or the great receiver in which the motley mixture of nations ferments and in the end is purified into more perfect forms. During the great storm, indeed, and immediately after it, there is more fermentation than purification to be observed on the Mediterranean. An old world has been shattered into fragments, and the new world knows not what is to be made out of the ruins. A lofty

A Mighty Breakwater of Nations and eventually an over-refined civilisation has been trampled beneath the rude feet of barbaric nations exuberant with

animal strength. It is not to be expected of times when "thousands slain unnoticed lie" that men should show any comprehension of intellectual development, of humanity, of law and order, of the ideal conception of life. The only things that gained respect were booty won by the sword, personal courage, and bodily

strength. "Life consists in defending one's self." In fact, all that the laborious work of civilisation had reared in many centuries was breaking up: not merely manuscripts and art treasures, temples and theatres, roads and bridges, aqueducts and marts, but ideals, plans and achievements, intellectual efforts—in fact, the entire sphere of thought and emotion in the ancient world.

And yet in this collapse of all existing things, in the helpless striving after a new, dimly-pictured order, the Mediterranean spirit, apparently crushed, stubbornly preserved its vitality and its supremacy. The close historical connection between the nations of the Mediterranean, which, though little apparent, was all the more close, expressed itself from that period onwards so vigorously that it irresistibly drew even foreign elements into its charmed circle. It is remarkable what little tenacity in the preservation of their own individuality was evinced by these foreigners, from the time of their becoming settled on the coasts of the Mediterranean. We can

All-absorbing Action of the Mediterranean certainly trace in this the influence of the mild climate, the more effeminate way of living as compared with previous times, the charm of the southern women, the more frequent indulgence in wine. Again, the number of the immigrants may have been small in comparison with the original population. The broad fact remains that the conquerors, through trade, marriage and other intimate relations, soon experienced an ethnological change, as a result of which the Germanic elements sank into obscurity with astonishing rapidity.

On the other hand, the influence of the Roman civilisation developed irresistible strength in the mixture of races. This had appeared much earlier—we may recall the Romanising of Africa and Dacia by colonists and soldiers—and was especially remarkable now in Italy and the western countries. In the Pyrenean peninsula, after the West Goths in the third century of their rule had changed their nationality by inter-marriage with the natives, the Spaniards arose, in whom, in spite of liberal mixture with Keltiberians, Greeks and Carthaginians, the Romance element was predominant. Similarly in the Apennine peninsula, the Lombards gradually were transformed into the Italians by mixture

with the Romans and the relics of the Gothic and Greek population. And even the strongest and most tenacious of the Germanic peoples that came into direct contact with the Romans, the Franks in Gaul, changed and blended with Romans and Gauls into the French, in whom the Keltic element was most prominent and after it the Romance, while the Germanic almost disappeared; only the eastern tribes of the Franks, through the support of the hardy Frisians, Saxons, and Bavarians, preserved their identity and developed it into a German nationality in combination with these tribes.

The feeble cohesion of the Germanic tribes, notwithstanding all their natural strength, is shown also by their almost sudden disappearance from the field of history; the East Goths after 555, the Gepidæ after 568, the Vandals after 534. They change their religion with a certain facility. With the exception of the orthodox Franks, all the Germanic tribes had adopted Arian Christianity; but as soon as they were settled among the Romans they mostly adopted the Roman religion. This fact presents

**Civilisation
Conquers the
Conquerors**

a striking contrast to the Semites, Jews and Arabs, who preserved their native manners, customs and faith even in dispersion and under unaccustomed circumstances of life. We must, however, bear in mind that the Germanic tribes were in the position of advanced outposts, which shattered the old world like battering rams and were broken off from the parent stock by the violence of the impact.

A main reason why the Germanic races were at a disadvantage in the compounding of nations on the Mediterranean lies in the consideration that the conquered had at their command a well-developed literary language and a rich literature, while the conquerors were badly off in this respect. Writing, indeed, existed among them, but the knowledge of it was rare, and a written literature was entirely wanting. It is thus comprehensible that, as new conditions demanded a freer use of writing from the Germans, they found it more difficult to express themselves in their own tongue than in the foreign one, in the use of which they could obtain advice and help. Thus a foreign language was already in use for communication at a distance, and it was only a step further to employ it for oral

communication. He who neglects his mother-tongue has lost half his nationality. Superior civilisation proved more powerful than brute strength; and the succeeding generations employed the more developed ancient language all the sooner, as their own proved inadequate for the expression of a number of ideas, with which the

**Teutons Lose
Their
Mother-tongue**

Germans first became acquainted through the Romans. Again, the ancient language was the language of the Church, to whose care and protection all that was left of culture in those rude times had fled; and the Church began then to exert over the simple minds of the Germans a greater spiritual influence than it ever did over the native races of the Mediterranean. Again, language forms only a single link in the chain of influences which are at work in the amalgamation of nations.

Although the Græco-Roman civilisation was buried by the migration of the races under an avalanche of semi-barbarian débris, yet it was not stifled. Here and there, at first in isolated spots, then in numerous places, it again broke through with increasing strength and forced its way up to the surface. Naturally it became impregnated with much of the foreign element that covered it, yet it transmitted to them so many of its characteristics that their development in the direction of a single Mediterranean spirit was accelerated.

In the East Roman empire, which survived, though in a diminished form, the storms of the migrations the Græco-Roman culture was not exposed to the same destructive influences as in the western countries of the Mediterranean. At least the Balkan peninsula, with its capital, Constantinople, was able for a considerable time to ward off the invasion of the Avars, Bulgarians and Arabs. But it fell a victim to a peculiar internal disintegration. While in the west the

**Hellenism
Decays to
Byzantinism**

crumbling civilisation had fertilised a fresh soil vigorous with life, the east remained externally quite unscathed; but internally, owing to the pressure of the Tartars and the Semites, it was confined to its own limits and broke up in isolation. The old Hellenism, deprived of air and light, had passed into Byzantinism. The change was characterised by a remarkable formulation of Christian doctrine, and by a perpetually growing

opposition to Rome and the Roman Church, especially after the schism and the rise of a despotic form of government which had not previously existed. This development showed a complete divergence from the Mediterranean spirit, and its history is recorded in that of the Byzantine empire. Of the new state-

Rise of the Franks building races in the west, the Franks most completely apprehended the task that awaited them, in so far as this consisted not only in destruction, but in reconstruction.

The history of the Franks under the Merovingians, a long chronicle of outrages and excesses, offers indeed no attractive picture, and yet amidst all that is repugnant great features exist. The good always survives. After the sovereignty over the united Franks had passed to the race of Pepin, the might of Islam in Europe broke against their strength. For the second time in the course of the great race-movement it was Gaul which shattered the onslaught of Asiatic conquerors; as formerly Attila had been compelled on the plains of Châlons to retreat, so now the Arabs met the same fate at the field of Poitiers in the year 732.

Charles Martel and his Franks saved Europe from a defection from the Mediterranean spirit. For there is no doubt that, notwithstanding the high degree of culture already attained by Islam and its monotheistic principle, the Oriental religion could in no way have agreed with the western countries, steeped in the Roman spirit, but must have necessarily hindered their natural development. Just as France had already shown herself a strong rampart against the Arabs, so she showed herself now against the last offshoots of the race-movement which pressed on from the east. The Avars had taken nearly the whole of what is now Austria and Hungary, and thence harassed Italy and France by predatory incursions. They

How the Franks Saved Europe found no opposition from the unwarlike Slavs of those parts, the Wends, Serbs, Czechs, for a great leader was wanting.

Then the Franks not only vigorously attacked them, but drove them back at the end of the eighth century behind the Theiss. There the Avars gradually lost themselves among the Slavs and Bulgarians.

With this ended the great race-movement, so far as it extended to the countries

of the Mediterranean. It is true that a century later a Ural tribe, the Magyars, immigrated into the eastern part of the former territory of the Huns and Avars. This people alone among all the earlier and later incomers of Tartaric stock willingly incorporated itself into the European group of nations by the adoption of Christian culture; in other respects they cannot be reckoned among the Mediterranean nations. Further, the devastating inroad of the Mongols in the thirteenth century forms only a passing incident without any effect. And, finally, in regard to the successful immigration of the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nothing can be said here; it falls outside the scope of this treatise.

Thus we may venture to assert that it was to a large extent the vigorous efforts of the Franks which brought the race-movement to a standstill. Under the rule of the first four descendants of Pepin, they directed, as a united people, the forces of the migrating nations, which had mostly shown themselves destructive, or merely temporarily constructive, towards

Charlemagne's Great Task of Restoration the creation of permanent institutions. The lion's share in this work fell to Charles the Great. Under him and through him the Frankish people became the forerunners of those nations in which the true Mediterranean spirit of morality and enlightenment was destined to reach the most perfect accomplishment. The bulk of Charlemagne's task of restoration fell in the Mediterranean countries. Italy offered him the means; there the dominion of the Lombards was approaching its end.

Before this, misunderstandings between the Lombard king, Aistulf, and Pope Stephen II. had caused the intervention of the Frankish king, Pepin. The father of Charles, siding with the Pope, had formerly presented to the chair of Peter the Exarchate of Ravenna, which had been taken from the Langobardia Lombards. When, therefore, during the reign of Charles, disputes broke out with renewed intensity between the Lombard king and the Pope, Charles made use of his right to interfere, dethroned Desiderius, and received the homage of the Lombards as king of Italy. Italy therefore received the Frankish form of government. Since the old spirit of Roman institutions was in accordance with these laws, written as they were in Latin, they quickly struck root

and helped to hasten the amalgamation of Lombard and Roman life, already begun. The Frankish spirit proved itself a powerful agent in the union of the nations. The Pope, confirmed by Charles in the possession of the gift of Pepin, saw in the Franks true sons and firm pillars of the Roman Church.

This mutual understanding promoted the revival of a great conception, which had been considered dead—that of the restoration of the Roman empire. Before his coronation as emperor at Rome, Charles had already devoted his efforts towards incorporating, if not all, at any rate the European, maritime countries of the Mediterranean into his realm, and towards organising the nations who inhabited them into a unity in the Frankish-Roman sense. He was most easily successful with the extension of his dominion over the coasts of the Mediterranean, partly by conquest (Spain), partly by treaties (Illyria). When Charles, who, on his accession, had possessed no part of these border-lands, except Aquitania, was crowned Roman emperor in the year

**Charlemagne
Becomes a
Roman Emperor**

800 by Pope Leo III., he was already lord of all the European shores of the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Ebro to Albania. And his plans extended still further towards the east. He was prevented from carrying them out by the tedious operations necessitated by the obstinate resistance of the Saxons, whose subjugation and conversion to Christianity he regarded as one of his chief duties. Nevertheless, the monarchy established by Charles formed an empire that comprised almost all of Western Europe from the North Sea and the Baltic, and can appropriately be called a Mediterranean empire.

Charles was less successful with the restoration of true unity; ecclesiastical unity was not sufficient to check the disintegrating force of national tendencies. As long as Charles lived, his mighty genius and his far-reaching personal influence kept the nations together under his sceptre, but soon after his death the empire was dissolved. The three larger kingdoms which grew out of the monarchy, France, Germany, and Italy, preserved for a considerable time the impression of the spirit with which Charles had stamped them. In particular, the newly awakened conception of empire was kept alive.

It sank deep into the minds of the nations and was for centuries one of the most powerful mainsprings of political activity. In estimating the part played by the Frankish monarchy, its most important service must be reckoned the restoration and strengthening, through intervention, of that intimate connection between the

**Franks Create
a New Field
for Culture**

nations on the Mediterranean which the migration had shattered. The ruins of the old civilisation were taken by the Franks and steeped in Germanic methods of thought and feeling. Thus a new field for culture was formed. And from it the Mediterranean spirit has been able to develop into a broader entity as the Western European spirit.

The other Germanic races that had been forced onward by the great movement of the nations, and from whom eventually the German people emerged, finally established themselves north of the Alps or continued their march further beyond the Baltic and the North Sea; this is not the place to discuss them.

The physical characteristics of that part of Middle Europe, which was occupied by the Teuton races who remained or became Germans, definitely determined their historical development in a different direction. These territories are separated from the Mediterranean by the boundary-wall of the Alps, and their great rivers, with one single exception, flow towards the North Sea and the Baltic, which are equally "Mediterranean" seas of sharply defined peculiarities in history, geography, and civilisation. The Germans linked themselves to the North European group.

Here they found the surroundings congenial; here they could establish a nucleus of power and develop on a national basis, while immediate contact with the Mediterranean was dangerous, as exemplified in the fate of the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards. On similar

**The
Peaceful
Slavs**

grounds the Slavs have no relations with the Mediterranean. This continental people, so conspicuously peaceful and agricultural, seemed diligently to avoid its shores. In one spot only, at the north-east corner of the Adriatic, members of the Slavonic family, the Chorvates, or Croates, have settled in a dense mass. These became, indeed, skilful seamen through mixture with the old Illyrians, but limited themselves to their own coasts; and as a

nation they were too few, and in their political development too independent, to exercise a predominant influence on the shaping of the life on the Mediterranean. Slavs, indeed, flooded Greece in great masses, but their nation was as little able to gain a firm footing there as the Germanic race in Spain and Italy. They

**The Slavs
Flood
Greece**

soon were blended with the natives into the modern Greek nation, in which the Hellenic spirit prevailed, and with it they became the prey of the ever-narrowing Byzantinism. Nevertheless, a Teutonic race once more asserted its vigorous strength in the Mediterranean, at a time when national life had already begun to assume the fixed outlines of that form which has been maintained essentially up to the present day.

The appearance of the Normans is the more noteworthy in that they followed a path as yet untrodden by the migrating nations; that is, they came by sea and from the north. The Teutonic population of Scandinavia had, in consequence of the barrenness of their home, at an early period turned their attention to piracy, and thus became the pest of the north. The spirit of adventure, ambition, and the consciousness of physical strength made the Northmen no longer content with piracy, but sent them out, always in ships, on lasting conquests. Charles the Great had already been forced to defend his kingdom against their attacks; and towards the middle of the ninth century they had established themselves firmly in England and Northern France. Here, Charles III., the Simple, was compelled in 911 formally to surrender all Normandy to them.

In the Mediterranean the Northmen, sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar, had as early as the second half of the ninth century appeared as bold pirates, plundering the coasts as far as Greece; but the bold defence of the Arabs and Spaniards

**Founders
of a Norman
Kingdom**

had hindered a permanent occupation then. Nevertheless, this enterprising race had by the sixth decade of the eleventh century succeeded in founding the Norman kingdom in Lower Italy and Sicily, which for a century and a half flourished exceedingly.

The founders of this kingdom had come from Normandy, where the Northmen had quickly become Christianised, had accepted French customs with the adaptability

characteristic of the Teutons, and had changed into the quite distinctive Norman nation. Civilisation could not take from them their love of liberty, their lust for adventure, and their eagerness for action; but since religion and custom forbade Christians to rob and murder, they sought a new field of activity.

This they found in the war against Islam. They gradually extended their campaigns so that they reached even the East and carried with them all the Christian nations of Europe. The movement of the Crusades, a tide of Western nations flowing back towards the East, did not originally start from the Normans, but is connected with the establishment of their supremacy in Lower Italy. This noteworthy people, in whom the pious enthusiasm and the calm determination of the North was united with the fiery fancy and emotional nature of the South, had on their reception of Christianity given it an enthusiastic and romantic direction. They yearned to visit the places where Christ had lived, taught, and suffered. When the news spread

**Romance
of the
Crusades**

through Europe, chiefly from the Normans, that in those places, which the Mohammedans held, native Christians and Western pilgrims were being oppressed, a mood gradually took possession of them which fanned the religious ardour, the ambition, and the rapacity of the Western nations and ultimately brought about the long war of the Christian west with the Mohammedan east. This war, the theatre of which was exclusively the basin of the Mediterranean, and by which the inhabitants of that region were once more thrown into complete confusion, culminated at first in the reconquest of the Holy Land by Christendom and in the spread of Christianity over the known world.

But in time the purely religious and moral motives fell into the background to make room for political schemes of aggrandisement. Both these impulses show the power of the reanimated Mediterranean spirit, which, kept in ceaseless movement like waves of the sea, now pressed on from west to east. The most zealous promoters of the Crusades were the Normans, not as a united people, but as a continuous series of wandering knights and adventurers. Since these bold freelances were accustomed to make a stay in Lower Italy on their voyages to

MEDITERRANEAN IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Palestine and back, in order to have a passing encounter with the Arabs, they found ample opportunity there to mix in the various quarrels of the counts and barons, the former Lombard feudal lords, and the Greeks, and to place at their disposal their swords, which readily leapt from their scabbards. In this way they won much for themselves. First the Arabs were driven out; in 1030 Apulia with its capital, Aversa, appears already as a Norman possession. Soon afterwards the sons of Tancred de Hautville succeeded in uniting the small Norman lordships in Italy. In 1071 Robert Guiscard was recognised by the papal chair as Duke of Apulia and Calabria, while at the same time his brother Roger ended the Arab rule in Sicily and conquered the whole island.

Twenty-five years later the eastward migration of the Crusades had begun. Struck by the mighty impact of the western armies, the Mohammedan house of Seljuk, which had entered on the inheritance of the Arab caliphs, seemed ready to fall to ruins, as once the Roman

empire under the shock of the barbarians. Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine were quickly conquered by the Crusaders, and western knights created eastern kingdoms for themselves. Godfrey de Bouillon of Lorraine became king of Jerusalem; the Norman Bohemund of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard, became prince of Antioch; the Provençal Raimond of Toulouse, prince of Tripoli. By the side of these secular principalities were organised the spiritual knightly orders, the Knights of St. John, the Templars, and the Teutonic order, independent bodies possessed of great wealth.

Yet Western civilisation found no favourable soil in the East because it adhered rigidly to its religious, romantic, and feudal character and was inclined to show little leniency towards the equally rigid racial and social forms of the East. It also found a malicious opponent in the Byzantinism of the Greek population, which opposed the "Latins" with outspoken hostility. Thus, in spite of the first dazzling success, the western system never took firm root, but was soon itself hard pressed after the Mohammedans had recovered from their first alarm and had found a vigorous ruler in the Sultan Saladin. It is remarkable that the very

same Normans, who in the East were the implacable foes of Islam, not only refrained from oppressing and persecuting their numerous Arabic subjects in their own kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, but treated them with actual consideration, being eager to effect an amalgamation of races. The Arabs of the east had at

**The Norman
Power
Succumbs**

that time been crushed by Seljuks, Turks, and Kurds, or driven back to their original home. The Arabs of Spain and Sicily, on the contrary, had reached a stage of civilisation higher than that attained by almost any part of Europe. And since the fanaticism of these Arabs was not nearly so keen as that of their eastern co-religionists, their union with the rest of the motley population of Sicily did not seem at all impossible. In fact, it did come about to a certain degree; and if it was not completely successful, the reason lies in the early dissolution of the Norman power, which, after extraordinary prosperity, succumbed in the war of 1194 against the world-monarchy personified in the German Imperial House of Hohenstaufen.

From that time the Normans, who were always weak in numbers, disappeared from the Mediterranean without leaving any trace beyond a glorious memory. Their conquerors, the Staufer, as lords of Lower Italy and Sicily, showed consideration to the Arabs and made friendly advances to them; but they also sank into obscurity, and the French and Spanish, who succeeded to their rule in Naples and Sicily, were bent only on driving out the Saracens by force or exterminating them.

Islam wreaked vengeance on Christianity for this loss by preparing a speedy end for the western power in Asia. After Saladin, in 1187, had retaken Jerusalem, all attempts of the Christians to recover it proved fruitless. At the close of the

**Vengeance of
Islam on
Christianity**

twelfth century the Western powers had to abandon Asia. On the other hand, in the beginning of the thirteenth century a new attempt was made by them to expand in the east, this time at the expense of the Byzantine empire. Under the pretext of a Crusade, an expedition of Christian knights, whose moving spirit was the Doge of Venice, started straight for Constantinople by sea, captured it, placed a new emperor on the throne,

merely to dethrone him at once, and finally availed themselves of the weakness of the Greeks to divide their territory among themselves. Count Baldwin of Flanders placed himself, in 1204, on the throne of Constantinople as "Latin emperor." Under him, just as had been the case a century before in Syria and

**Western Knights
Rule in
Constantinople**

Palestine, there arose a series of vassal states under western knights—Boniface of Montserrat in the kingdom of Thessalonica, William of Champlitte in the principality of Achaia, Otto Delaroché in the duchy of Athens. The coasts were seized by the republic of Venice; Cyprus had been ruled since 1193 as a kingdom by the family of Lusignan when driven out from Jerusalem. In short, the Byzantine rule saw itself restricted in Europe to Epirus, and elsewhere to the north of Asia Minor.

But even then the West was not successful in creating permanent political fabrics; sharp dissensions between Latins and Greeks, internal and ecclesiastical disputes, pressure from the Bulgarians on the north and from some vigorous Comneni, caused the downfall, first of the kingdom of Thessalonica, then of the Latin empire. In 1261 the Byzantine empire was restored. The dukedoms of Achaia and Athens lasted, it is true, somewhat longer, since the first placed itself under the protection of the Neapolitan house of Anjou, the latter under that of the Sicilian royal house of Aragon, and was ruled by a band of Spanish freebooters, the Catalonian company; yet they only led a confused, shadowy existence until they became the spoil of the Turks. The possessions of Venice and those of Genoa, which were also acquired during the Crusades, were kept the longest and were the most powerful. These commercial republics were free from national, religious, and feudal arrogance and from the insolence of the

**Decay of
Venice
and Genoa**

other Western conquerors, and knew how to maintain friendly relations with their Byzantine and eastern subjects. But after the Turks had finally shattered the Byzantine empire, and had shifted the centre of gravity of their power to Europe, Venice and Genoa, too, were obliged to quit the field.

The movement of nations occasioned by the Crusades, which is distinguished from the great migration of the peoples

only by the fact that it did not involve the total abandonment of home, but the removal only of a portion of the population capable of bearing arms, produced no lasting change in the political conditions of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean. The grouping of great nations, which was already assuming a permanent form, was not seriously disturbed by it.

Yet a wide-reaching importance attaches to it in many respects. It forms the conclusion, the last outburst, of those impelling forces which, springing partly from natural, partly from spiritual necessity, drove the masses one against the other, mingled them together, and out of the mixture caused new forms to be created. From this point the inner life of the nations of the Mediterranean comes more and more into a position of equilibrium and rest. The impulse towards expansion is quenched and gives place to one towards the internal improvement of all that concerns the nation, the state, and civilisation. After the struggle, lasting 200 years, between the two conflicting religions, Christianity and Islam, had ended in the

**West and
East Know
Each Other**

exhaustion of both, a silent understanding was arrived at. The subsequent advance of the Turks into Europe presents another aspect; in this, religious reasons no longer play the chief part, and the invasion of the Turks ethnically exercised but little influence. The West and the East had learnt to know each other. Not only had the long sword of the knight crossed with the scimitar of the Saracen, not only had the Gospel matched itself against the Koran, but western and eastern life had come into contact. Thereafter many intellectual threads were spun backwards and forwards between the two, marking new paths of trade and commerce over the sea. A certain reciprocal appreciation of each other's strength, character, mental abilities, and nature began to assert itself—an appreciation of what each might learn, borrow, or buy from the other.

To this gradually dawning knowledge was joined the conviction that the forcible incorporation of the enemy's territory would be difficult, and, even if possible, would perhaps not conduce to the welfare of either. The long-continued hostility between the two halves of the Mediterranean had caused the building of large fleets upon it and had changed insignifi-

cant coast towns, such as Pisa, Genoa, Venice, into maritime powers; fleet and merchant navy both required occupation. After the great war had ended, only maritime trade and petty warfare were profitable. In fact, maritime trade on the Mediterranean, which had greatly diminished, owing to the migration of the nations, flourished so splendidly during and after the time of the Crusades that all previous results were eclipsed.

This prosperity was accompanied by a rapid growth of national wealth, the exchange of the productions peculiar to the different regions, a refinement in manners, an awakening of the desire for travel and of ardour for research, and a universal enlargement of knowledge. Familiarity with the East and its civilisation, which had almost been lost by the inhabitants of the Western Mediterranean, awoke a multitude of new thoughts which fructified and advanced the development of state, politics, society, and science. This mental

**Universal
Enlargement of
Knowledge**

change was greatly accelerated by the fact that the West in its new system was, in many ways, permeated with survivals of old Mediterranean ideas. On the other side a similar dispersion of Western elements was produced in the East through these causes. Partly as remnants of the Latin state system, partly as colonists and traders, Burgundians, Provençals, Spaniards, Southern Italians, Lombards, Genoese, Venetians, and Illyrians had spread in great numbers over the coasts of Syria, the Ægean and the Black Sea.

These outposts of the West were, of course, too weak to exert an ethnical influence on the life of the Eastern nations, yet were strong enough, in union with the native Græco-Slavs and the Turko-Tartars, who were streaming in from the Far East, to prevent the formation of marked nationalities. Thus they have contributed towards giving to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean the character which attaches to it at the present day—that of a mechanical medley of race fragments, showing no trace of chemical affinity, and therefore incapable of any of those

bonds which have made united nations out of the conglomerate populations of the West. It is the permanently incongruous character of the motley mosaic of races in the Eastern Mediterranean basin which created an Eastern Question in the remote past, an ethnographical problem unsolved even at the present day. The universal interests of mankind, formerly

**A Motley
Mosaic
of Races**

put into the background, partly by the deafening din of arms and partly by a scholasticism which fettered the intellect, came gradually back to men's minds, occupied their thoughts, and found zealous supporters. That theory of life which had been born when the exploits of Alexander the Great widened the horizon of man, which had assumed a more lasting form under the Roman empire and, socially purified, had been established by triumphant Christianity upon the moral worth of man as a basis, once more arose.

Henceforth the Renaissance, embodying this conception, selects and brings together the best qualities of all previous manifestations in an intellectual new birth. Through this movement the Mediterranean spirit, whose sources had been many, and whose growth had been slow, becoming conscious of itself, was destined to attain unity. The peculiar nature of the Mediterranean spirit finds its purest expression in the Renaissance, which comprises in itself material, moral, and intellectual welfare, the beautiful and the useful, the rights of the State and the citizen, and the free unfolding of the individual. Rejoicing in the power of creation, it passed directly into the wider conception of European civilisation. This accounts for the superiority of European civilisation over the other civilisations of the world and for the triumphant manner in which, radiating from the Mediterranean, it has spread over the world. Its progress continues in our own day, and in perfect adaptation to time and place it has grown more ennobling, more enriching, more intense.

**Why European
Civilisation
is Supreme**

EDWARD, COUNT WILCZEK
HANS F. HELMOLT





The snow-clad Rila Dagh mountain and the wild Devil's Valley, in the Balkans.



In the Dinaric Alps, the western range of the Peninsula, on the borders of Herzegovina.



A forest-clad mountain slope in the Balkans, the eastern range of the Balkan Peninsula.

MOUNTAINS WHICH SEAM THE BALKAN PENINSULA



THE EARLY PEOPLES OF SOUTH AND WEST EUROPE

PEOPLES OF THE MAIN BALKAN PENINSULA

By Dr. K. G. Brandis

SEAMED by high mountains which run in various directions and enclose sharply isolated valleys, the mass of the south-easternmost peninsula of Europe resembles in its physical characteristics the peninsula of Greece, which joins it to the south, but differs from it in being far less accessible by sea. The east coast is but little indented and is deficient in good harbours. The west coast is more irregular in outline and possesses numerous islands and harbours; lofty and precipitous mountains, however, run down to the shore and prevent brisk trade with the interior.

Only to the north, where the peninsula joins the continent, is it without any distinct boundary, and on that side the country is wholly exposed to foreign invasion. The vast area may be divided orographically into two regions—the western part, shut in by the Dinaric Mountains, which stretch from north to south, and the eastern part, which abounds in mountain ranges, running almost at right angles with the Dinaric chain. The ethnographic divisions correspond in general to the orographic; the Illyrians dwelt on the west, the Thracians on the east, and at a later period the Macedonians thrust in their way between the two to the south. Bordering on Epirus to the south,

Mountains of the Balkans

and having intercourse with the Hellenes, the Illyrians were, on the north, neighbours of the Kelts, with whom they came into contact in what is now Croatia. But exact boundaries can be as little specified on the north as on the side of the Thracians on the east; the frontiers were often uncertain and in the course of time were frequently altered. Prevented from extending north-

ward by the Kelts, who, since an early period, pressed down on them, and hemmed in by mountains on the east, the Illyrians continuously encroached upon the Hellenes on the south, and some bands of them even advanced into Greece;

Migrations of the Illyrians

but the great mass of wanderers, who left their old home on account of over-population and the consequent deficiency in food, or the pressure of neighbouring nations, or the desire for conquest, crossed the Adriatic and settled on the opposite Italian coast. Even in ancient times the Daunians, the Sallentinians, the Pelignians, Iapygians, Messapians, and other tribes of Italy, were held to be Illyrians; and the correctness of this assumption has recently been confirmed by the close relationship of the present Albanian—a dialect spoken practically in the same district as that once occupied by the Illyrians, and considered to be the latest variety of one of the old Illyrian dialects—with the Messapian, preserved on inscriptions in Lower Italy.

Split up into many tribes, which preserved their peculiar habits and customs, separated as they were from each other by mountain ranges, and untouched by any foreign civilisation, the Illyrians never attained national unity, though renowned for their bravery and notorious for their rudeness and love of plunder. At the head of the tribes were the princes, who sought to extend their dominions at the expense of each other as well as by the invasion of foreign territory. West of the lake of Lychnitis some importance was attained by the monarchy of Bardylis and his son Clitus, who invaded Macedonia

and held in subjection part of that country until driven back by Philip and afterwards by Alexander. At a later period the kingdom of the Ardiæi existed on the lower course of the Naro. This nation, governed by such princes as Pleuratus and Agron, ruled the sea with their pirate fleet and menaced the Greek colonies on the fertile islands which fringe the coast as well as Greek towns on the mainland. All the Greeks on the Adriatic, with the exception of those of Issa, lost their independence. Issa invoked the help of Rome; and in the year 230 B.C. Rome first interfered in Illyrian affairs by liberating the Greek towns. Rome was forced to wage war repeatedly in Illyria before that country could be made a province. Then, for the first time, it became more accessible; roads were built and the beginning of progress made, while the Roman legions maintained peace and paved the way for trade and commerce.

We do not know when the Thracians entered the land which bears their name. From the few words which have been preserved—no records in the Thracian language exist—and from the proper names which have come down to us in large numbers, but above all from their geographic position among the Aryan nations—Greeks, Slavs, and Scythians—it has long been held that the Thracians also were Aryans and formed as distinct a branch of that great family as their southern neighbours, or as the Kelts, with whom they afterwards came into contact on the Danube. Thracian tribes spread beyond the Balkan peninsula itself and settled, the Getæ in Transylvania, the Dacians in what is now Roumania. And though in more recent, and particularly in Roman, times the term "Thrace" was applied to the country south of the Hæmus, between the Rhodope Mountains and the Black Sea, in antiquity this was not the case: then Thrace comprised all countries where Thracians dwelt, the vast regions extending from the slopes of the Carpathians to the Ægean and from the Black Sea westward to the frontiers of Illyria. Probably no one at present doubts that the Thracians originally came

from the north. But after the first occupation of the land to which they gave their name many important changes occurred; tribes long settled changed character with the arrival of new settlers or wandered from the old homes to new abodes. The Trojans and Phrygians, both Thracian tribes, left Europe, to find a new home in Asia; this event is said to have happened about 3000 B.C.—that is, in prehistoric times. Then came the migration into Asia of the Mysians, who set out thither from the valley of the Danube. Some of them were still settled there even in Roman days under the name of Mœsians. The last great migration from the Balkan peninsula over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, that of the Thynians and Bithynians, occurred after the close of prehistoric times. Of them, however, a part remained behind in Europe, as in the case of the Mysians. The chief cause of all the migrations was the inability of the tribes to resist the pressure of powerful nations behind them.

We do not know how often entire tribes, or at least considerable fractions of them, were thus annihilated or crushed; we may see only here and there the results of a long and important movement, without being able to follow more closely its origin and its course. Thus, we know that the Cimmerians of the South Russian steppe in the east were pushed westward by the advance of the Scythians, were driven against the Thracians, and, finally flying before the nomads, left their native land; that they then proceeded through the Balkan peninsula over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor and there produced great revolutions. Some Thracian tribes, which had shared their campaigns in Asia Minor, were with them. Precisely the same thing happened to the Thracians in the south-west, where the Pierians, Bottiæans, and Edonians held all the territory up to Olympus and the Thessalian frontier, where the Macedonians repelled every forward movement. Obviously the departure of the Thracians from those parts must have produced important revolutions or migrations among the kindred tribes.



HERMES
Worshipped by the
Thracian kings.

**The Thracians
Driven
From Thrace**

EARLY PEOPLES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

The superstitions of the Thracians, their forms of divine worship, and their religious conceptions were the object of zealous study among the Greeks ; but many observances are found among them which had been borrowed from their southern neighbours and developed. According to Herodotus, the Thracians worshipped Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis ; but their kings worshipped Hermes, whom they claimed as progenitor, a cult peculiar to them. The whole list of their gods is not, indeed, exhausted by these names ; they certainly worshipped one other celestial being, who seems to have been called by some tribes Gebeleizis, by others Sbelthiurdus. In times of tempest they would entreat him, by discharging arrows in the air, to silence the thunder and keep back the lightning.

It is not surprising to find Ares, the god of war and of the din of arms, worshipped by so warlike a people. Thrace was for this reason called Areia, the land of Ares ; from Thrace, according to Homer, he rushed forth to battle with his foes, and to Thrace he returned. But we know nothing of the manner in which he was worshipped.

On the other hand, the cult of Dionysus is tolerably well known. Supposing that Semele, who is universally considered to be his mother, is really the Thracio-Phrygian earth-goddess, then Dionysus may be accounted the son of the Earth and of the god of Heaven, a conclusion to which the first element in his name points. He brings blessings and fertility. Not merely the vine, but all the fruits of the fields and

gardens are under his protection ; when the plants that cover the earth pass away lamentations are raised to him ; when they awake once more he is greeted with shouts of joy. Utter licentiousness and the wildest abandon characterised the celebration of the resurrection of Dionysus. Men and women, the latter clad in flowing

many-coloured garments, joined in the rout. Garlanded with ivy and bearing the thyrsus, with flutes, cymbals, drums, and pipes, they rushed madly through the fields in search of the god, and the orgy was continued till his approach was announced by the ululation of men imitating the howling of beasts ; the wildest enthusiasm was indulged in by all who took part when once the god was again among them. All this was reckoned, even in antiquity, as a distinctive feature of the festival of the Thracian Dionysus. In Greece any trace of such orgiastic festivals may be assigned to Thracian influences. Another aspect of the nature of Dionysus deserves to be noticed. He was a god of prophecy. North of Pangæum, in the wild Rhodian range, was found his oracle, over which the priestly race of the Bessi presided. A woman, inspired by the god, uttered in his name dark sayings, hardly more intelligible than those of her colleague at Delphi.

This oracle of Dionysus maintained its importance for many centuries.

Orgiastic festivals with processions were held in honour of the goddess Bendis, who was identified with the Greek Artemis. The offerings brought her by the women



ARES, THE THRACIAN GOD OF WAR. Ares, known to the Romans as Mars, was the war god of the Thracians, and Thrace was, for this reason, called Areia. From a Paros sculpture, now at Munich.

were wrapped in wheat-stalks; the men organised a torchlight ride, and the whole festival was ended by a night of unrestrained revelry. Human beings were also sacrificed. Every four years a festival was held in honour of Salmoxis, at which a man, previously selected by lot to go to Salmoxis as ambassador and messenger, was seized by his hands and feet and thrown on the points of spears. If the chosen victim did not die therefrom, he was a wicked man, unworthy of the commission entrusted to him, and another was taken in his place. The favourite wife was often sacrificed on the new-made grave of her deceased husband and immediately buried by his side. Herodotus, it is true, relates this only of one

times alone, frequently in combination with various beasts of the chase, at which the horseman hurls his lance; often an altar was raised to him. The surviving members of the family did this in order that the spirit of the departed might be gracious and favourable to them. Herodotus was able to say of the Thracian tribe of the Getæ that, according to their religious conception, life did not end with death, but that after death a better and more happy life was to be expected; according to ordinary tradition, the sage Salmoxis had taught them this belief in immortality. Peculiar to them is the exalted station the wise man or priest occupied by the side of the king; as interpreter of the divine commands, and as mediator between gods



GREEK STATUE OF DIONYSUS



THE WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS AS ILLUSTRATED IN GREEK SCULPTURE

Spring, the time of the resurrection of Dionysus, the Thracian god of the fruits of the fields, was greeted by the Thracians with joy, and his festival celebrated with the wildest abandon and enthusiasm. From a Vatican relief.

Thracian tribe. But the sacrifice of widows was certainly a universal Thracian custom which found parallels among other Aryan nations in primitive times, and has only very recently been suppressed in India. At the time when Herodotus wrote this custom had begun to die out in Thrace. In more recent times no human victims were offered to the dead, but all kinds of objects were consecrated to the departed as a hero or a demigod. Small marble slabs were dedicated to him, which showed in relief the figure of a rider with fluttering cloak, some-



DIONYSUS ENTHRONED
From a wall-painting at Pompeii

and mortals he was the monarch's guide and counsellor. The Trausi, another Thracian tribe, lamented at the birth of a male child, as they reflected on the afflictions and sufferings awaiting him in life; but they buried the deceased with great rejoicing as one who had done with sorrow and had entered into everlasting happiness. It is not therefore astonishing that the piety of the Thracians was often praised in antiquity. In some cases also asceticism is noticeable among them: there were people who, in order to obtain a reputation for sanctity,

EARLY PEOPLES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

refrained from all flesh food and remained unmarried. We can doubtless see in the efforts of these few holy men a reaction against the prevailing habits of life; for in many other instances handed down to us the Thracians appear in a brutal light, indulging in polygamy, addicted to drink, and rough in their habits. Wives were bought for money from their parents and were strictly watched by their husbands, whereas maidens enjoyed great freedom of movement, and could form liaisons at pleasure. The sale of children also was prevalent. The Thracians were divided into numerous tribes, at the head of which stood princes. The inaccessibility of their mountains favoured their efforts to maintain independence. These mountain tribes lived mostly by hunting and cattle-breeding; brigandage and marauding were regarded as the most honourable pursuits. The state of affairs was different in the river-valleys, especially in the broad and fertile valley of the Hebrus. Here there was a higher civilisation: agriculture was carried on; wheat and millet were cultivated as well as hemp, from which cloth was made; barley, from which beer was extracted, and even vines. Here the inhabitants dwelt in fortified villages, and there were farms surrounded by palisades, since the owners always had to be prepared for the raids of the marauding mountain tribes. In the valley of the Hebrus, which was inhabited by various tribes, a kingdom was first constituted by the Ordysæ, who united several tribes under one rule. But before this could happen Thrace had to shake off the yoke of the Persians. When Darius marched through this land on his expedition against the Scythians in 513 B.C. its inhabitants either submitted to him or were forced, like the Getæ between the Hæmus and the Danube, to join his army. After the disaster to the

king, Megabazus remained behind in Thrace with 80,000 men in order completely to subdue the country. As a result, the districts on the Ægean coast and the valley of the Hebrus came under the Persian rule. They were made subject to tribute and were required to provide auxiliaries, while Persian garrisons were placed in the most important towns, such as Doriscus, Sestus, Byzantium, etc. The Persian supremacy in Thrace lasted up to the time of the Persian wars, when, after the battles of Plataea and Mycale, the Greeks succeeded in bringing the straits of the Bosphorus once more into their power and driving the Persians completely out of Europe. In the following years Persian garrisons fell in rapid succession, last of all that of Doriscus, which was defended by the brave Mascames. Thus, the Persians were driven out of Thrace by the Greeks, chiefly owing to the Athenians. But far from welcoming their liberators gladly, the Thracians, on the contrary, offered a desperate resistance to the Athenians. They not only aided the Persian garrisons of Eion and Doriscus, but actually defeated the Athenians on several occasions when these, being now in possession of Eion, endeavoured to occupy and colonise

Enneahodoi. This name, which means "nine ways," was given to a place on the Strymon in a most fertile region and at the intersection of the roads from the north to the Ægean Sea, and from Macedonia to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; it was not until 436 B.C. that Amphipolis could be founded here. But Eion belonged to the Athenians, and after the revolt of Thasus his possessions on the mainland fell into their hands in 463 B.C. Thus, the Athenians firmly established themselves on the Thracian coast. The Thracian Chersonese had long been in their possession; and through the creation of the Attic maritime

**Persia
Driven from
Thrace**



DIONYSUS

Mansell

The son of the Earth and the god of Heaven who brought blessings and fertility to the Thracians.

**Thrace
Ruled by
Persia**

shake off the yoke of the Persians. When Darius marched through this land on his expedition against the Scythians in 513 B.C. its inhabitants either submitted to him or were forced, like the Getæ between the Hæmus and the Danube, to join his army. After the disaster to the

league—to which Abdera, Aenus, and Maronea of the Greek colonies situated in these parts, and Byzantium, Perinthus, and others of the Hellespontine towns belonged—they completely ruled the whole Thracian coast. The Chalcidian peninsula, which adjoins on the west, was also subjected to Athenian influence.

Odrysæan Kingdom Founded Almost contemporaneously with the establishment of the Athenian power on the coast, the Odrysæ, in the valley of the Hebrus, succeeded in subduing the other native tribes and in founding a kingdom. Though Teres was not the founder of the Odrysæan kingdom, he was regarded as the one who did most to enhance its power and to extend its sway over the regions of Thrace. The whole territory between Rhodope, Mount Hæmus, the Black Sea, and the Hellespont was ruled over by the Odrysæan kings. Even beyond Mount Hæmus, the Getæ, who inhabited the coast between the mountain and the Danube, were subject to them, as were the Agriani, who dwelt in the mountains along the upper course of the Strymon; even a few Pæonian tribes recognised their supremacy. Sitalces, the son of Teres, reigned over the Odrysæan realm within these boundaries.

The monarchy was absolute. We are not told that the people were ever consulted or that any voice in the decision of public affairs was conceded them, or that the king in general was bound by laws or a constitution. In the event of war he summoned all men capable of bearing arms: at the end of the war they were dismissed. There was not the slightest trace of a standing army with its strict military organisation and efficient training. Next to the king there were dynasts, or local chiefs, whose power was naturally weaker when the king was strong, and stronger when the king was weak. The taxes which accrued to the king from the country itself and from some

Absolute Odrysæan Monarchy Hellenic colonies on the sea coasts amounted, according to Thucydides, at their highest total to 400 talents of silver annually; but in addition to these he received presents of gold and silver, embroidered and plain stuffs and many other things, the value of which is said to have equalled the amount of the taxes. The Thracians thought it more blessed to receive than to give, and it was difficult for any one to

accomplish his object without distributing lavish presents. The more influential a man was, the more he favoured this custom; the king, naturally, obtained the most, and his wealth increased with his power. Obviously this was a great cause of official uncertainty, and under such circumstances there was no thought of an organised administration.

Nobles are mentioned among the Odrysæ. The court and immediate circle round the king were composed of them or they resided on their estates, ready to go to war as cavalry when necessary; and what Herodotus said of Thracians in general holds good of them—namely, that agriculture was regarded by them as dishonourable and disgraceful, and that only the life of the soldier and robber pleased them. By the side of these nobles there must naturally have been “commons,” for how else could the cultivation of the fields and gardens, for which the territory of the Odrysæ was famous, have been carried on? These commons, or peasants, composed the infantry in time of war. Sitalces, the son and successor of Teres,

The Robber Nobles of the Odrysæ had the command of a very considerable force; 150,000 men are spoken of. As an ally of Athens he interfered in the affairs of Macedonia and Chalcidice; we shall see later on why this expedition proved fruitless to him. A few years later, in 424 B.C., Sitalces fell in a campaign against the Triballi on the Danube. This shows that he was eager to extend his power over the Thracian tribes. But soon afterwards the Odrysæan kingdom broke up for lack of a firm basis. The various tribes that composed the kingdom submitted, indeed, to the iron hand of one who knew how to keep them together, but they always struggled for independence whenever that strict rule was relaxed.

Under Seuthes and Medocus, the successors of Sitalces, the power of the local chiefs was strengthened, and they became more and more independent of the superior king. In 383 B.C., one of these, Cotys, succeeded in overthrowing the hereditary dynasty and making himself sole monarch. Though he was sensual and fond of pleasure, he was capable and vigorous. He made it his object to conquer the Thracian Chersonese. When the Athenians recovered from the disastrous termination of the Peloponnesian war, and proceeded to reconquer the towns on the

EARLY PEOPLES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

Thracian Chersonese which had been lost to them, they came into collision with Cotys. In this war, which, with the exception of a successful campaign carried on by the capable Timotheus in 364 B.C., was conducted by Athens with inefficient commanders and slight resources, victory rested with the Thracian king. He conquered Sestus and other places, and about the year 360 B.C. Athens possessed only the two small places Crithotæ and Elæus.

After the death of Cotys, in 359 B.C., his kingdom was divided. His son Cersebleptes held the territory east of the Hebrus, while Amadocus ruled over the territory between the Hebrus and Nestus, and Berisades, from Nestus to the Strymon. Simultaneously Philip came to the throne in the neighbouring state to the west, Macedonia, and was destined soon to interfere in the affairs of Thrace.

The land lying between the courses of the Axios and Haliacmon, which afterwards belonged to Macedonia, was, so far as the materials at our disposal allow us to trace its history backwards, at one time occupied by Thracian tribes. While a rich,

The Rose Gardens of Midas

fertile plain, encircled by mountains, lay between the lower courses of the Axios and the Haliacmon toward the sea, the upper stretches of these rivers enclosed a wild and partly inaccessible mountain district, which, inhabited by various nationalities, long preserved its independence. At a remote but fairly definite period there dwelt round Mount Bermius those Phrygian tribes which later crossed over to Asia Minor and subjugated and cultivated the land named after them. But the celebrated rose-gardens round Bermius, which were called in antiquity the gardens of Midas, on account of their luxuriance and the fragrant scent of their roses, preserved the remembrance of the Phrygians once settled there, whose kings were called alternately Midas and Gordius.

A remnant of these oldest inhabitants must, however, have remained there, for when Mardonius in the year 492 B.C. undertook at the orders of Darius an expedition against Greece, his army was attacked in Macedonia by the Brygians—that is, the Thracian Phrygians—and suffered severe losses. Still, as the main body of the Phrygians had left these regions, other Thracian tribes occupied them. Without being able to assign fixed limits, we may say that the Cordæans dwelt afterwards

on the Bermius range, the Pierians on the Haliacmon and southward to Olympus, the Edonians in Mygdonia east of Axios, and the Bottiæans to the west. It is an historical fact that even these nations did not remain in the same regions, but were all pushed further westward by the Macedonians, who pressed on victoriously and

The Coming of the Macedonians

gave to the whole country between Olympus and the Strymon their own name, Macedonia. It is not known when the Macedonians first appeared. They are considered rightly to be a people closely related to the Hellenes. When the Greeks migrated into Hellas the Macedonians remained behind somewhere in the Epirot Mountains, and then, driven out, doubtless, by the southward pressure of the Illyrian tribes, crossed the Pindus range and sought settlements on its eastern side.

The ancients were well aware that the Macedonians had migrated into the land afterwards called Macedonia. The ancient legend connected the royal race of the Macedonians, the Argeadæ, with the Temenidæ in Argos. Three brothers of this race—Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas—fled from their home to Illyria, and thence came to Upper Macedonia; there they entered into the service of the king at first as common labourers. Dismissed and pursued by their master, they were saved from his horsemen by a swollen river. Subsequently they settled in a district of Lower Macedonia, and finally subdued the rest of Macedonia. This myth may serve to illustrate the connection of the Macedonians with the Hellenes, and to throw light on the bitterness of the struggle for the conquest of the land; but it does not solve the mystery which wraps the earliest history of the people.

The youngest of the three brothers, Perdiccas, is celebrated as the first king of the Macedonians. This princely race, which resided in Ægæe, succeeded not only

First King of the Macedonians

in founding a dominion in Lower Macedonia, but also in making their supremacy recognised among the neighbouring tribes of Upper Macedonia. Macedonian history is full of struggles of the central power against the suzerain border-chiefs, especially of the mountain districts of Lyncestis and Elimiotis, who were often rebellious until the strong arm of Philip reduced them to order.

K. G. BRANDIS



Salamis, one of the magnificent harbours which led the early peoples to take to the sea.



The mountainous country of Thessaly ; a monastery on a mountain top.



A harbour-town on the ancient Gulf of Pagasæus, one of the finest Grecian harbours.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF GREECE WHICH MODIFIED ITS HISTORY



THE ANCIENT PEOPLES OF GREECE

By Professor Rudolph von Scala

THE lower the stage of civilisation, the closer is the dependence of the human race upon the soil. The intelligence that masters the earth does not make its appearance until late, and even then it scarcely ever succeeds in severing all the ties by which man is joined to the earth from which he has sprung. The geological conformation of Greece, with its mountainous regions and its lack of plains, of easy land-routes, and of navigable rivers, led of itself to the separation of races into isolated groups and to their dependence upon the sea as the most favourable means of intercourse. The magnificent harbours formed by the Gulfs of Ambracia, Corinth, Argolis, Saronicus, and Pagasæus must at an early time have led men to take to the sea, a course in which they were greatly aided by the landmarks that are almost always visible to the mariner: Mount Athos, above

**Early
Mariners of
Greece**

6,000 feet in height, which may be seen from nearly every point in the Northern Ægean; the mountains of Eubœa, visible from most points in the Central Archipelago, and, highest of all, Mount Ida, in Crete, which serves as a guide for almost the entire Southern Ægean.

The climate of Greece is tempered by the sea to a far greater extent than one might suppose, considering the size of the peninsula. To be sure, there are important variations; for example, Messenia with its magnificent climate presents the most striking contrast to the mountainous regions of West Arcadia. In Athens, the point where the greatest differences in temperature are to be found, the mean temperature is 43° in January, and 82° in July. The influence which the climate, together with the beauty and brilliancy of the blue summer sky and the clear outlines of physical objects, had upon the development of the Greek love for beauty of form, and the effect of the mildness of temperature, and the rareness of tempests, upon architecture

and the development of household surroundings, have long been recognised. Thus the influence of geographical configuration on the history of Greece may be clearly seen; the development of the Greek races took the most varied forms, and through their very dissimilarities and varying interests the different tribes must in turn have had great influence on the intellectual activity of the people as a whole. All the defects and all the merits peculiar to individualism—or rather to the extreme self-concentration of small groups—are united in Greece; and from the combination of these defects and excellences arise great talents in individual men—and isolation in states.

**Geography
in the History
of Greece**

The Balkan peninsula and the islands of the Ægean were the scene of the beginnings of European history. There, for the first time in the continent of Europe, inscribed stones spoke an intelligible language; and there, too, from the unscripted remains of ruined palaces, citadels, and sepulchres, modern investigation obtains testimony of centuries that passed away long before writing was invented. Fragments of pottery proclaim the connection of primeval settlements with definite spheres of civilisation; indeed, they even afford the possibility of arranging these spheres of civilisation chronologically; and comparative philology throws light upon the significance of obscure names of places, often proving them to be the last remains of races about whom tradition is silent, or at most indistinct.

**Where the
History of
Europe Begins**

Archæology and comparative philology do not, however, supplement each other perfectly. We are not able to confirm with absolute certainty the hypotheses advanced by archæology regarding the connection of ancient remains with any one of the strata of populations to which they are referred by philological investigation. Probability that has almost become certainty upholds us in

calling the possessors of that early civilisation which we call Mycenæan, Greeks; and, again, it is probable that of the Greeks the Achæans, or the early Dorians, built and perfected the fortresses of Mycenæ and Tiryns. English excavations at Melos

**Greece
Before the
Greeks**

have revealed a Mycenæan, and thus the Greek population of the continent is connected with the old pre-Grecian settlements and sanctuaries. The oldest population of the north-eastern part of the Balkan peninsula, the Phrygio-Thracian races, concerning whom important information has recently been obtained through the discovery of a grave-mound near Salonica, was hard pressed by the Greek peoples 4000-3000 B.C., and furnished many emigrants to Asia Minor, who repeatedly settled the hills of Hissarlik. Small excavations, each encompassed by four simple stone slabs, mark



MELOS: A SEAT OF ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE

their final resting-places. Implements of stone, such as axes, saws, and arrow-points, with chisels, awls, and needles of copper, later made of an alloy of copper and tin, were already in use. Beak-shaped vessels for pouring, and jugs with shapeless bodies, formed the household utensils of this Trojan civilisation, which spread far out over the islands, even to Amorgos. Strangest of all are the vessels displaying features of the human body, clumsily and fantastically imitated indeed, but showing that the first groping attempt at art of this people was to represent man. Coloured ornamentation was already employed in the form of awkward figures and lines drawn upon earthenware.

The wealth of Oriental art was inaccessible to the Trojans; they stood in connection with the West, where as far as Bosnia traces of related human aggregates may be followed out. There was

no intervening people to connect them with the civilisations of the East, already highly developed; only through the medium of the primitive inhabitants of the Troad were the lines of traffic drawn as far as Cyprus.

The oldest population of the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, as well as of a great number of the islands of the Ægean Sea, did not belong to the Aryan branch of the human race, but to a people of Asia Minor, which in time became divided into Carians, Lycians, Pisidians, and Western Cilicians. Not later than 3000 B.C. these tribes spread from Asia Minor over the Archipelago, where they established themselves in Cos, Crete, Paros, Patmos, Leros, Icaros, Delos, and Eubœa. Traces of their presence on the mainland have been left in the names Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis. The supposition that there was any connection between the migrations of

the Phrygio-Thracians to Asia and of the tribes of Asia Minor to Europe becomes untenable if we remember that the Phrygio-Thracian migration to Asia Minor must have occurred earlier than the settlement of Greece by the Greeks, and that the latter must have taken place at an earlier period than that of the emigration of the tribes from Asia Minor to Europe. The worship of earth-spirits who dwelt in chambered caves was peculiar to the Asiatic tribes, as

is shown by the cult connected with the cave of Psychro in Crete; the name of the Carian god Labrandus has been preserved in "Labyrinthus." Thus, probably, the worship of other cave-gods rests upon the old cults of the inhabitants coming originally from Asia Minor; that of Palæmon on the Isthmus, of Hyacinthus in Amyclæ, and perhaps those of Python in Delphi and of Æsculapius in Epidaurus. Aside from what we have learned of the

from other discoveries—for example, the sacrificial altar of Zeus Dictæus—these earliest inhabitants were already possessed of an alphabetical writing in Crete at the time of the Mycenæan civilisation. This alphabet spread to other islands, but only a few letters, used as ornaments or as marks of ownership, penetrated to the Greeks of the mainland. Even earlier, between 2000 and 3000 B.C., a system of

**Ancient
Cretan
Alphabet**

picture writing resembling that of the Hittites was in use in the eastern part of Crete.

The Cretan civilisation of the races that came originally from Asia Minor was stimulated by a vigorous traffic carried on with the Grecian mainland and by constant contact with the products of Mycenæan art, and attained its highest phase of development at a period contemporary with the twelfth Egyptian dynasty. Communications were also carried on with Egypt, so that the identity with the Cretans of the peoples known to the Egyptians under the collective name of Keftiu is certain. The widespread dispersion of the inhabitants of this island is evidenced in the legend, founded perhaps upon fact, that the Philistines emigrated from Crete—Kefthor—to the coast of Syria.

The tribes of Asia Minor long remained upon the islands; even in historical times an inscription in their language—by Præsus—was written in Crete; and old sepulchres, discovered during the fifth century B.C., were, with just remembrance of the past, ascribed to the "Carians" of Asia Minor.

About 3000 B.C. the Greeks, or Hellenes, already differentiated into tribes or hordes, seem to have entered the Balkan peninsula. They must have remained stationary for a long time in the north, where prehistoric centres of civilisation arose about the Gulf of Janina, and where, no doubt, encouragement was whispered to them by the sacred oak, the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

Afterwards the fertile Thessalian plain became a central point for the wandering hordes of the north; and with Thessaly the name of Pelasgians is associated. To the ancient Greeks the term Pelasgian originally served to bring back merely the memory of their primitive home; but as time passed it became the designation of a misty, pre-Grecian population, and for thousands of years it has been a cause of confusion.

The hypothesis that Pelasgians never existed as a people is a creation of the most recent criticism. Through the subsequent invasion from the north-east by Thracian races, of which isolated branches

penetrated far into Greece, and of Illyrian races from the north-west, pressing towards Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, the southernmost branch of the Greek people was pushed over into the extreme southern part of the Balkan peninsula. This branch spoke a dialect akin to that which survived in later times in Arcadia,

in the eastern part of Laconia, in the names of single strongholds, in Helos, and on the island of Cyprus. It was closely allied to those races which in historical times were in possession of Thessaly, Bœotia, and Lesbos. Other tribes followed and settled in Attica. It is improbable that these Greeks were as yet strong enough to exterminate the original Carian-Asiatic population. A process of amalgamation, and of transmission of customs from race to race, is much more likely. At first they wandered not as tribes, but in great hordes, all of which worshipped a god of the heavens, the god of light, enthroned upon all mountain tops that are first struck by the beams of the rising sun. Personal property was not recognised; the hordes united for war and plunder. They became divided up into tribes, where the freemen in councils of war debated over questions of policy, meted out justice as

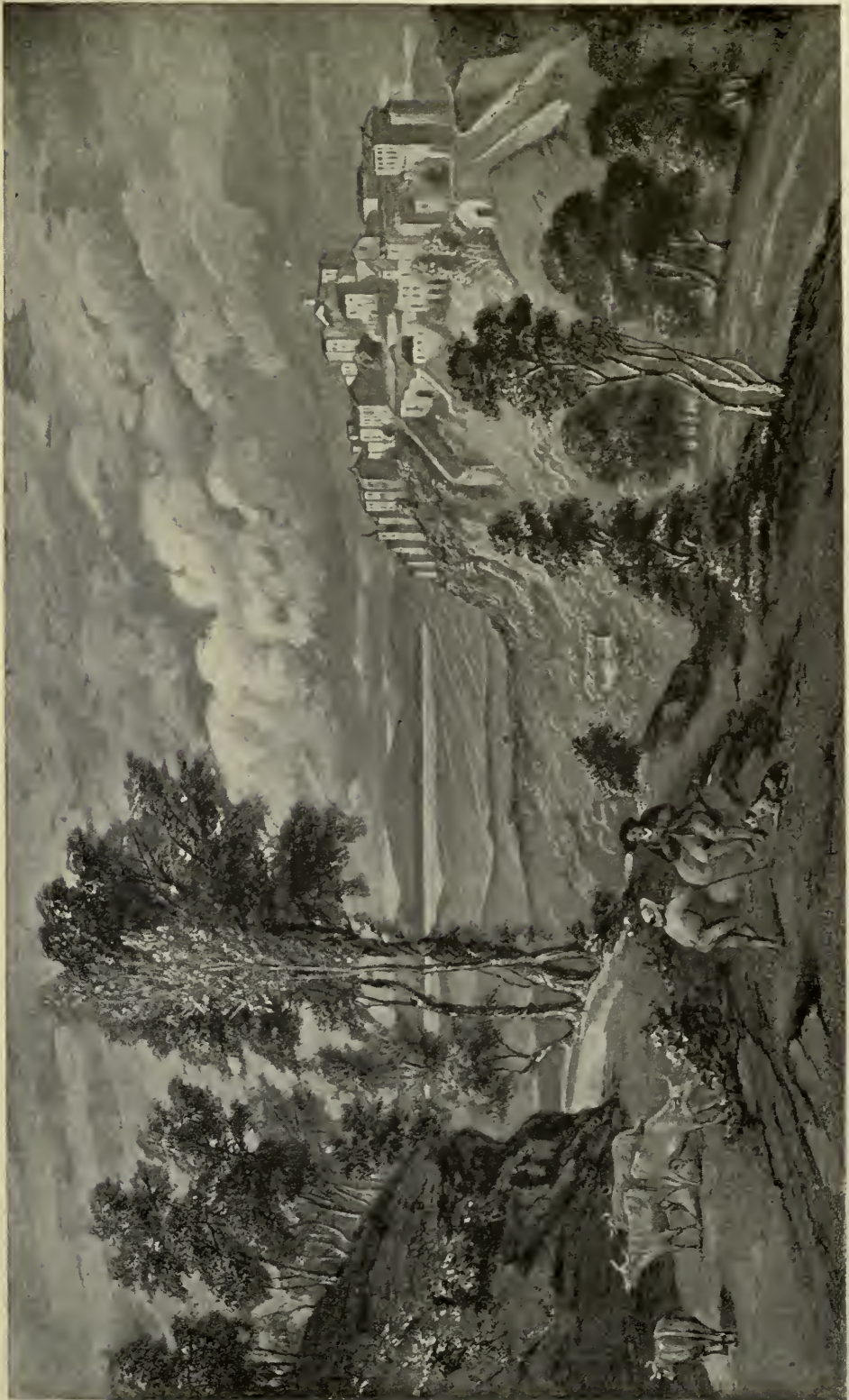
the emanation of the divine will. The god of herds, who dwelt in the fold; Apellon, or Apollon, the god of shepherds; Hermes, the god of roads to whose glory, and for the benefit of later wanderers, heaps of stones and sometimes rude statues, Hermæ, were erected to point out roads and to mark boundaries—all of these appear in the primitive Greek mythology. A moral conception of the gods and the coarsest form of fetishism were strangely intermingled in prehistoric Greece.

RUDOLF VON SCALA

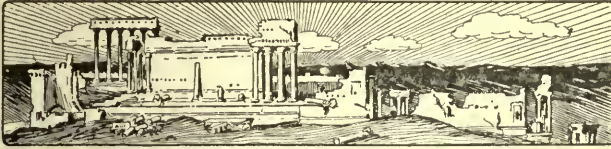


A BRONZE FROM MELOS
A statuette of Aphrodite from one of the most ancient sites in Greece.

Greeks
Enter
Greece



CHIUSI, THE ANCIENT CLUSIUM A ROYAL CITY OF ETRURIA AND A CENTRE OF THE WONDERFUL ETRUSCAN CIVILISATION



THE PEOPLES OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

By Professor C. Pauli

BEFORE Roman civilisation transformed the Italian peninsula into an ever-green garden—a garden that, in spite of centuries of mismanagement, still remains—Italy was a land of immense and thick forests, and differed in few respects from the Germany of the early Teutonic races described by Tacitus. But wherever mountain forests merge into the woods of lowlands there is sure to be no lack of swamps, caused by excessive moisture, peculiar to thickly wooded countries; and that there were many marshes in the Italian peninsula is shown by the remains of the settlements of its earliest inhabitants. The entire plain of Lombardy was thickly covered with villages built upon piles, which were especially numerous at the southern edge of Lakes Maggiore and Garda and in the region south of the Po, from Piacenza to Bologna. The situation of these villages proves that the early settlements were located chiefly upon marsh-land; but to what race the inhabitants of the pile-dwellings belonged is not yet known with certainty. Opinions have differed as to who were the first peoples of Italy; Ligurians, Itali, Etruscans, and prehistoric men have all been mentioned, according to different theories. According to the most generally accepted view, the pile-dwellings fall into two distinct groups, which, although separated by a considerable space in time, certainly show but small differences from one another. These differences are most apparent in the remains of pottery. The more ancient of the two strata is ascribed to the Itali, of whom we shall speak later, and the more recent to the Etruscans.

We have no other information respecting the earliest times of the peninsula except that conveyed by some proper names which have been handed down to us by tradition. In the earliest Greek records Italy is designated by the name "Æno-tria," and its peoples are called autoch-

thonous, which merely means that nothing was known of any anterior races.

The first inhabitants of the peninsula with regard to whom we can claim definite historical knowledge are the Iberians. We are, indeed, unable to say with certainty whence they migrated, when they first settled in their European home, the peninsula of Spain. Of this event the writers of antiquity, naturally enough, knew nothing; and here, too, language, the means by which we are often enabled to trace the origin of a people, fails us completely. Neither the old Iberian names of places, whose rude sounds caused a certain displeasure to Roman ears, nor the daughter tongue of this people, the Basque of to-day, show relationship with any other language. Philologists, it is true, are said to have discovered similar sounds in the languages of the American Indians; but any definite historical connection between races so widely separated is almost inconceivable, and may be at once dismissed.

The most probable theory, indeed the one which has most general acceptance to-day, is that the Iberians came from Africa. Yet this conjecture involves many difficulties likewise; for, although the Berbers, according to geographical conditions, are the only people that may be considered related to the Iberians, they not only show a totally different physical type, but speak a language that is throughout unrelated to that of the Basques. There is also another theory, in accordance with which the Iberians of Spain are considered to be of the same race as the Iberians of the Caucasus, who dwell upon the River Kur, whence they are supposed to have migrated. But this theory can be based only on the likeness in name borne by two races. For here, too, the languages, which should be the chief ground for our assumption, show no traces of a common origin, as long ago seen by Appian. There is, indeed,

**First
Historical
People**

**Whence
Came the
Iberians?**

a certain resemblance between the Basque and the languages of the Caucasus that form a group by themselves, yet the likenesses, similar to those between the Basque and the American Indian dialects, are concerned with general form alone, and are not sufficient to demonstrate a relationship between the two races. The similarity in

Modern Descendants of the Iberians

the names proves nothing of itself, for such coincidences are of frequent occurrence.

The physiological structure of the Iberians furnishes us with as little information of their origin as does their language. The Basques of to-day, who are, beyond doubt, their direct descendants, exhibit the physical characteristics of the South European type. They are, for the most part, of medium size, slender, and well built, with small hands and feet, dark eyes and hair, and light-brown complexions. All this, as one may see, shows no wide departure from the type of Spaniards, Italians, and French. Even if light hair and eyes are occasionally to be found, especially in scattered regions, they are to be regarded as exceptional only. The form of skull was originally long, a shape that rules throughout the Basque race. The short skull is by no means of rare occurrence among the French Basques, but it is considered to be due to a mixture of races. Thus the origin of the Iberians is to this day enshrouded in mystery.

Ancient traditions tell us that Iberian tribes also took possession of certain portions of Italy. The Sicani in special are said to have been Iberians; and, according to Thucydides—Philistus of Syracuse furnishes us with like information—they occupied Sicily, then known as Trinacria, in consequence of having been crowded out of the peninsula by the Ligurians; and Sicily afterwards took the name Sicania from them. However, the Iberians seem not to have made their way to Italy directly over the sea, but to have journeyed

Barbarian Migration into Italy

by land through Gaul and Upper Italy and thence to the south, where they have been mentioned by a long series of ancient writers as the inhabitants of Latium. The Libui, too, who once occupied the region between Brescia and Verona, south of Lake Garda, as well as the Sordones, who dwelt in the eastern Pyrenees of Gaul, and seemed to have set out from that region to settle the island of Sardinia, were probably of Iberian stock.

These tribes are, perhaps, the Rebu and Shardana mentioned in ancient Egyptian texts. From these accounts of old writers then, untrustworthy perhaps, so much, at least, can be gathered—that at one time Iberian tribes occupied certain portions of Italy.

The next migration into Italy was that of the Ligurians, who formed the vanguard of the great Aryan invasion of Europe. What we now call Liguria—the narrow strip of coast between the rivers Var and Magna on the one side, and the Apennines and the sea on the other, which at present includes both the provinces of Porto Maurizio and Genoa—is but the remnant of a once great and extensive Ligurian region. It extended westward beyond the Rhone, where the inhabitants mingled with the Iberians while the entire territory that lay between the Rhone and the western Alps was in their exclusive possession. At the time of Cæsar Augustus they occupied the valley of the Po to the mouth of the Ticino, and extended even farther north; for Turin and the surrounding country once formed

The Great Ligurian Country

part of their possessions. To the east the land was Ligurian as far as Veleia. But this region did not include all their territory; the names of places in many other parts of the peninsula prove that a Ligurian population once occupied other districts in addition. These territories, not including the portions that lay in France, comprised the cantons of Tessin, Graubünden, the Waadtland and Appenzell, and extended as far as Bavaria. In Italy, however, besides the districts which have already been mentioned, there were the provinces now known as Novara, Milan, Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Como, Bergamo, and Sondrio. This Ligurian region extended, as may be seen on the map, eastward to the Mincio and to the south as far as Reggio.

What the political organisation of this vast region may have been, whether it formed a single great empire, perhaps with a king at the head of affairs, or a confederation of states, or a country of entirely independent tribes—we have no knowledge whatever. On the other hand, we have an excellent description, written by Posidonius, of their civilisation at a time when they were already confined to the strip of coast that forms the Liguria of to-day. According to this description,

their land was rugged and unproductive, covered with thick forests, and so stony that the agriculturist met with fragments of rock at almost every step, and, in spite of all industry, could obtain but a small harvest for his labour. It was necessary to eke out the meagre produce of the fields by hunting. A scanty yield of grapes was obtained on the coast, but the wine tasted like pitch. Their usual drink was beer. Miserable huts of wood or reeds, as well as natural caves, served them as dwellings. From the nature of the country they became practised mountaineers, and the hardships of such a life made them exceedingly strong and active.

The origin of the Ligurians has long been a controverted point, in so far as we are uncertain whether they were Aryans or were related to the Iberians, and thus non-Aryans. At the present day the weight of opinion seems to be in favour of the former view. Language, the chief means for deciding such questions, is, in general, lacking here. The language of the Ligurians has disappeared, but not so completely as to have left no traces behind. It has left us a few remains, which, in spite of their scantiness, are sufficient

Traces of the Ligurian Language

to enable us to form a decision in respect to the disputed question of race. In the first place, we have a large number of names of places, not only in the Liguria of to-day, but disseminated within the broad boundaries of the ancient, Liguria. A great number of these geographical names are formed by means of the suffix *-asco* or *-asca*, and this we may look upon as a characteristic of Ligurian names of places. Such names are, for example, Aiarasca, Arnasco, Benasco. These words are, according to stem and termination, Indo-Germanic throughout.

And we have not only names of places, but also a number of inscriptions that are, perhaps, Ligurian. In the southern part of the canton Tessin, in Davesco, Viganello, Sorengo, Aranno—all of which are in the neighbourhood of Lugano—as well as in San Pietro di Stabio—which lies in the province of Mendrisio still further to the south—a number of inscriptions of doubtful origin, seven in all, have been discovered. We are not yet sure of the language to which they belong; but to look upon them as North Etruscan, as is usually done, is wholly wrong. True, the alphabet in which they are written is

North Etruscan, and the words may be spelled out without the slightest difficulty. But this only concerns the characters employed in the writing; the language is certainly not Etruscan. In former days the inscriptions were also called Lepontic, and the Lepontic language was looked upon as one allied to Gallic;

Probable Ligurian Inscriptions

but this hypothesis takes too many things for granted. It would be difficult to believe that the Lepontii, whose name is still retained in the Val Leventina, could ever have dwelt so far to the south. No inscriptions of this nature have been found in the Val Leventina and its vicinity. And, on the other hand, there is no reason for supposing that a distinct Lepontic language ever existed. The inscriptions are not Gallic, although they seem to present some resemblances to the Gallic language; but these likenesses are more of a general sort, and only go to prove that this language, like that of the Gauls, was, without doubt, Aryan. If the inscriptions are neither Etruscan nor Gallic, and if we are unable to accept the theory of a distinct Lepontic language, then there is nothing left but to accept them as Ligurian. If, however, these inscriptions are of the Ligurian language—and no other explanation seems possible—then the Ligurians were surely a branch of the Aryan race. For if we had no other remnant of language than this one inscription left to us from the Ligurians, it alone would suffice to prove beyond all doubt that Ligurian was an Indo-Germanic tongue.

The so-called Itali seem to have been the next Aryan people to enter Italy. They, too, appear to have come from the north by way of the lower part of the valley of the Po, so that their first settlements lay to the east of the Apennines—unless it be proved that the large number of *terremare*, or pile-buildings, in Æmilia also belonged to them. In later

The Itali Come into Italy

times they crossed the Apennines; and the Samnites, Volsci, Latini, Sabines, Umbrians, not to mention many minor tribes, occupied extensive regions to the west of the mountains. The Aryan Itali were subdivided into a large number of minor stocks, for which no collective name has come down to us; these separate tribes did not unite into a nation until the strong hand of the Romans welded them

into one people. For us they fall into two great branches.

The branch which first migrated into Italy was, without doubt, the Latini, for since the Aryan Itali came in from the north—and this is a fact established beyond question—naturally the oldest stock of this race must have been that which first crossed the Apennines, pushed forward by the tribes that followed. The branch that came after—that is, the second great division of the Itali—was made up of Umbrians and Sabelli; and of these the Umbrians seem to have been the earlier, for they settled to the west of the Apennines, as well as in the mountains. Their vanguard comprised the Volsci and tribes closely related—the Hernici, Æqui, and Æquiculi—who dwelt in the south and east of Latium as far as the land of the Sabines, whereas the true Umbrians, who lived further to the north, were separated from the vanguard by certain portions of Sabine territory. Judging from the situation of their country, the Sabines seem to have been the foremost of the Sabellian peoples, who, crowding behind, compelled the Sabines to turn to the west, where they thrust themselves in the form of a wedge between the Volscic-Umbrian nations.

The greater portion of the Sabellians remained east of the Apennines. These were the Samnites—that is, Sabinites—divided into Frentanii, Pentrii, Hirpini, and Caudinii, and to the north of the Samnites, the Marsii, Pæignii, Marracini, Vestinii, and Prætuttii. During historical times the Samnites penetrated still farther to the south, occupying Apulia, Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium, and finally crossed the Sicilian Straits into Sicily. We have no means for discovering how long a time it took for all these different peoples to settle down in Italy. If the inhabitants of Terremare were really the “Itali of the plain of the Po,” then the time could not have been very long, because the civilisations of Terremare and earliest Latium were substantially the same. Of all the Italian races only the Romans left a literature in the true sense of the word. This is not surprising; indeed, considering the development of the different tribes, it could not very well have been otherwise. Of the other races, we possess either no literary remains at all or only inscriptions.

The First Latins

Illyrian tribes, too, settled upon the soil of ancient Italy; and it appears that the different clans wandered into the peninsula independently of one another and at different times. The earliest of the Illyrian migrations seems to have taken the direction towards Central Italy, where we find their traces in Latium (Venetuli, Ardea, Praeneste, Laurentum, tribus Lemonia), in Picenum (Truentum), and in Umbria (the Iapuzkum numen of the Eugubian tablets), whither the peoples seem to have journeyed by ship, directly across the sea.

The second Illyrian migration appears more clear and distinct in the light of history. It was that of the Iapygii, of whom single tribes—that is, the Messapii, or Sallentinii, the Poedikulii, and the Daunii—occupied the west coast as far south as Mount Garganus; in other words, the Calabrian peninsula and Apulia. These tribes also appear to have travelled to Italy over the sea; their latest journeys occurred during the eighth century B.C. The third Illyrian migration into Italy was that of the Veneti. It can be proved from

Illyrian Tribes in Italy

traces left behind them that these were fixed in their later settlements about the middle of the seventh century B.C. Beyond doubt, they entered Italy by the overland route through Aquilia. We have but little knowledge of the civilisation of the Illyrians who first migrated into Central Italy. That they were acquainted with the art of writing would be definitely proved if a number of very ancient inscriptions, which have been found in Picenum, and which are usually held to be old Sabellic, could be definitely ascribed to them. It is almost certain that the language of these inscriptions is Indo-Germanic. It can scarcely be a Sabellic dialect; the variation from later Sabellic is far too great, and the whole style of the writing too foreign. If the language is not Sabellic, then, from the very nature of the case, there remains scarcely any other possibility than that the language before us is Illyrian. That the alphabet of these inscriptions, the most ancient of all Italian alphabets, is a daughter of the Greek alphabet is indeed self-evident.

The second people of Illyrian origin, the Iapygii, at first inhabited Apulia. Their few remaining descendants, under the name of Messapii, long dwelt in the extreme south of the region once occupied

EARLY PEOPLES OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

by their forefathers and afterwards conquered by the Samnites, in which the Oscan language became the dominant speech. We know but little of their civilisation. This race, too, has left us a number of inscriptions, written in an alphabet borrowed apparently from the Epizephyric Locrians, and in a language that is clearly Aryan. They contain a great number of names of persons, which are repeated on the other side of the Adriatic Sea in the Latin inscriptions of the Illyrian districts. From this it is certain that the Iapygii were of Illyrian origin.

As to the civilisation of the Veneti, the third Illyrian people, we have far more information; and this knowledge has been obtained through the excavations in the neighbourhood of Este and Gurina in the valley of the Gail in Carinthia. The Este of to-day, the Ateste of ancient times, is situated in the midst of a group of cemeteries, in which five strata, belonging to as many different periods, may be recognised. The lowest of these strata is different in nature from the other

Cemeteries of Ancient Italy

four. It contains remains of flints, and seems to have belonged to a pre-Venetic population, mentioned by ancient writers as the Euganei. The other four strata belong to the Veneti and contain clusters of graves, upon which were erected pillars of hard trachyte, and in which large vessels, partly of clay, partly of bronze, have been found, filled with the remains of bones, ornaments, and small sepulchral urns. During the first of the four periods of the Veneti the graves were enclosed by stone slabs. The vessels of clay are similar to those which have been found in Bologna; all the ornaments are of bronze; iron is rarely found. The graves of the second period contain various articles of bronze, amber, and glass; clay vessels, too, which have been turned on the potter's wheel, and are of very fine workmanship, in the form of two truncated cones, joined together at their bases and decorated with winding patterns. During the third period the civilisation of the Veneti attained its highest point. It is characterised by many splendid objects of bronze; great vases, together with smaller vessels, ornaments, household utensils, and weapons. In the fourth period articles of silver and of glass have been found, and iron weapons that show

signs of Gallic and Roman influence. To this last period belongs also the temple, containing a large number of consecrated gifts, discovered in the Chiusura Baratela, near Este. Apparently, it was dedicated to a goddess called Rehtia.

We have also considerable knowledge of the civilisation of the Veneti in Carinthia. The discoveries there include the Hallstatter and La Tène abecedaria, bronze plates partially covered with inscriptions, figures of bronze, swords, knives, daggers, spear and arrow heads, as well as various utensils and tools. The relationship between the two civilisations, of Este and of Gurina, is as follows. The centre of culture of the Veneti lay, without doubt, in the neighbourhood of Este; and from this point the Veneti seem to have pressed forward to Carinthia in the north, and there to have gained, among other acquisitions of civilisation, knowledge of the alphabet. The fact that many of the remains which have been found at Este belong to an earlier period than those of Gurina does not interfere with this theory in the least. The Veneti of Carinthia could not possibly have been remnants of tribes left behind them during the migration to Italy, for the route taken by the Veneti—this is a certainty—was much further to the south, through the district of Aquilia. A large number of inscriptions have come down to us from Este as well as from Gurina. They are written in an alphabet that, of course, had its origin in Greece, and seems to be most closely connected with the writing employed in Elis. The inscriptions of Gurina are, in the case of a few single letters, more ancient than those of Este; however, the two alphabets are practically the same.

The great Ligurian empire was destroyed by the Etruscans. The latter came from the Far East, and, as it appears, were related to various races of Western Asia and the Balkan peninsula, but wholly unrelated to the Aryans or Semites.

They seem to have halted for a rather long time in Central Europe, and to have been neighbours of the Teutonic peoples, in whose legends their memory is retained under the name of Thursen. Later, they were driven from their homes—we know not under what conditions, nor why—and were forced to cross the Alps, wandering

to the south and occupying at first Rhætia, especially the Tyrol and Grisons. Thence they pressed forward to the south, and under the name of Euganei took possession of the country to the east of Verona.

Another of their tribes, Etruscans in a more limited sense of the term, settled in Atria, Spina, and in the neighbourhood of Bologna, which was at that time called Felsina, where their presence is still indicated by numerous burial-places, containing many inscriptions in their language. They travelled from Bologna across the Apennines, perhaps following the direction of the valley of Reno into Etruria proper, the Toscana of modern times; and from this country as a centre they spread over the plain of the Po, as well as over

Latium and Campania. The origin of the Etruscans has long been a much-debated point. During the Middle Ages men sought to derive their language from the Hebrew, the language of Paradise and original speech of mankind—an attempt that was repeated in 1858. Then came a period when scholars, especially Passeri and Lanzi, believed they had discovered in the Etrus-

cans near relatives of the peoples called Itali, of whom we have already spoken. This opinion, too, has found later adherents in Corssen and other Italian scholars; but it may now be deemed obsolete.

Attempts to derive Etruscan from Irish, Scandinavian, Old German, Slavonic, Armenian, Altaic-Finnic, Basque, Lithuanian, Libyan, etc., need only be considered as curiosities. This list, as one may see, is a variegated sample card of all possible languages; but it rests, naturally enough, upon a base no more

substantial than idle speculation. There are few chapters in the history of science that are at the same time so mortifying and so amusing as the chapter on the deciphering of the Etruscan inscriptions. The splitting up of indivisible word-forms, the joining of others that are absolutely heterogeneous, the acceptance of abbreviations of all sorts, and of phonetic theories that transcend even the wildest flights of imagination, were the means by which men hoped to force the poor Etruscan, stretched out on a Procrustean bed, as it were, to be derived from whatever language they preferred.

A sure foundation for the lingual and ethnographic position of the Etruscans did not exist until a few years ago, when two

French scholars discovered two parallel texts cut into a gravestone on the island of Lemnos, written in a very ancient Greek alphabet, most nearly related to the Phrygian method of writing; but the language of the texts was not Greek. On further investigation it was found that this language was very closely related to the Etruscan. Now the classic writers tell us that the Pe-

lasi dwelt in Lemnos before the time of the Greeks; moreover, they also say that the Etruscans were descendants of Tyrrhenic Pelasgi, who came from Lydia. The truth of this tradition is at once established by the discovery of the parallel texts. To what races of Western Asia the Etruscans and Pelasgi were related, and how closely they were related, has been during the last few years the subject of extensive investigations, which are not yet completed. That the Etruscans were descendants of the Pelasgi is the opinion



EARLY ETRUSCAN JEWELLERY

Two fine necklaces of gold beads in filagree work, with flint arrow-heads suspended as charms. One of the valuable discoveries made at Vulci

Mansell



THE BUDDING OF ETRUSCAN ART

Examples of the primitive periods of the mysterious Etruscan art before the influence of Greek art was felt. The extraordinary terra-cotta masks (1 and 3) were placed over the face of a corpse. The fine bronze helmet (2) is ornamented with a wreath of ivy in gold. A somewhat more advanced work is the bronze cista (5), with figures of sirens, horsemen and a goddess. The remaining bronzes represent a warrior (4), and a primitive goddess (6).

which obtains most credence at the present day. Wilhelm Deecke, who may be looked upon as the father of scientific Etruscology, has adopted it with certain limitations. After he had declared the Etruscans to be an entirely different race from the other Italians, speaking another language, thus agreeing with the opinion long ago expressed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he returned to the views of Corssen, already mentioned; but, finally, he came to look upon the Etruscans as a mixed people, made up of the native Raseni, whom he considered the Latin branch of the Itali, and Pelasgic-Greek corsairs, who had come from the city of Tyrrha in Lydia. In this precise form his view is certainly untenable; however, it

approaches, at least, the correct theory in so far as it recognises the fact that there were two strata of races in Etruria; the older, Umbrian, as has been maintained by the writers of antiquity, and the later Etruscan, in a more restricted sense.

Not only their language teaches us that the Etruscans were not of Aryan origin; this fact is confirmed by their stature and appearance. The Roman authors described them as short and close-knit, with a predisposition to stoutness; and thus they appear plainly enough to us to-day in the hundreds of Etruscan figures on the covers of sarcophagi which have been discovered in the various cities of Etruria. Note the difference between these rotund forms and the spare figures of the

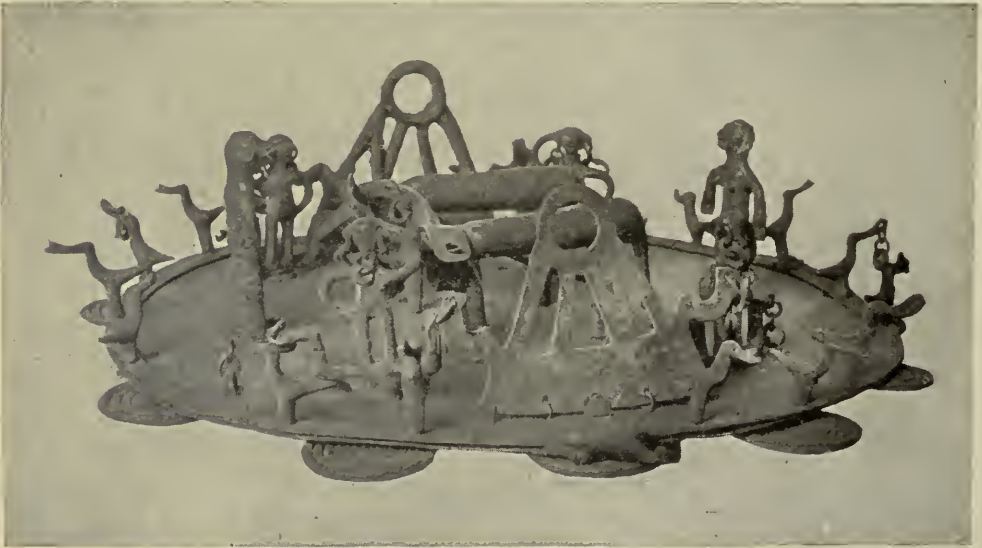
lean Itali; between the round skulls and countenances of the Etruscans and the long, narrow faces of the Aryans of Italy; between the flat, potato-shaped noses of the Etruscans and the finely-cut, straight, or slightly aquiline noses of the Romans. Such a physical type reminds us far more of the Huns, as described by writers of the Dark Ages, than of Aryans, whether the complexion be fair or brown.

Again, the mental constitution of the Etruscans distinguishes them from the Aryan races of the peninsula. Nothing shows more plainly that the Etruscans were not of Indo-Germanic origin than their mythology. While all is light-hearted and joyful with the Aryans—

introduced through an acquaintance with Greek art; but a mingling of religions, such as that which occurred in Rome, could scarcely have come to pass. That the names, however, at least of the Olympic gods, were known to the Etruscans is proved by the representations of such gods on vases, mirrors, etc., to which Greek names in Etruscan writing, expressed in the forms

Influence of Grecian Pantheon

of the Etruscan language, have been added. In later times the names of Roman deities also occur; and these, too, are naturally in Etruscan form. Thus, finally, an amalgamation of Etruscan with Italic divinities appears, an occurrence that took place in precisely the



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A CURIOUS EXAMPLE OF THE PRIMITIVE ART OF THE ETRUSCANS

An extraordinary bronze plate, which has fastened to it figures representing an Etruscan ploughing scene. This reproduction is about half the size of the original, which was found in Campania and is now in the British Museum.

Father Heaven and Mother Earth, the sun, the moon, rosy dawn and fire are the original divinities of a cult expressed in epic narratives and single great dramatic poems—on the other hand, all is dark and gloomy with the Etruscans. Among their religious sculptures we meet sullen demons of death and the lower world, almost bestial of countenance, with pointed ears, bristly hair, tusks for teeth, and serpents twined about their heads, necks, and arms.

The Gloomy Etruscan Mythology

All the benevolent deities that have been found seem to have been borrowed from other races. In later times knowledge of the Olympian pantheon was

same manner among the Italic races, especially the Romans.

But this is nothing more than a later development, beneath which the original mythology of the Etruscans is still plainly visible. Among the ancient gods of the Etruscans there were, for example, Fufuns, god of wine; Juran, goddess of love; Laran, god of war; Thesan, goddess of the dawn. There were also divinities in the service of the chief gods, such as the child of the gods, Maris; Lasa, Mlacuch, Mean, and others. The divinities of death and various other horrible phantoms showed an especially full development. Here we have the gorgon-like Tarsu; the goddess of death,



DEVELOPMENT OF ETRUSCAN ART: THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The gloomy character of the Etruscan nature is particularly reflected in the art of the archaic period before Greek influence has full sway. Sepulchral objects occur frequently, especially the large stone sarcophagi ornamented with sculptures, of which we give two examples (1 and 7). The fine bronze chair, incised with animal and pattern designs, of which two views are given (5 and 6), is another sepulchral object. The female figure (3) and the head of a youth (2) are also fine archaic bronzes. The remaining object, the amphora (4), was probably used to contain ashes of the dead.

Vanth; Leinth, Culsu, Tuchulcha, and others. They are shown to us as figures, intended to inspire terror, in the representations of death scenes on sarcophagi and funeral urns. These fantastic forms, creatures of a barbaric imagination, were in complete harmony with the rites of worship. Human sacrifices were in vogue

**Etruscan
Human
Sacrifices**

until a relatively recent period; and even as late as the time of the Romans the Tarquinii slaughtered, as sacrifices to their gods, three hundred Romans whom they had captured in battle. No joyful festivals relieved the gloom of their life; they were bound, fettered, as it were, to a dead ritual. Their lives from beginning to end were preordained by the inexorable will of the gods. The highest endeavour of their religious life was to discover in advance what this irresistible will of the gods might be. Thus developed the most extreme form of superstitious ritualism, the system of *haruspices* and *fulguratores*. The task of the former was to discover the designs of the gods and the fate of men from an examination of the entrails of sacrificial beasts, and that of the latter to seek for the same knowledge by observation of the lightning.

Much of this superstition was afterwards introduced into Rome, probably during the time when Latium was under the dominion of the Etruscans; but it was, from its very sources, a form of religion entirely foreign to the Aryan spirit. The religion of the Egyptians was more in harmony with this gloomy Etruscan cult. Richly decorated tombs and extensive cities of the dead are found in the neighbourhood of all Etruscan towns; especially magnificent are those at Volsinii, Perugia, and Tarquinii, as well as the sepulchres at Volterra, Cerveteri, and in the extensive region of Clusium. Such a highly developed worship of the dead is, likewise, unknown to Indo-Germanic peoples. Thus, after all has

**Cities
of the
Dead**

been said, the fact remains that the Etruscans were a foreign race, speaking a strange language, and altogether unrelated to the other inhabitants of the Apennine peninsula. This people, whose origin cannot be designated as less than semi-barbarian, attained the highest civilisation in Italy during pre-Roman times, and also, long before the time of the Romans, had made an attempt to extend their political

domination over wide areas of the peninsula, perhaps with the conscious intention of taking possession of the entire country. All this signifies a certain intellectual capability and power of action, although at the same time it likewise shows that the Etruscan mind was of a receptive rather than of a creative nature.

The Etruscans, then, were the first civilised, or at least semi-civilised, people of Italy proper; but only because they took other races as their models. And inasmuch as their civilisation extended over such a long period of time, they had sufficient opportunity for studying many different types. The first of these peoples were the Egyptians. Traces of them have been found in the sepulchre at Vulci, called the Isis Grotto, as well as in other graves, in the shape of objects bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphs of about the period 650-525 B.C. In later times the Mesopotamian races were the instructors of the Etruscans. Other signs of these races—articles finished according to their style and manner—have been discovered in Etruscan sepulchres; for example, in

**Foreign
Influence on
Etruscan Art**

the grave of Regulini-Galassi in Cerveteri. However, it is not to be understood from this that either Egyptians or Assyrians exerted any direct influence on the Etruscans. Rather, the relationship came about through the mediation of the Phœnicians, as has been proved by a Phœnician inscription found in a sepulchre at Palestrina, together with objects of the same character as those which have been discovered in the previously mentioned Etruscan tombs at Cerveteri and Vulci. These objects belong to the same stage of civilisation as the greater part of the antiquities discovered in Cyprus.

The period that followed showed that the Etruscans were under the influence of the so-called Mycenæan civilisation, well-known to us from the explorations of Schliemann, which thrived not only at Mycenæ, but also at Troy and at various other localities in Greece and its vicinity. Opinions are divided as to who brought this civilisation to Greece. Many scholars consider that the bearers were the Hellenes themselves of an early period; others believe that they were the Pelasgi. The latter view is the more probable; and an attempt completely to deny the existence of the Pelasgi, made a short time ago, has absolutely failed. That the principal



THE FLOWERING OF ETRUSCAN ART: THE FINEST PERIOD

The influence of Greece in Etruscan art is seen in the products of the finest period of that art which are illustrated here. Examples of metal-chasing and founding are the bronze mirror (1), chased with a representation of the betrothal of Menelaus and Helen, and the fine cast bronze situla (7). The same influence is shown in the beautiful gold objects from Vulci—a diadem (3), a brooch (4), the pendants (2 and 6), and the abecedarium (8). The remaining bronzes are a statuette of Demeter (9) on a rustic car, a statue of the Etruscan Mars, and a vase (10) with a sphinx handle.

instructors of the Etruscans in civilisation were Greeks is evident. The imitation of Greek art appears in many different regions which were once inhabited by the Etruscans. In architecture it is to be seen in the manner of building temples, where the influence of the Dorians is plainly visible. But it is also apparent

in various other arts. Many **Etruscans Taught by Greeks** vases which have been discovered, decorated in black as well as in bright colours, are not of Greek manufacture, but are copies made by Etruscan artists. That in later times metal-founding and metal-chasing were influenced by the Greeks is shown by the so-called Arringatore, now in the museum at Florence, which were discovered in Perugia. And the same thing is indicated by a large number of bronze mirrors, some of which are of great beauty, and by the specimens of the goldsmith's art of Vulci. A definite memory of this Greek influence seems to have been preserved in the Etruscan traditions, for Pliny relates that Demaratus, the refugee from Corinth, brought with him the sculptors Eucheir, Diopos, and Engrammos, who are said to have introduced the plastic arts into Italy.

We are able to form a fairly accurate and distinct picture of the civilisation of the Etruscans from the remains of these cities of the dead, in which have been preserved objects belonging to the different periods of civilisation, for these objects mirror the entire life of the people. The dead among the Etruscans were either buried or burned on funeral pyres. The former custom was in use chiefly in the north, the latter in the south. The dead were usually placed in great stone sarcophagi, ornamented with sculptures, of which many have been found, especially in the necropolis of Corneto and Viterbo. The ashes of bodies consumed by fire were preserved in small square ossuaries,

differing in appearance according to locality. Those of Volterra are of alabaster, and are ornamented with very beautiful sculptures; in Perugia and Chiusi travertine was the material employed, also decorated with sculptures, but of a different style; and both Chiusi and Perugia have a particular shape of ossuary. Ossuaries of a still smaller size, and made of baked clay, have been discovered in Chiusi; and these, too, have a plastic ornamenta-

tion. The ashes of men of less consequence were preserved in round clay pots without decorations.

The different urns and boxes which contained the remains of the dead were then placed in graves of varied construction, which always lay without the limits of the towns, and formed the closed cities of the dead, or necropolises. The graves have been classified, according to their different peculiarities, and names have been given to the various forms. The oldest are those which are called *tombe a pozzo*. They consist of cylindrical or conical shafts, sunk into the chalk formation. Each has two partitions; the upper of greater, the lower of lesser diameter. The latter forms the grave proper, and now and then contains a great red clay pot. With this variation the grave is called a *tomba a ziro*. The next form is the *tomba a fossa*, a rectangular pit from 6½ to 8 feet long, 3¼ to 4½ feet broad, and 6 to 10 feet deep. Bodies were placed in these tombs, unconsumed by fire; the older forms still belonged to the period of funeral pyres. When the *tomba*

Types of Etruscan Graves *a fossa* is constructed with a facing of stones within, it bears the name of *tomba a cassa*; and when the *tomba a fossa* is of a larger size than usual, and has a lid or cover, so that it cannot be approached from above, but only from one side, it is called *tomba a camera*; when the lid forms a vault, resembling the interior of a hollow cylinder, it bears the name *tomba con volta a botte*. If there is a narrow passageway, resembling a corridor, leading to a tomb, the name given is *tomba a corridoio*. The *tomba a buca* is a round pit about 9 feet in depth, having a circle of stones about its mouth. Whenever the *tomba a camera* is found to have greater dimensions than usual, forming at the same time, however, only a single chamber, it is called a *camera a cassone*. And this form of tomb, with the addition of side chambers, is the latest and most highly-developed type of Etruscan grave.

From these graves, often rich in collections of objects of bronze, iron, silver, gold and clay, we are enabled to obtain a conception of the entire course of development of Etruscan civilisation from the very earliest times, from the day, perhaps, when the race first descended the southern slopes of the Alps until the time arrived when Romans became their successors in

the civilised life of the Apennine peninsula. And just as the Etruscans were the predecessors of the Romans in civilisation, so were they also in political life. They were the earliest power in Italy, and mighty on both land and sea.

The ancient writers often spoke of the Tyrrhenians as a great maritime nation—also a nation of pirates, according to the testimony of men who were overcome by them—and so there was once a time when the Etruscans stood upon an equal plane with the Greeks and the Phœnicians as a seafaring race. Witness is borne to this by the treaty between Carthage and Etruria, by which a formal confederation was established; and this alliance consummated in the battle of Alalia, fought by Phœnicians and Etruscans against the Phocæans. The power of the Etruscans was not

and the foundation or occupation of the two cities above-mentioned occurred, according to the probably accurate account of Cato, about the year 602 B.C. In former days it was frequently stated that this conquest was effected from the sea; but since the Etruscan cities in Tuscany are situated upon rocky hills in the interior of the country there is very little reason to doubt that the Etruscans entered Italy by land. The same is true of their entrance into Campania, for Capua and Nola also lie inland, and at that time the coast of Campania was already in the hands of the Greek colonies.

If Campania was entered by the Etruscans from the inland side, it must follow that at one time Latium, which lies between Etruria and Campania—there is

**Etruscan
Conquest
of Italy**



CEREMONIAL BURNING OF THE DEAD IN ETRURIA

These paintings from Cerveteri, an Etruscan city of the dead, show the Etruscan custom of burning the dead.

limited to the sea; their dominion on land covered a wide area in Italy. The writers of classic times relate that they subjugated almost the entire peninsula; but at one time Latins, Umbrians, and Aurunci were all known under the name of Tyrrhenians. The Etruscans advanced to the south in Campania; and here, too, they established, it is reported, a confederation, consisting of twelve cities. The most powerful of these towns were Capua, called Voltturnum in Etruscan times, and Nola, which, perhaps, bore the name Urina. Numerous discoveries, partly of objects bearing inscriptions in Etruscan, proclaim the fact that the Etruscans once dwelt on the Campania. In later times the Greek colonies on the coast and the Oscans became heirs to their possessions. The conquest of Campania

**Etruria the
Earliest Power
in Italy**

no route from Campania to Etruria, except that which passes through Latium—must also have been under Etruscan domination. But if this was the case, then the fact is established beyond doubt that the future mistress of the world, Rome herself, was once subject to the Etruscans.

Echoes of this time are to be found in the tales of the last three kings of the house of Tarquin. The family name of the dynasty itself, as well as the date fixed by the Romans as the beginning of the Tarquinian rule—that is, the year 616 B.C.—points to the supremacy of the Etruscans. Since they occupied Campania in the year 602 B.C., the year 616 B.C. seems a very probable date for the conquest of Latium. It is comprehensible enough that the Roman historians of later times should have endeavoured to slur over the fact that Rome was once under Etruscan rule;

EARLY PEOPLES OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

but, in spite of all attempts to veil the truth, the descriptions given by the Romans themselves of the later years of the monarchy betray the facts. Moreover, the memory of Etruscan supremacy was also preserved by the Etruscans; for example, we catch a last echo of it in a legend of two Etruscan soldiers, who led a Tuscan troop from

**Rome a
Subject
of Etruria**

Volsinii to Rome and settled upon the Cælian hill. The domination of the Etruscans over Rome is, to be sure, denied even to this day; but whoever carefully reads Livy's account of the battles that followed the expulsion of the Tarquins can have no doubt of it whatever. What we find in Livy is no historical description, but an old epic, the ancient verses of which may easily be traced out; and this epic describes, not the battles of classes or the introduction of a new form of government, but the struggles of the Romans to free themselves from the dominion of a foreign conqueror. In addition, a great mass of manners, customs, and institutions of Rome, which were of Etruscan origin and were retained for a long period, bear witness to the state of affairs described.

Thus we have, in the first place, matters pertaining to auguries, together with the form of temple peculiar to this belief, both of which were foreign to Rome. We have also the insignia of kingship, the *sella curulis*, the lictors with the *fascæ*, and the garment edged with imperial purple. Moreover, there is the influence of the Etruscans on the Romans in metal-working and architecture. monetary

affairs, and the calendar. Not only the *cloaca maxima*, but also the Capitoline temple at Rome were examples of Etruscan work. What is usually termed the expulsion of the Tarquins was, in reality, a war of independence, waged by the Romans against the Etruscans.

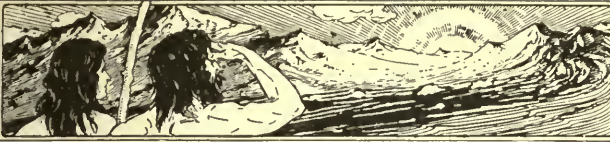
But even after Rome had attained her freedom there still remained not only a great number of Etruscan customs and institutions, but also a large Etruscan population, which had settled in Latium and in Rome. Such was the case in Praeneste and Tusculum; such in Rome in the *vicus tuscus*, at the foot of the Palatine hill. And these Etruscans were not of the common people alone; they also comprised Roman patrician families—as, for example, the Tarquitii, Voltinii, Volumnii, Papirii, Cominii, and others; and even the liberators belonged to families of Etruscan origin. This was true not only of L. Tarquinius Collatinus, whose very name betrayed his origin, but also of many others. The *Junia gens* is mentioned in Etruscan inscriptions under the name *uni*; the Valerii appear as *velsi*;

**Etruscan
Patricians
of Rome**

even the Horatii seem to have been of Etruscan origin. Some deem it a fact proved by history that a mixture of blood produces races of high intellectual endowments and lasting vitality. It may be, then, that, owing to the mixture of Latin and Sabine and Etruscan blood in their veins, the Romans were enabled to develop at least some of the characteristics that fitted them first to become the heirs of the Etruscans, and afterwards to achieve world dominion.



RECONSTRUCTION OF A TEMPLE BUILT IN THE GREAT DAYS OF ETRUSCAN ART



THE KELTS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

BESIDES the two great Aryan groups, the Hellenic and the Italic, who have played so important a part in creating European civilisation, a third Aryan group comes into contact with the stream of European history before the entry of the Teutons. These are the Kelts, a race of which we find branches even so far east as Asia Minor, but with whom we are concerned mainly as pre-Teutonic occupants of the Western territories—the British Isles, France, and the North of Italy.

Linguistic differences, so far as these can be discovered from documentary sources, divide the Kelts of the British Isles into two main groups of Brythonic and Gaelic.

The most important members of the Brythonic group are the Welsh of Wales, into the mountains of which country the Keltic population of Britain withdrew before the inexorable advance of the conquering Anglo-Saxons. Their language, known as Cymric, is spoken at the present day and cherished or stimulated by poetry, national festivals, and so forth. Belonging also to the Brythonic group, and closely allied to the Welsh, is the language of Cornwall, or Cornish, which disappeared about the year 1800. The Bretons of French Brittany are also Cornish. They crossed the channel in the fifth century when retiring before the Anglo-Saxons. Their Keltic dialect, which has been independently developed from the original Cornish language, is still in current use.

In addition to this Brythonic group, we have to consider the Gaels, whose dialects were spoken, and are still used to a limited extent, in Ireland, Scotland, and the adjacent islands. Scholars are still unable to agree whether the Kelts of the continent are more closely connected with the Brythons or with the Gaels. The word "Kelt," which has been adopted and popularised by science to express the entire group, is, in contrast to the word "Teuton," a national designation, bestowed by the people themselves. Hence, the Kelts possessed clearer

ideas of their ethnographical connection, a fact recognised if not by all the Kelts, yet by a very large proportion of them; so that, in contradistinction to that of the Teutons, of whom we shall hear at a later stage, Keltic nationalism was by no means confined to the political outlook of petty states.

A Civilisation that had Great Ideas

In fact the Druids represented a civilisation which facilitated the possibility of large ideas, and turned them to good account. The word "Kelt" contains the same root as the Latin *celsus*—that is to say, the "lofty," a meaning which coincides with the fact of national pride or with the national self-consciousness that struck the notice of foreign authors at an early date. "Galli," on the other hand, derived from a native root *gal*, is said to mean "warlike," and here again the interpretation is supported by the bravery and the warlike and military spirit which were characteristic of the Kelts.

The Greeks, who adopted the word "Kelt" at an early date, and first from Spain, also used the form *Galatae*, Galatians, which is in close correspondence with the Latin *Galli*. Here we may have an instance of the Keltic tendency to lengthen names by the addition of a syllable consisting of one vowel and the letter "t"—e.g., *Helvii* and *Helvetii*. Hence, problems arise, the solution of which may lie more nearly within the mutual relations of the names *Celtae*, and *Celti*, *Galatæ* and *Galli*, than in the two above-mentioned derivations. It must also be said that wherever the Romans came in contact with the Kelts otherwise than through the medium of the

"Kelt" a National Term

Greeks, they immediately called them *Galli*; on the other hand, wherever Greek influence had already been operative upon the Kelts, or upon the Roman knowledge of them (as in Spain and about Massilia), they accepted the word *Celtae*. That the terms "Kelt" and "Galatian" were native and national designations is proved not only by their etymological derivation from Keltic roots, but also by

the occurrence of personal names with the initial syllable Kelt. Among the general characteristics of the Kelts were their stately carriage, their light complexions,

General Character of the Kelts

their amiability, bravery, love of war, and liveliness, and intellect of a somewhat unpractical nature and inclined to pride, superficiality, and self-laudation; at the same time they had a sense of humour and love of oratory and grandiloquence, but also a strain of poetry and the true spirit of chivalry.

To translate the saying of Cato that the Gauls cultivated above all other things *rem militarem et argute loqui*, modern scholars have repeatedly used the words *gloire* and *esprit*; and a century later Cato's saying was enlarged and more closely examined by Cæsar. When the German Batavi stimulated their revolt with the imperialist dreams of vainglorious Gauls and Belgians, proposals to join the rebels

were a daily occurrence in the councils of the Gauls, and in these the lack of reasons was concealed by the use of emotional appeals of a very modern character. It was no mere chance that after the second century A.D. Gaul became the headquarters of the Roman school of rhetoric; to the extensive influence of this teaching is to be ascribed primarily the bombastic features of mediæval style, and in a secondary degree, the modern exaggerations of ecclesiastical rhetoric. With their love of society, the Kelts possessed the three main alcoholic liquors which have appeared in the course of civilisation: beer—the

Latin or Roman name of which, *cervesia* or *cervisia*, was certainly borrowed from the Kelts—wine, and, finally, brandy.

The influence of these beverages is only too obvious in Keltic history. The modern Frenchman has long since conquered the inclination to alcoholic excess which characterised the beginnings of his nationality; on the other hand, the resistance of the Keltic Irish to the influence of alcohol has been noted by many writers. Gaul was the special country of the wine trade as long as it still depended upon Massilian and Italian importation; a slave was often given as the price of a jug of wine. Hence,

Alcohol in Keltic History

the culture of the vine was adopted in the country at an early date and spread outwards from Massilia, and the wooden cask was invented in Gaul. It is to be supposed that in primeval times the advance of the Kelts proceeded through the centre of the continent entirely by land, without touching

either the Mediterranean or the Baltic. The problem of the populations whom they encountered does not concern us here. The Greeks regarded the Kelts as the earliest of the other civilised peoples they knew. Hence, they must have already occupied a large portion of Southern Germany and, perhaps, also of Central Germany and of France; they had even advanced into Spain, so that Herodotus and later writers considered this a Keltic country. The supposition that the Kelts, starting from France, reached Spain by sea, as there is no geographical connection between their settlements, is possible, but not



LATE KELTIC ART IN ENGLAND

Nowhere was the art of *champlevé* enamelling practised with greater success than in England by the Kelts of the early Iron Age, as may be understood from the very fine enamelled bronze horse-trappings here illustrated, from Keltic burials.



A GAULISH CHIEF'S INVASION AND CAPTURE OF ROME

The Gauls who migrated into Italy were never at rest, and one of their war-bands, under a nameless chief, made a raid on Rome in 390 B.C., occupied the city, besieging though not capturing the Capitol, and had to be bought off.

necessary. We cannot be surprised that the attention of the Greeks was first drawn to the Spanish Kelts as a special nationality. The Greeks were in commercial relations with Spain, and the overland routes of trade and commerce were far less popular in early times than those of the sea. Moreover, the Phocæan settlement of Massilia opened important communications with the Kelts of Gaul. This trade, like that with the Iberians, was concerned chiefly with the

products of mining and the transmission of tin from Britain. The earliest tin trade was in the hands of the Phœnicians and was carried on from Iberia; the Massiliots were in charge of the importation from Britain to Gaul, whence the commodity was transferred to the great trade routes.

The Keltic population was thickest in the north-east interior, whence it pushed forward to the west coast along the river valleys, running in that direction; with

this exception, Spain was inhabited by the non-Indo-Germanic Iberians. One theory assumes that the population consisted of pure Iberian, pure Keltic, and mixed "Keltiberian" races. Another theory regards the Greek name *Kelti-*

Migrations of the Keltic Race *beres* as a vague term of convenience and as a combination due to the ingenuity of geographers, while as a matter of fact the Keltic and Iberian elements avoided all fusion. Iberians, of whom scanty remnants survive under the name of Basques, were in any case settled north of the Pyrenees, and formerly held sway as far as the Garonne. Remarkable also is the fact that the earliest known line of demarcation between the *langue d'Oc* and Southern French coincided with the boundary dividing the Keltic settlements from that part of Gaul which they had not occupied.

Though as far as we know the Kelts never sailed the Baltic, they settled long stretches of the shores of the North Sea and crossed it or the English Channel to the greater or smaller islands of Great Britain. When this migration took place, and how long it lasted, are questions as yet unanswered; our knowledge of the former population of the islands is equally indefinite. The Cruithnigh of Scotland, as they were called in Gaelic—that is to say, the Picts, or the "painted ones," of Roman tradition—have been recently regarded as non-Kelts and non-Aryans. They or other related tribes may thus have inhabited not only Scotland, but also Britain before the Kelts. Modern England was occupied or conquered by the Kelts of the Brythonic group. The Belgæ existed as a nation about Portsmouth, Southampton, and on the Isle of Wight; the Atrebatas, Brigantes, Menapii, and Parisii were to be found on both sides of the English Channel; the name "Britain" existed, moreover, and has been localised among the Belgæ; hence we may conclude that a close connection existed between these neighbours, the Gallic Belgæ and the Britons, who were divided only by the English Channel. It

is possible also that emigration to Britain was increased by a Teutonic invasion of Belgic territory. Apart, however, from the vagueness of our chronological information, the difficulty of these problems is increased by the possibility that Keltic emigrants may have made their way to Britain by sea from the same part of North-west Germany, from which the Gallic Belgæ advanced west and south-west beyond the Rhine, and from which, at a later date, Anglo-Frisian Teutons reached Britain.

It must also be remembered that the name "Britain" may be nothing more than a local name extended to include the whole, and used as a general appellation for those emigrants and their relatives. The name originally belonged to a nationality settled in historical times, and still remaining, on the Somme below Amiens. As we have said, the Brythonic immigration to England must be distinguished from the Gaelic migrations to Ireland and thence to Scotland. The continental separation of Gaelic Gauls and Brythonic Belgæ, as subordinate groups of the Kelts in Gaul, is even represented upon the islands, and these two nationalities have their separate spheres of interest and expansion within the British Islands. The Brythons of Britain were conquered by the Romans in 43 A.D. after Cæsar had made two previous voyages of exploration. The Roman power was not extended over West Scotland—Caledonia, or Britannia Barbara, as the Romans named the country, the latter being a somewhat vague appellation. These northern parts of Scotland were left in the hands of the Picts. Ireland was also left unoccupied and was certainly in the hands of the Gaelic,



KELTIC BRONZE FIGURES
Statuette, of a primitive character, of a Kelt with a boar, a favourite emblem among the Keltic peoples.

or Goidelic, nationality. The obviously native name "Ierne" appears at an early date in Greek authors, and is

Roman Power in Britain connected with Erin; Romans used the name "Ibernia," and the Anglo-Saxons at a later date the names "Ireland" and "Irish." The Scots, who were nothing else than Irish-Gaelic offshoots, left Ireland in the fourth century, shared in the attacks of the Picts upon Roman Britain,

THE KELTS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

which was then fortified by two parallel frontier lines, and established themselves in Caledonia, in the north-west.

They popularised the name "Scotland" for Caledonia, especially after the ninth century, when the Picts were incorporated in the Scottish kingdom. The earlier connection between these names is seen in the fact that the early middle ages generally speak of the Irish monks who were working on the continent as Scots. Conversely the Teutons of the Scottish lowlands called the Keltic Highlanders Irish. The name Alban, or Albion, for which reliable evidence is found in the sixth century, is of Keltic origin, and is used in its earliest meaning for Scotland, and to include the whole of Caledonia and the British Isles.

About 600 B.C. the Kelts advanced beyond the Alps into the fair and fruitful lands of Upper Italy, which they were never able to turn to full economic account, thus narrowing the boundaries of the Etruscan, Ligurian, Illyrian and afterwards of the Umbrian inhabitants. These wandering bodies are broken fragments of the Keltic peoples, which are known to us by the same names in different districts of Gaul, South Germany, or Bohemia, though we do not mean to say that at the time of their migration every one of these tribes was in possession of the settlements where their names are known to us. The occupation of Italy by the Gauls was not carried out as the result of one conquest, but was completed

in the course of centuries. The first settlements were made at the foot of the Alps and new arrivals then established themselves on the frontiers of their kinsmen. Hence the latest arrivals, the Senones, are found furthest south, where the Apennines reach the coast about Rimini and Sinigaglia, or Sena Gallica. To the north of them, about Ravenna and the lower branches of the Po, and generally upon the right of this river valley, were settled the Lingones; between the Po and the Apennines were the Boii with their capital of Bologna; about Verona were the Cenomani; and about Milan the Insubres, the first arrivals. Even at the present day local names show Keltic traces, and Renuis (Reno) or Bologna are here to be found, just as north of the Alps we find the Rhine, Bonn, or Boulogne-sur-Mer.

The Gauls in Italy were never entirely at rest, and did not leave their neighbours in complete peace; even when new arrivals did not add to the disturbance, the warfare of the Gauls with one another or with their neighbours continued incessantly. Moreover, the war-bands, which were peculiar to them and to the Teutons, made considerable and desperate raids into the surrounding country, reaching as far as Apulia. One of these raids, an event of no lasting importance in itself, was conducted by a band of the Senones, who defeated the Romans on the Allia, under a certain nameless



THE COMMUNAL HOMESTEAD IN KELTIC BRITAIN
Among the Gaelic, or Scotch and Irish, and the Brythonic, or Welsh and Cornish Kelts arable land was held and farmed in common, and this type of communal homestead, from Bosnia, represents well the kind which existed in Britain during the Keltic period. It was made up as follows: 1, common dwelling house; 2, summer dwelling house; 3, granary; 4, common goose-house; 5, cows' and goats' house; 6, shed for making plum brandy; 7, well; 8, common oven; 9, stables; 10, swine stall; 11, loft for maize; 12, piling; 13, maize; 14, orchard.

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"Brennus," which means "leader," in 390 B.C.; they occupied the city, besieged the Capitol, and were bought off with the money for which they had apparently come. Polybius gives a description of the war-bands of the North Italian Gauls which exactly resembled those to be found among the Gauls beyond the Alps.

**The Gaul
Raid
on Rome**

According to his report the Gauls in Italy were agriculturists; and in this fruitful land agriculture became comparatively more important than in Gaul at a later date, or in Briton and Ireland at an even more recent period. At the same time the cattle-breeding of these Cisalpine Gauls continued unchecked. Their wealth largely consisted in cattle, and large tracts of modern Lombardy, then covered with forest, were used for swine feeding.

With the Transalpine Gauls, those of Italy had little or no geographical connection, so far as we can see from our scanty knowledge of their ethnographical affinity; none the less, the feeling of relationship remained alive. Violently as these neighbours quarrelled among themselves, and although they failed to combine in any unity under the pressure of Ligurians, Etruscans, Veneti, Umbrians, and afterwards Romans, yet when the Romans proceeded to attack them, they met with support from beyond the Alps.

Bands of Kelts entered this Balkan peninsula in search of land, as they had entered Italy. About 280 B.C. such a band appeared under another Brennus in Macedonia and Sicily, but were defeated in 279 B.C. at Delphi by the Ætoliens, Phocians, and Locrians, whereupon they retreated northwards. In Thrace the Keltic settlement maintained its ground for some time. Such bands also entered the service of King Nicomedes of Bithynia in 277 B.C. as mercenary troops, when he was struggling with his brother for the supremacy; upon the conclusion of the war they became a general plague to Asia Minor, and were finally settled in Greater Phrygia, where they soon became assimilated to the Greek nationality, though retaining the name of Galatians, which is known to us from the New Testament. They were composed of elements from Trocmi, Tolistoboi, and Tectosages.

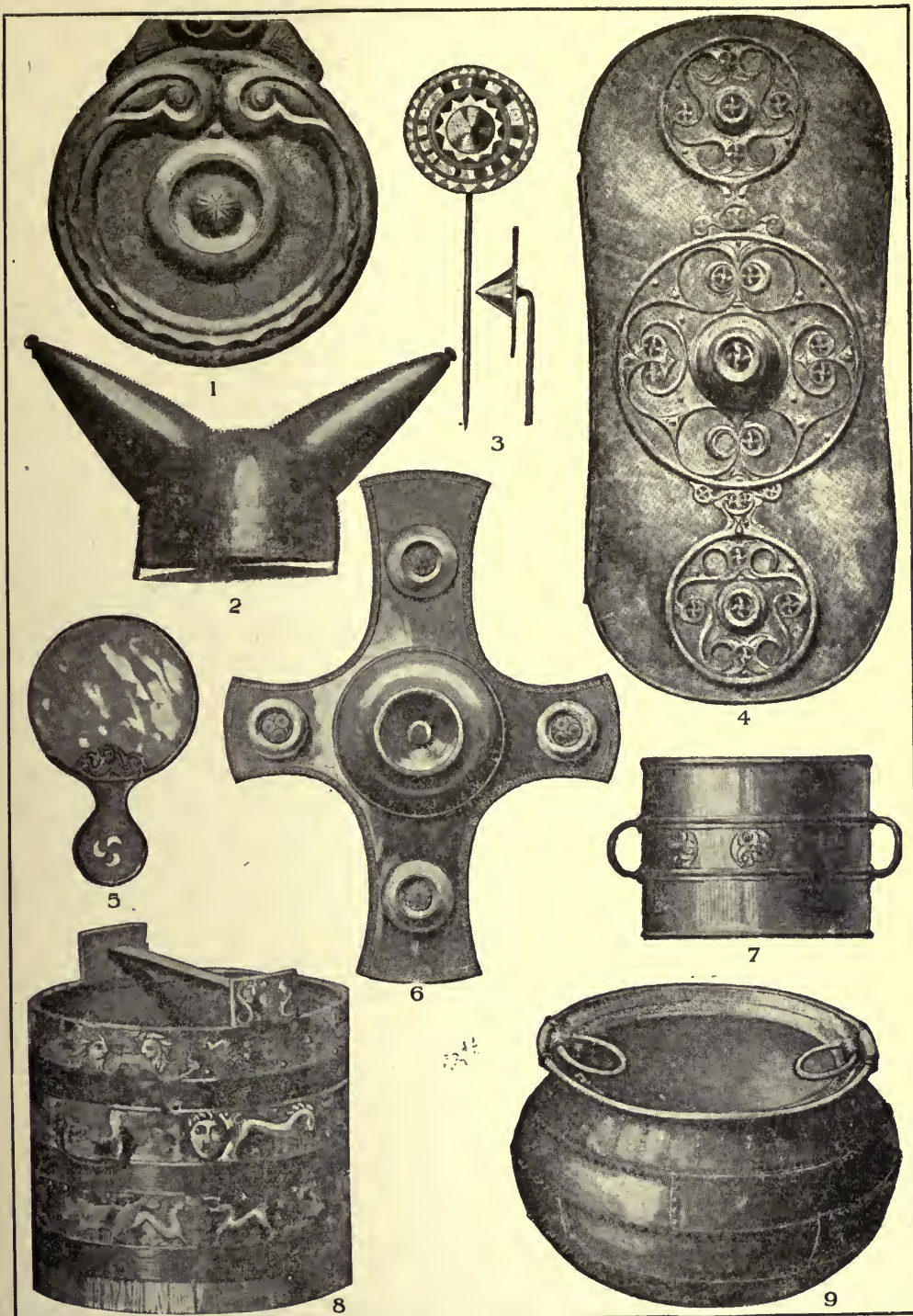
In Transalpine Gaul—that is, in Gaul beyond the Alps as seen from Italy—the population before the primitive migrations of the Kelts was scattered in isolated settlements; it comprised, besides other elements, the two groups of the Iberians, who were in the south-west, and of the Ligurians, who occupied the Rhone districts. The convenient valleys and passes of the Alps never prevented similar nationalities from settling in Gaul; such were the Ligurians, Rætians, Etruscans, Gauls, and Teutons. The more recent Keltic inhabitants of Roman Gaul at a later period were divided into Gauls, in the narrower significance of the term, and into Belgæ; these were divided from one another by the Seine and the Marne.

Romance philology has shown that these Keltic divisions correspond to the more modern and purely geographical districts of the Norman and Picard dialects. In later prehistoric times foreign nationalities from beyond the Rhine entered the district of the Belgæ and provided a Teutonic element which strengthened and revived this nationality, and tended to separate it from the Gauls proper; these immigrants, however, learned to speak Keltic more or less rapidly, even as the conquering leader, Ariovistus, spoke the tongue of the Southern Gauls.

The number of the Gaulish clans has been calculated at three or four hundred; out of these the Romans afterwards made forty-six administrative districts grouped around the towns. The fortified character of Gallic settlements is reflected in the numerous Latinised local names ending in *-dunum* and *-briga*; the former is phonetically identical with *caum* or "fence," which among the Teutons long denoted a low enclosure, while *briga* is a height or hill connected with the word *berg*, and also with the secondary form *burg*, the meaning of which was modified among the



EXAMPLES OF KELTIC FUNERARY URNS
Drinking vessels of baked clay placed in Keltic graves, or barrows, for the refreshment of the dead during the journey to the next world.



THE ASTONISHING EXCELLENCE OF KELTIC ART IN EARLY BRITAIN

One of the earliest Keltic shields found in Britain is that from the Witham river (1), made in the 2nd century B.C. before the use of enamel. In the latter half of the first century B.C. Keltic art in Britain was marked with exuberant fancy and astonishing excellence, which is seen in the beautiful enamelled shield found in the Thames (4), in the remarkable enamels illustrated on page 2426, the bronze helmet (2), and the cruciform bronze mount for a breastplate (6). Other late Keltic objects are the Irish pin with ornamented head (3), the Scotch mirror (5), the bronze-mounted tankard from a Suffolk grave (7), the funerary bucket from Wiltshire (8), and the bronze caldron from West of Scotland (9).

Teutons, though it was originally identical with that of *berg*. This Gaulish ending *-briga* was so distinctive of towns that it was eventually applied to settlements which were not situated upon a height.

Apart from the political division of the Roman province of Gaul into Cisalpine and Transalpine, no ethnographical diver-

gences seems to have separated the Kelts of Upper Italy and Gaul from those of Southern Germany, of the northern frontier of the Alps, and of the Keltic lands further eastward which extended to Hungary. The organisation of the provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia, under Augustus included the majority of these peoples, though omitting some few Keltic tribes settled to the north of the Danube.

Transalpine Gaul, the greater part of which was inhabited by many Keltic tribes, was regarded by the Romans as the main centre of the race. This indeed it was, by reason of its isolation and in view of the comparative antiquity of its Keltic population. Hence we can readily understand that later Roman authors instinctively regarded the other Kelts as emigrants from Gaul; they found also in Gaul the names of tribes which occurred among the emigrants in the North of Italy. The eastern Kelts, for the most part at least, formed, however, the rearguard of that general prehistoric movement of the groups from east to west. In the later Roman Rhætia the Kelts had driven the previous Rhætian population into the Alps and occupied primarily the outlying districts; in Noricum, which is so called from its capital, Noreia, and not after any special people, they formed the main element of the population. Further eastward they advanced more sporadically, settling among other races which preceded or followed them. The chief race in Western and Southern Germany, until the advance of the Teutons, were the Helvetii,

who spread northward to the lower Maine; east of them were the Boii, who were also in Bohemia, or Boiohænum; while to the south of the Upper Danube were settled the Vindelici, and in the eastern Alps the Taurisci inhabited the province of Noricum. In Hungary we hear of the Cotini and Teurisci—a later form of the Taurisci—and of others. The question remains undecided as to the original locality of the great nation of the Volcæ, with

whom the Teutons seem to have first come into contact, as their name under the form of "Welsh" became a general designation for the Kelts; their earliest settlements were probably in Silesia and Galicia.

During a period which is unfortunately too little known to us, but will certainly be illuminated by the unwritten records of the past, the Kelts obviously occupied a great portion of Central and North Germany, though without fully developing its economic resources. The whole course of the Rhine, even on its right bank, gives evidence, in its place-names, and in the names of its tributaries, of early Keltic inhabitants. They must, however, at an early period have been settled considerably further to the east, according to evidence which is philologically entirely trustworthy, though we need not agree with the remoteness of the dates which are proposed. All such attempts at chronological conjecture, even when based upon philological evidence, which is far more tangible than that of archæology, must be accepted with caution, as they

are dependent upon relations and conditions of extreme vagueness and complexity. In any case Keltic river names are found to extend from the Rhine district beyond the Weser up and to the Thuringian forest; they were accepted by the advancing Teutons, and modified by them to suit themselves. Even beyond these limits Keltic names are found as far as the Wipper, in the highlands of the Finns, and to the south of the Lower Unstrut; even the names of the Elbe and the Oder are regarded as Keltic, though the fact is not yet proved of their lower courses. Central and Eastern Lower Germany are void of all tangible Keltic evidence, as the Teutons were in occupation of it before the Kelts began their advance.

Our knowledge of Keltic institutions is founded upon evidence from Upper Italy, Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and Scotland; concerning the Kelts in modern Germany and Austro-Hungary we have no information in this respect. It is a surprising fact that Cæsar's description of the conditions prevailing in Gaul shows these to have been less primitive than those under which the Gaels of the Scotch Highlands lived until the middle of the eighteenth century. No doubt the

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political forms of the Kelts were subject to continual modifications and divergencies in earlier or later times, but the main features stand out distinctly. Much is to be explained by the fact that, though the Kelts were acquainted with agriculture, many of them pursued it carelessly, or neglected it entirely. Cattle-breeding was to them their main occupation, and was clearly given a preference to which it never attained among the Teutonic tribes.

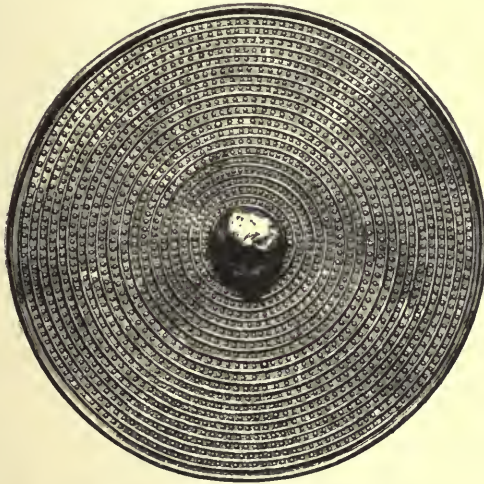
Among the Kelts the political unit is entirely comprehended under the word "clan" or family. The word "clan" is exactly that which we require; it is often carelessly used to denote a congeries of peoples connected by federation; we shall use it in its original and

The Keltic Clan proper sense of political co-operation dictated by common origin. The political unit among the Kelts is thus an extended family. The Gaelic word "clan" means philologically the community existing between the descendants of a particular individual, a community which is properly based upon his name alone. Clan Aulay is thus the tribal family of one Aulay, and membership therein is denoted by the prefix Mac, as MacAulay. Mac is connected with the Germanic Magus, a boy, and with Maget, Maga, Maid. Personal distinction is then given to the various members of the Aulay clan by some additional title, which is derived from their personal appearance—the *Lame*, the *Black*, the *Short*, the *Long*, and so on.

Members of individual clans were also to be recognised by a special form of dress. Among the later Gaelic tribes the brightly coloured check squares of the Scottish plaid or tartan served this purpose. The Keltic preference for brightly coloured clothing is evidenced also among the continental Kelts. We can hardly venture to speak of a Keltic dress as such; it is probable that their dress suffered numerous

changes and was perhaps influenced by the general advance of civilisation, though we find many cases of resistance. The Gaels until the most recent times have declined to wear trousers, a remarkable exception, in view of their climate, to the predominance of protective clothing throughout the North. The Gauls in Northern Italy adopted the Roman dress without trousers, or some imitation of it; hence the name *Gallia Togata* in antithesis to *Gallia Bracata* on the north or west of the Alps, where the Gaels, at any rate the Southern Gaels, wore the "braca." "Braca" and "camicia" are among the few words which the Kelts can be said with certainty to have given to the Latins, though it is probable that they themselves borrowed "braca" from the Teutons.

Among the Highland Scots arable land was held in common and there is no reason for assuming that the Irish proved an exception to this rule. Among the Scots three forms of procedure can be recognised, which may be enumerated in their order of succession: the communistic owner-



SHIELD OF A SCOTTISH KELT

A beautiful specimen of hammered bronze-work, of thin bronze with a central boss and concentric rings of studs.

ship of the land and division of the harvest; common ploughing of the undivided land, and its partition before seed time; and partition of the undisturbed land before agricultural operations had begun. The portion of the land destined to agriculture in a particular year was divided into different allotments to be planted with one or another crop; in the second and third of the above-mentioned cases, individual families received their allotments from this land. The annual share of the families was thus scattered about the common property, which constantly proved inadequate to their needs. Here we find a coincidence with the Teutonic institutions related by Tacitus; it is difficult to decide how far the Teutons may have learnt from their neighbours the

Kelts, or how far they had advanced independently, on each side, towards individual agriculture from tribal communism. The general redistribution of land took place among the Highland Scots as a rule annually, though a more complicated procedure existed; for instance, every year only a third of the land reverted to the community, so that a complete redistribution was not effected until three years had passed. Local affairs were settled by an assembly of the heads of families under the guidance of a chosen village head, who corresponds to the Irish house-father.

A sentence of Dion Cassius also provides evidence of Brythonic communism. Other authorities enable us to conclude that the Brythons in the south were occupied chiefly

with agriculture, in which case a series of transitions no doubt took place, as in the case of the Gaels and Teutons. Their houses were similar to those of the Gauls. Agriculture disappeared proportionately with distance from the south and the English Channel, and its place was

Chieftains of the Kelts

taken by cattle-breeding and extensive pasture-lands. The individual clans were governed by chieftains, which is practically the meaning of the Gaelic title *Ceann*. The chieftain was chosen from some traditionally privileged family in the clan, and was elected. The successor was often chosen during the lifetime of the chieftain, and was usually his eldest son. This successor was known as *Toisech*. The physically defective were excluded; it was a recommendation for the first-born to have proved his capacity by some bold raid at the head of his adherents.

The affairs of the clan were settled by an assembly, which at the time of our Highland records was formed, not of all the fathers of families in the clan, but of the village headmen under the guidance of the chieftain, it was the same more con-

venient limitation of the assembly for practical purposes by the appointment of a committee with which we shall meet in the political and judicial bodies of the Teutons. The clan meeting of these village leaders could depose the chieftain at any time if occasion should arise. We may also observe the expansion of



BREASTPLATE OF AN IRISH KELTIC KING
A finely chased gold breastplate belonging to an Irish king of the first decade A.D.; found in an Irish turf-bog.

the chieftain's powers and the manner of his aggrandisement. The chieftains placed over the several villages within their territory "Maors," who collected the taxes. Even as the Centenarius superseded the Thunginus of the German Hundred, so also the Maor absorbed the judicial power and superseded the elected headman of the village in the conduct of the business of the community.

The Gaelic chieftain was responsible for a show of dignity and for the care of the society over which he ruled. He supported old men, and one of a pair of twins was brought up at his cost. He paid the clan officials: the bard, who enlivened social entertainments and was the epic poet and genealogist of the clan; the piper, whose absence from assemblies or military musters was inconceivable; and the physician. The expense was recompensed not merely by a leading position and leading power, but also by gifts rendered in kind, which naturally developed into regular taxation. The chieftains also administered the untitled land of the clan. The chieftain, in virtue of his office, inhabited the "dun"—that is to say, the clan fortress, which only by exception formed the central point of the clan, and never among the Kelts sheltered a community exercising paramount political influence—and also had his own personal retinue.

Clans which could not maintain their independence bound themselves to pay taxes and to render military service to another, and thus became dependent upon a stronger clan under the supervision of its chief. Cases of this kind are met with both

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among the Gaels and on the Continent, and became highly important among the Gauls. There is only a general resemblance to the "laets" and "lites" of the Germans.

Thus the chieftain was originally rather a superior official and leader of the clan than its ruler. If the clan regarded him as the incarnation of itself, the chief had gained this personal position rather by birth than by personal aggrandisement.

To the new constitutional forms which arise upon the basis of early Gaelic institutions we can but briefly refer. Relations of the chieftains and the families of chieftains within the clan families which eventually lost sight of their genealogical connection as they expanded, became a noble class, from which the chieftain appointed the maor; they provided the official classes and the chieftain's retinue. Members of this clan nobility were then provided with special property from the untilled land. They were thus enabled either to endow a retinue of their own or to help adherents who had been expelled from other clans, and other outlaws of the kind, in

return for service or for payment of taxation. In these modifications of the old Gaelic institutions we have a parallel to the rise of the Gallic federations of vassals and dependents.

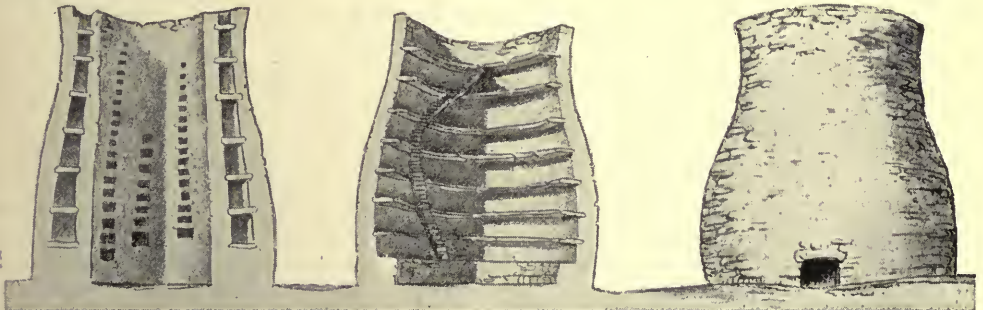
The members of a clan always went armed. Till recent times the Highland Scots retained their long sword, short dagger, and leather-covered round shield studded with brass nails, and regarded the firearm, when it was first introduced, as a merely practical innovation.

When the clans went to war the Toisech held the command under the chieftain, and the levies of individual villages were led by the maors. As among the Teutons, the army was thus organised by kindreds, or, which is the same thing in an early stage of society, the tribal village was the military unit.

In course of time the clans were unable to avoid the impulse to federation which played so important a part among the Teutons, though it ran a different course of development. Mutual dissension and the opposition of non-Keltic neighbours and invaders were bound to give an impulse to unity.



ONE OF THE MYSTERIOUS IRISH ROUND TOWERS
Its origin is uncertain, but it may be the grave monument of a Keltic warrior.



ONE OF THE REMARKABLE PICT TOWERS OF THE WEST OF SCOTLAND
General view and sectional sketches of one of these mysterious towers in the Isle of Lewis, perhaps a Druid work.

The federations thus produced were secured both by voluntary co-operation for purposes of defence and also by the influence of some compelling supremacy.

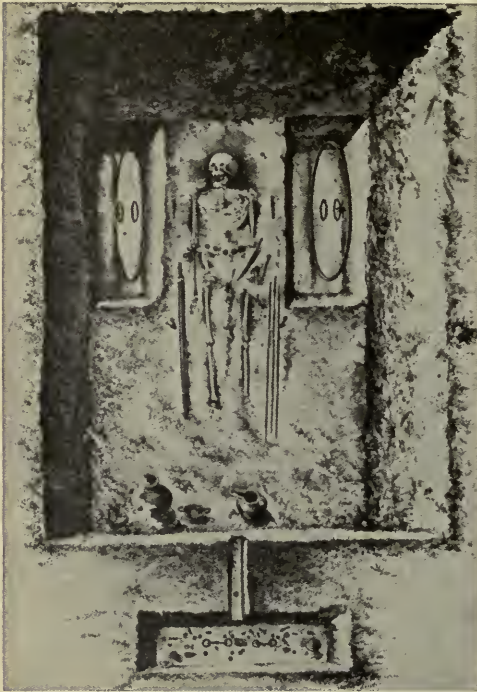
The 184 clans of the Irish were, according to the evidence of the Romans, united into five larger federations or tribes. When such federations become permanent, a theory of long-standing relationship and of common origin is easily evolved by the childlike thought of primitive peoples, who make blood relationship the guiding principle of life. The connubium is, in the case of the majority, a result of previous

reference to this higher unity the five were also known as *coiced*—that is to say, fifth parts.

Among the Highland Scots we find no such organisation, almost inviting criticism. Among them, however, federations appear, known as Tuath or Cinel under a Rig. As among the federations of the Alamanni, Franks, etc., we find cases in general wars of individual clans joining now one and now another party, the federal unity having grown weak in the meantime. The supreme command of the federation in the hands of a single clan chieftain most easily led to the predominance of himself and his clan. In Scotland a loosely connected monarchical kingdom was formed in the sixth century; and the union of the Scots and Picts under Kenneth MacAlpine in the year 844 laid the foundation of the general kingdom of Scotland, though individual clans, who received little consideration from a government thus recognised as supreme, might easily fall back into their primitive political state.

The conditions in Gaul are, in their main features, very similar to those Gaelic institutions which have survived until recently, and therefore represent the features of a general Keltic national constitution. In Gaul, however, more complex development had been attained at a much earlier period. There were full means of communication—roads, bridges, river and coast-line navigation, trade, and manufactures; metal-working was an especially flourishing industry. Under the influence of this early modification of the old communistic and pastoral simplicity, by the introduction of an advanced and complex civilisation, the social and political institutions of the country underwent a considerable transformation.

We find in Gaul the clan, though it is not known to the Romans under this name, provided with a chieftain, council of elders, and assembly of free men bearing arms, whose decisions are final. The towns with their wattled walls and wooden houses were of importance both for military and other purposes, but had not absorbed the political influence of the clan assemblies. The nobility were of the same origin as among the Gaels, and were derived from the members of the restricted chieftain class. The nobles actually became a territorial plutocracy,



CHARIOT BURIAL OF THE GAULS

Among the Gauls it was the custom for distinguished warriors to be buried with their chariots, some of the bronze harness-ornaments being shown on page 2437.

federation; the rising nobility is obliged to pass beyond the narrow limits of its own social rank. The later persistence of this connubium in no way prejudiced the involuntary conception of early tribal relationships.

As every clan had its chief, so the Irish clan federations had a common overlord, who appears with the title of Ri or Rig. The five Irish clan federations were reunited in a higher federation, which thus embraced the whole island, and held its assemblies at Temair, the modern Tara, the point where their five local divisions meet. In

THE KELTS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

and monopolised the economic life of the nation. Like the Gallic or Teutonic members of a chieftain or princely class, the Gallic nobles also had war bands, and often made an extended use of them. Among the Teutons, with whom these developments were completed at a much earlier date, the rule of the one prince gradually overcame the nobility of the leading kindred, the *Stirps Regia*, as Tacitus calls it, and secured the monopoly of the war-band; the Gallic aristocracy, on the other hand, was able to crush the individual chieftains. Hence in Gaul rivalry and jealousy were unending, and material was always ready to feed the flame. Public and political life in Gaul was marked by hostility, intrigue, partisanship, by attempts to secure a following or to form a group, which exercised a disruptive and disintegrating influence even upon individual villages and families.

The triumphs of the nobility over the chiefs made the system of war-band in Gaul a distinguishing mark of the aristocracy as a whole, and of all who could enter their class. The latinised Gallic term *vassus*—this is the old Cornish *was*



HUTS IN A VILLAGE OF GAUL

Two of the wooden houses of Gaul, from an Antonine column relief representing Romans setting fire to a village.



EXAMPLES OF GAUL BRONZE-WORK

Among the Kelts of Gaul civilisation advanced much more quickly than in Britain, and metal-work flourished especially. These plates were found in a chariot burial.

and the old Welsh or Cymric *guass*—means *puer, servus*, or youthful servant. Under the feudal system evolved in Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul this Gallic system of vassalage and the Teutonic system of retainers were eventually amalgamated, and a third new form was produced by this fusion.

The subordination of one clan under the protectorate of another, which we have observed among the Gaels, was fully developed among the Gauls; it played an important part in their development and in the attempts to secure supremacy which were made by the stronger clans. Preponderance was based upon momentary power, and clans occupying a leading position at one moment are found in opposition at another; the best known instance is the succession of the Arverni, Ædui, and Sequani. Before these political confusions and complex rivalries could be reduced to a settled system the violent despotism of Ariovistus began; it was followed by the conquest of Cæsar, which put an end to the ferment of native constitutional development, though the partisan tendency was not abolished. It was not merely the spirit of faction, but also the system of plutocratic landlordism which destroyed the equality of many who were socially independent, and facilitated the task of the conquering

Romans. If in the face of these divergencies the Gauls had a sense of national or ethnographical relationship, which they extended to include the other Kelts, and if there were any general assembly representing the whole of the Gallic nation, the initial formation of such an institution must be largely ascribed to the Druids. They are also found among the Gaels, though they reached their full importance only in Gaul. They were not a caste, but a privileged professional class, who combined the three callings of poet, teacher, and priest. The subdivision of political power, and the general partisan spirit which pervaded Gaul, allowed this class to attain an influence of which scarcely a trace can be recognised among the Gaels.

The Druids were exempt from all burdens of taxation or personal service. Apart from their professional occupations, they were the guardians and the transmitters of the "science" perpetuated by

oral tradition; that is to say, of the historical legends, the physical, medical, astronomical, and astrological knowledge of the nation, of law, of poetry, and of all superstition that might be turned to account. They exercised a spiritual and moral power of supervision and punishment, and this was developed into a judicial force, both criminal and civil, which could successfully rival the secular jurisdiction. The Druids had reached a point of organisation which was entirely unknown in the secular politics of Gaul. They were a uniform and coherent body with identical objects, under a hierarchical government, which made them a national society, far above the limits of clan or federation. This hierarchy culminated in the office of supreme arch-Druid, who was chosen for life. Their order maintained relations with Britain, and attempted to found a Pan-Keltic union based on religion and culture.

EDOUARD HEYCK



WARRIORS PRESENTING TO THE DRUID PRIESTS SPOILS TAKEN FROM THE ROMANS
One of the notable series of paintings by Professor Prell in the town hall of Hildesheim.

EARLY
PEOPLES OF
SOUTH AND
WEST
EUROPE—V



THE
IBERIAN
PENINSULA

PEOPLES OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

UNLIKE its neighbour the Apennine peninsula, the vast mass projecting from South-western Europe gets its name, Pyrenæan, not from the mountains that traverse its interior, but from the mighty snow-capped barrier that separates it from the continent. The name may be purely accidental ; and yet it is an accident not wholly devoid of interest and significance. The rampart of the Pyrenees cannot rival the vast Alpine ranges in height or extent ; but it divides Spain from its neighbour, France, more sharply than the Alps divide the plains of Upper Italy from that country. It is the best and the most definite natural boundary in the whole of Europe. Moreover, the Pyrenæan peninsula is more isolated than Italy for another reason : only the smallest portion of its seaboard looks upon that highway of communication, the Mediterranean Sea. The other and the larger portion is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, so solitary in early times, over whose foaming waves the

Isolation of Spain from Civilisation

Spanish ships at last found their way to the wonderland of America. Hence, a number of Spanish characteristics are due to the position of the country lying, as it does, upon the outskirts of European civilisation. It turns its back, as it were, upon other nations ; and thereby it obliged its inhabitants to go their own way and to be sufficient to themselves, while other European peoples, stimulated by the interchange of the arts of civilisation, were forced to greater uniformity of thought and action. It is only at rare intervals that a migrating horde can pass the barriers on the north, and bring fresh life into the fixed seclusion of this country and its people.

Not only the geographical position of the country determines its isolation, but also its physical configuration, which is not inviting to strangers. Almost rectangular in form, it rises stern and massive from the waves, offering only small harbours, and stretching forth no sheltering peninsulas to welcome the mariner. The rivers of the country run low in summer, and are flooded in the

winter months ; they offer no facilities for communication with the interior, and empty themselves for the most part into the Atlantic Ocean. A spirit of African rigidity and retirement broods over the land.

In fact, the country resembles Africa in more than this. Spain, like the huge continent to the south of it, is, broadly speaking, a high tableland, surrounded by mountains and separated here

and there from the sea by fruitful strips of coast. With good reason may this tableland be compared both to the burning Sahara desert and to the colder regions of Europe. Rain falls but rarely on the thirsty soil ; in summer the rivers become rivulets, and scorching heat quivers on the wide plains ; in winter roaring storms from the north burst over the highlands and the mountain ranges grow white with snow. Where the land falls away to the sea-level, and the streams pouring down from the mountains provide sufficient moisture, tropical vegetation flourishes, as in the enchanting *Huerta* of Valencia or in blessed Andalusia. And just as Spain resembles the neighbouring coast of North Africa, both in climate and configuration, so it appears to turn a friendly face towards this region in particular. Only a narrow strait divides the Pillars of Hercules from one another, and the rich lands of Andalusia offer their treasures as reward to the adventurer who should pass this boundary. That allurements has not been presented in vain : there have been times when Spain seemed to be no longer a part of Europe, when its inhabitants

Spain's Most Splendid Age Was African

stood side by side with the peoples of North Africa against the Aryan race and the Christian faith, and it is a significant fact that this was the period when Spain played a part in the development of human civilisation such as it never equalled before or since.

The interior of the Pyrenæan peninsula displays the same unfriendly character. The mountain ranges which traverse the plateau and divide it into regions of

considerable strategic importance, notable in history, form no cheerful upland country with green pastures, shady woods and smiling valleys. They rise sheer above the plain; gorge and cleft impede the traveller's progress; and if ever the forests crowned

The Wild Iberian Mountains

the mountain tops, the woodman's axe throughout the centuries has laid them low.

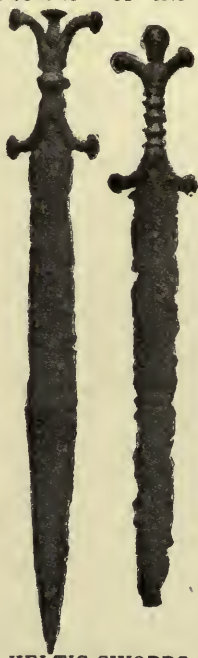
Above these ranges brood the memories of a wild and bloody past, and in their valleys were enacted the splendid deeds of the Spanish chivalry. Whoever was at enmity with the rulers of the fruitful lowland plains, but felt too weak to cope with them in open fight, fled to the mountains and turned bandit or guerrilla, became champion of Christendom or of Islam, patriot defender against the French invader, or Carlist, according to the circumstances and the time. Many a riddle of the Spanish character can be solved by taking into account this strange school of stubborn independence and self-reliance, which was always open as a last refuge to the unfettered son of the soil. The greatest conqueror of modern times made trial, to his sorrow, of the spirit thus evolved by the natural configuration of the country.

Stubborn independence is manifested not only in the individual, but also in the various nationalities inhabiting the peninsula. Their efforts were directed not towards union but towards division, and only the peculiar development of the country since the Middle Ages has brought about a unity which is rather apparent than real. Portugal stands gloomily aloof and jealously guards the complete independence of its political life; the Catalonians keep their own language and look upon the Spaniards proper as their worst enemies; while the Basques have opposed the complete incorporation of their territory and the destruction of their ancient rights in many a bloody battle. It was only because the old Castilians were the first to take up the struggle with the Moors, to drive them out and to colonise their territory, that their speech has gained preponderance and that they have been able to impress their peculiar char-

acteristics upon Spanish civilisation. The reserved and punctilious Spaniard, with his exaggerated idea of honour and his unbounded devotion to his prince, as foreigners are wont to imagine him, is in reality only to be found in the Castilian, the sun-burnt, storm-buffeted inhabitant of the tablelands, whose character has little in common with the light-hearted Valencian, or the bluff and faithful inhabitant of Galicia. The Castilian is at once harder and prouder than these, but he it is who gained the ascendancy and created the Spaniard of modern times.

Many of the national characteristics of the Spaniard are thus to be traced to the physical peculiarities of the country; if these characteristics appear both in the earliest and the latest inhabitants of Spain, we must not on that account infer a close blood relationship. These natural influences could not but have made them selves felt upon immigrants from foreign countries. But the similarity is sufficiently remarkable. The Spaniard of Strabo is essentially the brother of the Spaniard of to-day; and, in fact, we may assume that the main stock of the people has remained the same to the present time, though it has experienced many additions and admixtures.

In the earliest antiquity we find Spain in the possession of a people of uniform character and language, the Iberians. In this, however, we have merely the result of a long period of development, carried on in isolation; we do not go back to the original condition of the country. Unfortunately, inquiry into early Spanish history has advanced far too slowly to be able to contribute any solution even of the most important problems. We may, however, conclude that, as everywhere in North Africa, South Europe, and Western Asia, so also in the Pyrenaean peninsula representatives existed of that short-skulled, dark-haired, and light-skinned race generally denoted by the name of Armenoid. The people finally known as Iberians were, however, in all probability a mixture of this old population with the long-skulled, light-haired,



KELTIC SWORDS FROM SPAIN
Relics of the advanced Iron Age, represented by the Celtic civilisation.

Iberian Peoples in Spain



In the mountains of Montserrat.



A mountain torrent near Archena.



A view in the great tableland of Spain, below the mountains of Archena.



Sebastian, one of the small Spanish harbours.



The Tagus in the mountains of Toledo.

NATURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PYRENÆAN PENINSULA

Cro-Magnon race, which came down from the north and appears in France and North Africa, and whose entrance into the intermediate country of Spain we may therefore assume, even though no remnants of their civilisation are at hand to certify our assumption. The large proportion of light-haired people which,

The Kelts Enter Into Spain

contrary to the general opinion, is found in Spain and Portugal, may be traced back, perhaps, to those earliest migrations from the north, which were followed by two others in course of time. Possibly, the new races imposed their language upon the original inhabitants, and it may be that those Iberian traditions which speak of immigrations of ancestors from Gaul allude to the invasion of this light-haired population. Related to the Iberians were the Sicani and Siculi of South Italy, who also inhabited districts in the neighbourhood of North Africa.

The second immigration from the north, that of the Kelts, falls within the very earliest period of historical times, so that we know but little of the circumstances that preceded the event or of the event itself, and can specify only the results. It is impossible to decide definitely whether the entrance of the Kelts into Spain coincides chronologically with the great movements of the Keltic races

towards Upper Italy and South Germany, movements which, in the case of smaller bands, went as far as Asia Minor and Greece. It is, at any rate, probable that these migrations were coincident. The Kelts brought a new civilisation into the country lying south of the Pyrenees, since they represent that more advanced Iron Age

which succeeded the Age of Bronze. Agriculture was in its infancy before their arrival. The native Iberians, even in later times, continued to cling to the rude manners of the earlier era. They lived upon the produce of their flocks of goats, upon edible acorns from the mountain forests, and to some small extent upon grain grown in cultivated soil. Like most conquerors, the Kelts despised agri-

culture as being unworthy of a free man but they forced their subjects to till the soil regularly and to deliver to their masters a share of the produce.

The wave of Keltic invasion flowed over only one part of the peninsula. A race, known later as Keltic, settled in the district in Central Guadiana of which the modern Badajoz is the central point. The Artebrians inhabited the north-west coast, and mingled very little with the natives. A numerous mixed race, known later as Keltiberians, existed in Old Castile and subdued the neighbouring Iberian races, both the agricultural and unwarlike, as well as the highlanders. It is not true that the Kelts ever had the whole peninsula under their power; and there was no permanent bond between the different Keltic races themselves. The highlanders, properly so-called, such

Independent Spanish Highlanders

as the Lusitanians on the west, the Asturians, the Cantabrians and Basques on the north, maintained their complete independence. Southern Spain, where a milder climate had in early times developed a more advanced civilisation, remained undisturbed by Keltic attacks; but other and more welcome strangers came to its coast—namely, the Phœnicians, who found there the fullest scope for their commercial activity. At any rate, the

Phœnicians had been preceded in their visits to those coasts by other pirates and merchants. Etruscan commerce must have reached Spain. To what an extent piracy was prevalent in the Mediterranean in prehistoric times is evidenced by dumb but intelligible tokens, the Nurhags, those strange fortified towers which appear



AN ANCIENT REFUGE FROM PIRATES
One of the strange fortified places of refuge on the Spanish coast, which give dumb evidence of the extent of Mediterranean piracy in prehistoric times.

especially numerous upon the coasts of Sardinia, and must at one time have served as places of refuge for the people when threatened by a descent upon their coast. The only country which then possessed historical records, the Nile valley in Egypt, often saw these piratical bands upon its coasts. More than this we do not know of those early times.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



THE OUTER TRIBES: SCYTHIANS, CIMMERIANS, AND SARMATIANS

NORTH of the Danube and east of the Elbe—which may be taken roughly as the European limits of the Roman empire—there were other races, with some of whom we shall come into contact in the latter part of our first European period. Of these, however, the Teutons, Slavs, and Huns may be more conveniently treated under our mediæval divisions; while of the Dacians our knowledge hardly enables us to say more than that their tribes belonged to the great Aryan stock.

More, however, may be related of the Scythians, of whom our account may conveniently be given in completeness in this section. We have met them already, when they poured into Western Asia, either under the general title of Scythians or the specific one of Cimmerians. The name of Scythian was indeed generally applied to nomadic barbarian hordes, and was sometimes given to tribes of Mongolian origin. But, in the main, that term is appropriated to nomads of Aryan stock, whose normal habitat may be vaguely described as the lands bordering on the Black Sea, from the Caspian Sea to the Danube.

Sometimes these peoples were called Sakæ, sometimes Massagetæ. The Chinese called them Sök, the Indians Saka, which is the same word as Sakæ. But however different and numerous the names which were given by the ancients to the nations who inhabit those vast regions, one feature is common to all—they were nomads, just as are now the Turkomans, Kirghiz, or whatever they may be called, who have succeeded them. And, further, it may be now noted as a universally established fact that all these nations of the steppes were Iranians—that is, they belonged to the same stock as the Persians and Medes in Iran proper.

The nomads of South Russia, called Scythians in the narrowest sense of the word, were formerly held to be Mongolians. The most important authority for this was

the description of the Greek physician Hippocrates, according to which their appearance was thick, and so fleshy that the joints were buried in fat, flabby and soft, while their complexion was ruddy. Hippocrates notices also in the Scythians

The Origin of the Scythians what is often noticeable in nations of a low grade—they all looked much alike. But the life on the steppe stamps a certain

similarity on all the nomad nations confined in them; outside of that the points of resemblance noted are not so characteristic that we must necessarily consider the Scythians to be Mongolians. The remains of the Scythian language bear rather an Aryan stamp, and show in their roots and endings a close relationship to that spoken in Iran. The close observation of the customs and habits of the steppe, which is shown in the lifelike Greek representations of Scythian life, is a guarantee to us that the men, no less than the animals and separate scenes, are accurate reproductions of careful studies of life. Their eastern neighbours, the Sarmatians, divided from them by the course of the Tanais, spoke a dialect allied to the Scythian, as Herodotus tells us; and the Sarmatians were undoubtedly Iranians—a fact which did not escape the ancients,

This great nation of Iranian origin, roaming from the Oxus and Jaxartes—the Amu Daria and Syr Daria—to the mouths of the Danube, was split into many tribes and hordes. The one which pushed farthest westward, the Skolotai, or Scythians in the narrower sense, is best known to us, because Hérodotus, the

What Herodotus Says father of history, made it the subject of a detailed description. The Greeks knew that the Scythians had not always

lived in South Russia, but had immigrated thither from Asia. In their wanderings the Scythians came across the Cimmerians. They did not drive out this people all at once in one mighty onslaught, as Herodotus thought, but gradually and slowly

pushed them back. The effect of this pressure by the Scythians, who came from the east and pushed onward, is seen in the pressure of the Cimmerians on the Thracians of the Balkan peninsula, and in their driving a way for themselves through Thrace to new settlements in Asia Minor, whither they swept

A Migration Lasting Centuries

many Thracian tribes with them. This movement in South Russia and on the Balkan peninsula lasted many centuries.

It is certain that a great part of the Cimmerians, owing to the pressing onward of the Scythians, left their land and sought new homes elsewhere. Another part was certainly subdued by the new people and fused with them, as happened later to the Scythians themselves, owing to the pressure of nations from the east.

A last remnant of the Cimmerians preserved their independence in the Crimea, protected by the mountains, which they either had previously inhabited or to which they had fled for refuge from the Scythians. These were the Tauri, in the mountains of the Southern Crimea, who in the accounts which have come down to us are always sharply marked off from the Scythians inhabiting the rest of the peninsula. They were notorious for their piracy, and their custom of sacrificing strangers who fell into their hands through shipwreck or in any other way. The story of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia is well known. She came to them by divine decree, and, being appointed priestess of Artemis among them, was confronted by the necessity of sacrificing her own brother, Orestes, and his friend, Pylades.

The migrations of the Cimmerians, their invasions of Asia Minor, and their final overthrow have already been related. On the other hand, the country originally inhabited by them, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, so called after them—the present straits of Kertch—and some

Relics of the Ancient Cimmerians

fortifications which presumably owe their origin to them, and therefore were called by the ancients "Cimmerian," still preserve their memory. The Scythians then inhabited the whole of the Crimea, with the exception of the mountainous south, and the South Russian steppe from the Don to the Dniester. The district that owned their influence certainly extended so far. The "agricultural" Scythians in the districts watered

by the Dniester, Bug, and Dnieper were, indeed, from their occupation contrasted with the ruling nomad stock, the "royal" Scythians in the wide plain between the Dnieper and the Don, but in other respects were not different from them. And as farming was possible only in the immediate vicinity of the streams which flow through the steppes, we may well assume that it was not practised by all members of the tribe, but was restricted to some few sections, who, as inhabitants of fertile well-watered plains, and influenced by the neighbouring Greek colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea, had made the transition from nomad life to agriculture. Similarly, as the kingdom of Bosphorus expanded under efficient rulers, the Scythians on the east side of the Crimea became subject to them, and at the same time became agriculturists instead of nomad herdsmen.

But, with the exception of these "agricultural" Scythians, all the rest, and especially the ruling tribe of the "royal" Scythians, were, in consequence of the nature of the country in which they dwelt and roamed, nomads and herdsmen. They did not cultivate the land and did not live on the products of their labour.

The Royal Nomad Scythians

They had no villages and towns, no citadels or fortified places, but were cattle-breeders and wandered with their cattle and their goods from one pasturage to another.

From this there soon resulted the division of the people into innumerable small sections, to each one of which was assigned a district, generally well defined, but without any hard-and-fast boundary-line in particular, on which they found pasture for their herds; and this district, the life of which centred, we may imagine, round the heap of brushwood with the iron sword planted on it, which we shall mention later, must have also been large enough to offer new pastures when those already discovered provided no more sustenance. We can surmise that disputes and strife were common, and that war often broke out when one section fed their cattle on the land apportioned to another. To change their abodes quickly and to protect themselves against the inclemency of the weather, the Scythians had learnt to construct tents, which, consisting of laths covered over with felt or skins of wild animals and placed on heavy, four-wheeled or

THE SCYTHIANS, CIMMERIANS, AND SARMATIANS

six-wheeled waggons, served them as a dwelling-place. These waggons afforded shelter against rain, snow, and storm, and, drawn by teams of oxen, were used to transport the women, children, and chattels on their wanderings, while the men and elder boys rode and drove the cattle. The chief wealth of the Scythians consisted in horses, cattle, and sheep. In war and in peace the men were for the most part of their life on horseback. The breeding, care, and taming of horses was their chief occupation; mare's milk, and cheese made from it, served them as food. The cattle and sheep supplied them with meat, and they used the skins for clothing or barter, as these were eagerly sought by the Greeks.

Their religious customs and ceremonies corresponded to the primitive state in which the Scythians evidently lived. The sky and its wife, the earth, who

In every tribal section a pile of brushwood was heaped up, which was replenished every year on account of the sinking caused by the weather; and on this brushwood-heap, which presented a flat surface at the top, was planted a sword, to which horses and cattle were annually sacrificed. In perusing Herodotus' description we are involuntarily reminded of the mounds of the American Indians. Even human sacrifices were not unknown to the Scythians. They sacrificed to their god of war one out of every hundred prisoners. After wine had been sprinkled upon his head, the victim was slaughtered in such a way that his blood was caught in a vessel. The corpse of the victim was left lying in the open after they had hewn off the right shoulder, which was thrown high into the air, while the blood which had been caught was taken up to the top of the pile of brushwood erected in honour of their



THE SACRIFICE OF ORESTES BY HIS SISTER IPHIGENIA

The Tauri, a remnant of the Cimmerians, were noteworthy for their custom of sacrificing strangers. Thus arose the story of Iphigenia, who, appointed priestess of Artemis among the Tauri, was confronted with the necessity of sacrificing her own brother Orestes and his friend Pylades, an incident depicted in this Grecoan sarcophagus relief.

received from it the rain and sunshine necessary for her fruitfulness; fire and water, with some other natural phenomena which Herodotus identifies with Apollo, the celestial Aphrodite, and Heracles, without enabling us to arrive at their real signification—these were the objects of divine worship, to whom they offered sacrifices, and whom they invoked in their sacrifices. But to none of their deities did they erect temples and altars, any more than they fashioned images of them. They did not slaughter the sacrificial victim, but strangled it by a noose. After it had been skinned and the flesh stripped from the bones, the flesh was again fitted into the skin and cooked, the bones serving as fuel for the purpose.

Peculiar, too, was the worship paid to the sword as the noblest weapon of the Scythian, who lived always on a war footing, ready for defence or for attack.

god of war, and there poured over the upright sword of the god.

Characteristic also was the conduct of the soldier towards his slain enemy. The Scythian drank the blood of the first man whom he killed. But he severed the head of every enemy he killed from the body and brought it to his king, for only he who brought home the head of a slain enemy could share the booty. The more heads he possessed, the more respected he was among his countrymen. The severed head served not only as a title for him to a share of the spoil, but the skin was stripped off it, tanned, and hung as an ornament on the horse's bridle, or, sewn together with other human skins, was used as an article of dress. Human skin was esteemed not only as being thick and strong, but also extremely beautiful, white, and glossy. Besides this, the skull, stripped of the skin, was sawn in two and a drinking-cup made

of its upper portion, which was ordinarily covered outside with oxhide, while rich Scythians gilded it also inside. The Scythians scalped even their own countrymen, like enemies, if they had been at feud with them and, after a complaint, had vanquished them in the presence of the king. At the head of the tribes were chiefs ;

Barbarous Scythian Customs

at the head of the whole Scythian people a king. The government was despotic. We see that very clearly from the ceremonies at the burial of the kings. If an ordinary Scythian died, his corpse was carried round to all the neighbours for fourteen days, and every one gave a funeral feast. The embalmed body of the king was taken from tribe to tribe, in each of which the men inflicted cruel wounds on themselves and joined the funeral procession until it reached Gerrha ("the walls") in the territory of the "royal" Scythians, where the tombs of the kings were. Here the king was buried, and with him one of his wives, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his lackey, his horses, and all sorts of gold and silver vessels.

A gigantic sepulchral mound was heaped up over all. On the first anniversary fifty more horses and fifty servants of the dead king were strangled ; the horses were stuffed and fixed on stakes and the servants placed on them as guards for the dead man. Many such sepulchral mounds, usually called kurgans by the Turkomans, have been found in the vicinity of the Dnieper and opened. They held concealed in their chambers, besides the bones of men and animals, all sorts of implements, among which the works of Greek artists in gold and silver are conspicuous, and deserve special attention. They show, indeed, the friendly intercourse which must have existed on the north shores

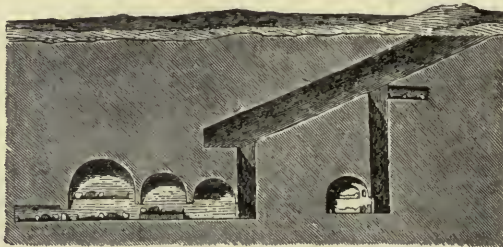
of the Black Sea between the Scythians and the flourishing Greek colonies.

The Greeks, and especially the vigorous and enterprising Ionians of the coast of Asia Minor, began very early to navigate the Black Sea, in order to procure for themselves the products of those parts and open up markets for their own goods.

They therefore sent out colonists to establish emporiums in suitable localities. Such settlements may have often been recalled, but very often prosperous and powerful towns grew up out of them. There were Greek colonies on the coast of South Russia, as Olbia at the mouth of the Hypanis ; Tyras on the river of the same name in the Crimea ; Panticapæum, or Bosphorus, now Kertch ; Chersonesus, now Sebastopol, and Theodosia, founded by the kings of Bosphorus, now Feodosia, and finally Tanais on the Sea of Azov, near the mouth of the Don.

The oldest and originally the most flourishing of these was Olbia. From here ran a trade route over the Dnieper and the Don, through the territory of the Sarmatians and Budini, first up to the Volga, where lay the factory of Gelonus, founded by the Greeks on account of the fur trade, and then over the Ural and the Ilek, down into the heart of Asia. At a later period the Asiatic trade passed through Tanais, which flourished under the Roman emperors. Panticapæum deserves to be mentioned with Olbia. From small beginnings it developed into an important commercial town and the capital of a kingdom which comprised the whole eastern peninsula of the Crimea and the peninsula of Taman, which lay opposite on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

We are told how the Greek colonists made themselves masters of the Scythian settlement of Panticapæum, and how they had to fight with the Scythians until they



A SUBTERRANEAN GREEK GRAVE
One of the extraordinary funeral chambers of Panticapæum, used by Greek colonists, following the custom of the Scythians.

gradually increased their territory, brought the neighbouring barbarians into subjection, and made peaceful agricultural citizens out of them, a process repeatedly followed by these Greek colonies. The barbarians did not willingly give up their territory ; it had to be fought for, and only gradually were trade relations formed with them and put on a firm basis. Very often the Greeks had to draw the sword in order to repel the attacks of rapacious and plundering Scythians, until they at length were strong enough to keep them in check. So long as the citizens of



CONTEMPORARY PICTURES OF SCENES IN THE LIFE OF THE SCYTHIANS

In consequence of the nature of the country in which they dwelt and roamed, the Scythians were nomad herdsmen dwelling in tents and breeding cattle and horses. These scenes from Greek vases are accurate studies of their life.

Olbia, on the one side, and the kings of Bosphorus, on the other, understood this, their trade flourished. The Crimea was the chief granary for Athens; from here, as from the other Greek colonies, hides, furs, and fleeces were sent to the mother country. Everywhere on the coasts, especially on those of the Mæotis, or Sea of Azov, sprang up settlements for the numerous fishermen who followed their calling there, catching great quantities of fish, which, thanks to the abundance of salt to be found, they at once salted and sent away by ship.

Scythian slaves also were eagerly sought after, and in Athens the phylakes, or police, were mostly Scythians. In return the mother country exported, besides oil and wine, all sorts of fabrics, gold and silver ornaments, and other articles of luxury. The products of Greek manufacturers

Barbarian Commerce With Greece

which are found in such quantities in the Scythian tombs show us that the Scythians were good customers for Greek wares. In return they furnished slaves, hides, wool and many like things.

The relations, therefore, between the Scythians and Greeks were varied. But even if so many germs of a higher culture reached the barbarians, making many

of them agriculturists, even if Scythian kings, like Ariapeithes and his son Scyles, had Greek wives, and were attached to Greek customs, the Scythian nation, as a whole, remained on a low plane of civilisation and resisted Greek influences.

Scythians at War With Persia Scyles, for instance, was expelled on account of his frequent visits to Olbia and his taking part in the Bacchic revels. They remained a warlike, nomad people, trained to arms, but not strong enough to withstand the shock and the pressure of the nations pushing forwards from the east.

Our earliest knowledge of the Scythians is the record of the greatest danger which they ever faced. In the year 513 B.C. Darius of Persia went against them with 700,000 men and 600 ships. The nature of their country stood the Scythians in good stead. When Darius led his army over the Danube on a bridge and marched forward, the Scythians retreated before him, avoiding every pitched battle, filled up the watering-places and laid waste the pasture-lands. Thus the Persian king was enticed into a desert, and the Scythians appeared at once on his rear and his front. Darius had to turn back, after suffering heavy loss, to save his army

from perishing miserably from thirst. As a set-off to this expedition of Darius, the Scythians undertook some years later, in 495 B.C., a raid through Thracia into the Thracian Chersonese. It is said, indeed, that they had intended to cross into Asia Minor, but they did not get so

**Miserable
Failure
of Darius**

far. For a long time after we hear nothing of the Scythians. But if it is certain that no Attila or Timur arose among them, as among the other nomad peoples of Asia, and that they did not become formidable to the world through a triumphant invasion, yet an uninterrupted movement must have taken place among the nations of Southern Russia; naturally not such as is incongruous with nomad life, but a movement rather marked by the intrusion of one tribe into the territory of another, the transfer of power from the conquered to the victorious people, and the occupation of the land left vacant by the victors by another people still.

According to Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C. the Scythians, or Skolotai, were the ruling nation between the Bug and the Don, and their neighbours on the east were the Sarmatians; the boundary between the two was formed by the Tanais, or Don. By the third or second century the state of affairs had changed. The Tanais no longer divided the two nations, but the Sarmatians ruled the greater part of the steppe westward of the Don; and where formerly the "royal" Scythians dwelt the Sarmatian tribe of the Rhoxolani were now settled. Before this result was attained many a battle must have been fought and the blood of many a nomad have been shed. Of this we hear nothing; but it is certain that in the long wars by which the Sarmatians became the masters of the steppe of Southern Russia the Scythians were by no means exterminated. An isolated record of their long struggles and counter-struggles may have been preserved for us in the story of the Scythian king, Ateas. About the middle of the fourth century B.C. we find him to the south of the Danube and actually at war with the Greek colony of Istrus in the Dobrudzha, having already fought and defeated the Triballi, who lived to the south of the Danube. Pressed hard by the king of Istrus, he asked help of King Philip of Macedon, promising in return to appoint him his heir.

Soon afterwards, however, when the king of Istrus died, Ateas sent back the Macedonian auxiliaries, with whom he could now dispense, and returned a flat refusal to Philip's request that in compensation he would defray a part of the cost of the siege of Byzantium. After the raising of the siege Philip began war with the Scythians, marched to the Danube, and won a complete victory over them. Ateas himself was killed, and many women and children and countless herds—it is reckoned that twenty thousand mares alone were brought back to Macedon—fell into the hands of the victor. If Ateas could be reduced to such straits by one small Greek town as to be forced to seek foreign assistance, we cannot believe that he invaded a foreign country at the head of a powerful force with a view to conquest; but we are more inclined to assume that, being himself hard pressed by more powerful nations in the east, he hoped to find new permanent settlements



A MASTERPIECE OF GREEK COLONIAL ART
A beautiful vase, overlaid with gold and silver, found in a tomb at Panticapæum in the Cimmerian Bosphorus.



THE HEAD OF CYRUS PRESENTED TO THE BARBARIAN SCYTHIAN QUEEN

The custom followed by the Scythians of severing the head of every enemy killed and presenting it to the king is exemplified in this incident depicted by Rubens of the presentation of the head of Cyrus, the great king of Persia, who was killed in an invasion of Scythia, to the Scythian queen Thomyris, who orders it to be dipped in a bowl of blood.

south of the Danube—a prelude, as it were, to the movements of the German races in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Another part of the Scythians remained in their old homes, in the Crimea and in the immediately adjoining districts of the South Russian steppe. Towards the end of the second century B.C., when the Rhoxolani were already settled between the Don and the Dnieper, a Scythian king, Scilurus, attained such power as to threaten the Greek towns of

Chersonesus and Bosphorus. Energetic and powerful kings no longer, indeed, ruled in Bosphorus as formerly, and even in Chersonesus the old rigour seemed to have relaxed and to have given place to a certain effeminacy and weakness. In any case, these towns no longer held the Scythians in check. Scilurus pressed them hard, demanded and obtained payment of tribute to ensure their immunity from invasion, and brought them to such a condition that they began to look

round for foreign help. Mithradates the Great, the king of Pontus, the mighty and dangerous opponent of Rome, sent his general, Diophantus, who defeated the Scythians under Scilurus in several campaigns and forced them to refrain from further attacks on the territory of the Greek cities. Bosphorus and Chersonesus paid a high price for the service rendered to them; they had to give up their independence and became Pontic towns.

After the death of Mithradates and the end of his dynasty, Rome assumed the foremost and leading position in the Crimea. Although in Bosphorus the royal line which had been established by Rome still nominally ruled, and even in the time of the emperors successfully kept guard on this farthest frontier of the empire against the nomad barbarians of the South Russian steppe, just as had formerly the Leuconidæ, yet in reality Rome was here, as everywhere, the supreme power, setting up or deposing monarchs and sending her troops to ensure peace. In the first half of the first century of the Christian era a Roman general liberated the town of Chersonesus from a siege by the Scythians. These were the same Scythians of the

northern half of the Crimea and the adjoining parts of the steppe who formerly had been repulsed by Diophantus. That is the last time that we meet the Scythians here. In the broad steppes of the Don and the Dniester the Sarmatians, and especially the Rhoxolani, were predominant; and the last Scythians must have been absorbed and subdued by them.

Like Bosphorus and Chersonesus, Olbia, that once flourishing and powerful town on the north shore of the Black Sea, declined in importance. About the time when Diophantus brought help to the Greek towns on the Crimea, or perhaps a little earlier, Olbia was also hard pressed on all sides; and, although the public treasury was drained and the help of solvent citizens had to be called into requisition, it was compelled to pay tribute or give gifts of money to the numerous chieftains of the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure their good-will and to keep them from taking actively hostile measures. But distress reached its culminating point when the Gauls and the German Sciri, who joined them, advanced from the district of the Vistula and seemed to threaten the town; and though that was avoided, and the united army of the Gauls and Sciri seems to have withdrawn, Olbia soon afterwards had to fight against new enemies, for, some twenty or thirty years later, the town was taken and destroyed by the Getæ, who dwelt on the Danube, and under an energetic ruler had become a great power. Olbia, it is true, was rebuilt; but, involved in continual wars against the neighbouring barbarians, it never regained its former prosperity.

These plundering expeditions, first of the Gauls and Sciri, then of the Getæ, are, as it were, a prelude to the scenes that were to be acted on the Southern Russian steppe in the succeeding centuries; that is, in the uninterrupted flow and crush of nation upon nation. After the kingdom of the Getæ had broken up, the Sarmatian Iazyges advanced over the Danube and pressed hard on the Greek colonies there until they took possession of the country between the Theiss and the Danube; here they were settled during the entire period of the empire, and often proved dangerous enemies to the Romans.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



A GROUP OF SARMATIANS

The Sarmatians were a Black Sea nomad race of Iranian origin, who practically exterminated the whole Scythian race.



THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE ON THE WORLD

BY PROFESSOR RONALD M. BURROWS

SOME day, perhaps, when a new History of the World is being written for a thirtieth century Japan, it will contain a chapter with a title something like the present one, only with the word "Europe" instead of "Greece."

The historian will tell how before the Armageddon that broke up the twentieth century world Japan was faced by a homogeneous civilisation, which went by the name of European. This civilisation, he would explain, was a unity, not merely so far as an observer could generalise about it after the event, but as it struck its contemporaries. Dress, food, houses, government, religion were curiously uniform. It mattered not at all to young Japan whether it was a German or an English professor that it brought over for its literature or its engineering; they had all the same way of looking at things. It was the similarity of point of view that made the difference of dialect of such minor importance; Shakespeare was almost as much a German as an Englishman, and Ibsen much more of an Englishman than a Norwegian. The historian would add, however, that, in spite of this essential unity, it was important to notice that there were real differences in detail. It was unscientific, for instance, to use the word English or British instead of European; nor should the great alliance against the yellow races, that dominated the latter part of the twentieth century, blind the

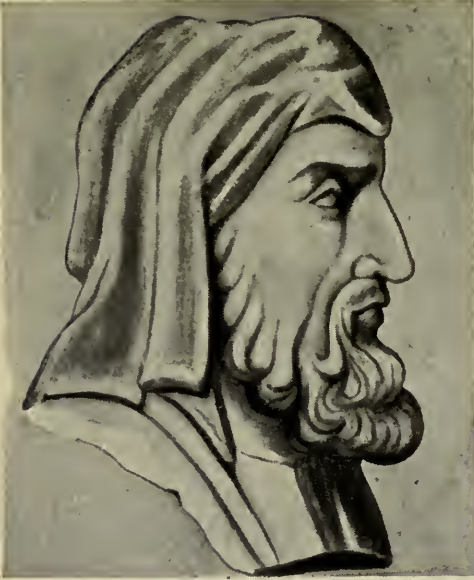
How Japan Will View Europe

reader's eyes to the fact that Europe consisted of a number of independent states of varying size, each one of which constituted a political unit.

This is probably the safest point of view from which Greek history can be approached by those who come to it fresh from the study of modern life. To the barbarians, or "stammerers," among whom they lived—for the word denotes wildness of tongue and not of morals—all Greeks must have seemed the same kind of people, whatever state they hailed from.

It would be a refinement of personal observation or political knowledge to know an Athenian from a Corinthian or an Argive. And the Hellenes themselves—for Greek, like German or Allemand, is not a native word, but a name given by one nation to another—realised their spiritual unity in face of the barbarian world. The difference between their dialects was not great enough to make them unintelligible to each other. Megarians and Bœotians could be brought upon the comic stage at Athens not merely for a few short sentences, to amuse by the unintelligible, but for long scenes, where unintelligibility would have been a poor joke. In the sixth or fifth centuries B.C. the analogy for the Greek dialects is not so much English, French, and German, as the many different dialects in which the English language is used. Just, too, as we can imagine that behind such living dialectical literatures the language of the

True Point of View for Greek History



PLUTARCH

Whose "Parallel Lives," written to foster public spirit in Greece, is perhaps the finest political tract ever written.

authorised version of the Bible would represent a unifying force, so in classical Greece the epic saga, themselves the result of a long compromise between different dialects and a record of their life-history, served, when once formed, as a common basis for literary expression. Though, again, the outward forms, or ritual, of religion varied more in the Greek than in the Christian world, they were made unimportant by an attitude of mind determined to harmonise and reconcile them. The Hebraic "Thou shalt have none other gods but me," which survives so markedly in the Christian attitude to detail, was alien to the Greek mind. The Hellenic First Commandment was rather, "Thou shalt see me in every god, and find acceptance with me in every act of worship." That is the secret of Greek religion, with its strange mixture of polytheistic, pantheistic, and monotheistic elements. Even politically Greece was capable at times of common action in face of a common danger. The "alliance against the Medes," which marked the beginning of the fifth century B.C., meant a greater sinking of political differences than anything that Europe has done since the days of the Crusades.

The really difficult thing for us to remember is that these political differences existed. From the earliest settlement of the Hellenes in the Eastern Mediterranean down to the end of the fourth century B.C.

their world consisted of a vast number of small city states. Grouped and regrouped in leagues and alliances, they not only fostered to the end a passionate ideal of independence, but in the great majority of cases attained it. Local patriotism means local characteristics, and a German is no more like a Frenchman than a Spartan was like an Athenian. The instance, indeed, suggests that for great sections of the Greek world other influences have to be allowed for besides political independence. The Greeks were a mixed people, a blend of northern and southern elements, and the blend was

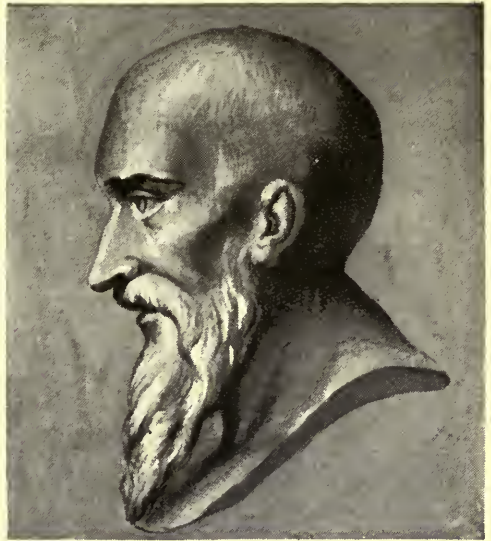


SOPHOCLES, THE CLASSIC TRAGEDIAN

Sophocles is the only one of the three great Greek tragedians who represents the classic spirit in Greek tragedy. From the statue in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE ON THE WORLD

different in different places. The southern element was almost as completely under control at Sparta as the Northern was at Athens. In attempting, therefore, to estimate Greek influence as a whole we must remember that we are dealing with a complex civilisation and a long life-history. We need not, of course, attempt to get a composite photograph of what a Greek was like by eliminating differences and emphasising the residuum. Influence depends upon dominant characteristics, not upon average ones, and it is partly because of the variety in Greek life and the range of Greek thought that they have loomed



ÆSCHYLUS

The earliest of the three great Athenian tragedians, Sophocles, Æschylus and Euripides. He was not a classicist, but is as full of romance as Shakespeare.

so large in the history of the later world. Just as each age has its own translation of Homer, bringing out the essence of the poetry in terms of its own poetical style, so Greek life as a whole means something different to every generation. To the Romans of the later republic Greece stood for the refining influence of art and literature. On this side the Romans owed more to Greece than any nation since has ever done.

How great the debt was in direct borrowing and imitation we cannot fully estimate, as only a fragment of the Greek writings that appealed to them most is preserved to us. We are content to judge by the frank acknowledgment of the Romans themselves. Even the freshest of their poets, Lucretius and Catullus, bear the stamp of Greek inspiration. Greek culture was assimilated by the nation as a whole, and not only by a few individuals. By the Augustan Age the process is complete, and the resultant type, the Hellenised Roman, is normal; the poems of Virgil and Horace give a supreme expression to the meaning and value of the new civilisation, but they do not themselves create it.

Culture, however, is a limited word, and the Hellenised Roman of this central period of Roman history, the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., is at pains to show that he owed nothing at all to Greek character. This was partly due to a real superiority of Roman over Greek in the qualities that make for government,



EURIPIDES

One of the three great Greek tragic poets, who is as full of problems as Ibsen, though tradition makes us regard all Greek poets as classicists. From the Vatican statue.

strength of purpose, and grit and staying power. It was true, as Virgil said, that

Others may beat the bronze as soft as flesh,
And mould the marble to the living face,
Plead causes better, pencil out the heavens,
And tell the story of the rising stars.
To rule the world—that is thy mission, Roman,
Thy art is to lay down the law of peace,
Sparing the conquered, trampling on the proud."

There was something else, however, besides this. Virgil and his world judged

**Rome Denies
her Debt
to Greece**

Greek character by the Greeks they saw around them. The detractor of the modern Greek can at least shelter himself behind Fallmerayer, and plead mixture of race, when he is tempted to judge the past by the present. Virgil's contemporaries were, without doubt, the actual descendants of the Heroes. Their weakness of moral fibre, their very cleverness and versatility, damaged their ancestors. The typical Greek was taken to be a kind of Themistocles, at his worst, and as his enemies thought of him.

Hardly two centuries passed before there was a change. A drought-wave was passing over the steppes of Central Asia, and the means of subsistence began to fail throughout that huge area. There was a shifting of the population westward, just as, thousands of years before, a similar pulse of climate had driven the first Indo-Europeans into South Russia and Central Europe. A pressure was felt on the eastern frontiers of the Roman empire, and it was the Hellenised East that stood in the way of invasion. How was it that the Greeks were equal to the emergency, and that though the pressure came from the east, it had to pass westwards along the northern front of the empire to find the line of least resistance? The answer is that the Greek conquest of Asia Minor and Syria under Alexander was more thorough and permanent than the Roman conquest over his successors. The assimilation by these

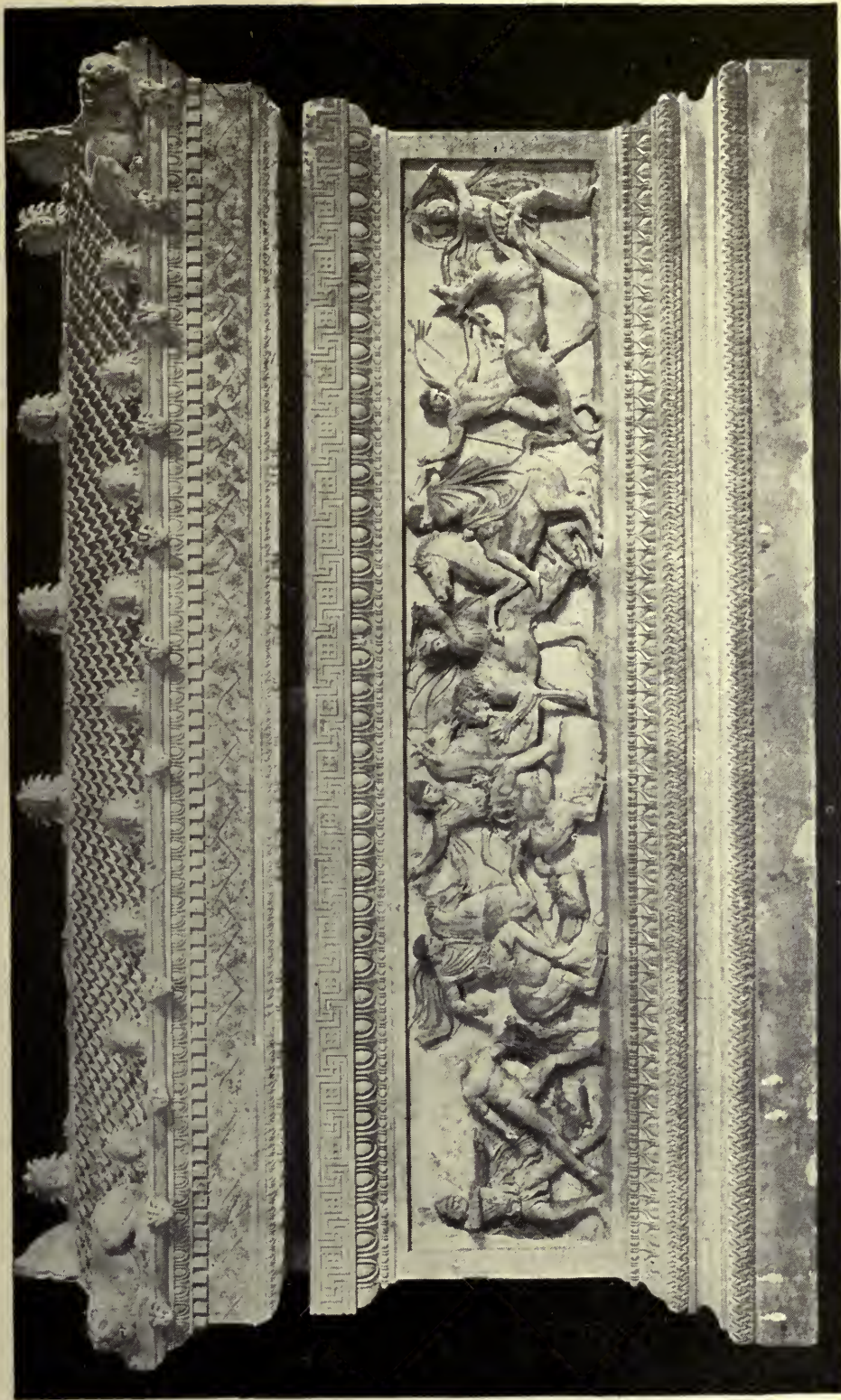
**Greece a
Bulwark of
Civilisation**

countries of Greek civilisation, and the evolution of what was practically a new racial type, had gone on quietly and unchecked during the centuries of war which brought them within the Roman empire. Christianity may be said to have been primarily the religion of this new race, a religion half Greek, half Oriental, fitted to strengthen its character, and to brace it for life. When the danger came, the very responsibilities of the situation,

the fact that once again, as at Marathon and Salamis, they were the acknowledged bulwark of civilisation against barbarism, helped the Greeks to realise their new political importance. The mainland of Greece had itself already done something to foster energy and public spirit. Plutarch's book of "Parallel Lives," written at the beginning of the second century A.D., is the finest political tract ever written. On the one side he justified the character, the political capacity, of the ancient Greeks, forgotten in the course of the centuries. He set the two races, Greek and Roman, man for man, one over against the other, and showed that Greeks too could fight and govern. On the other side he made his countrymen feel that there was glory to be won in adapting themselves to new conditions and taking their share in the government of the Cosmopolitan Empire. He saw well enough, as Christ saw for the Jews, that nothing was to be won by impracticable aspirations for national independence.

Even our best historians are apt to smile pityingly at Plutarch, and sneer at the vapidity and pettiness of the life of municipal activity which he counsels. "The world," says Mommsen, belongs not to reason but to passion." But it is just the passion which Plutarch throws into the limits of his narrower fate, his search for "a man of fire" to prove equal to it, that turns the edge of all such criticisms. "For before now a great suit well judged, and a steadfast advocacy of a weak man against a mighty, and a fearless speech to a wicked governor on behalf of justice, has been the beginning to some men of a glorious public life." If this is bathos, was there ever in the world's history a nobler protest against fortune? In point of fact, there is no bathos, and we may find a truth in Plutarch's words deeper than he dreamed of. Before a century was out Greek officers were commanding Roman troops in a border war, and a Greek was governor of a province. It was this deep-seated and indomitable public spirit that made possible the long history of the Byzantine empire, Roman in organisation, Christian in religion, Greek in language.

Meanwhile, throughout the ages which were therefore dark, Western Europe had to do without Greece. In Italy alone there was some contact with contemporary



THE MAGNIFICENT SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER, ONE OF THE MASTERPIECES OF GREEK ART

Modern Europe has made great contributions to the interpretation of the Greek spirit, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the originals of the great periods of Greek art were discovered. This so-called sarcophagus of Alexander is the most intact of all the Greek masterpieces, both as regards the modelling and the delicate charm of the colouring.

Greek civilisation. The influence of Byzantium on the earliest Italian art was a real one; but it was not till the spirit of renaissance had touched literature as well as art that there was a return to Ancient Greece. It was in Tuscany that the spark caught fire—just that part of Italy where the artistic temperament of the old Mediterranean stock had been reinforced by kindred Etruscan blood. When once it caught, it spread through Europe with a freshness and a mastery that meant a new world and a new delight in life. Wordsworth's line

"The senselessness of joy was then sublime," could have been applied as truly to the Renaissance as to the French Revolution. Robert Browning's "Grammarians' Funeral" is no exaggeration. For the men of that day, Greek stood for more than what we ordinarily mean by culture and art. Knowledge and truth are words that better represent the sum total of its worth to them. The cry of Ajax in the Iliad:

"Slay me, Lord, if thou wilt,
Let it but be in the light,"

appealed to them as the typical utterance of the Greek spirit; and it was the attitude in which they themselves were ready to face life. The painting of pictures, and the singing of poetry, and the laborious study of the shades of meaning of a particle were accepted without surprise as aspects of the same love of truth.

"He was a man born with thy face and throat,
Lyric Apollo!"

was the natural thing for his scholars to say of a Grammarian. That is why the re-discovery of Greek contributed to movements like the Protestant Reformation, which is not an obvious product of an artistic revival. The quickening spirit, once roused, filled all the avenues of thought. It would be interesting to discuss how far, from that day to this, movements that have made for light have been inspired by Greece. We should find early in our inquiry that we must not confuse Greek with classical. The classical spirit, in literature and art and life, with its canons of dignity and order, and its shrinking from waywardness and eccentricity, is only accidentally associated with Greece. We can find it there, as we

can find most things, in a civilisation so full and many-sided, but it cannot be said to be dominant. A name like Sophocles naturally occurs to us as representing it at its best, and the example is a fair one and illustrates the point. Of the three great tragedians he is the only one who can be quoted on the classical side. Æschylus and Euripides are as romantic as Shakespeare and as full of problems as Ibsen. The fact is that European tradition makes us study Greek along with Latin, and that we are in danger of applying to one literature what is true only of the other. There are exceptions, of course, even in Latin; Lucretius and Catullus in early days caught the breath of Greek romance, and men like Apuleius found it again centuries later.

In the main, however, it is true that the Romans were a nation of classicists; to point out, as has often been done, that their dominant quality was "gravitas" is but to say the same thing in Latin. In the first flush of the Renaissance there was no confusion; the world was near enough to the remains of Roman civilisation to

**The Danger
that Came when
Men Forgot**

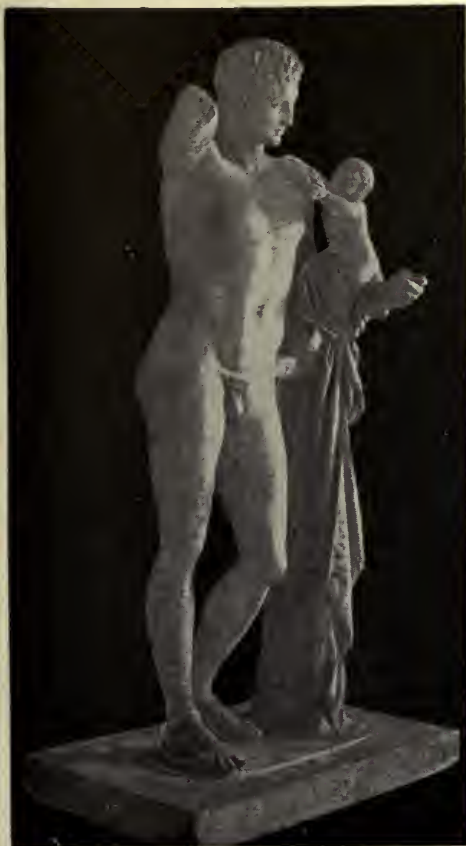
realise what a new and different thing this was, this return to Greece. The danger came when men forgot

that the return was for inspiration, and began to hold up Greek and Roman styles in art or literature for mechanical imitation. This was peculiarly fatal in regard to architecture. The Greek temple, beautiful as it is in its own environment, is, at its best, limited in range, and is little fitted for the climate of western Europe and the needs of its public worship. Architecture was, indeed, the one department in which the natural evolution of Greek art had never been broken. The Gothic cathedral, far from being a barbarism, as some of the Renaissance builders held, had the bluest blood in its veins. It traced its pedigree back through Romanesque and Byzantine, not merely to the Roman basilica, but to the Hall of Judgment of the king-archon at Athens, and the Pillar Hall of the Minoan priest-king in the Royal Villa at Cnossus. Though individual details of Greek temple ornament could be, and have been, used with charming effect in every departure of architecture, slavish reproduction of the general style has led to lamentable results.

The same is largely true of literature. In the ever recurring battle between the



THE ARCHAIC PERIOD: SCULPTURES OF THE TEMPLE AT ÆGINA



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES



THE DELPHI CHARIOTEER

The modern discovery of the originals of Greek masterpieces has given us a great insight into the development of Greek art, an idea of which may be gained from the reproductions illustrating this chapter. One of the best examples of the archaic period, the Ægina sculptures, is reproduced at the top of the page. At the bottom are examples of what was, perhaps, the finest period—the famous Hermes by Praxiteles, the beauty of the execution of which no photograph can give an adequate idea, and the charioteer, lately found by the French at Delphi.

classicists and the romanticists the former have often claimed, and claimed with sincerity, that the Greeks were on their side. In reality they were looking at Greece through Roman spectacles. When Sir Philip Sidney and Corneille wished to argue for the observance of the unities of time and place, they appealed

The Spirit of Greece and English Drama

to Aristotle's "Essay on Poetry." But it is significant that they were obliged to misquote him. In point of

fact he does not mention the unity of place, and lays down nothing that could fairly be called a "precept" about the unity of time. The Elizabethan drama was itself the true child of the Renaissance, as Sidney's own lyrics were, and its earliest masters acknowledged the debt. Marlowe saw well enough that it was just because he had "made blind Homer sing to him," and was "immortal with Helen's kiss," that his poetry was free and daring. The drama, happily for England, developed there while the spirit of Greece was still fresh in the world, and had not been Latinised away.

When, again, the classicist tyranny fell at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century it was realised by not a few of the romanticists that a return to Nature must in Europe inevitably mean a return to Greece. Winckelmann's re-discovery of Greek sculpture, and his passionate enthusiasm for it, were limited by half-knowledge and the still dominant influence of classicist conventions; but it was the Greek in him that inspired Goethe. In the group of men who worked round Victor Hugo and stormed that last stronghold of formalism, the French drama, we find the same feeling. When they rebelled against "les grisâtres," the grey men, the colourless element in literature and life, and asked for light and movement and audacity, they were conscious, so Théophile Gautier tells us, that

The Revolt from Classicism

they were returning to "the great periods of the Renaissance, and the true ancient world."

Byron, indeed, was one of the few romanticists who realised that the revolt from classicism, necessary as it was, had a danger in it, with its go-as-you-please tendency, and its contempt for form and rule. There was a certain sense in which Pope was more Greek than Scott, or Wordsworth, or Byron himself, and Byron was not inapt when he compared Pope to a

Greek temple. In Greek poetry, too, there was the temple element, and it is the lack of it which is the weak point of movements that issue from a conscious revolt against formalism.

Byron's attitude to Greece suggests a further point. For both him and Shelley, Greece stands for political as well as for intellectual freedom. Contemporary Greece has come once more on the scene, as it did in Roman days, to interpret its ancestor. The struggle for liberty, which began in 1790, and went on intermittently throughout Byron's life, had a profound influence on western Europe, and brought into prominence the political and moral side of ancient Greek civilisation. Greece was still the land—

"Where burning Sappho loved and sung ;"
but, beyond all that, it was the home of "Lacedæmon's hardihood," the ground where

"Standing on the Persians' grave,
I could not deem myself a slave."

It is no slight tribute to modern Greece that it inspired such thoughts. It is true that it met with plenty of trenchant criticism in Byron's earlier writings;

The Finest Thing that Byron did

yet, even in 1810, when he prophesied in "Childe Harold" that freedom would come only

"when Grecian mothers shall give birth to men," he never doubted that the time was coming. His "Thoughts on the Present State of Greece," published at the same period, show that his criticism is from the inside, not the outside, and that it madé for encouragement and inspiration, not for despair. When the War of Independence definitely broke out, in 1820, only a year after the publication of "The Isles of Greece," Shelley eloquently defended the insurgents in the preface to "Hellas," while Byron was aroused by his enthusiasm to a personal self-devotion that was the finest thing in his life. The last lines that he wrote on Greece before he died for her are not critical:

"The sword, the banner, and the field,
Glory and Greece, around me see!
The Spartan, borne upon his shield
Was not more free."

Nor must we forget that this ideal of ancient Greek freedom has from first to last been the inspiration of the modern Greeks themselves. In no country has the past a stronger hold. One can only hope that Greece will take warning from

THE INFLUENCE OF GREECE ON THE WORLD

western Europe, and not let tradition stiffen into classicism. There will never be a great modern Greek literature until the false antithesis between the spoken and the written word is dropped, and a national language allowed to evolve freely and naturally by interaction and competition between popular dialects.

When we turn from modern Greece to modern Europe as a whole, we find that here, too, contributions have been made to the interpreting of the Greek spirit. This is largely due to the fact that we know more about it than any generation has known for 1,500 years. Winckelmann and Lessing had to judge Greek art mainly from Roman copies, and the originals to which they had access were of the decadence. It was the nine-

teenth century that rediscovered the originals of the great periods. First there were those that were still above ground, the sculptures of the Parthenon and of Ægina; then the results of excavation, the Hermes of Praxiteles from Olympia, the grave reliefs from Athens, the sarcophagi from Sidon, the Charioteer from Delphi. With the insight thus gained into the development of Greek sculpture and the methods of its various schools, we have turned with new eyes to the statues already contained

in the museums of Europe. One of the most fascinating chapters in art criticism has been the mental reconstruction of lost masterpieces from the study of Roman copies and the use of the comparative method. More than once, too, we have been able to distinguish actual originals,

Our Discoveries in Greek Art

such as the Leconfield head of Aphrodite, or the Bologna head of Athena, from the mass of later work in which they had lain unnoticed. In literature our discoveries have also been considerable, though not as epoch-making as they have been in art. It is partly that we have less way to make. Many of the greatest things the Greeks wrote have been known to us since the Renaissance. Homer and Thucydides,

Herodotus and Plato, have always been with us, and the same is true of at least some of the best fifth century tragedies.

We have never been ignorant in literature, as we were till lately in art, of the heights to which the Greeks could rise. Our last instance, however, shows how woefully fragmentary our records are. Of perhaps

nearly 300 plays written by Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, we have but thirty-three, most of them selected by no finer canon of taste than the need of a safe text-book for a Byzantine schoolboy. Of their minor contemporaries we have not a single play, while detached verses, quoted by later writers, are all that remain of the brilliant group of comedians who competed with Aristophanes.

Of the early lyric poets, the pre-Socratic philosophers, and the fourth century historians, we have mere fragments. Excavation has in this matter rather whetted our appetite than satisfied it. It is a long time since we have had any considerable find of vellum manuscripts. We depend on the unearthing of papyri in Egyptian tombs or on Egyptian rubbish-heaps. From one point of view the change is for the better. Instead of late mediæval transcripts, many times removed from the truth, we have the

actual products of the ancient book-trade, written by and for men who spoke the language as their mother tongue.

Many of the papyri we have found were written in the first or second century B.C., some in the third. In the case of a fourth century lyric poem of Timotheos, the copy we possess may actually have been carried in the pocket of one of Alexander the Great's soldiers, whose father may have met the poet. The light that is thrown on the text of authors whose works we already possess in mediæval copies is considerable, even if the papyrus is but a fragment. We realise, for instance, that the order of lines, and perhaps of incidents, in the Iliad and the Odyssey, was far less fixed in ancient times than the uniformity of our later manu-



THE BOLOGNA HEAD OF ATHENA
This head is believed by some to be an original work of the best period of Greek sculpture

scripts would lead us to suppose ; while, on the other hand, we get unexpected confirmation for the received text of Thucydides. Though papyri have been of great importance from this scientific point of view, not even the dryness of the Egyptian air could save such delicate material

from damage when buried for 2,000 years, and, at the start, perhaps thrown away as rubbish. They are terribly torn, and hardly a single new work that they offer us is intact. The lyric poems of Bacchylides, and a tract on the constitution of Athens, written for Aristotle by his pupils, have been, up till this last year, their chief contribution to Greek literature. These have now been challenged by some poems of Pindar, fragments of a new historian, Theopompus, perhaps, or Cratippus, dealing with the events of the first years of the fourth century, and about 1,200 lines of Menander. The last is poor stuff, and justifies the worst that has been thought of him from the half-translations, half-imitations of Terence.

We have spoken of discoveries made recently. Here we have another side on which Greek is of interest to the modern world. Greek studies are alive and progressive, and touch the scientific as well as the literary spirit of the age. Whole new regions of history are being opened up. Egypt under the Ptolemies, Sparta in the sixth century B.C., Crete in the sixteenth, are all having a flood of light thrown on them by British scholars, indifferently supported, it is sad to say, by British money. It is not only that our knowledge of Greek evolves under our hands and is a fitting subject for scientific research. The Greeks themselves were the pioneers of the scientific spirit, and invented nearly everything. Their speculations cover physics, mathematics, and medicine. They are the parents of practically all known forms of literature tragedy and farce, epic and drinking song, history and novel. Our

metaphysics, our ethics, our politics, are still written in terms of their philosophy, and new schools of thought succeed mainly in bringing into prominence some aspect of it that their predecessors had ignored. The stage owes to Greece its existence, and has acknowledged the debt by borrowing from it all its technical terms. Drama, theatre, tragedy, comedy, scene, proscenium, orchestra, chorus, choir, music, poetry—all are Greek words.

But it is not only the student of origins who is affected. There is so much in Greek thought that impresses us all as modern. There are no adequate discussions of socialism, for instance, or the woman question, between Greek times and our own. For the attitude of a higher civilisation to a

lower, the duty of an empire to its subject races, we can find no nearer parallels, or warnings, than in Greek history. Above all, the problem as to how a democracy is to govern an empire and yet remain true to its humanitarian ideals has never been put, except in fifth century Athens, and in Britain to-day.

Even so significant a trait as love of animals has to jump the centuries. Except, perhaps, under the inspiration of St. Francis of Assisi, how little we have of it in European literature till quite modern times! Where have we another Argos, the hound whom Odysseus had hunted with in his youth before he went to Troy? When Odysseus came back in disguise as a beggar no one knew him but his dog. Argos was lying on a dung-heap, past his work, and full of vermin; he had no master, and no one cared.

When he caught sight of his master, he wagged his tail and let both his ears fall, but was not strong enough to get nearer. Nor did Odysseus dare go near either, but asked questions about the dog, hoping that the others would not notice the tears in his eyes. But Argos died—"the fate of black death overtook him, even in the hour that he looked on Odysseus in the twentieth year."

RONALD M. BURROWS



THE GREEK'S LOVE FOR A DOG
As expressed in Greek art.



THE STORY OF ANCIENT GREECE

By Professor Rudolph von Scala

IN THE HEROIC OR LEGENDARY AGE

THE Mycenæan civilisation, which has become known to us through recent excavations, is on a plane higher than that of the culture attained by the early hordes of the North, and its development may be most easily explained by the intercourse between the Greek tribes of the Southern and Central Balkan peninsula and the peoples of Asia Minor. The latter brought to the Greeks the civilisation of Egypt and the East; the Greeks developed this culture on lines of their own, and in some respects improved on it.

The civilisation of this period takes its name from Mycenæ. In addition to Mycenæ, its chief centres were Tiryns, Orchomenus, the citadel of Gulas at Lake Copais, the early acropolis of Athens, and the sixth stratum, or city, of Troy. Other districts also have demonstrated the wide diffusion of Mycenæan culture: Nauplia, Vaphio in Laconia, and Campus in Messenia, Spata, Menidi, Halyce, Thoricus, Aphidna, Eleusis in Attica, Salamis, Ægina, Goura in Phthiotis, Delphi, Demini in Thessalia, Thera, Therasia, Calymnus, Melos, Crete, Rhodes. Both the Greeks and the peoples of Asia Minor had acquired that time a uniform civilisation; the vast development of culture led to an increase of population and an increased need for land, and, consequently, to a great wave of emigration over the sea. The Æolian and partly Ionian conquest of Asia Minor, the invasions of Egypt by the "nations from the north," and the spread of Mycenæan civilisation over Sicily and Egypt,

are the natural offshoots of the Mycenæan culture at its height. In consequence of recent excavations at Mycenæ and Tiryns, it is no longer a matter of great difficulty to obtain a fair idea of the life of that time. Although it rises no higher than from

Massive Citadel of Tiryns forty to sixty feet above the plain, the citadel of Tiryns, with its massive walls and prominent towers, gives an impression of great strength and magnificence. The walls themselves were to the Greeks mysterious tokens of a long-forgotten past, and were attributed by them to the Cyclops.

Some of the gigantic blocks of stone are hewn into complex forms, and others are covered with ornamentation. Along the approach, past the lower citadel, we may walk between the walls of the ancient town and the fortress to the main entrance of the upper citadel, or acropolis, where the walls reach the astonishing thickness of fifty-seven feet. Arches or casemates are built into them, such as have been discovered in the ruins of Phœnician cities. Indeed, the same proportion between length and breadth is to be seen here as in far-distant Carthage and in other ancient towns of Northern Africa. Passing through the doorway, the propylæa, ornamented with pillars, and proceeding over the fine lime floor of the great court, in which an altar to "Zeus of the enclosure" once stood, and, finally, through a vestibule and ante-room, we reach the great court of the men, the megaron, in which there was once a fireplace thirty-eight feet nine inches long and thirty-two feet two inches wide.

This hall was lighted from above, and was built at a higher level than the neighbouring apartments, just as the central hall of the Temple of Solomon was raised above the surrounding rooms, and, later, the halls of Roman dwellings and the naves of mediæval churches. The walls were brightly painted with rosettes, blossoms,

Palaces of Ancient Greece

pictures of pastoral life, and conventional designs, such as we now see in Oriental rugs. Such a pattern in red and blue was traced on the lime plastering of the floor. Doors with one and two wings, in part hung with curtains, led to the women's quarters, consisting of rectangular courts with columns and porches, a great main hall, and corridors and passages of great length, all copied from the palaces of Egypt and Syria.

At Mycenæ a street eleven and a half feet wide, hewn out of the cliff and supported by cyclopean rocks, passing over stone bridges pierced for the flow of water, led to the walls of the citadel. The entrance was the Lion Gate, so called on account of the two lions standing opposite one another with their forepaws resting on an altar, in the middle of which a column is erected. The upper classes of the Mycenæans, judging from pictures on vases and remains discovered in the tombs, were in the habit of wearing pointed beards and their upper lips shaved. Ornaments of gold-plate with palm leaf and lotus designs glittered upon their clothing.

They carried sword or dagger, richly inlaid with metal in various patterns; the handles terminated in fantastically shaped knobs, of which one example is a dragon's head in gold with glistening eyes of cut rock-crystal. The blade of one dagger recently discovered is ornamented with a representation of lions pursuing antelopes; another shows four men, protected by shields, setting forth on a lion hunt; on a third are represented

Personal Magnificence in Mycenæ

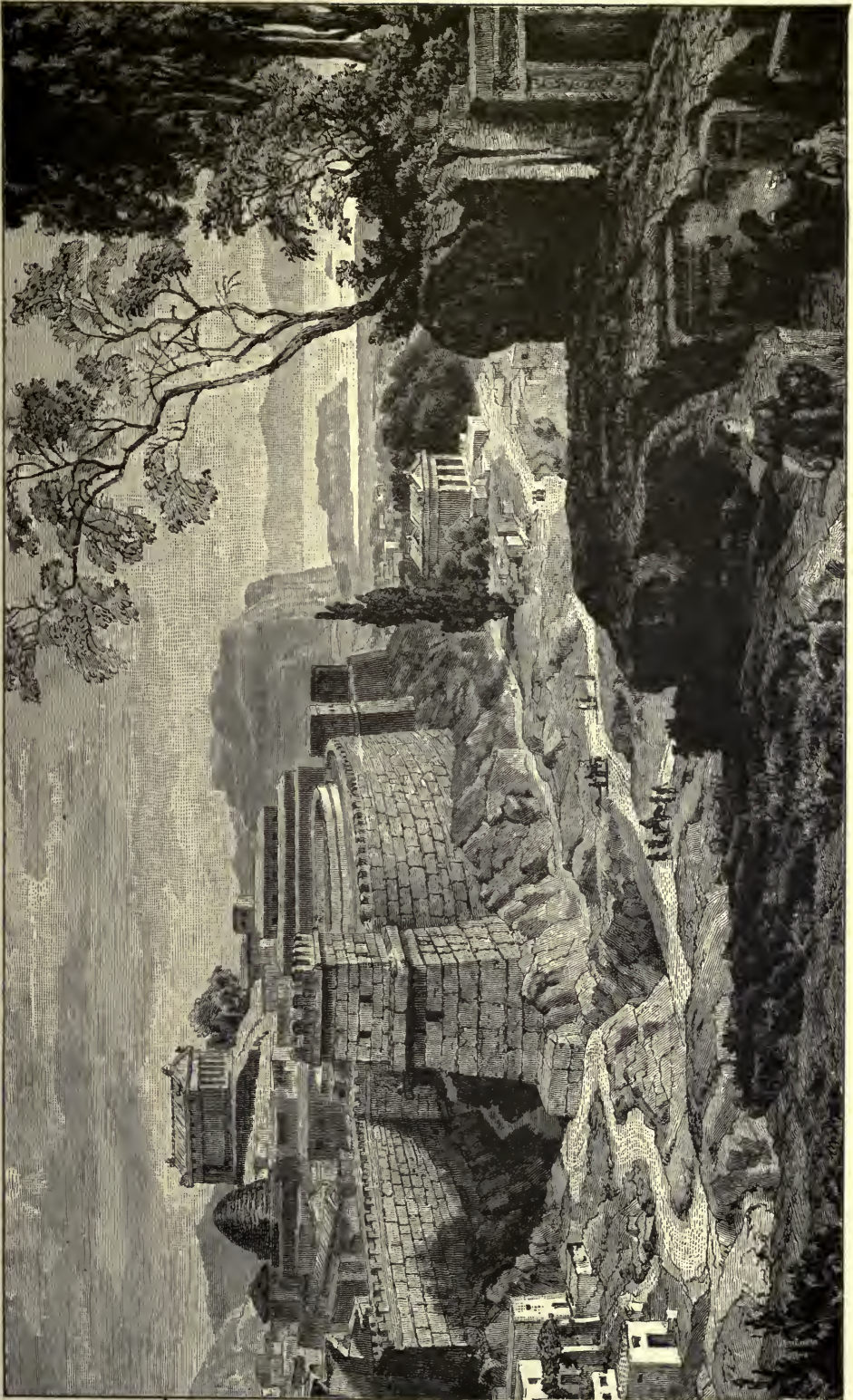
ichneumons in chase of water-fowl in a papyrus landscape. Heavy gold signet-rings were also worn. The inner walls of the houses were inlaid with precious metals and amber, as in later times were the walls of the Temple of Solomon. Articles of furniture were in part covered with thin gold as well as with plates of artificial lapis lazuli. Amber beads have been found in the ruins, as well as a gigantic ostrich egg. Women of the nobility and ruling classes wore

many gold ornaments; their upper garments were somewhat scant, the breast being partially uncovered; their hair strayed in ringlets over the forehead from beneath a low round turban, and was allowed to fall behind in a thick braid, the end of which was turned outwards and enclosed in a spiral of gold. A diadem of thin gold ornamented the forehead. Large, golden breast-pendants, and neck-chains, earrings, bracelets, and finger rings, and the tight-fitting garment pleated in horizontal folds below the waist and decorated with gold, contributed to an appearance less pleasing than showy. It is hard to conceive this people as Greek, or as living upon the soil of Greece, for their civilisation was so deeply influenced by the customs and artistic genius of the East that not only their appearance, but also their manners and customs were almost wholly Oriental.

Chariots, both in battle and in hunting expeditions, were used in the same manner by the Mycenæans as by the races of Western Asia. The fallen warriors were embalmed in honey, according to the primitive Babylonian custom; their faces were covered by masks of gold, and in their hands were placed double-edged axes, exactly similar to those which we may now see pictured in Assyrian bas-reliefs.

Belief in the power and influence of the soul led at an early age to the worship of the dead. Members of royal houses, heavily laden with ornaments, were laid on the ashes of the burnt sacrifice which had been offered up to them, in the same manner as the deceased are found to have been placed in the barrows and *tumuli* of the North. Sacrifices were offered because of the general belief in the power of the dead; and for the same reason the movable possessions of men were laid in the graves at their sides.

Such sacrifices were made not only at the time of burial but also afterwards. Above the fourth burial pit at Mycenæ a round altar, hollow in the middle, has been discovered; and through this altar, as through a tube, the blood of the sacrificed animal flowed directly down to the dead. Thus it was a permanent funeral altar, pointing to the permanent worship of souls, for the residence of which in the later sepulchres the entire chamber was designed. The so-called dome tombs, which are evidently family sepulchres, have an



MYCENÆ, THE CENTRE OF THE EARLY GREEK CULTURE, AS IT APPEARED IN THE HEROIC AGE



GREEK ANTIQUITIES OF THE MYCENÆAN AND HOMERIC AGES

In spite of the Oriental love of splendour which was evident in the life of the Mycenaean Greeks, the Greek genius prevailed in their art, as may be seen in these beautiful relics from Mycenaean tombs. The keen observation of Nature is shown in the conventionalised designs of the gold plates which decorated their clothing (1, 2, 4, 5, 7 and 8), and in the dagger-blade (6 and 11) representing an ichneumon chasing waterfowl. Homeric warriors are shown in the fragments of a vase (3) and of a silver goblet (9). Very beautiful is the double-handled goblet (10) from Mycena.

approach sometimes 115 feet in length and twenty feet in breadth, consisting in part of carefully laid hewn stones. There is also a short entrance or vestibule, with richly ornamented walls—slabs of red, green, or white marble; slender, embedded

Colossal Family Graves columns of dark grey alabaster, and pieces of red porphyry—and a beehive-shaped dome upwards of fifty feet in height. One of these domes is constructed of thirty-two superimposed circles, each smaller than the one below, and is ornamented with bronze rosettes, fastened with nails of bronze to blocks of bluish marble. The great development of technique is shown by the fact that in one tomb a stone weighing 240,000 pounds was let into the wall for the support of the lintel of the inner door; the floor of the baths at Tiryns consisted of one slab weighing 40,000 pounds.

Many treasures have been brought to light in the domed sepulchres; finger-rings, silver ladles, and bowls, swords with gold nails and gold ornaments, necklaces with richly decorated clasps, and, finally, two golden goblets, discovered at Amyclæ. These cups are made of two layers of gold-

plate, the inner smooth, and the outer, to which the handles are attached, ornamented. The decoration is artistic, and consists of a representation of shepherds in pursuit of wild African cattle, amid a landscape of tall palms and olive trees with knotted trunks. The shepherds are naked, except for the loin-cloth and girdle with hanging ends; their feet are encased in Syrian sandals with sharp toes; their faces are smooth-shaven after the Syrian fashion, and, notwithstanding an unmistakable Semitic trace, are Egyptian in cast, with prominent pupils of the eyes.

In Mycena the age of bronze attained its highest development—a development that could not have been reached except through the instrumentality of a powerful centralised government. The excellence

Tremendous Achievements in Mycena of the art and the difficulties overcome in building can but lead to the conclusion that a division of the population

into classes had already taken place. Such tremendous results are attained, in primitive societies possessed of but few mechanical appliances, only by the enslavement of workers through the power of a supreme ruler. Social inequalities must

THE HEROIC AGE IN ANCIENT GREECE

have developed spontaneously ; and, as may be seen from an examination of the numerous sepulchres of the ruling classes, not only were the princes and chieftains of higher station than the mass of the population, but there must also have been many men of lower rank—a numerous class of nobles who already resided in the town, and who no longer merely lived in the country upon their estates.

Differences in the extent of possessions brought with them economic inequality, a condition that must even at an early time have led to inequality of rights. The possession of landed property conferred certain privileges, and these privileges led to territorial dominion. Together with the magnificence of the daily life of the nobles, the monuments and antiquities also show us the political form of a society ruled by a powerful kingship. It is possible that the earlier inhabitants, when conquered, were enslaved ; at any rate, it is certain that slaves stood at the command of the sovereign and nobility, or, at least, that the majority of the population was socially far removed from the minority, and

recognise the Greek type : regular features, finely cut noses, and smoothly arched brows, in the very midst of an environment foreign to the Greek spirit. Even in the external forms of life, which Oriental influence had so largely pervaded, certain



THE ANCIENT GALLERIES OF TIRYNS
A view inside the cyclopean walls of the citadel of Tiryns, which reach the astonishing thickness of fifty-seven feet.



THE FAMOUS LION GATEWAY OF MYCENÆ
The entrance to the great citadel of Mycenæ was by a gate with two lions resting their forepaws on an altar.

ministered to the love of ostentation and display of the sovereign and nobility.

Nevertheless, the Greek genius prevailed over this Oriental love of splendour. From the primitive gold masks moulded from the features of the dead one can

characteristic Greek traits survived. Although the rulers resided in palaces, built after Asiatic models, the rest of the Mycenæans lived, not under flat Asiatic roofs, but under European pitched roofs with gables. Vases of Mycenæ, the earlier ones with glossy surfaces, the later with dull surfaces, predominated in the entire basin of the Mediterranean. The early, as well as the later, Greeks made use of the fabulous animals of the East in ornamentation ; but, on the other hand, their observation of the life of the sea is truly Western. Shells, starfish, corals, cuttlefish, and argonauts, drawn upon the vases, prove at what an early time the manifold life about and in the sea was observed by Mycenæan eyes. Butterflies were modelled in gold ; plant life, too, was accurately observed and imitated. Designs of tendrils and leaves drawn after Nature and not conventionalised appeared for the first time on Mycenæan vases. The continuous as well as the interrupted designs so familiar in friezes, and put to so many decorative uses by the Greek artists, had their origin in the Heroic Age.

The high plane of development indicated by the style of the Mycenæan vases was coincident with the culminating point of Mycenæan culture; and from this fact we are enabled approximately to fix the date of a civilisation that otherwise, so far as time is concerned, would remain indefinite. Some years ago the discovery in the lower city of a porcelain image of an Egyptian scarabæus bearing the name of an Egyptian king of the fifteenth century B.C., coupled with the finding in the acropolis of Mycenæ of another scarabæus, inscribed with the name of the wife of this king, tended to determine the date of Mycenæan civilisation. Nevertheless, there is still the objection that the scarabs may have been dropped there by a trader or collector at a much later period; although, strangely enough, a similar scarab, bearing an inscription written during the reign of the same king, has been found in similar Mycenæan strata on the island of Rhodes. It has also been determined that the princely gifts which were brought to another Egyptian king by the inhabitants of "The Islands of the Great Sea" are similar in every respect to the antiquities—small ornamental goblets, and silver cows' heads—that have been found in Mycenæ. Thus the heroic civilisation must have spread over the Grecian Archipelago and, above all, over Crete. Finally, conclusive evidence has been established by the discovery of Mycenæan vases and goblets in Gurob, an Egyptian town, which was destroyed during the fifteenth century B.C. We do not go so far as to determine the nationality of the settlers in this town from the signs scratched in various metal objects which have been found, but so much is certain: they possessed the Mycenæan civilisation, and must have penetrated into Egypt as early as the fifteenth century B.C.

Antiquities and remains have borne their testimony; let us now hear what

men have to say. The utterances of Mycenæan kings are audible to us only as a faint murmur echoing in the stories of tradition; for this people had no written language, and have left to us no written records. But the historical documents discovered in Egypt speak for them. During the days of King Rameses I. warriors whose dress was European appeared in the Syrian army; they were Javans—that is, Ionians—and they wore the feather plume that has served as a distinctive mark of the Asiatic

Greeks. During the reigns of Menepthah and of Rameses III. there were invasions of "men from the north," as we are told by Egyptian inscriptions, and the weapons of these wanderers were those of the races of Europe and Asia Minor. On water and on land, in ships and in ox-carts, bringing their wives and children with them, hordes of northern peoples, against whom the native forces could defend themselves only with the greatest difficulty, burst like a storm over Egypt. The names of these peoples, the Aquai-vasha and Danauna, but half conceal the words Achæans and Danaans.

The development of the Mycenæan civilisation must have led to a great increase in the populations of the oldest centres of culture, and have given the people occasion to embark on expeditions for the conquest of new territory. Since the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago were settled by the Greeks as early as the year 1000 B.C., it follows that the earliest of these Greek settlements, those of the Æolians, must have taken place during the Heroic Age, the age of the Mycenæan civilisation. The entire process of the Æolian settlement, and perhaps of a part of the Ionian, is connected with the teeming population and the high phase of culture of the Heroic Age. The many islands formed bridges, as it were, from one people to another, and joined them all together in closer union with the Asiatic mainland.



ACHILLES, HERO OF GREECE

The greatest of the heroes of the Iliad of Homer, the embodiment of impetuous strength of the Greeks.

THE HEROIC AGE IN ANCIENT GREECE

The first settlement was made by the Æolians, whose dialect was spoken in Thessaly, Bœotia, and Lesbos, and was nearly related to the languages in use in Arcadia and Cyprus. The Æolians were closely connected with those inhabitants of Attica and Eubœa who gradually detached themselves from Bœotia and later developed into the Ionian race of Asia Minor, where they came to forget their earlier relationship to the Bœotians. The North-western Greeks, usually known by the name of one stock, the Doric, included even in historic times the Epirots, Ætolians,

chieftains, assisted by the princes of Mycenæ, to Asia Minor, where they burnt the city of Troy, for the sixth city upon the acropolis at Hissarlik, constructed in complete harmony with the Mycenæan style of architecture and provided with flying buttresses in the same manner as the citadel of Gulas at Lake Copais, was sacked and destroyed by fire, as we have learned from recent excavations. Thus, traditions come to life again after a lapse of thousands of years. It would be too much, however, to claim the possibility of extracting historical details from



HELEN AND MENELAUS

From a Greek vase painting representing Menelaus leading his wife Helen, the cause of the Trojan war, back to Sparta.



THE FINAL TRAGEDY OF THE ILIAD OF HOMER: THE DEATH OF PRIAM

Priam, the aged father of Hector, the great Trojan hero of the Iliad, was killed by Pyrrhus at the fall of Troy after attempting to revenge the death of his son Polites. From one of the famous Polygnotus vase paintings.

and Acarnanians, the inhabitants of Phthiotis, the Phocians, Locrians, and peoples of Achæa. To the Æolians belonged the inhabitants of the towns of Mycenæ and Tiryns, and also the tribes that emigrated into North-west Asia Minor and Cyprus, and there engaged in long wars with the original inhabitants. The Trojan War must be looked upon today as a great military expedition of Greek

Homer; that would be equivalent to reading the minor events of the wars against Attila the Hun out of the Niebelungenlied.



THE FLIGHT OF ÆNEAS

Another Greek representation of incidents from the greatest of Greek poems. Here are seen the flight of Æneas after the fall of Troy, and Ajax, the Locrian, and Cassandra in the temple of Minerva at Troy.

The second group of Greek races, the Ionian, settled the greater portion of the western coast of Asia Minor, where they established large city colonies. It was there that the Ionian stock developed its versatility, freedom of spirit, and rich and manifold interests. Composed as it was of various sections of

the Greek people, it also absorbed elements from Asia Minor and transmuted the Asiatic civilisation into Greek culture. Thus, the Ionians gave a higher dignity to the old hero epics, and made the beginnings of Greek science. Finally, the third group,

Beginnings of Greek Science

the North-western Greeks, continued to live in their northern home in single tribes, and indeed remained longer than any other Greek race in connection with the Italian stocks; whence the curious resemblance between Doric and Roman towns and town government observable in the three gateways and the doubling of officials.

A portion of this group, the Dorians, soon settled in Central Greece, then crossed the Bay of Corinth at its narrowest point, and colonised the northern portion of the Peloponnesus. As their progress was obstructed by the mountains of Arcadia, they swung off partly to the west, occupying Elis, and partly to the east, where the inhabitants of Argolis, with

a highly developed but decadent civilisation, were forced to yield to their greater vitality and superiority in arms, sinking, in a great measure, to the position of serfs, but leaving the greater part of their civilisation to the conquerors. Thus, the power of the primitive inhabitants fell. Of the fortresses at Mycenæ and Tiryns nothing but ruins remained; and not until the seventh century B.C. were temples again erected there to the worship of the gods. The wave of Dorian invasion now flowed out over Crete, Melos, Thera, Rhodes, and Cos, where faint traces of an earlier Æolian substratum are still to be

recognised, forced its way as far as Pamphylia, and finally penetrated to the south-eastern part of the Peloponnesus. Legends have adorned the Doric migration with a thousand details; not only the folk-sagas, that tell us of the deeds of heroes, but also the traditions of historians, who endeavoured to explain how each tribe wandered into its ultimate territory. The fact of the Doric migration is not to be

disputed; but all details regarding it are worthless, and, not being supported by later discoveries, must be cast aside as of no historical value.

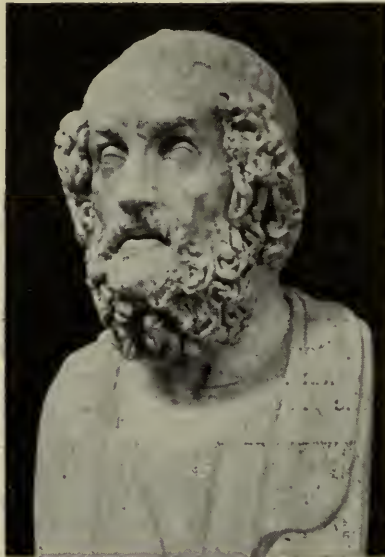
The Æolian settlers took with them to Asia Minor the remembrance of their daring voyages, of their advance towards the East, of the centuries of battle and foray, and of their earlier domination over golden Mycenæ.

Even in the Homeric poems there is still an echo of the great migrations. "As on days of sunshine masses of cloud follow the mountain ridges, but seldom take their form," so have myths and legends followed the general course of history; but they have covered it over with clouds of the imagination. The traditions of wars on the soil of Asia Minor have been perpetuated in the epic poems, the sublime productions of the next age. How did poetry, how did the Homeric epics, arise? As a rule, the speech of men flows

The Homeric Epics

along quietly and without method; but when the soul is shaken with emotion, when the heart is uplifted in happiness or oppressed by pain, when men are overwhelmed with an emotion of reverence for the gods, when joyful events lead to outbursts of delight, then utterance becomes rhythmic. Songs are transmitted from mouth to mouth; their subjects are supplied by the remembrance of great days and of great battles; they are filled with recollections of the shining forms of the heroes of olden times. At first men of high birth themselves

sing in alternating verse, as did Achilles and Patroclus; and, later, with the increasing tendency to form classes in society, and with the introduction of the division of labour, a poet caste comes into being. In particular, men who are blind take to the minstrel's art; to them the joy of combat and the glory of war are closed, and, lyre in hand, they wander from court to court, spreading abroad the fame of heroes in song. Such a minstrel was the blind Demodocus, who,



HOMER, THE FATHER OF POETRY
The traditional author of the great heroic epics. From the bust found at Herculaneum.

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THE APOTHEOSIS OF HOMER: THE HOMAGE OF POETS OF ALL AGES

From the picture by Ingres in the Louvre, representing the homage of poets of all times to the great blind father of song.

in the Odyssey, sang to the Phæacians; such men were the blind gleemen of Chios, who figures in the Homeric hymns; Bernlef, the blind Frisian, and the blind bards of the Slavs, among whom the word "blind" (sliepak) became a generic name for minstrels, even when they did not happen to be blind at all. Thus to Homer, the traditional author of the heroic epics, blindness was attributed.

These poems, which first came into being among the Æolians, and were inherited and enlarged by the Ionians, required hundreds of years for their growth, developing from short and simple compositions, treating of the wrath of Achilles, into vast heroic epics, celebrating the glory not only of single heroes, but also of entire races. Hundreds of minstrels, journeying from palace to palace, co-operated, and although hampered by the limitations of a set form, were, nevertheless, skilled in the art of improvisation. They delved into the life of the people and into the wealth of stored-up legends, reciting for the pleasure of the ruling nobility, adding new songs to old in honour of single families and in praise of

the model aristocratic state. Thus they composed songs which reflect the knightly lives, the philosophy, and the highest thoughts of the greatest men of their time.

Whether these older forms were merely edited into the connected shape of the two great epics, known to us as the Iliad and Odyssey, or were reconstructed by a few great artists whose work was then so re-edited, or were but the sources from which one master-mind drew his glorious inspiration, remains an open question among scholars to this day. It is claimed that the pre-eminent artistic abilities of several individuals are plainly visible, and that the greater creations of particular minstrels may be separated from the mass of inferior work. It is also claimed that the work of a single triumphant genius is manifestly dominant throughout. In any case, the Homeric poems had their beginnings in Mycenaean times, when there had already developed a universally understood literary language that reached its zenith in the ninth or eighth century B.C. The youthful strength of heroes and their resourceful wisdom, the entire scale

of emotion, from the gentle stirring of sentiment in the love-dream of the young princess to the sad farewell of wife to hero, and the melancholy compassion of the victor for the aged father of his fallen enemy—all this we find in the Homeric

Nature in the Songs of Homer

songs. Nothing could be more touching than the lines in which Hector takes off his shining helmet to soothe the fear of his babe and bids farewell to all, or those in which Odysseus is recognised by his faithful dog. With his last breath the poor animal greets his master, wags his tail, and dies.

All Nature lives in these poems—the changing moods of the sea in storm and in sunshine; the fire that roars through the forest; the lightning that shatters the strongest oak into fragments; the leaves of the forest which put forth and grow and fall before the wind, as races of men increase and wither and disappear in the storm of life; the cranes that fly through the air in compact ranks; the lion with flaming eye and lashing tail; the bird which perishes of hunger that its unfledged young may eat—all this lives in the pages of Homer. The character of the human race, at a time when the individual is as yet unborn and only the class exists, is drawn with the most affecting simplicity. Here are those great, restful outlines which move us so deeply in the works of the Italian masters. Whether it be a knightly combat, undertaken in a spirit of chivalric daring, or the quiet, domestic life of the housewife that is represented, the imagination is free to wander whithersoever it will, and movements and actions are deprived of none of their natural and living charm.

In those parts of the Iliad which had their origin in Æolia, Achilles, the greatest of the heroes, is represented as the em-

bodiment of impetuous strength, a composite figure that, in truth, portrays all the unrestrained emotional changes of an uncivilised people. The art of writing was still regarded as a kind of evil enchantment, to be mastered only by the few. Not until later, when the legend of Odysseus, the Odyssey, was developed, does the conception of a cultured society, the Phæacians, arise, a community of harmoniously developed, serene, almost ideal beings, where woman, like man, is allowed to attain to complete intellectual development. In Odysseus, the archetype of sagacity,

Greek Ideal of the Free and Perfect Man

skilled in handicraft, in music, and gymnastics, a man who excels all minstrels in harmony, and all masters in artistic narration, in whom there is a union of calm lucidity and quiet renunciation, the Greek spirit had already created the lofty conception of the free and perfect

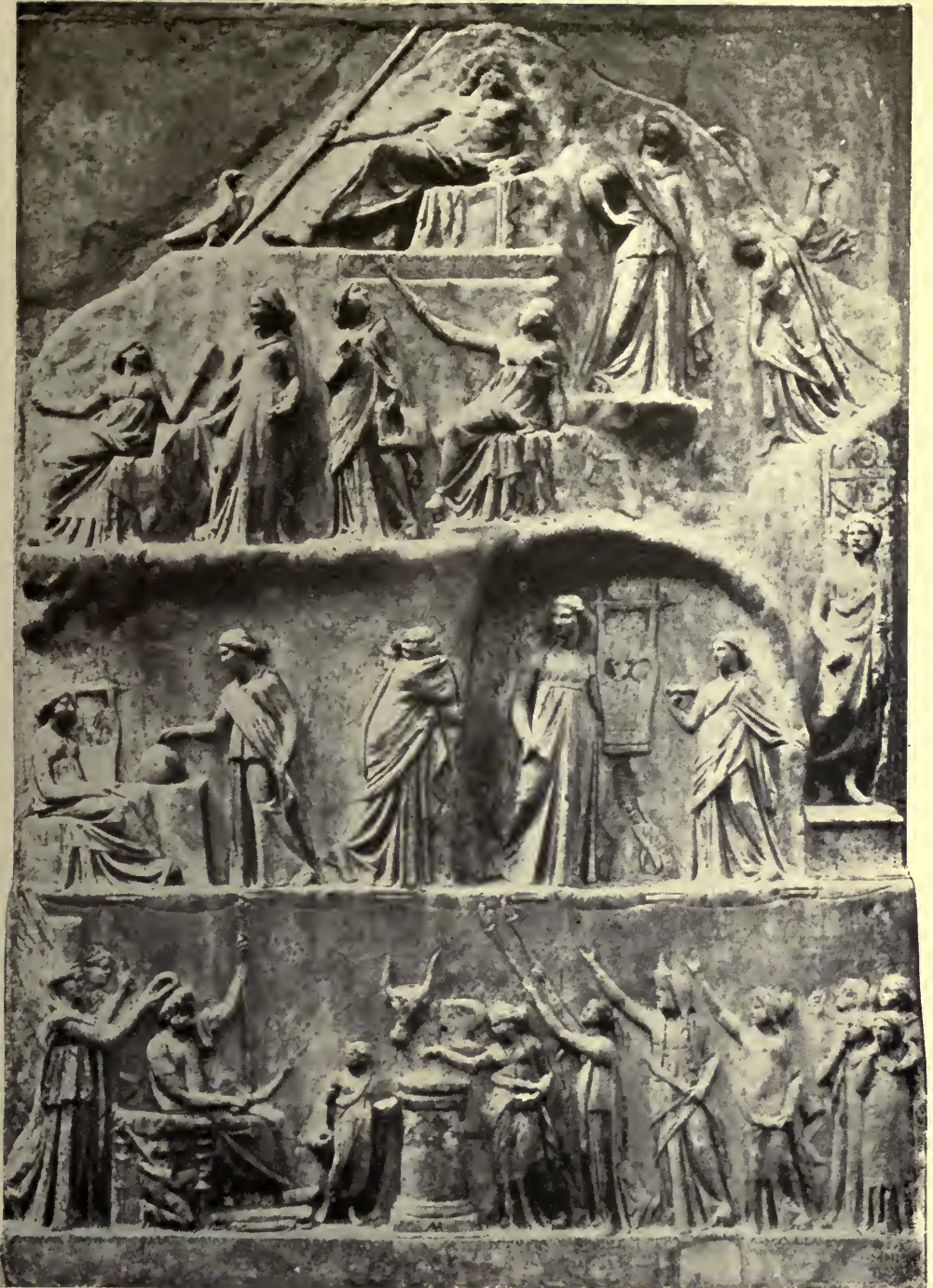
man. In later times philosophy developed this ideal in masterly fashion. The problem of right living and the careful development of personality, in other words, the relation of the individual to the race, has never been more wisely treated than by the Greek philosophers.

The degree of civilisation attained is clearly reflected in the various sections of the epics. An entirely different world meets us in the oldest poems, which treat of "The Wrath of Achilles" (a portion of the Iliad), in all probability products of the tenth century, from that pictured in the Telemachiad (a portion of the Odyssey), which came into being perhaps as late as the seventh century. The finest portions of the Odyssey belong to the eighth century B.C. Tradition, religious myths, and stories that read like fairy-tales are mingled together in ever-varying form.

The age that is described to us in the



THE CHIEF OF THE GREEK GODS
 Zeus, father of the gods, under whose care and protection the Homeric monarch ruled and from whom his power was derived.



THE GLORIFICATION OF THE FATHER OF POETRY BY THE ANCIENT WORLD

In the beginnings of poetry, after speech became rhythmic and songs were passed from mouth to mouth, a poet caste came into being, largely drawn from the blind, among whom the early simple compositions dealing with the wrath of Achilles developed into vast heroic epics celebrating the glory of entire races. Whether these older forms were edited into the two great epics of the Iliad and the Odyssey or were the sources from which one master mind drew his glorious inspiration remains an open question. From a sculpture attributed to Archælaus of Priene found in the Appian Way.

Homeric poems is no longer affected by the pomp and display of the Mycenæans. The towering fortresses with their Cyclopean rocks have yielded to smooth walls of brick and earthen embankments with wooden bulwarks. The interior arrangements of palaces have become greatly simplified, and of the intricate network

Homeric Age of Simplicity

of courts and corridors, antechambers and halls, only the most necessary parts remain in the homes of Homeric kings.

The walls are no longer covered with bright paintings, but with a simple coating of lime; the gaily decorated plaster floors, too, have disappeared, and their place has been taken by floors of smooth-beaten clay. Instead of burying the dead in enormous domed sepulchres—in the latest tombs the use of masks for the dead had gradually been given up—men hoped by burning the body to banish the spirit for ever. Simple graves conceal the ashes of Homeric heroes.

The despotic kingship, which plays a prominent part in the older portions of the Homeric poems, gradually declines in power, and disappears as the strength of the nobility increases. To be sure, the Homeric ruler is always a powerful, hereditary monarch, whose power came from Zeus, father of the gods, under whose care and protection he stood. But advisers were always by the side of the king, and upon their decisions great weight was laid. The council of nobles became stronger with time; the upper classes were differentiated from the masses. The former were distinguished from the latter by the fact that, after chariots fell into disuse, they fought on horseback. The connection between large estates, aristocratic government, and knight service, is ever inseparable. In the Homeric poems the power of the nobility becomes more and more evident, until, finally, the king appears as only the first among his peers; who, like

Decrease of the Kingly Power

him, levy tribute, meet in council at their own initiative, and invite the king to attend.

The council seems constantly to have increased in power until it finally put aside all prerogatives of the sovereign, leaving him only his name and his office of high priest. To perform the real duties of kingship, a number of high officials were chosen. Thus the Oriental influence constantly decreased, and, naturally, the more representative rule of the

nobility was less despotic. In spite of this, however, it would be a great mistake to look upon the Homeric Age—the age in which the germ of elevated intellectual life first began to develop—as one in which the genuine Greek spirit was nationally personified. Oriental influence still played the chief part.

Were we to reproduce that charming scene from the Iliad of Helen and the old men at the gate after the model of the Age of Pericles, we should absolutely destroy the picture that appeared before the mind of the poet. As the poet must have pictured it, Priam and the aged Trojans were dressed in close-fitting garments that extended to their feet; the folds were stiff; there was nothing loose or flowing; the red cloaks fitted smoothly over the under-garments, and were in part richly decorated in bright colours. Even Helen would have resembled a Greek woman but little. According to the poet, she would have been dressed in a tight-fitting, gay-coloured, intricately-patterned robe, fastened by clasps and by a girdle, adorned with tassels and knots, according to the Oriental fashion.

A Woman's Dress in the Homeric Age of Greece

Her arms were free; the peplos, or mantle, was looser than in Mycenæan costume, covering a greater portion of the body, as more adapted to the climate of the Ægean Sea. The veil used in the Orient to conceal the countenance hung down over both cheeks; a cloth worn with a hood, and fastened in front by a glistening diadem, covered the far-famed head.

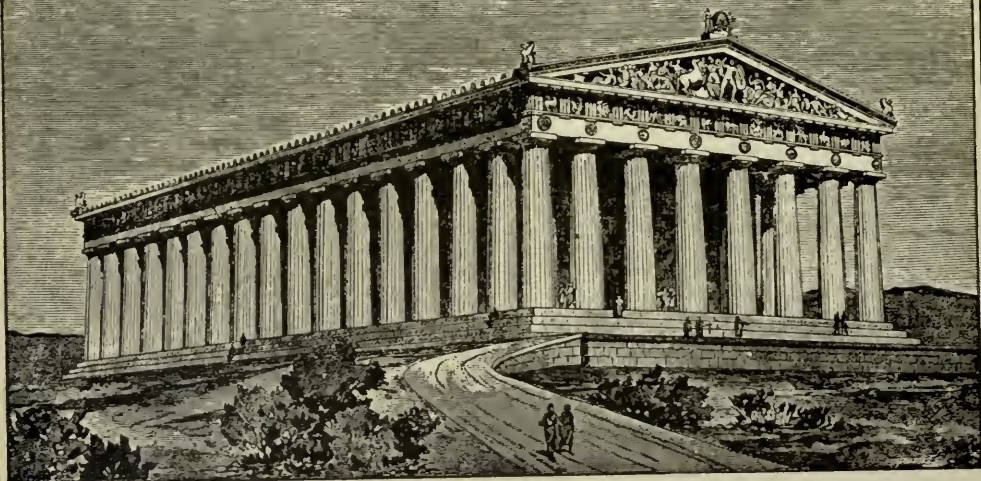
Religion attained to an extraordinary development during the Homeric Age. In the epics the gods were endowed with human qualities, and were supposed to have endured all the hardships and trials of humanity. The entire pantheon of later times was popularised through the epics. The Homeric minstrels made a place for even the various tutelary deities of cities in their poems, and thus contributed to the formation of the Greek mythology. Demigods also came into being through the epics, as a result of the poetical custom of conferring the highest rewards on heroes after death, and allowing them to approach the rank of deities. The gods were worshipped by means of altars under the open sky or in temples set aside for the purpose, and they were represented in the form of men—a great advance on the fetichism of earlier times.

“THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE”

ILLUSTRATED IN A SERIES OF REMARKABLE RECON-
STRUCTIONS OF HER MOST FAMOUS MONUMENTS



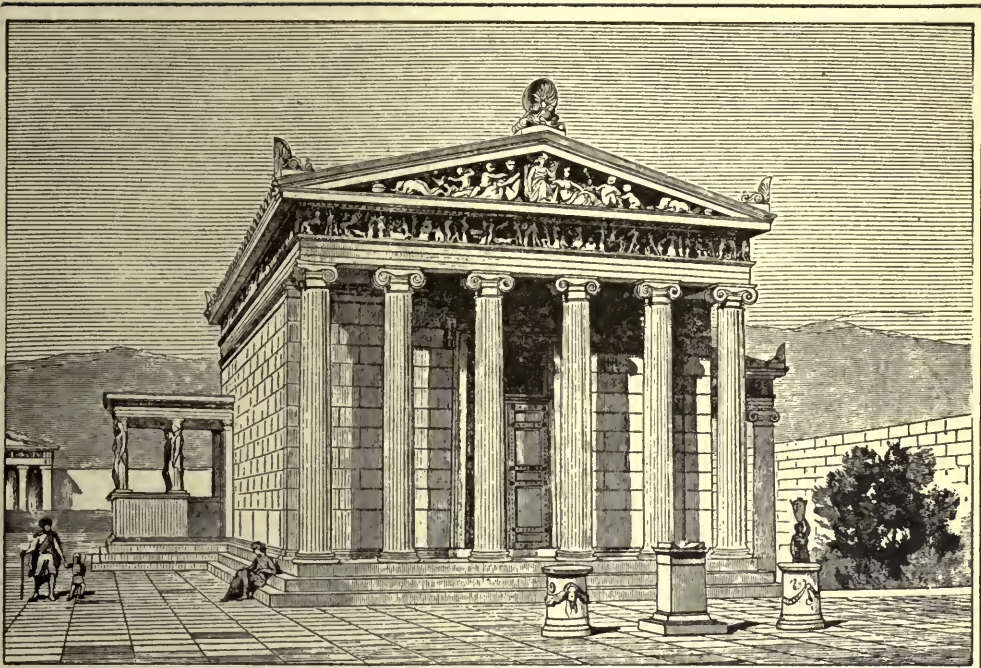
THE GREAT IVORY AND GOLD STATUE OF ATHENA IN THE PARTHENON



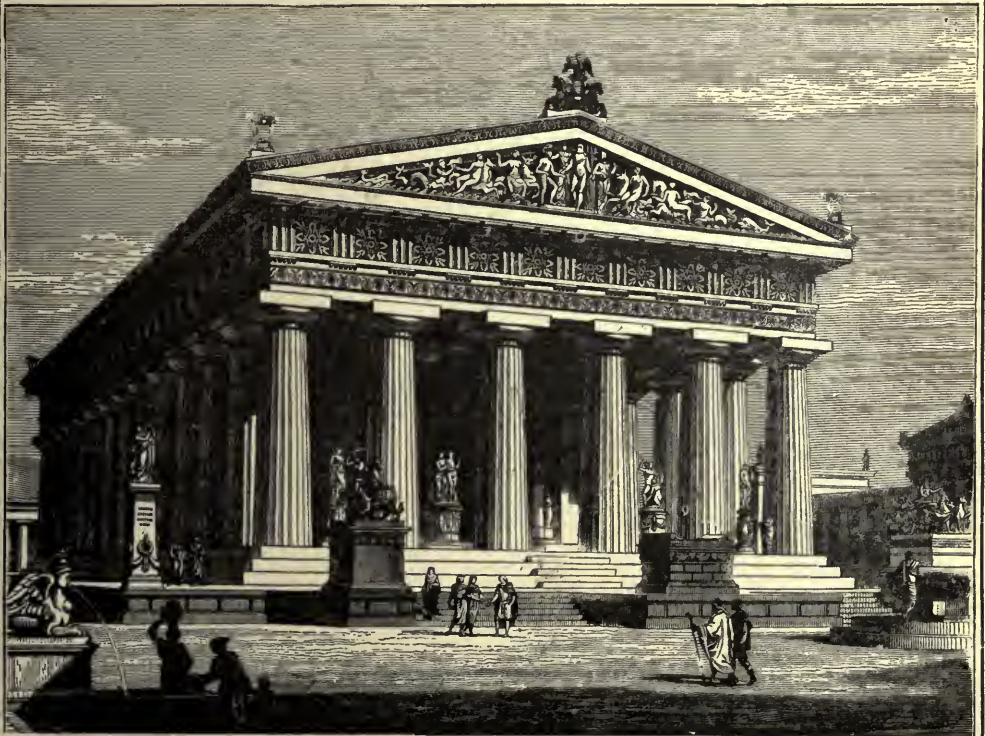
EXTERIOR OF THE PARTHENON AT ATHENS IN THE TIME OF ITS BUILDERS



INTERIOR OF THE SPLENDID TEMPLE OF ZEUS IN OLYMPIA



THE ERECHTHEION, A FAMOUS TEMPLE AT ATHENS TO THE HERO ERECTHEIOS



AN EARLY DORIC TEMPLE: THE SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON AT PÆSTUM



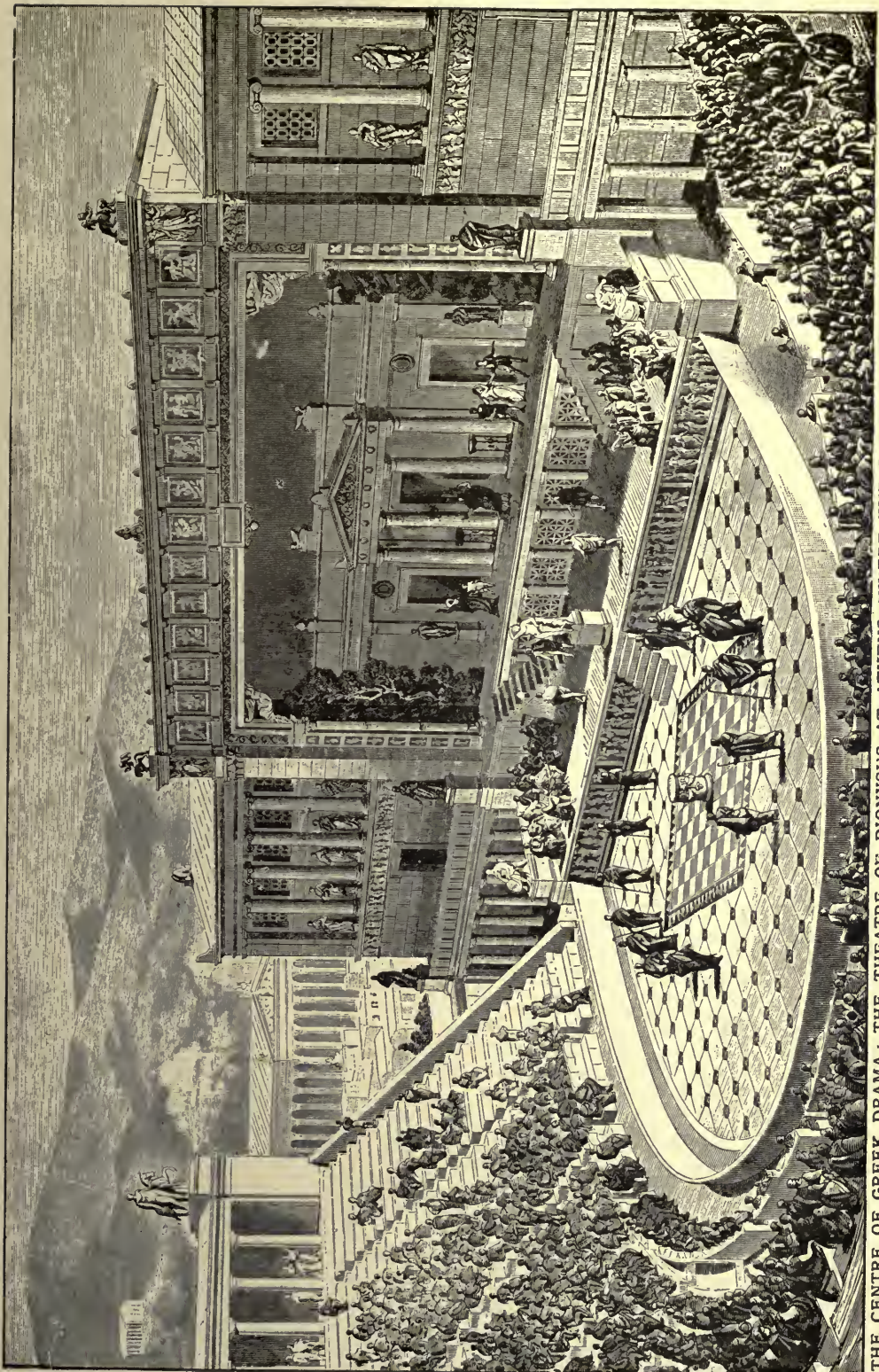
THE SACRED ENCLOSURE AT OLYMPIA THE GREAT RELIGIOUS AND ATHLETIC CENTRE OF ANCIENT GREECE



RESTORATION OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF ATHENS, SHOWING THE CITY AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS GLORY



THE TEMPLE OF DEMETER, THE FAMOUS SANCTUARY OF THE SACRED MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS



THE CENTRE OF GREEK DRAMA: THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS, WHERE THE GREAT TRAGEDIES WERE FIRST PERFORMED



THE ENTRANCE TO A NOBLEMAN'S HOUSE IN ATHENS



INTERIOR COURT OF A GREEK HOUSE WITH A STATUE OF THE GODDESS HESTIA



GREEK STATES IN THE MAKING THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HELLAS

SOCIAL conditions led to a second migration of the Greek races, which took place at the time the later epics were written, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

A rapid increase of population gave rise to emigration. Political dissatisfaction occasioned a centrifugal movement, and a surplus of energy led to new enterprises. Religious feeling consecrated the new settlements, and even before the habitations of the new town, located and planned under divine guidance, were built, the altar to Apollo was erected. Thus, the colonies of the Greeks—whether on the rivers that water the Russian steppes, or on the coasts of Africa, or on the lava-covered slopes of Ætna, or on the fruitful plains of Southern France—remained parts of one people, honouring the same gods, speaking the same language, and applauding the same poets;

Overseas Spread of the Greeks

the Athenian, far away in Italy, among the Etruscans, felt himself to be one with his countryman who had been born and brought up in Cumæ. Thus, the necessity arose for designating all the members of the race by one name. The word Hellene was taken from the small tribe that Achilles had governed in Thessaly, whose name went back to the time of their halt at the Gulf of Janina. In the fifth century B.C. this term was applied to the entire Grecian people. The name Greek, or Graeci, on the other hand, a latinisation of the tribal name of the Graei, who dwelt on the Euripus, and who once lived in the north-west, was first introduced into Greece from Italy during the days of Aristotle, as shown by the Latin termination.

Miletus, Corinth, Megara, Chalcis and Eretria took the lead in the great movement. Miletus became queen of the sea, the mother of more than eighty city colonies. The entrance and the coasts of the Black Sea, Sicily and the southern

part of Italy were all colonised. And as the Ægean Sea formerly, so now the Mediterranean, became an inland sea of Greece through the activity of this enterprising age. All these colonies flourished, whether they were trade depots, like the

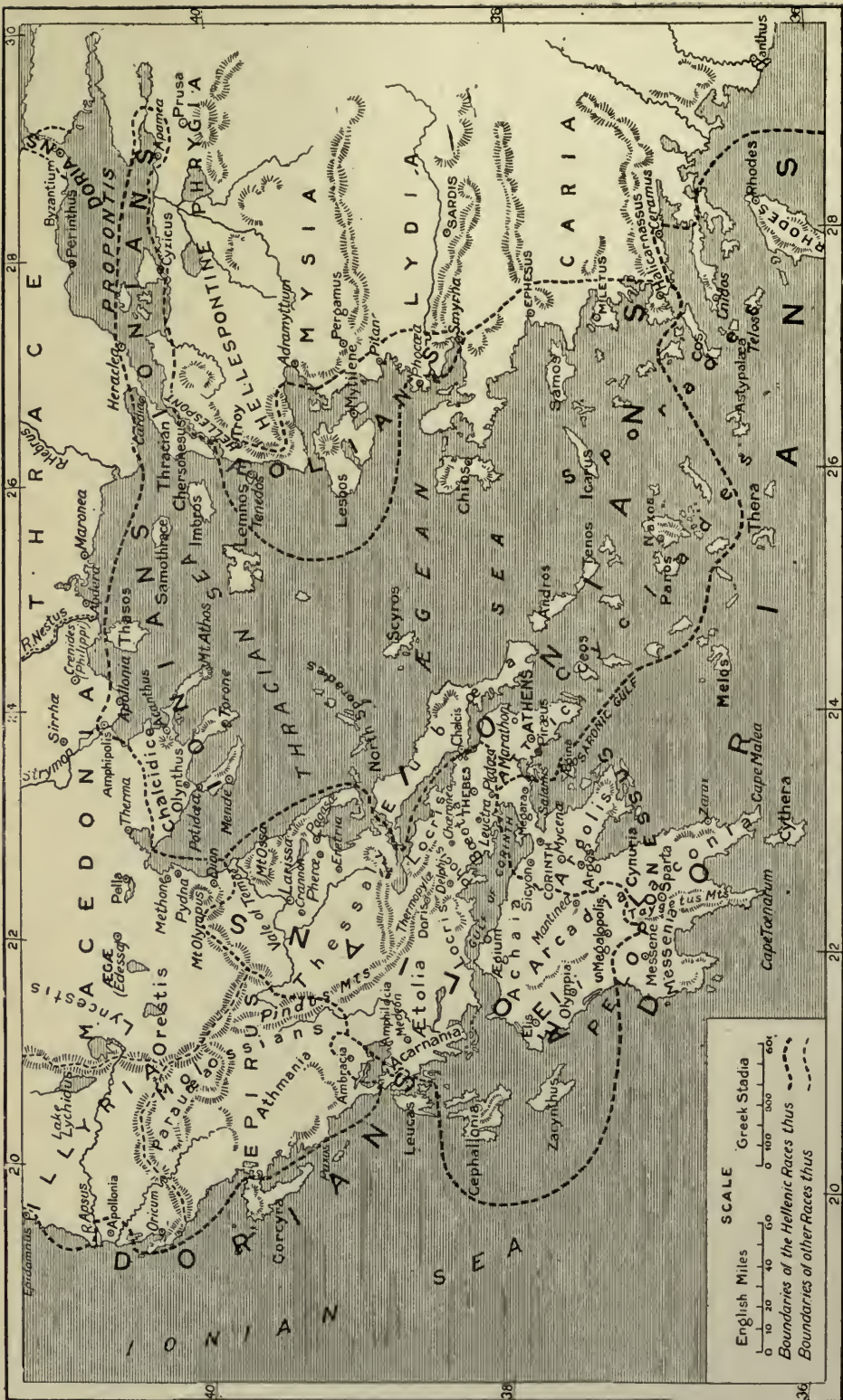
An Age of Colonial Prosperity

towns on the Black Sea, or agricultural settlements, as in Sicily and Southern Italy, or centres for cattle-breeding, as in Cyrene. In colonies there is a beneficial union of economic conditions seldom found together elsewhere. In lower stages of civilisation we find a superabundance of land, but a great lack of labour and capital. In higher stages the opposite is true. But when highly developed races settle down on virgin soil all three necessary conditions are present. The immigrants bring with them capital, and occupy the land; the original inhabitants of the country supply the labour. Hence comes the wealth of all city colonies.

According to Thucydides, the Chians were the richest of the Hellenes. The inhabitants of Cyrene were envied because of their "costly rings," worn by everybody; and it was said of the inhabitants of Agrigentum that they built as if they hoped to live for ever, and dined as if they expected to die the next day. A modern parallel, that may give some idea of the financial prosperity of the colonies of Greece, is the development of North America, where, with an increase of thirty-three per cent. in population in ten years, there was an increase of eighty-two per cent. in the quantity of specie. Even bodily stature

Growth of Colonial Independence

and strength become greater, as shown by the giants of West Virginia, for example, compared with the dwarfed inhabitants of Southern Italy to-day. To be sure, the strength and freedom of thriving colonies do not always find the most agreeable forms of expression. Colonists are conscious that the basis of their power lies only in themselves; and enthusiasm



MAP OF ANCIENT GREECE, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE HELLENIC RACES

This map shows all the places of importance in the history of ancient Greece, including the sites of the chief battles, and covers Greek and Macedonian history to the time of Alexander the Great. The boundaries of the three great Hellenic races, the Ionians, the Dorians and the Aeolians, and the spheres of their colonial settlements, are shown by thick dotted lines.

for the mother country, historical gratitude, as it were, is known as little to America as it was to the Greeks of Sicily, who regarded the mother country with contempt, conscious of their own superiority in the useful arts. The insolence of the Sicilian Greeks was almost incredible; they wrote parodies on the poetical masterpieces of the mother country. It is characteristic that after the first sea-fight of the Greeks, when Corcyra broke loose from Corinth, a description of which event has come down to us in the shape of a very primitive chronicle, the daughter town entirely ceased to fulfil any of the so-called duties of piety to the mother town. What Turgot said to Louis XVI. applies to the history of the colonies of Greece and to the gratitude they showed towards their founders: "Les colonies sont comme les fruits qui ne tiennent à l'arbre que jusqu'à leur maturité; devenues suffisantes à elles-mêmes, elles feront ce que fit depuis Carthage, ce que fera un jour l'Amerique." "Colonies are like fruit, which cling to the tree only until their maturity; once become self-sufficient, they do what Carthage once did, what America some day will do."

Owing to the process of colonisation which began in the eighth century, the agricultural inhabitants of Greece developed into a trading and manufacturing race. In earlier times manufacture had supplied only local necessities; and not very long before, the importation of



Underwood
RUINS ON THE SITE OF ANCIENT CORINTH
 Remains of a temple of old Corinth, one of the oldest Doric structures of Greece. Modern Corinth is about four miles distant.

goods from the East had been general. Now, however, the colonists in distant countries had even a greater need for weapons and other metal implements, for woven materials and pottery, than the Greeks who stayed at home. The barbarians of the inland regions had been made acquainted with such products and had grown accustomed to their use.

Thus, an increase in commerce led to a heightened activity in manufacturing. The Greeks of the colonies soon needed new and trained labour, and this was supplied from without. Slave labour began to a great extent in Chios, and increased with such rapidity that finally some states found it necessary to legislate against it. As early as the time of the Odyssey we hear of iron being exported; the manufacture of metals was carried on



MILETUS, QUEEN OF THE SEA IN ANCIENT GREECE
 In the great colonising movement which began in Greece in the eighth century B.C. Miletus took the lead and became queen of the sea, the mother of eighty city colonies.

in the mother country at Chalcis and Corinth, and cloth-weaving at Megara. Pottery was made at Corinth and at Athens, where a potters' quarter was established. The resources of the East were exploited. Greek commerce became dominant in the north-east of Spain, in Egypt, and on the Adriatic and Black Seas, in spite of the

Dominance of Greek Commerce fact that Greek ships were still of the old fifty-oared type, and that mariners were so exceedingly cautious as to suspend all traffic during the winter months. Only such cities as were able to carry on trade came to the front. Towns in the interior lost their prosperity. Suburbs, in which all sorts of trades were carried on, arose everywhere about the seaports, the original town often being transformed into a citadel. In this way the great cities, great according to the ideas of the time—we must remember that we are speaking of the very beginnings of Greek history—such as Miletus, Corinth, and Sybaris, grew until their populations numbered from 20,000 to 25,000. Everywhere the country was tranquil; peaceful occupations were the rule, and men of various countries were appointed in towns to act as hosts and protectors to strangers of their own nation. It is true that the Greeks did not give up piracy so readily, for this was carried on vigorously until the middle of the fifth century.

The Babylonian system of weights was adopted, with some alterations. 1 talent equalling 50 shekels, or 100 half shekels or drachmas. And, as in earlier times cattle and metal had been used as a medium of exchange, men now employed uncoined bars of iron or copper in trade. These rods of iron were called *obeloi* (spears); and six, the number that could be grasped in the hand at once, were equal to one drachma. The actual striking of standard coins arose first in Lydia [see page 1790] and afterwards in Phocia. An alloy of gold and silver—*electrum*—was coined in the early

The First Coins

days, and, later, gold. From this time on, the ratio of gold to silver, 1 to 15½, continued constant. Two standards of value were in use in Greece, that of Ægina and that of Eubœa. The western countries did not as yet require minted coins, for they had not passed beyond the stage of barter. Field labourers were still paid in products of the soil.

It was with difficulty that agriculture maintained its place as an industry during this total revolution of economic conditions. The small farmers of Southern Greece were unable to compete, products flowing in from the wonderfully fertile regions of Southern Russia. The greater number of farms in Greece were divided upon the owner's death among his sons, degenerating into mere kitchen-gardens, and becoming so heavily burdened with debts that 18 per cent. was looked upon as a low rate of interest. Piles of rocks, showing the amount of the mortgage, rose about the land like gravestones of prosperity. In the meanwhile, however, a change of the utmost importance for the Greeks had come about. In some regions—we are not positive in which, but, at any rate, in several places at the same time—the Phœnician-Syrian alphabet was adapted to the Greek language. The Semitic alphabet, owing to its method of designating consonants only, was syllabic; and thus, although much more convenient than the primitive Cretan hieroglyphic, or picture writing, was still very imperfect. The Greeks, however, introduced improvements, changing the Semitic aspirates to the vowels *a, e, i, o*, and creating a new sign for *y*, so that there were now twenty-three symbols, or letters. In later times the Greek alphabet developed into the most varied forms, and not until the fifth century did it become uniform, through the general adoption of the Ionian letters.

The enormous transformation brought about in the intellectual life of Greece through the introduction of writing found

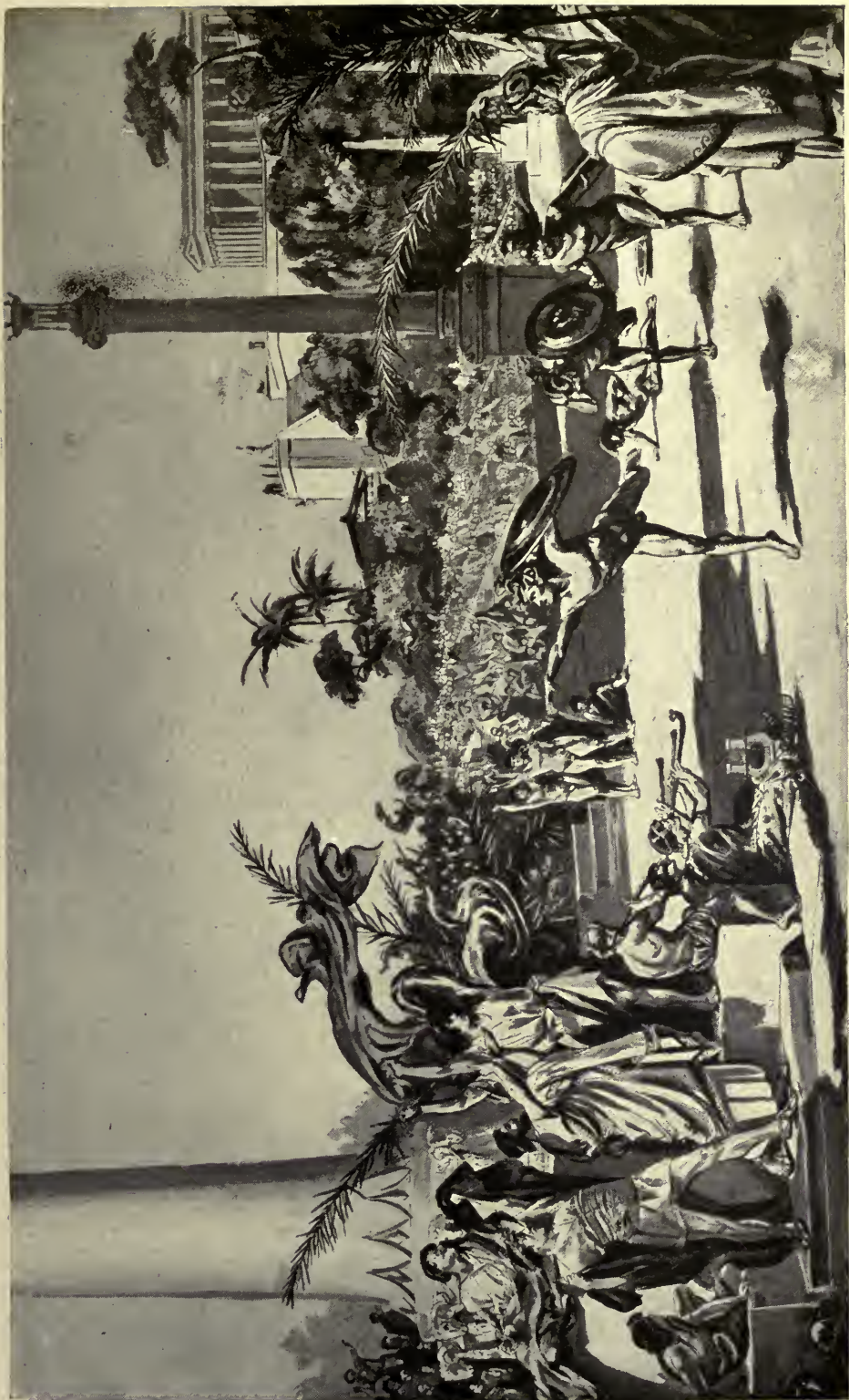


ARGUS BUILDING THE ARGOS

In the expansion of culture in Greece following the introduction of writing the intellectual horizon was greatly broadened, the extended range of the legend of the Argonauts being an indication of this change.

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The enormous transformation brought about in the intellectual life of Greece through the introduction of writing found



WHERE THE GREEKS FIRST LEARNED TO STRIVE FOR AN IDEAL: THE NATIONAL GAMES AT OLYMPIA
In the contests of the famous games at Olympia, for the wreath of olive, the Greeks learned to strive for the ideal "that possession was nothing, meritorious acquisition everything."

expression, first of all, in matters pertaining to legislation. The day of the Homeric nobility, when writing was unknown, was gone forever, and with it had disappeared to a great extent the conception of unequal rights and privileges. Written law protected all citizens alike. The old tribal organisation had become too

Effect of the Written Law weak to protect the members of the tribe, and there was need of a power to watch directly over the safety of the individual. Thus the age of individualism in this case coincided with the expansion of governmental power. It is quite evident that the city colonies were as advanced in their development in this respect as was the mother country, for the fact that, together with Corinth and Thebes, Locri and Catana also appear among the cities which adopted a written law is no less well established than the backwardness of Sparta, where the introduction of any law other than traditional was resisted on principle. The new codes were compilations of old customs. In part they were strictly conservative; but they were also favourable to progress, and endeavoured to secure the results of previous development. The written law protected the lives and the property of all citizens, subjected the blood-feud at least to the regulations of the state, determined penalties, and sought to influence public morality by numerous commands and precepts.

The attempt to effect an improvement in the calendar is closely connected with the introduction of writing and the written law. Time was reckoned according to periods of eight years (*octaeteris*), divided into five years of twelve months each, equal to 354 days, and three years of thirteen months each, equal to 384 days, so that the count became wrong by one month at the end of every 160 years.

Intellectual Horizon Broadened Finally, the century had the effect of broadening the intellectual horizon of the Greeks.

This can be seen from the legend of the Argonauts, which was born of Milesian discoveries in the Black Sea region, and from the removal of the gates of Hades from the western coast of the Peloponnesus, which had sufficed for the narrower views of earlier times, to the extreme end of the greater Syrtis, and later to Iberia, the Islands of the Blest lying somewhere beyond in Oceanus.



Underwood

RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA
This great temple abounded in statues of ivory and gold.

From the extreme north-east of the Greek sphere of civilisation, from the city of Olbia, which lay among salt lakes and swamps, knowledge finally came to the Greeks of the ancient caravan road that led to Central Asia. This road ran from the mouth of the Danube, near the swamps of the Bielosero, through the wooded plains of Kama to the Thyssagatæ—perhaps the Tschussawaia of modern times—crossing the Ural Mountains between Nisse, Tagilsk, and Ekaterinburg. Thence it dropped into the region between the Irtish and the Obi, where the Iruks, the ancestors of the Magyars, dwelt; following the Irtish, past



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RELIGIOUS CENTRE OF ANCIENT GREECE
All that remains to-day of the sacred precincts at Olympia.

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HELLAS



Underwood

WHERE GREEK POETS WERE INSPIRED
Remains of ancient fountain at Delphi, sacred to the Muses.

the Semipalatinsk of to-day, and ending on the other side of the Altai. At that early time information had already come to the Greeks of the Turkish races, the Arimaspi, or Huns, as well as of the Chinese, as is shown by Aristeas, the author of the epic of the Arimaspi.

The Greek community had developed in a surprisingly short time from a feudal into a manufacturing and trading state. The kingship lost its leading position in the greater number of towns, and a powerful nobility had been evolved, whose strength in time of peace consisted, in great landed possessions, and in time of

war in military service. But the course of development pressed onwards irresistibly without stop or stay. With the rise of trade and manufacture and the creation of an enormous sphere of commerce through the agency of the colonial centres, with the introduction of new intellectual ideals and standards through the art of writing, and of new material values through a minted coinage, a new and flourishing town population, rich in personal property and spurred on to activity by a full knowledge of the world, arose in place of the old inhabitants, divided into tribe and clan. Personal property won an important position in the Greek state.

Greece, with the exception of some of the mountain stocks of Ætolians and Acarnanians, passed at one step from the obscurity of her mediæval age into the clear light of history. Instead of landed property or cattle and metal bars, the ancient mediums of exchange, money became the measure of wealth, and by destroying ancient restrictions and creating new lines of action, furthered the growth of states. The spirit of economic activity, which had arisen on all sides, supplying

Greece work for thousands of hands,
Steps from had one great effect in knitting
Obscurity men closely together. The necessity of co-operation, of finding helpers among one's fellow-beings, brought with it the need for joining still closer together those who already possessed common ties of family, language, and environment, and a common past. The city, which by reason of its vast influence, drew all the forces of the country to itself, assumed the position of leader; and towns, which, owing to their favourable situation for commerce, promised greater comfort in life to the dwellers in the country, increased in size and in prosperity to a far greater degree than their less favoured neighbours. Countries became more or less closely knit together internally, according to the degree of pre-eminence enjoyed by the chief centre. The impulse towards union was felt far beyond the confines of the district or canton.

A flood of religious conceptions, preserved from time immemorial, lent its aid to the general movement towards consolidation. To pray to the gods in common, in the same manner as fathers and forefathers had worshipped together, to consult the oracles, not only in reference to political matters, but also for the



Underwood

RUINS OF ANCIENT DELPHI
A view of the theatre and the famous temple of the oracle.

ordinary purposes of daily life, such as to discover a thief or to find out whether or not a journey should be undertaken—these were customs absolutely necessary to the Greek character. About the oracles and centres of cults new communities ever tended to grow up. The ancient religious centre, Olympia, in the country

Learning to Strive for the Ideal

of Elis, had long played a prominent part in the gradual drawing together of all Greeks, of the mainland, of the islands, and of the west. In a quiet valley, far removed from the world, where the Alpheus, the tributary of the Cladeus, and the pine-clad hills formed a natural amphitheatre, the people of Greece, united in the exercise of body and of mind, learned that "possession was nothing, and meritorious acquisition everything." The Greek people, whose foremost representatives competed here for the wreath of olive, and, returning victors to their homes, received extraordinary honours, here learned to strive towards an ideal. Weapons were at rest throughout the whole of Greece when the games began, and the peace of the gods accompanied the pilgrims to Olympia. A common method of reckoning time, according to Olympiads, beginning with the year 776, was adopted. To be a competitor in the games it was necessary to be a pure-blooded Greek and a descendant of freemen. Moreover, it was taken for granted that no blood-feud, guilt of sacrilege, or the crime of refusing to fight for his country, rested upon a man who entered the lists. The contests were in leaping, throwing the discus, spear-casting, running (600 Olympic feet equal 210 yards) and wrestling; and in the chariot races (2·79 miles) an idea could be obtained of the progress of Greek horse-breeding.

During this period the art of sculpture advanced rapidly; and, instead of the rude, wooden figures of gods, familiar to us from the designs stamped on coins, images were made in bronze, and sculptors sought to obtain a true likeness in their statues of the victors in the Olympic games. The Heræum and the temple of Zeus Olympus abounded in statues of ivory and gold; and the treasure-houses of Byzantium, Sybaris, Cyrene, Selinus, Megara and Metapontum prove the close connection of all the regions of Greece with Olympia.

Beginnings of Sculpture

Delphi, the ancient seat of the oracle of Apollo and centre of the Amphictyonic League, was the most important of all the towns of Central Greece. Through the medium of the Amphictyonic League, international laws were introduced, thereby rendering war less cruel. The water supply of besieged cities, for instance, was not to be cut off, and no town, being a member of the league, was ever to be destroyed. Soon roads were built, leading to the mountain valley, far from the bustle of the world, from which as a centre the influence of the priests of Apollo went out over the whole of Greece through their oracle. It was in the sixth century that competitions in poetical composition and improvisation were introduced at the autumn meetings of the Amphictyony.

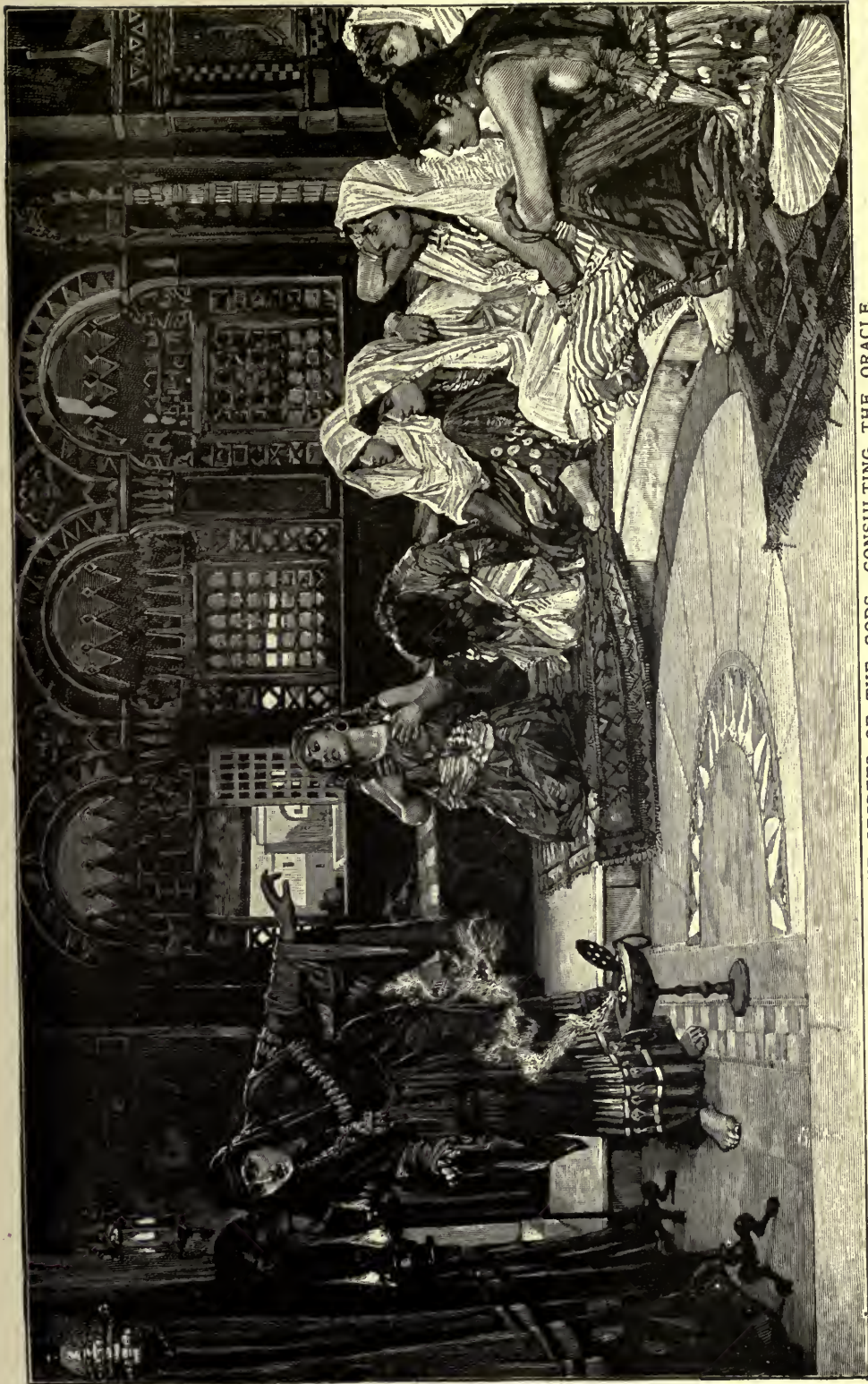
Centres of local interest sprang up on the isthmus of Corinth, in Nemea, and in Delos, where the inhabitants of the countryside united at the festivals, fairs, and games in honour of Poseidon, Zeus, and Apollo; and here, too, various competitions were introduced.

The feeling of the unity of all Greeks was furthered by common rites of worship, common aims, and common customs. At the same time, however, the different states increased in strength; and among them two were especially distinguished as being the most perfect embodiments of the Doric and Ionian races: the military state of Sparta and the commonwealth of Athens.

The Unity of All Greeks

The Doric race developed its peculiar form of state in the valley of the Eurotas, beneath the snow-caps of the Taygetus Mountains. Its character might be found expressed in the athletic competitions at the various festivals, the development of bodily strength and of will power. Whoever examines philosophically the form of the Spartan state as an aristocratic and despotic oligarchy imposed upon a conquered population of different race—the various gradations of the people remind one of the various relations of the population of England according to the Domesday Book—will at once recognise that it was the result of years of steady development; that it could not have been the outcome of that single lawgiver, the mythical Lycurgus, to whom it was attributed by tradition.

The unique characteristic of the Spartan polity was the dual kingship, which



THE ANCIENTS AND THE SECRETS OF THE GODS: CONSULTING THE ORACLE
In all ages man has demanded of the future its secrets, the most famous of the ancient oracles being that of Delphi. Reduced, by permission, from a painting by J. W. Waterhouse. R. A.

suggests the dual consulship of Rome, doubtless originally a device to render despotism more difficult of achievement.

The kings were the high priests of the nation and the supreme commanders of the army. The ephors, who had the power of summoning even the king before their tribunal, stood as the embodiment

The Dual Kings of Sparta

of the people of Sparta, the ruling clan of the Spartiatae. The council of the elders (*gerusia*), consisting of twenty-eight citizens of sixty years and over but including the kings, wrested the supreme judicial power from the ephors. In the Apella the free Spartans had the privilege of voting for councillors, ephors, and other functionaries, as well as of deciding political questions, such as alliances, declarations of war, and negotiations for peace.

The land was probably at first portioned out into equal lots; but in historical times it was divided among such citizens as were possessed of full rights, the Spartiatae, who dined in common, each furnishing a certain fixed contribution. This practice was entitled *syssitia*. In case of any member being unable to supply his quota, he was thrust out of the circle, and reduced to the rank of a man possessed of fewer political privileges. The pre-Doric towns, which had been peaceably won, were inhabited by *perioeci*, or small farmers, who paid tribute and rendered service in war. The conquered in battle became state slaves (*helots*), whose task was to cultivate the land of their masters. The Spartan education, which began so early and was devoted to producing a harsh, inflexible character, supported by the custom of dining in common, completely destroyed all possibility of family life. Men were wont to forget even their own parentage. But this disciplinary education meant everything to the Spartans. The diffusion of the Spartans over the fertile plain of

Destruction of Spartan Family Life

Messenia and the subjection of the pre-Doric population was a result of the two Messenian wars, of which the poet Tyrtæus, who himself played an important part in the Spartan development by means of his spirited battle-songs, composed during the second war, furnishes the best description. Owing to the spread of her power over the southern part of the peninsula Sparta drew other states within her sphere of influence, and with the assistance

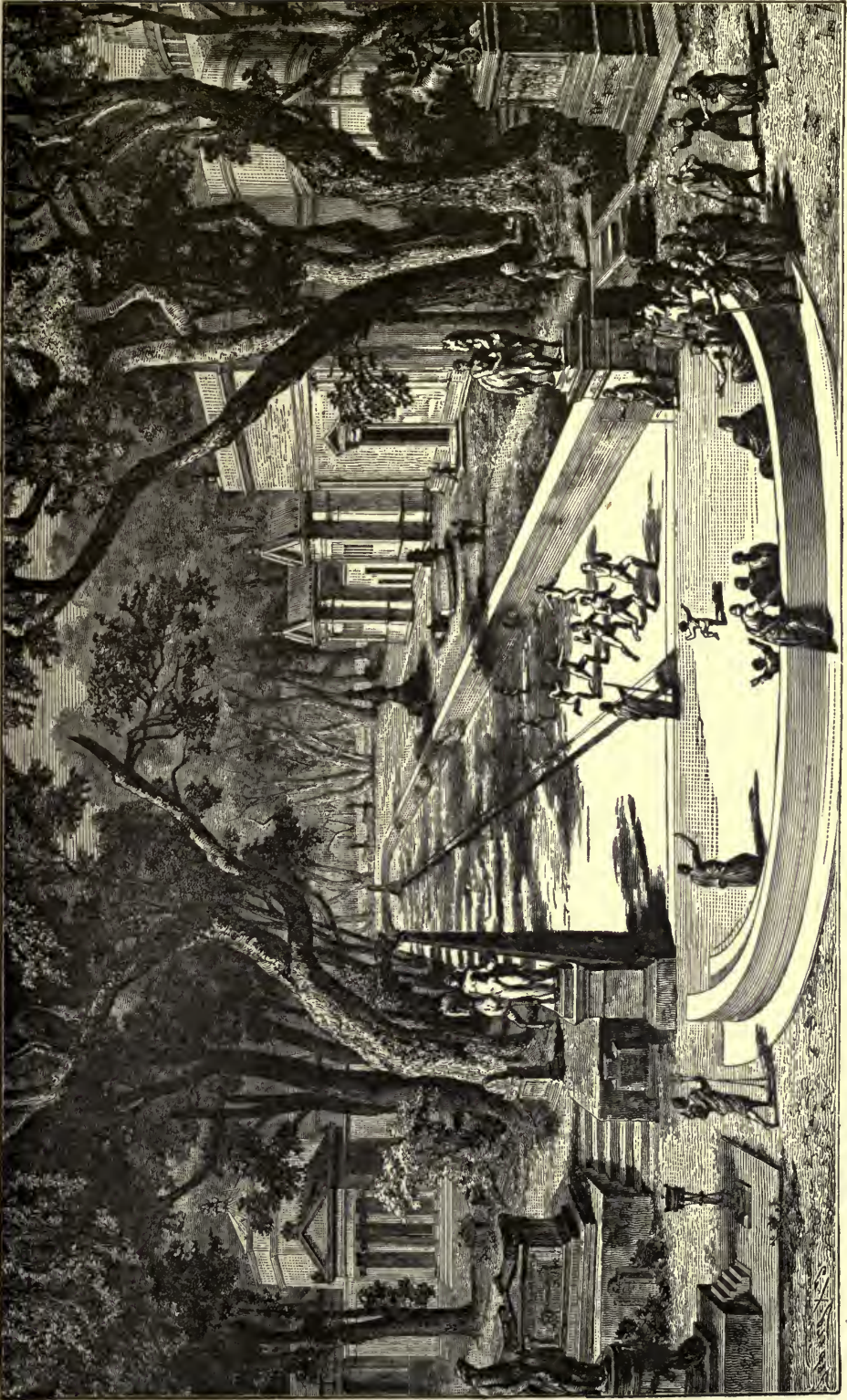
of Corinth and Sicyon formed the Peloponnesian League, the fame of which—owing to the fact that two-thirds of the allied forces were placed at the disposal of Sparta, and to the splendid training of the warriors of that state, which assumed the leadership with unlimited power—penetrated as far as Asia, and procured an alliance with Cræsus, king of Lydia. Even an unfortunate campaign against Polycrates of Samos had but little effect on the renown of the Spartan people in battle; and the results of the Persian wars only proved what a tremendous advantage Sparta possessed over Athens—at least, as a military state.

The Ionians were characterised by remarkable versatility and the capacity of developing all their intellectual powers, thus standing in strong contrast to the Spartans, with their one-sided development of muscular power and of will alone. As Odysseus was to Heracles—the hero of the happy and serene mind and most varied of talents to the man of gigantic physical strength and iron will, who took all possible labours upon his own shoulders—so were the Ionians to the Dorians, ex-

Versatility of the Ionians

cepting only that the individual of the latter race first laboured for the benefit of the community, and only later in the interest of his own person. Athens was at first a tribal state under the rule of hereditary kings; later, the royal office was distributed among three “archons,” chosen every ten years. Finally, nine officials were elected each year—six *thesmothetae*, in addition to the three already named—who, upon expiration of their term of office entered the state council, or Areopagus, which exercised the highest duties of supervision. Eligibility to office was restricted to members of the old tribes, who formed their own associations for worship, and upon whom during the very earliest times the right of ownership of the entire land of the state had devolved.

The first important alteration in the form of the original tribal state took place, perhaps, in the seventh century—the exact date is uncertain—and was occasioned by financial and maritime considerations. Those propertied families, or tribes, which were not noble, although they had their own associations for worship, were now to all intents and purposes recognised as belonging to the nobility, and were united with the old aristocratic tribes



THE SOURCE OF SPARTA'S MILITARY POWER: THE DROMOS, OR RACECOURSE, AND GYMNASIA

The great expansion of Spartan power was largely attained by the disciplinary education of the Spartan youth, which, though it destroyed the possibility of family life, so that men were wont to forget even their own parentage, produced the harsh and inflexible character of the splendidly trained warrior to whom the military supremacy of Sparta was due.

in forty-eight revenue districts, called *naucrariæ* (from *naus*, a ship), on account of their maritime importance. Among these districts, the 360 tribes—divided, respectively, into four phylæ of three phratræ each—were distributed, eight tribes to each of twenty-four districts and seven tribes to each of the other twenty-

**Reforming
the Greek
Government**

four. In the distribution of tribes, the original homes of the various families were taken into consideration. The extreme wing of the old nobility endeavoured to prevent this breach in the ancient form of government, and, under the leadership of Cylon, rebelled, assisted by Megara, but without success.

The introduction of written law in the codification of the old traditional penal regulations by Draco indicated a further step in development. It is said that Draco, in addition to being a law-giver, was also a political reformer; he determined that political rights should be extended to all men who were able to produce a complete equipment for war, while the possession of a certain definite income was necessary in order that a citizen might be eligible to hold office. The account of Draco's reforms has come down to us from partisans of the oligarchy who lived in the fifth century, and thus may, indeed, have been invented at that time.

The adoption of a financial system during the seventh century, and the attendant transformation of economic conditions, caused a great disturbance in domestic affairs. It occasioned much dissatisfaction among the smaller landholders of Attica. The poor were the debtors of the rich, and cultivated their land almost entirely for the benefit of the wealthier classes; the yield of the greater part of the land belonging to the *hectemori*—so called on account of their being permitted to keep but a sixth part of the harvest for themselves—fell into the hands of creditors.

**A Land
of Hopeless
Debtors**

"Many a man, having lost all hope, fled from his creditors, and wandered far away, from land to land," said Solon; and others were sold as debtors "into foreign servitude."

Solon, the first really clear-cut personality of Athenian history, was elected to the office of arbiter and archon in 594, and endeavoured to remedy the evil. From him emanated a truly refreshing breath of idealism; his elegies—addresses to the

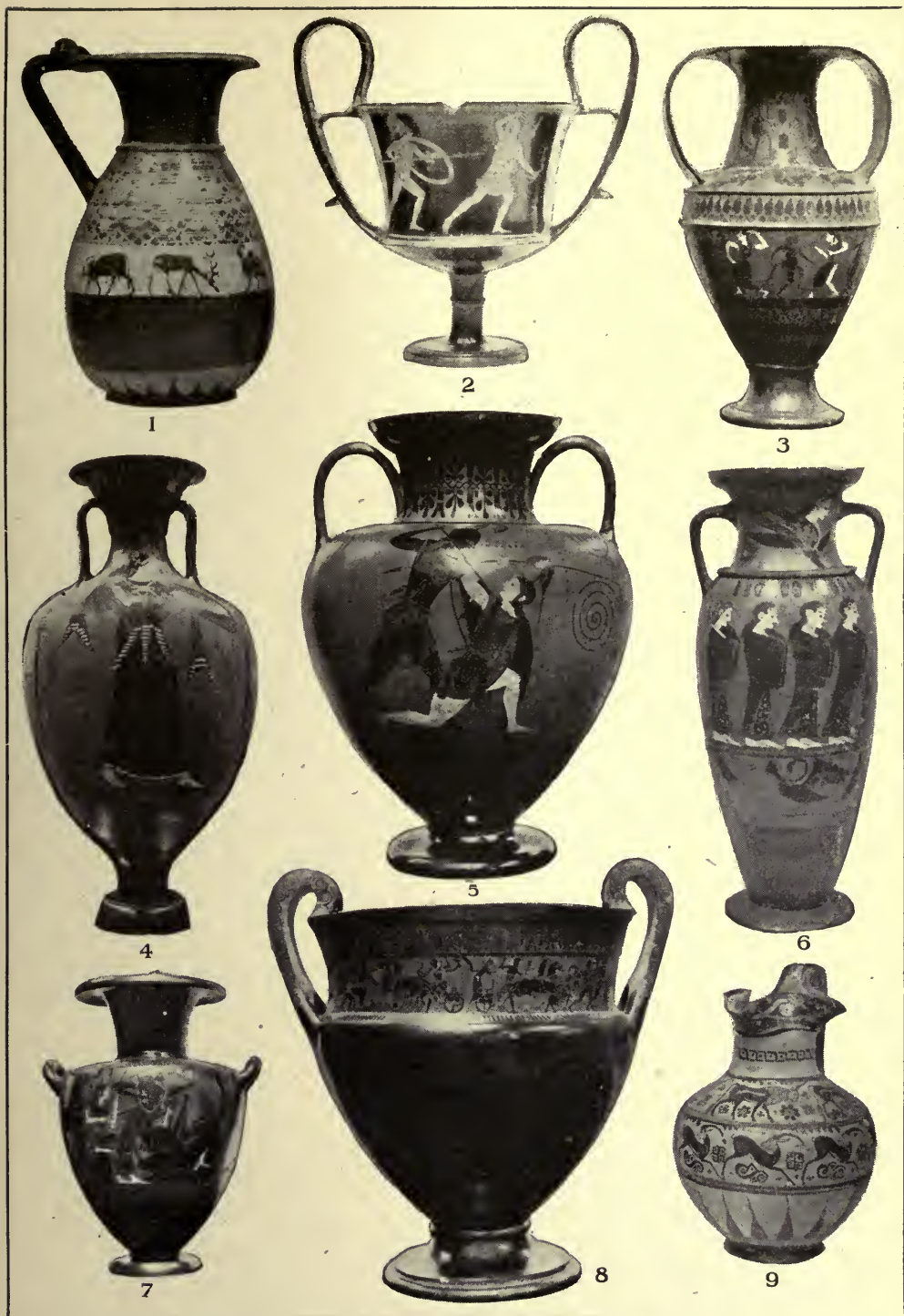
people in verse—show him to have had a luminous practical mind, and to have been aware of the needs of all classes: "Never have I allowed injustice to win the day."

The *seisachtheia*, emancipation from burdens, a sort of "encumbered estates act," freed debtors from the necessity of supplying their creditors with produce from the mortgaged estates. Borrowing money on the security of one's person was forbidden; and as this law brought with it the impossibility of any further borrowing, it is probable that Solon must have abrogated the law of tribal rights in property, and have made land the transferable possession of the individual. A limit was set to the quantity of ground that could be owned by any one man, in order to prevent the bulk of the property from falling into the hands of a few large owners. The enormous prices to which foodstuffs had arisen, owing to their free exportation—oil alone excepted—were reduced through a general law forbidding the exportation of food products; and, through the adoption of the Eubœan system of coinage, weights and measures, relations were established with the great

**Solon's
Great
Reforms**

commercial powers, Chalcis and Eretria. Political rights were divided proportionately among four classes, according to their incomes—500, 300, 200 measures of grain and less—and thus the classes of society were made up of wealthy men, leaders in politics or war, small landowners, and labourers. From the first class the highest state officials, archons and treasurers, were chosen; the fourth class was excluded from all office, but formed part of the popular assembly and the courts. The three upper classes were drawn upon for the heavy-armed soldiers; the fourth class composed the light infantry and also furnished the seamen. The council of the Four Hundred, to which citizens of the three upper classes were elected, was subordinate to the Areopagus, which now acted as the official censor and protector of the constitution. The privilege of appeal from the decision of any magistrate to the popular tribunals tended to increase the rights of the people. Officials were chosen by lot from a list of candidates.

In spite of its good intentions, the body of laws instituted by Solon was unsatisfactory to the various classes—to the inhabitants of the coasts (*paralii*), who,



THE MATCHLESS ORNAMENTED POTTERY OF ANCIENT GREECE

The period of the consolidation of the Hellenic states was marked by great intellectual activity, and Athenian commerce, especially the trade in the matchless ornamented pottery of which some beautiful examples are given, prospered as never before. The earliest examples (1 and 9) were made in the 7th century B.C. The three beautiful amphoræ (3, 4 and 5) were made about 650 B.C., as were also the fine wine-bowl (8) and the water-jar (7). The situla from Daphnæ (6) was made about 620 B.C., and the vase from Cameiros (2) about 500 B.C.

for the greater part, were members of the middle class and possessed the largest industrial interests, to the landowners of the plains (*pediaci*), who were not prepared to support measures designed for the amelioration of the position of the lower classes, and, to the radically inclined mountain dwellers (*diacrii*), who pursued all sorts of miscellaneous callings.

It was owing chiefly to the support of the *diacrii* that Pisistratus was enabled to found his tyranny, which, twice interrupted, in 536 and 527 B.C., continued after the second date undisturbed until his death. Improvement in the administration of justice, internal colonisation, the establishment of external relations with Thessaly and Naxos, and a personal supervision of affairs, characterised the rule of Pisistratus. It must be remembered that the words Tyranny and Tyrant, in the Greek, refer to all forms of monarchy established by unconstitutional methods, and buttressed by mercenary forces. The period was marked by great intellectual and economic activity, by the unification of the inhabitants through a gradual reconciliation of class differences, and by an outburst of profound religious thought. Temples and aqueducts were built in Athens and Eleusis. Now for the first time solemn

processions, in which representatives from Athenians dwelling in foreign countries—later, of all the citizen colonies—participated, ascended the acropolis in honour of Athena, and celebrated the pan-Athenian festival. A religious state, almost, arose from the national religion.

It was characteristic of the wise rule of Pisistratus that both the rural cult of Dionysus and the performance of tragedies, which were linked with it, were furthered and promoted. Athenian commerce, and especially the trade in the matchless ornamented pottery produced by Athenian masters, prospered as never before; and, together with external splendour, there came about a great refinement in character.

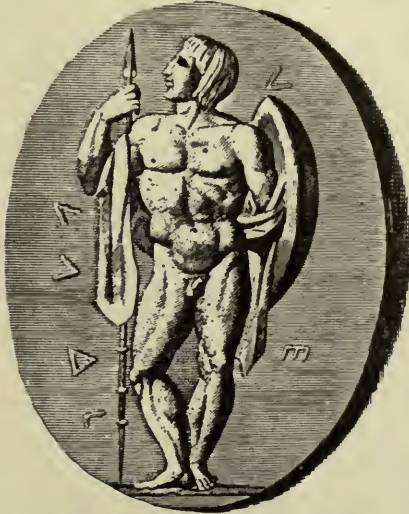
Not without the assistance of the followers of Pisistratus was the worship of Orpheus carried on, and directly by their aid the Eleusinian cult of Demeter was raised to one of the most ardently cherished religions of the state.

Of the two sons of Pisistratus, one was murdered, and the other finally had to yield to the Alcmaeonidæ, a family that had been banished to Sparta, and had there won the favour of the priests of the oracle, at Delphi. The troubles that followed were ended by Clisthenes, who, as representative of the people, enabled Athens to take the greatest step yet attempted on the road towards a complete commonwealth. The tribal state of Athens was transformed into the Attic democracy.

The whole country was divided up into *demes*, or townships, varying in population, each governed by its own demarch, who watched over the office-holders of his deme, and whose duty it was to convoke the assemblies of the citizens of the district. Every deme chose its own candidates for the council; and their number corresponded to the number of inhabitants, an entirely modern idea. The candidates were elected by lot. All demes of the coast, as well as the demes of the interior, and the city of Athens and its surroundings,

were united into ten districts (*trittyes*). Every district of the coast was joined to a district of the interior and to one of the city, thus forming a *phyle*, with the result that the ten newly created *phylæ* were not made up by the union of noble families, as had formerly been the case, but constituted mere electoral districts, and became the foundation of the new territorial military system, according to which each of the ten *phylæ* was pledged to supply a regiment of foot and a squadron of horse.

At the head of the Athenian state stood the Council of Five Hundred, elected by the tribes, and entrusted with the duty of considering in advance all measures to be



TYRTÆUS, A SPARTAN POET

The best description of the Messenian wars of Sparta is furnished by the spirit's battle-songs of the poet Tyrtæus, who was also a warrior.

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HELLAS

laid before the popular assembly. The Five Hundred succeeded in narrowing the sphere of activity of the archons, in the same manner as the Roman senate later restricted the authority of the consuls. The minor affairs of the Council were administered by a committee of fifty, the *prytany*, and the rotation of these committees, ten in number, led to the adoption of a new calendar, by which the year of three hundred and sixty days was divided into ten prytanies of thirty-six days each (leap year, three hundred and ninety days). The preservation of the constitution was entrusted to the care of all citizens; for, by the institution known as "ostracism," any person deemed dangerous to the commonwealth might be banished from Athens for a period of ten years by popular vote. Athens vindicated its new constitution in two successful battles against Thebes and Chalcis. A brazen quadriga, portions of whose pedestal we still possess, and the fetters of the Chalcidians, which Herodotus saw in the citadel at Athens, testify to that happy war, in which Athens, freed from all fear of her Peloponnesian enemies by the refusal of Corinth to join them, defeated the Bœotians, and after a second victory over the Chalcidians, divided the land of Chalcis among its poor citizens (the first *cleruchia*).

According to this military and economic institution of the cleruchia, individuals to whom land was granted retained their citizenship, but did not possess the right to transfer the newly acquired property. They were not permitted to rent out the land, but were obliged to cultivate it themselves. They did not have the right to coin money; and this, together with the fact that they sent sacrificial animals to the Athenian festivals, demonstrated their dependence upon the mother country. We still possess the fragmentary remains of a

popular decree respecting the despatch of cleruchs to Salamis. Their standing before the law was regulated by what became later the cleruchian canon.

Thus, in the sixth century B.C., Athens, proceeding in a very different manner from that adopted by Sparta, succeeded in utilising all the forces of the different classes of her population; and, by giving a broad foundation to her political system, ensured the utmost elasticity and endurance to her political and military life.

The work of civilisation, begun in the seventh century, was actively continued during the succeeding period of a hundred years. The striving after a moral ideal became general in the people; and their lives were influenced by the homely wisdom continued in the pregnant maxims of great men, "the Seven Sages," about whom tradition spun a circle of legends, just as it did about the heroes of the age. The idea that moral wrong is the foundation of misfortune became firmly fixed in the minds of men. Nowhere was the demand for purity in life more deeply grounded than in the teachings of Pythagoras, who founded his school in Crotona. There the youths of

the upper classes listened to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls as well as to the explanations of mathematical principles. They learned that sounds imperceptible to sense could be explained and measured by means of the relations of numbers; and thus, finally, according to this primitive philosophy, numbers came to be looked upon as the elementary principle of the world of sensation. It was already known that the earth, like the other heavenly bodies, was a globe, revolving about a central point, which—according to Pythagoras—was the invisible eternal fire. In contrast to the mathematical exactitude of the Pythagorean teachings stood



SOLON

A great law-maker and the first clearly-cut personality in Athenian history.



STESICHORUS AND ALCÆUS

Two great poets of the period of Hellenic intellectual expansion.



PYTHAGORAS

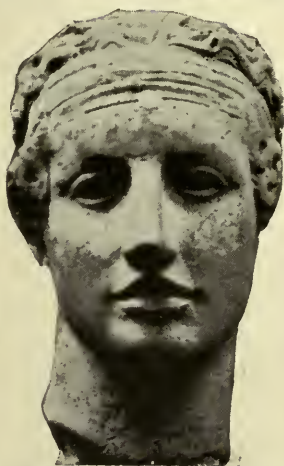
In whose teachings the demand for purity in life was most deeply grounded.

the doctrines of Xenophanes, who seems to have been a complete sceptic. He would admit only the *probability* of human knowledge, and with special emphasis denied the pantheon of the epic poets, accepting but one deity.

A multitude of new conceptions arose in the minds of this people, which ever endeavoured to fathom the secrets of the universe, and struggled on towards the discovery of universal laws.

The Ionians were especially distinguished as investigators and students; and, as a result of their fruitful activity, not only laid the foundations of philosophy, but made the beginnings of natural science and of the knowledge of different lands and races. By methods first employed in Babylonia, Thales was enabled to foretell the eclipse of May 25th, 585 B.C. Anaximander, by collecting and arranging statements made by seamen, traders, and colonists, endeavoured to construct the first map. He emphasised the contrast between the manifoldness of the world and the unity of the eternal infinite substance that lies at the base of all things.

Knowledge of human character was extended further and further. Passion and longing ring in the songs of Sappho and Alcæus, and, with increasing independence, poets ventured to tear



SAPPHO
The passion of whose songs extended the knowledge of human character in the early days of Greek intellectual development.

the old legends from their epic frames, working them up singly, in the full exercise of their own imagination, as did Stesichorus of Himera. The artistic genius of men was unweariedly employed, striving to free itself from Oriental tradition and from the old wooden technique. Powerful attempts at the delineation of facial expression and at the representation of muscular play were presented in the statue of Artemis in Ephesus, and also in the naked figures of youths — the so-called Apollos — of Tenea and Andros. Contemporary with this assertion of individuality, and with the escape from the

fetters of tradition and untrained observation, was the tendency towards the unity of all the Greek races. In worship, custom, language, writing, poetry, and the plastic arts, the influences of the different tribes developed into a system of ramifications extending from country to country. The feeling of unity increased with knowledge of life. The moment came when it seemed that the danger of a great and common catastrophe to all the Hellenes might produce a united and consolidated Greek nation; but this was not to be. The wars with Persia, which was ever the enemy of Hellas, were the making of an Athenian empire, but not of a Hellenic state.



ARTEMIS OF EPHEBUS **TENEA APOLLO**
The artistic genius of the Greeks in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. was unweariedly employed in freeing itself from Oriental tradition and the old wooden technique. Powerful attempts at the delineation of facial expression were presented in the statue of Artemis in Ephesus and the Apollo of Tenea.



THE GOLDEN AGE OF ATHENS AND HER SPLENDOUR UNDER PERICLES

AT the close of the sixth century B.C. the Spartan oligarchy was universally recognised as the leading military power among the Greek states, while Athens had vindicated her own claim to stand foremost among the cities whose polity rested upon free institutions and popular government. In the meanwhile, events had been taking place in Asia which were leading up to the grand dramatic struggle between Orientalism and Occidentalism, of which the first act was to be the Persian wars. During the last fifty years of the century, Cyrus the Persian and his son Cambyses had not only overthrown and taken possession of the ancient empires of Babylonia and Egypt, but had also brought under their sway the Hellenic and kindred Phrygian states of Asia Minor. Such empires must expand by continuous conquest, or fall into a state of disruption. Darius occupied himself not only with the

**The East
and West
at War**

organisation of his huge domain, but also, a few years before the century closed, in an unsuccessful attempt to bring into subjection the Scythian tribes on the west of the Black Sea. In the normal course of events, it was certain that sooner or later a serious effort would be made to include European lands within Persian boundaries.

Sooner or later, then, the "great king" would assuredly have summoned Sparta, Athens, and the minor states to acknowledge his overlordship, and pay tribute. Submission would have meant the appointment of Persian satraps, and the disappearance of free institutions, even as Sparta understood freedom. The event was hastened first by the appeal of the Pisistratid Hippias for the recovery of the "tyranny" in Athens; secondly, by the revolt of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, which ejected, or tried to eject, the rulers who found favour with the satrap, and to recover free institutions. In their revolt temporary assistance was lent by Athens,

which had already openly defied the Persian monarch; and Athenian troops were present when Sardis was seized and accidentally fired. The Ionic revolt was completely suppressed in the course of five years. Darius then found leisure to contemplate the subjection of Hellas. The first move was made by Mardonius, who took command of a great expedition, which collapsed disastrously, the fleet being shattered by tempests off Mount Athos, while the army was roughly handled by Thracian tribes. Then the king sent to the cities of Hellas to demand "earth and water," the tokens of submission. The demand was at first generally obeyed among the islands, but Athens and Sparta took the lead in rejecting it with ignominy. Then Darius resolved to crush their presumption; and a great invading force was despatched by sea to Attica, commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, who were assisted by the exiled Hippias. After the punishment of the recalcitrant Eretria in Eubœa, Athens was the avowed objective. The plain of Marathon, well adapted for manœuvring a large force, was selected for the landing.

**First Act
of the
Persian War**

The jealousies which never ceased to hamper any concerted action on the part of the Greek states came into full play. Sparta, in her own eyes and in those of the world at large, the head of them all, promised help, but would not move a man till the full moon. Others took their cue from Sparta. Yet there was one little city which staked all for the sake of Athens. On the field of Marathon, in 490 B.C., the Athenians were joined by the whole force of the Platæans, who shared with them the imperishable glory of their triumph, and won a glory of their own to boot—for they had nothing to gain and all to lose by plunging into the contest. Legends gathered about the story of that

The Athenian Triumph at Marathon

**The Athenian
Triumph
at Marathon**

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great fight. This much of fact is clear. On the day of battle the mail-clad Athenians charged across the plain against the more lightly armed Persians, in extended line, with their strength on the two wings. Their centre was forced back ; but

The Persian Rout

on both wings they drove the Persians in rout, and then enveloped the Persian centre. The rout became a *saue qui peut*.

The barbarians were cut down in numbers as they endeavoured to embark ; even of their ships seven were destroyed. The shattered armament sailed away to Asia. Such a repulse could be only the prelude to a more terrific onslaught, which was duly organised, not by Darius, but by his son and successor, Xerxes. Something again of legendary mist gathers about this

with the fact that troops under British discipline have repeatedly shattered Oriental armies of ten times their numbers, though composed of excellent military material, the victory of the Hellenes passes out of the realm of the miraculous. But, before the fight was fought out, successful resistance must have seemed as nearly impossible as the establishment of the East India Company's supremacy in India before Plassey.

Shorn of the accessories attached to it by the religious imagination and by patriotic exaltation, the story stands beyond challenge as one of the most heroic on record ; and again it is Athens which claims the greatest measure of praise. This time, however, she did not stand alone. The mighty hosts of the " great king " were



THE PLAIN OF MARATHON, THE ATHENIAN FIELD OF TRIUMPH

After the shattering of the Persian fleet in 492 B.C., the first scene in the great struggle was the battle of Marathon, where Athens and Plataea won imperishable glory, repulsing the Persian host and shattering their armament.

story, as we have it in the prose epic of Herodotus. To Herodotus, Xerxes is the archetype of what the Greeks called *Hybris*, the supreme arrogance which forgets, ignores, or defies the justice of the gods ; which the gods visit with that blindness which prevents the insolent one from seeing that he is rushing headlong to his doom, the *nemesis* which awaits him.

Hence we may fairly discount the frantic folly which is attributed to Xerxes without derogating from the splendour of the Greek triumph. On the other hand, we must modify the millions affirmed to have shared the Persian march—if for no other reason, because no possible organisation could have managed the problem of the commissariat. Thus, familiar as we are

directed not only against her specifically, but against all Hellas ; the danger was common, and Sparta herself dared not stand aloof. By sea and land the invaders came, their thousand ships manned by Ionian and Phœnician sailors, the best mariners of the time, their motley hosts assembled from the vast regions where

Greek Joins Greek Against the Persians

the " great king " ruled, and having at least a powerful nucleus in the warriors who had carried the Persian arms successfully over all Western Asia. In the meantime a development of singular importance had been taking place at Athens. Urged on by Themistocles, the Athenians had been devoting an extraordinary proportion of their revenue to the



GENERAL VIEW OF ATHENS AND THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE SOUTH



RUINS OF THE PARTHENON, THE WORLD'S NOBLEST BUILDING



THE HILL OF THE CITADEL OF ANCIENT ATHENS FROM THE EAST

These photographs show what now remains of the glory of ancient Athens. The general view of the Acropolis, given at the top of the page, should be compared with the reconstruction facing page 2497. Note in this photograph the ruins of a great aqueduct. The ruins of the Parthenon, of which reconstructions are given on pages 2473 and 2474, are seen in the middle, and another view of the Acropolis at the bottom.

creation of a large and powerful fleet, and had realised that for them the way to ascendancy lay in naval expansion. Their seamanship was already of a high order. In spite of a conviction among the Peloponnesian states that they would be

**The Immortal
Defence of
Thermopylæ**

exempt from a naval attack, and could secure their own safety by making the isthmus of Corinth impregnable, it was recognised that some attempt must be made to protect the more northern territories. The first line of defence at the vale of Tempe was found to be untenable, after it had already been occupied; and a force was stationed at the pass of Thermopylæ, under the Spartan king, Leonidas.

Though some of the details of the current accounts are evidently incorrect, the main facts appear clear. Thermopylæ could be held by a small, well-armed force against enormous odds, unless it could be taken in the rear by a turning movement. The defenders themselves were at first unaware that such a movement was possible for a large force. When the fact became known, it was also clear that nothing could save the holders of the pass from destruction except the arrival of large reinforcements to secure the upper pass, or an immediate retreat. Leonidas dismissed a part of his force, but resolved himself to die at his post, with his three hundred Spartans, in whose immortal exploit the share of the seven hundred valiant Thespians, who fought at their side, is apt to be overlooked. As a strategic operation, Thermopylæ was as futile as the last fight of Richard Grenville on the Revenge, or the charge of Balaclava. But the moral effect for all time has been past all measuring.

Meanwhile the Greek fleet twice challenged the Persian armada off Artemisium, and both times had the better of the contest. But the news that Thermopylæ was lost meant in effect that all Northern Greece was at the mercy of the invaders, and the fleet fell back. Athens was doomed, but with her there was no thought of submission. The city became the fleet, and Themistocles persuaded the other

allied states of the wisdom of preparing for a decisive engagement by sea, with the forcible argument that otherwise the Athenians must regard themselves as abandoned, and would seek a new home over seas. The story runs that, confident of victory, the Athenian leader deliberately arranged that retreat should be cut off while the allies were still hesitating whether they should retire.

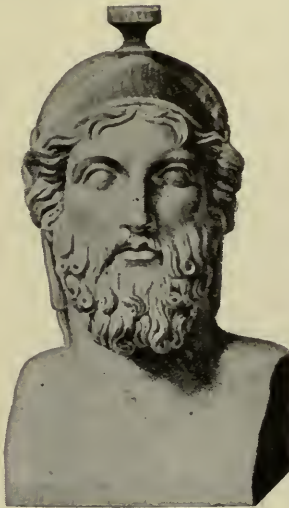
The result was the battle of Salamis, which annihilated the Persian fleet, and vindicated the Athenian naval theory precisely as the overthrow of the Spanish Armada, two thousand years afterwards, vindicated the identical English theory—that the battleship should be employed not as a floating fortress for soldiers,

but as an engine of war controlled by mariners. The effect was twofold. First, the morale of the Greeks was restored and raised to a far higher pitch than before; they were now filled with confidence of victory, and fought to win, while their adversaries were correspondingly demoralised. Secondly, the complete transference of the dominion of the seas to the Greeks left the bridge of boats over the Hellespont as the sole route of communication between the Persian host and its base in Asia, while the Persian army was in a hostile country which had suddenly recovered a lively hope of winning back its freedom. But the end was not yet.

Xerxes retired with the bulk of his army, but he left behind him more than a quarter of a million picked troops under Mardonius to complete the subjugation of Hellas. With a force no longer unwieldy from sheer magnitude, and freed of encumbrance, the Persian leader was sanguine of success, and to attain it he

**Athens
Rejects Peace
Overtures**

was now ready to make extremely favourable terms with the state to which Greeks and barbarians alike now attributed the change which had come over the whole situation. Happily for the western world Athens rejected all overtures; she chose rather to let the Persian reoccupy the "City of the Violet Crown" than to betray the cause for which she had fought



MILTIADES
Who led the Athenian troops in the rout of the Persians at Marathon.



THE DEFENCE OF THERMOPYLÆ: THE IMMORTAL EXPLOIT OF LEONIDAS OF SPARTA

The terrific onslaught on the Hellenic states, organised by Xerxes after the repulse of Darius at Marathon, was begun by the attack on the Pass of Thermopylæ, protecting the northern territories of the Pæloponnesian states, where Leonidas kept a mighty host at bay for two days, dying to a man. From the painting by David.

so stoutly. Despite the dilatoriness of her methods, Sparta in the following year, 479 B.C., headed the advance of the Greeks to their final struggle with Mardonius in Bœotia. Meanwhile, the Greek fleet under Leotychides was taking the offensive

The Final Struggle

by sea, and sailed for Samos, where the Persian admiral disembarked his forces at Mycale and prepared to do battle by land. On the same day, says tradition, the decisive battle was fought in Greece, in the neighbourhood of Plataea, and another decisive victory was won at Mycale. The army of Mardonius was outmanœuvred, out-fought, and in effect so completely cut to pieces that only a few thousands out of the whole number are said to have escaped alive from the field.

At any rate, the fundamental fact remained—the great invasion was irretrievably ruined. Henceforth, Persia was practically powerless for aggression; the Greeks became and remained the attacking party, though it was not till the time of Alexander that an invasion of the East by the West was organised. As the antagonist of Persia, Sparta yielded the leadership without regret to Athens, since it was to the Athenians—both as kinsmen and as sea-lords—that the Ionian cities and the islanders looked for aid. The confederacy of Delos was formed, with Athens at its head.

All the states which joined made themselves liable to supply their quota of men and money and ships to carry on the war. But this was no longer waged on the great dramatic scale of the struggle for liberty. Its most notable event was the great double victory by land and sea at the Eurymedon, won by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, in the year 466 B.C. The struggle terminated at length with the so-called peace of Callias in 448, when Persia practically surrendered all claim on the islands.

Matters were in the meanwhile working up to the point when Athens and Sparta were to enter on internecine struggles for the leadership of the states of Hellas, for the maritime "hegemony" of Athens, the natural outcome of the part played in the Persian War, was converted into a kind of empire when the members of the Delian League took to substituting money payments for the supply of ships and men. That empire did not produce unification; Athens did not adopt the Roman plan of absorbing allies into the ranks of her own citizens. Instead of combining as a great nation, the states of Hellas remained individual and distinct. But of these developments we shall speak later.

But the years which passed between the defeat of the Persians and the struggle between Athens and Sparta were years of splendid intellectual advance. The theatrical displays, originally choral celebrations, in honour of the god Dionysus had become broader in scope, first one and then a second and a third individual representing separate characters, while separate spokesmen for the chorus itself were evolved. Citizens vied with one



THE PERSIAN EMBASSY TO ATHENS
Mardonius, left by Xerxes to complete the subjugation of Hellas, sent an embassy to make terms with Athens, the only state which stood in the way of his success. Happily Athens rejected all overtures.

another in improving the equipment of the choruses in which they took part, and there was a general rise in the elaborateness and richness of stage properties. In "The Persians" Æschylus (525-456 B.C.) depicted the period of the recent Persian War, giving full expression to the religio-mythic tendencies of the Athenians; the same play was performed, under the patronage of Pericles, at the opening of the new Dionysus theatre in 472 B.C. Through the introduction of the second player in his dramas, Æschylus gained greater freedom, and in his works the old myths came to life once more. According to his philosophy of life, an inexorable law of the universe governed both gods and men; but it was a just law, and the unwavering faith in the Supreme



THE ATHENIAN REJOICINGS AFTER THE GREAT NAVAL VICTORY OF SALAMIS

After the loss of Thermopylae, all Northern Greece was at the mercy of the Persian invaders, but the annihilation of the Persian fleet at Salamis transferred the command of the seas to the Greeks, filled them with confidence of victory, and rendered possible the expulsion of the Persians from Greece. From the picture by Ferdinand Cormon in the Luxembourg.

Power that we find in the dramas of Æschylus seems to have been an inheritance from the deeply religious age of Pisistratus. Never was a dramatist an educator of the people to such an extent as Æschylus.

Apart from Æschylus, this great period found its expression in Polygnotus. In the works of the great master of painting, who impressed the stamp of his genius on the art of his time, we find, closely connected with a deeply religious feeling, the glorification of Athens as leader in the struggle against barbarism, and the representation of every phase of human emotion and passion. We are able to study his influence in the drawings upon the red and black figured vases, which now became broader and firmer in touch, and to recognise traces of it in the delineation of womanly beauty, in the soft, clinging draperies, which permitted portions of the body to shimmer through, and, lastly, in the representation of passion and pain [see page 2467]. The splendid exultation of the Athenians in their victory was embodied in his pictures, which hung in the decorated hall of the Parthenon; the fall of Troy and the battle of Theseus with the Amazons were companion pieces to the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians at Marathon. The vigorous representation of the destruction of the wooers of Penelope by Odysseus, found in a sepulchre in Lycia, in which the influence of an original by Polygnotus that was once to be seen in the temple of Athene at Plataea can be clearly perceived, furnishes us a clear conception of the greatness of his art. But both he and his school chose scenes of daily life for their subjects, which later were to be found in a thousand varieties in the vase paintings. Never, up to the present day, has the passion for beauty in household furniture and utensils penetrated to such a wide circle as then; never has art been so popular as

it was then, as shown by the paintings on the vases, to which even the greatest masters contributed models and drawings.

The fascination which the Athens of Pericles has ever exercised upon the minds of men does not spring from a sentimental spirit of glorification, but from the appreciation of the many-sided and rich develop-

ment of personality which we are accustomed to call culture, and which reached such a marvellous state of perfection at that time. The words placed by Thucydides in the mouth of Pericles are singularly true, and particularly applicable to the golden age of Athens: "Great men have all lands for their sepulchres; their glory and memory are not confined to the inscriptions and monuments in their native lands, but live without the aid of written words, preserved even in distant regions, not in memorials of stone and brass, but in the hearts of men." To

accuse the age of which Thucydides wrote: "We pursue Beauty, but not unthriftilly; and Knowledge, but not unhealthily," of a one-sided æstheticism is no less incorrect than to accept without reserve the gossip and the jests of comedies as historical testimony; and this, strangely enough, has happened with the writers of to-day who follow the example of the historian Ephorus.

Pericles perfected the organisation of the democracy. Already during his early days the conservative Areopagus had been robbed of its authority by Ephialtes, and the spheres of action of the popular assemblies and tribunals had been extended. The possibility of becoming a member of these institutions,

as well as of the council, was opened to all by the payment of salaries to judges and councillors. The same object, the aid of the poorer classes in the exercise of their political rights and duties, was aimed at in the introduction of payment for the troops and for the support of the chief officials.



PERICLES

Was ruler of Athens in its golden age, when Greek culture reached a marvellous state of perfection.



THUCYDIDES

The great historian of the Greek golden age, who has never been surpassed as a writer of history.



THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS AS IT APPEARED DURING THE CITY'S GOLDEN AGE

Pericles, Athens' greatest ruler, and Phidias, her greatest sculptor, raised the city to the zenith of its splendour, and made the Acropolis a mass of harmoniously arranged architecture. From the restoration by Richard Boyle.

the reconstruction of all the temples that had been destroyed, failed completely. Many steps in the development of the power of the Athenian democracy have wrongly been traced back to the influence which he exercised by virtue of his office as strategus and commissioner of public works, the highest position in the state. In spite of this, however, he appears to us as the incarnation of the great era in which he lived. Themistocles, far away in Magnesia on the Mæander, set up the statue of the "Demos," the ideal of the people, corporalised, as it had been set up in his own home; and it may seem to us to-day as if the features of the "Demos" of Athens, in spite of its being above the law, and in spite of its autocracy, were those of Pericles.

And even if the close intimacy between Pericles and the great artists and scholars of his time—Phidias, Sophocles, and Anaxagoras, for example—is in part mythical, the productions of that age needed that there should be at least the atmosphere of the Athens of Pericles; the financial contributions supplied by the subjected members of the confederacy; the patronage of the well-to-do citizens, who prospered owing to the flourishing Black Sea trade which had followed the undertakings of the great statesman; and the intellectual consciousness that endowed the old state religion with a new significance and directed the heightened activity following upon successful war towards the development of a higher moral life.

During this period the works of Phidias attained to perfection. His Athene Lemnia is the most noble of all representations of the goddess. The Bologna head [see page 2459], belonging to the statue now at Dresden, has a most charming expression of mild severity, blended with kindness. The lines of the slightly oval face are so delicate, the nose so finely cut,



THE BEAUTIFUL ATHENE PARTHENOS
The replica of the glorious statue that stood in the Parthenon, forty feet high, covered with ivory and gold.

the thick, waving hair so beautiful, the mouth so powerful, that, in spite of the lips, which are a trifle heavy, we recognise in the perfect features of this masterpiece an image of ideal beauty. Although in this particular statue the spirit rather of the inner life of Athens is incorporated, the Athene Parthenos, forty feet in height, made of wood, covered with ivory and gold, must have represented to the full the warlike, victorious self-confidence of the Attic people. The deep-set eyes, formed of precious stones, looked far off into the distance; the nostrils were distended in the joy of the play of life; over the transfigured lips flitted a smile of ineffable wisdom, and hair of gold flowed down beneath the helmet. The proud spirit of self-consciousness rested on the memory of the deeds of a glorious past; her left hand was supported by her shield; in

her right glistened a golden goddess of victory, representing a people now at rest, harvesting the fruits of what they had won in former days. In the ornamentation of the shield in relief, Pericles is to be recognised as one of the foremost in a battle with the Amazons. Although we may behold the Athene

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ATHENS

Lemnia in the original, and the Athene Parthenos in replica, our knowledge of the Olympian Zeus is gained only from descriptions and copies on coins. But it is certain that equal perfection was attained by Phidias in this work also; that only a purified conception of the god would have been possible to him, such only as would come to the mind of a man who himself had struggled to approach the perfection which belongs to the gods.

The frieze of the Parthenon, in which the pan-Athenians are portrayed for us with the most powerful versatility and the utmost perfection of technique—shown in the play of light and shade and in the matchless drapery—appears to us a symbolic representation of imperial Athens. The noble and beautiful youths, the rulers, soldiers, priests and priestesses, the sacrificial animals, brought from all parts of the empire, the dancing girls and flute players—all pass before us in procession, expressed, as they only could be, by a self-conscious and powerful community. Even though the friezes and gables of the Parthenon are not of Phidias's own handiwork, but were fashioned according to his plans and sketches by skilled masters, nevertheless, the least of their figures breathes of the spirit of the age. The birth of Athene, and the guardianship exercised over the city by Athene and Poseidon, the national deities, are especially appropriate to this period, which also saw the supremacy of Athens established on the sea. Thus Phidias was the artistic em-

bodiment of the age of Pericles; and, in a certain sense, Cresilas, the sculptor who carved the "soul-entrancing" Pericles, and sounded the depths of art in his representation of the wounded amazon, may, as a master of portraiture and genre, be looked upon as a complement to the greater artist. This was the time when Ictinus drew his plans for the Parthenon,



THE WOUNDED AMAZON OF CRESILAS
A work of Cresilas, who carved the "soul-entrancing" Pericles, and in this statue sounded the depths of art.

the temple of Athene, goddess of the city. The difficulties caused by the differences of elevation in the slope of the Acropolis were splendidly overcome by the propylæa: a wall pierced by five doors, with six Doric columns, resting upon four steps and enclosing a roofed court, which was divided into three wings by six Ionic columns. Passing through the doors, one reached a court of somewhat higher level, and from its further end arrived at the highest point of the Acropolis. This highest point is crowned by Ictinus's Parthenon, built upon old foundations, ascribed to Themistocles. It is a building pervaded with mysterious life; an indescribable enchantment is called forth by its marvellous proportions. The steps are slightly arched in the middle; the walls and entablature curve inwards, the cornices and antefix outwards; lightness and grace are obtained by the swelling of the corner columns, and the regular fluting of all, which gradually taper upwards towards their capitals.

The colouring, too, was extraordinarily rich and magnificent, the blue of the triglyphs of the frieze contrasting with the red ground of the metopes—a song

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

of triumph, as it were, of the Athenian spirit, which was also given expression in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus: "But I, in the glorious competition of battle, will jealously grant to this city victory over every other city on earth." And Sophocles, the great dramatist of the age of Pericles, in his prayer for Athens, "May it be blessed with all that leads to triumph and victory," expresses the poetic apotheosis of his land.

The apt choice of material from the myths of Attica, the rich experience in life and of men, the deep insight into Nature, the splendid development of the plot, and the profound grasp of the immutable laws of the universe, with which the vicissitudes

all, the knowledge of languages—did not yet correspond with the demands of a riper age. In spite of this, the descriptions of battles between the ancient Orient move us to-day even as they once moved the Athens of Pericles, where the populace received with acclamation the accounts of the great historian.

Anaxagoras, the friend of Pericles, was the first to conjecture that the universe was composed of a multitude of primal elements; and, reasoning in a dualistic sense, he considered these primitive forms of matter, at least in the beginning, to have been set in motion by intelligence. This motion then continued according to mechanical laws; sun, moon,



THE PIRÆUS, THE SEAPORT OF ATHENS, AS IT WAS IN THE GOLDEN AGE

of human fate are skilfully contrasted, lend an imperishable value to the dramas of Sophocles.

Herodotus [see page 9], born in Hali-carnassus in 484 B.C. under Persian rule, increased men's knowledge of the world by his many journeys. Greatly influenced by the enthusiasm of his age, he has described for us the battles of the Greeks with the barbarians. His history breathes the passionate devotion of the war for independence. Herodotus was not, perhaps, the most acute of critics. His powers of discrimination were not so developed that he could invariably distinguish the true from the false or the probable in myths and traditions; his faith was still, for the most part, fatalistic, and knowledge—above

and stars, were hurled from one another by centrifugal force, a rapid rotation holding the heavenly bodies far from the earth, though occasionally messengers from the former, in the shape of meteors, fall to the latter. His meteorological explanation of the Nile floods as occasioned by the melting of snow on the mountains, and of the winds as caused by differences in temperature and in the density of the atmosphere, have received due recognition only in recent times. The builder of the Piræus, the astronomer, meteorologist, and engineer, Meton, who conducted investigations as to the altitudes of mountains, and placed a sun-dial upon the Pnyx, also endeavoured to harmonise solar and lunar time—the metonic cycle



A BEAUTIFUL SCULPTURE FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

Mansell

The friezes of the Parthenon, in which the pan-Athenians are portrayed with powerful versatility and perfection of technique, are symbolic representations of imperial Athens and an artistic embodiment of the age of Pericles.

of nineteen years. Thus development went on in every line of human activity during the age of Pericles, and the importance of Athens was established for all time. At no period has the conservative element in the character of a people been so harmonised with the impulse towards progress that rules in men of genius. The glorification of the religion of the people in art, the poetic purification of the great treasure-



A BEAUTIFUL TERRA-COTTA OF THE 5TH CENTURY
One of the famous Tanagra terra-cottas found in Asia Minor.

of the very lowest class of citizens in the government, were all entirely successful.

This city of the fifth century B.C. was like a great theatre of the sublime and beautiful, even though her people were unable to follow the boldest thinkers of their time, and accorded to Anaxagoras a very similar fate to that which in later days fell to Galileo. To conceive of genesis as the mere combination, and of death as the resolution, of elements, was to think thousands of years ahead of the time.



MATCHLESS SCULPTURES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

Mansell

Though not the actual handiwork of Phidias, the Parthenon friezes were fashioned according to his plans and sketches.



THE DEATH OF SOCRATES, THE GREEK PHILOSOPHER, SURROUNDED BY HIS SORROWING DISCIPLES
The criticism of Socrates being adverse to many of the cherished ideas of the Athenians, he was held guilty of impiety to the gods and condemned to death by drinking hemlock.



RIVALRY OF THE GREEK STATES

THE Ionian race had come to maturity ; the development of the Doric people, which had taken place in comparative isolation, was also completed. The commonwealth of Athens was distinguished by the free artistic activity of the individual and by a pronounced tendency towards the equality of all men ; the military state of Sparta was pre-eminent for discipline, conservatism, and the illiberal restriction of political rights to the upper classes. Here, ruggedness finally changed to barbarity, and mean ends and interests led to a narrow-mindedness and pettiness, of which nothing is more characteristic than Sparta's

advice to the Asiatic Ionians to abandon their country. Attica, surrounded by the sea, which afforded an extensive sphere of activity, soon lost all local narrowness. The influence of the spirit that urged the people forward to a united Greece was everywhere apparent, not only in the wars against the Persians, but even in the internal disputes of Sparta. The Ionians and the Dorians stood opposed to one another, as a many-sided Odysseus against a towering Heracles—a Heracles, however, who had long ceased to labour for the common good—or as the fulness of spiritual life and passion in the works of Polygnotus, Phidias and Cresilas is contrasted with the magnificent development of muscle and the complete lack of intellectuality in the statues of the youths and athletes by Polyclitus.

But Athens soon underwent a transformation, the effect of which was greatly to weaken the powerful state that had been created by Pericles and his predecessors. It was a change in the disposition of the Athenian people, and it led to the destruction of the unity of aim and of consciousness that had for so long been a

distinguishing feature of Attic life. With the active participation of every citizen in governmental affairs, it was naturally considered indispensable by every man to acquire the necessary means for

gaining influence and power—the capacity, namely, of rapid thinking and ready speech. Since public instruction did not extend as far as this, men began to look upon a special technical training beyond that of the schools as necessary ; and the sophists took it upon themselves to make good the deficiency. They awoke in their pupils—not only through exercises in logic, but also through admonitions in regard to a moral life—the consciousness of a higher perfection, of a higher value of the individual ; it was Protagoras himself who uttered the proposition : “ Man is the measure of all things.” This individualistic conception, carried to the extreme, would mean that a man was free from all considerations of justice and morality, which he might look upon as an invention

of the weaker against the stronger, as pretexts, according to which natural rights, which granted a full life only to the “ overman,” were completely destroyed. No one adopted this teaching as a guide in life with more unscrupulousness, attended by more serious consequences, than did Alcibiades. The destruction of the balance and harmony of the old teaching, together with new developments, taxed the powers of resistance of Athens to the uttermost, and finally succeeded in undermining the state itself. The Athenian empire was based

too exclusively upon wealth for it to be able to persist with impunity in its unprincipled treatment of its dependencies ; for the same theory of the natural right of the individual was also apparent in the conduct of Athens



ALCIBIADES

Who adopted as a guide in life the teaching that man is free from considerations of justice and morality.

towards the other members of the confederacy, justice being simply the right of the stronger. Pericles was forced to run that gauntlet of vituperation of gutter politicians so familiar in the affairs of the modern state before kindly fate removed him from the scene of struggle. He died of the plague in the year 429 B.C.

Nevertheless, Athens still showed herself equal to Sparta during the first period of the Peloponnesian struggle. Cleon, the very type of obstinate narrow-mindedness, who had arisen to popularity through his powers of eloquence, but who had not sufficient ability for the conduct of great issues, and, like the venturesome and boastful Euthydemus of Plato, refused the advice of all men, strained the powers of the empire to the very breaking point by doubling the tribute imposed on the members of the confederacy. The first period of the war ended with the truce of Nicias, concluded for fifty years, in remembrance of which the temple of Nike was built. But peace cannot long be maintained when preceded by an indecisive struggle. New expedients were tried and new allies sought; first of all, the

Athenians won the alliance of Argos, advocated by Euripides in his dramas, as well as by Alcibiades in political life, but the battle of Mantinea dissolved the union. Then a stupendous plan was unfolded. Already planted in Italy, perhaps even dominating Carthage, Athens sought to invade the Peloponnesus and to take possession of it. The idea was contagious. Alcibiades was father to the scheme, which proved the chief cause of Athens' ruin; and all that had been left undone

The Ruin of Athens of the general destruction he completed when he deserted his country and went over to the side of Sparta. The advice for Sparta to invade Sicily, occupy Declea, and employ Persian resources for carrying on the war, came from Lysander, who thus prepared the way for ending the struggle.

Lysander was an unbridled tyrant, possessed of an unbounded vanity that could be satisfied only by statues and songs of praise. He resembled in many ways the type of the foremost men of the Renaissance, but without any of the redeeming qualities of the latter; a man



HIPPOCRATES, GREEK TYRANT IN SICILY, REFUSING THE PRESENTS OF ARTAXERXES
An incident, painted by Girodet, in the efforts of the Persian king to obtain the dominance over the Greeks, which he achieved in part by the shameful peace of Antalcidas with Sparta, securing Persian control of the Greeks in Asia Minor.



SOCRATES AT THE BATTLE OF POTIDÆ

The great philosopher distinguished himself in several Athenian campaigns, particularly in this battle of the Peloponnesian War, where he saved the life of his pupil, Alcibiades. From the painting by Carstens at Weimar.

who planned to destroy the Spartan constitution for his own benefit, who looked upon morality as madness, and who had no affection whatever, sentimental or otherwise, no consideration even for Athens' former greatness and merit. The terms of the peace of 404 B.C. were, without doubt, his work, although they were formally issued as a decree of the ephors. The Athenian fleet went up in flames, and the walls of the city were torn down to the sound of flutes. Athens was allowed to retain Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros alone of all her former possessions. Thus the way was opened for the rise of the northern empire of Macedon, which had already been developing in peace for many years; neither Sparta nor Thebes was able to prevent its progress.

In Thucydides (460-400 B.C.) the Peloponnesian War possessed a contemporary historian such as no other decisive struggle before or since ever had. The genius of the Greeks for purity of form fairly culminates in his writing. The bold, broad method of Athenian criticism becomes elevated to a scientific examination of

facts, the dispassionate accuracy of which henceforth becomes the type of the highest kind of historical writing. In contrast to the sunny charm of the Ionian Herodotus, who was inspired by victory and the glory of Athenian civilisation, and wrote of the splendours of the Athens of Pericles, we have the melancholy of a man sorrowing for the downfall of his country, who speaks so touchingly of the great past in the celebrated funeral oration delivered at the death of Pericles, and who paints the gloomy present in such dark colours in his description of the Sicilian catastrophe. No ancient writer ever succeeded in giving expression so effectively to the composite character of his time. Single individuals appear on the pages of Thucydides as the living embodiments of universal conceptions and forces.

During the same age a philosopher taught, who, although he created no system and wrote no book, spread abroad nevertheless the most fruitful ideas, and deeply influenced not only youths like Alcibiades, but also men such as Plato, who in the near future were to distinguish themselves in the realms of thought.

Socrates arose from the people; and for the people he lived and taught, seeking not for the unknown and obscure source of Being, but striving to penetrate the mysteries of the human heart, and to show

Socrates Rises from the People

men how to live according to the fundamental principles of the moral life. Knowledge of the good was to be gained by the unwearied exercise of thought, and necessarily carried with it the desire for right living; knowledge and will were one. All the thoughts and endeavours of Socrates were devoted to the development of the individual man, and thus his teaching may well have appeared revolutionary egoism to his contemporaries. But the respect for the common conceptions of truth and morality which he demanded of all unites men far more firmly than the social instinct; and Socrates never desired a separation from the state religion.

Euripides (480-406 B.C.) embodied the restlessness of the age in his works, a dissatisfaction that had arisen with the destruction of the old ancestral beliefs by the sophists, who attempted to substitute nothing in their place. He looked upon man, and he despaired; he looked upon the gods that man had created, and scorned them. Freedom in the treatment of material was prominent in Euripides; he looked upon life from a broad point of view, and won a keen insight into the human soul. Above all, he introduced women, with all their varied feelings and emotions, into the drama; but the effect of his writings is much injured by reason of the inexhaustible bitterness which internal struggles and the lack of popular appreciation had brought.

He bore his poetical genius as a mark of Cain; he was deceived even in his native city, and the brightest star in its heaven, Alcibiades, to whom he had written an ode on his victory in the Olympic games,

turned out to be only a brilliant meteor. The attempt to seek refuge from the bitterness of the time in mockery and derision was made by Aristophanes (450-385 B.C.). An adherent of the old, upright, Athenian conception of life, he hated war and all men who arose to power and distinction through war, even as he detested the new-fangled plans for the future, that appeared so foolish to him. A profound acquaintance with Nature and love for a life of peace are united with the most bitter satire in his comedies. Plays of his, such as "The Birds" and "The Frogs," as well as his personal caricatures—that of Cleon, for example—have become the property of all time. "Plunge deep into the full life of men" seems to have been his guiding principle; and, together with the highest realism, he mingled the most charming poetry of the world of fable. With his

Aristophanes a Hater of War

clouds and his birds the mind of the great poet sought refuge from his own time, in which all things had gone to ruin.

Sparta had attained to victory over the rest of Greece; the question arose, could this military supremacy serve as a foundation for an empire? The governing class of Spartans, not a hundredth part of the entire population, were such a heavy burden upon all other men that even at this early time conspiracies, such as that of Cinadon, were frequent. The control of the ephors over the Spartan people, who, above all things, were forbidden to introduce any money into the country, was the more extraordinary, owing to the fact that desire for possessions was the guiding motive of all classes. The police made themselves

ridiculous in various ways, as when, out of zeal for austerity and simplicity, they cut away four of the eleven strings belonging to the lyre of a musician. Ambitious, tyrannous natures, as exemplified



THE WORSHIP OF MUSCLE
The Dorians and Ionians were as opposed in character as the spirituality of the works of Phidias and Cresilas is contrasted with the magnificent muscular development and lack of intellectuality in the statues of Polyclitus, shown in this fine Doryphorus, now at Naples.



THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS: THE GREAT PHILOSOPHERS OF GREECE

From a fine fresco in the Vatican by Raphael, representing the great Greek philosophers. In the centre Plato, with Aristotle beside him, is expounding to disciples standing around, while Diogenes lies on the steps, Alcibiades, Xenophon, and others listening to Socrates; below them Pythagoras, Heraclitus sitting alone, and Democritus by the base of the pillar; at the right, on the steps, Pyrrho, Arcesilaus and others; and below Archimedes teaching geometry.

by Lysander, became models for the imitation of Spartan governors, or har-mosts, in the various cities; and in a short time a policy was developed whose features we cannot regard otherwise than as a mere catalogue of political crimes. It began with the complete abandonment of old Spartan enmity to Persia—renounced, indeed, as early as 411 B.C.—which resulted from the so-called King's Peace. After King Agesilaus of Sparta, a man of great penetration and iron will but, nevertheless, a mere condottiere, had made several notable conquests in Asia Minor he was forced to return to Hellas on account of a war—the Bœotio-Corinthian—which the Persians had kindled in Greece. The Spartans soon found out that an alliance with Persia would be more profitable for them, and a decree of the great king, Artaxerxes, reversed all previous relations with the Greeks, and placed the maintenance of peace under the joint supervision of Persia and Sparta.

Through the King's Peace of 386 B.C.—it received the harmless name of the "Peace of Antalcidas" in order that its true significance might be hidden—

the Greeks of Asia Minor were given over to the control of Persia; but Sparta obtained free scope for the carrying out of her own particular schemes. Soon the migration of Arcadians to Mantinea came to be looked upon as dangerous, and as a result they were forced to return again to their former villages. Spartan troops, under the leadership of Phœbidas, on the march to Olynthus, seized, without warning, the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes. Such actions were, to the rest of the Greeks, only signs that the rule of Sparta was based on tyranny and force alone.

It was but another proof of the popularity of military states at that time that Sicily, too, soon boasted a tyranny under Dionysius of Syracuse, who, indeed, had rendered the very greatest services to his country during the struggle for freedom against Carthage.

To a certain degree the tyranny of the Spartocides in the region of the Bosphorus, on the eastern fringe of Greek civilisation, may be counted as one of the many despotisms of the time. Their civilisation was a strange mixture of the Greek and the Scythian; the language spoken

was Greek, mingled with words of barbarian origin. The legs of the inhabitants were clad in absolutely un-Greek trousers and high boots; and their tastes turned to extraordinary, colossal sepulchral edifices and to excess of gold ornamentation peculiar to the Orient. A Greek goblet was found in the neighbourhood of the Obra, and a statue of Hygeia in Perm.

The people of Greece struggled in despair for internal order and external strength; and during this period they seem most frequently to have attained to both in many points through the leadership of one man, a "tyrant." Thus, Cæsarism grew during these years in the same manner as Plato developed it in theory in the pages of the eighth book of his immortal Republic. But tyrants were able only to procure temporary order in social relations, and to maintain power in a nation through a transference of the strength of the state to an army, consisting for the greater part of mercenaries. When it is impossible to attain to both internal order and outward strength men strive at least to acquire the former; and, in order to do so, are seldom unwilling to subject themselves to the rule of a tyrant, if necessary, provided the despot guarantee the desired order, as did, for example, Mausolus of Caria.

But now two powers once more sought to play the role of leader in Greece—Thebes and Athens.

Thebes had never been able to establish so close a union of the different parts of Bœotia under her leadership as Athens had succeeded in bringing about. Lack of cohesion was not at all favourable to the foundation of a powerful state, although Thebes was strong enough from a military standpoint, by reason of her large population. So far, however, as culture was concerned, Thebes was not distinguished. It is true that Pindar was a Theban, and no poet was able to

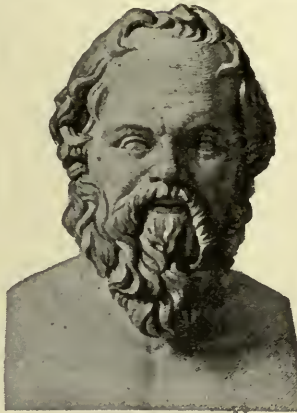
portray Doric life in more glowing colours than he; but since his time Thebes had contributed nothing to literature except material for the comic writers. The Spartan occupation of the Cadmea aroused all the forces of resistance in the Theban

people. Pelopidas, distinguished for his great energy and influence, and Epaminondas, who wisely kept himself in the background until the proper moment arrived for action, were the two men who were chiefly instrumental in assisting Thebes to freedom. Military organisation and the wise use of opposing forces produced as great results in the northern part of the Peloponnesus as they had previously in the south. The successes attained by Pelopidas were temporary rather than lasting; it was not so much the battle of

Leuctra, in 371 B.C., that procured the downfall of Sparta for all time as the reawakening of Messenia and the alliance with Arcadia, achieved by Epaminondas.

The chief cities of these countries were Messene, possessed of magnificent fortifications, and Megalopolis, a town exceptionally well situated. Although the death of Epaminondas, in the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C., may have prevented Thebes from reaping the full harvest of her victories, the chief object, that of hindering the future expansion of Sparta, was finally attained. To look upon the efforts of Epaminondas as having been directed towards the establishment of a pan-Hellenic state is probably wrong. But, nevertheless, his character was one of exceptional charm. His greatness, which consisted in his complete freedom from selfishness, in his capacity for quickness and boldness of action, and in his plans to

raise Thebes to the position of a great sea power, through which were supplied the foundations for future development, is certainly not presented to us in any favourable light in the pages of the one-sided Peloponnesian history—the



SOCRATES

The great Greek philosopher, who lived and taught for the people.



PINDAR THE THEBAN

Though Thebes was not distinguished in culture, no poet portrayed Doric life in more glowing colours than the Theban, Pindar.

RIVALRY OF THE GREEK STATES

so-called Hellenica—of Xenophon, who was entirely favourable to Sparta. A large portion of Central Greece—Phocis, Eubœa, the two Locris, the Ænians, Heracleotes, and Maleans—had come under the influence of Thebes as early as 370 B.C. Treaties were made with the newly founded Arcadian League and with Alexander of Macedon; Sicyon, Pellene, Eretria, even Byzantium and single districts of Ceos, were brought into the Theban confederation. Thebes felt far more secure when she had obtained the protection of Persia by following the example of Sparta in recognising the former power as the arbiter of Greek affairs. Bound up with the deeds and names of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the splendour of Thebes, as well as her ambitions of empire, vanished with the death of these two great men.

In the meanwhile, Athens had sagaciously endeavoured to construct new foundations for a future empire. Immediately after the conclusion of the King's Peace, she had established an alliance with Chios, which was entirely in accordance with the stipulations of the King's Peace, but recognised "freedom and self-government" as the political basis of all Hellenic



Mausell

MAUSOLUS OF CARIA

The splendid statue of Mausolus, the tyrant of Caria, erected by his widow on his mausoleum at Halicarnassus.



THE WINGLESS VICTORY

A beautiful sculpture from the Temple of Nike, built in memory of the Nicias truce in the Peloponnesian War.

relations. By means of similar agreements, Byzantium, Rhodes, Mytilene, Methymna, and Thebes became allies of Athens. But one more step was needed to form a general confederation out of the isolated leagues.

In 377 B.C. a call was issued, inviting other states to join. Members of the confederation were chosen only from among the states of Hellas and free barbarian nations, and not from the lands ruled by the Great King. It was expressly stated by Athens that no cleruchian colonies were to be founded. This second confederation of sea powers under the leadership of Athens was far more loosely bound than the first; and, although contributions were not lacking, it could not be used as a step to power, as had been the case with the first league, notwithstanding the fact that numerous states had become members, the west of the Balkan Peninsula being represented (Corcyra, Acarnania, and Alcetas, the prince of the Molossians), as well as Thrace (Dion, the Chalcidian) and the Archipelago. The highest triumph was attained when, after long negotiations, Dionysius of Syracuse entered into an alliance with

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

Athens (368-67); in the same manner Thessaly and King Philip of Macedon recognised the importance of the renovated empire; and the princes of Thrace peacefully arranged among themselves the government of the Græco-Thracian towns in complete harmony with the desires of the Athenian people.

But it was precisely where the foundations of this confederation had first been laid that the process of undermining began. Chios joined with Byzantium, Rhodes, Cos, and Mausolus, prince of Caria,

in a league against Athens. Diplomatic successes with the rulers of Thrace, Pæonia, Illyria, and towns of the north were not sufficient to counterbalance the general lack of fortune in war that led, in 354 B.C., to peace and to the dissolution of the confederation, and therewith to the end of the development of Athens as the centre of an empire.

Indeed, so far as the position of Athens as a commercial centre and city of capitalists was concerned, the loss of imperial power caused but little injury. On the contrary, the peace-at-any-price policy had been pursued entirely in accordance with the desires of the capitalists, as shown by a work on the income of the city, written by a financier of the fourth century B.C. and falsely attributed to Xenophon. In this it is stated that Athens arose to greatness, not as the capital of a loosely united empire of more or less hostile dependencies, but as the centre of a rich trade, secured by peace and by the pursuance of a sound commercial policy. Thus to the citizens the state was merely a

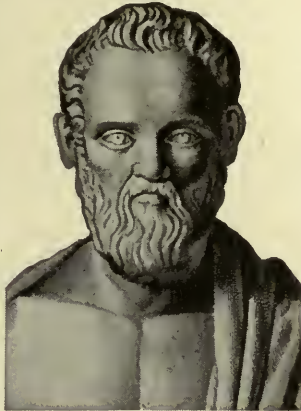
burden, which greatly impeded them in money-making. They looked upon all countries where their possessions could be increased as their home. The doctrine of cosmopolitanism had sprung from a higher ideal than this, but it was accepted by

the individualistic capitalists as signifying trading relations that were capable of embracing the entire world. If, then, the fatherland was an idealistic illusion and the state a necessary evil, naturally enough men sought to escape from their duties to their country.

The citizen army gave place to a host of mercenaries, and the positions of strategists of genius were filled by leaders of irregular troops, who belonged, body and mind, to the prince, who was willing to offer them the highest wages. Thus all unity disappears as soon as the reasons for cohesion are removed, and retribution comes in the shape of struggles of one class against another. The question is, how did it happen that the different classes reached this state of opposition and hostility?

The government under Pericles, had transformed the greater part of the citizens into wards of the state, as it were, and this was the "cement of democracy" that maintained the union. The differences in duty remained, but differences in rights had disappeared. Political equality

had been attained; but men began to strive for equality of possessions, and the endeavour to obtain income and wealth without labour was everywhere apparent. Thus social difficulties soon intruded themselves into political affairs, the more so, as there was no machinery of government for



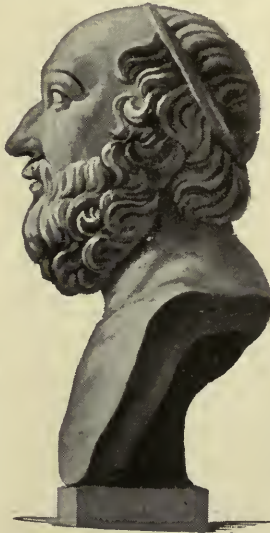
ISOCRATES

One of the great orators who condemned the corruption of the time.



ARISTOTLE

The philosopher, called by Dante "Master of them that know."



PLATO

Of all philosophers of the time Plato, in his "Republic" and "Laws," saw deepest into the question of social improvement. In immortal words he lashed the domination of covetousness and greed.

RIVALRY OF THE GREEK STATES

dealing with such social and economic disputes among the different classes. The political parties became nothing more or less than organs of various social factions, serving them in their purely egoistic designs. "The rich would rather cast their possessions into the sea than share them with the poor," said Isocrates; and the judges who were without wealth condemned wealthy men whenever they were brought before them, simply in order to

Corruption of the Democracy

extort money for the benefit of the districts over which they presided. The so-called democracy ignored justice and right in its management of affairs quite as much as an absolute monarchy of the worst sort would have done; the role of courtier was played by flattering demagogues, and the luxury of a debauched and licentious court had long been attained.

The disinclination of distinguished and able men to take part in public life increased with the selfish struggles of individuals and of entire classes, which were characterised throughout by the loudness and vulgarity of an all-pervading eloquence. But such men reaped what they had sown by refusing to enter into public affairs; the unrestricted domination of the lower classes resulted,

architects, Hippodamus, who had been employed at Thurii and Rhodes and had constructed the harbour of Athens, the Piræus, had come forward with a plan for

establishing the best form of government. He applied his geometrical principles to the state, dividing all things into three parts—society into three classes; land into possessions belonging to the temples for the support of the priests, into state territory for the maintenance of the army, and into private property owned by the peasants. Pheidon invented a political arithmetic, reminding one of the doctrine of Malthus; he recognised in overpopulation the cause of all social evils, and recommended a limitation of households and the placing of all citizens into

one class. Phaleas of Chalcedon, the first communist, went even further; according to his teachings, all possessions should be held in common, and the education of all men should be the same. But already Aristotle had laid stress on the fact that the limitation of land and property was illogical, and that the whole system was unpsychological, since human nature mocked any equality of poor and rich, and diversity in talents, as well as in elemental passion, destroyed all



HUMOUR IN POTTERY: GREEK DRINKING VASES

Extraordinary vases, called rhytons, in the form of grotesque animal and human heads, made about 400 B.C.

and it became a struggle of each against all. This was also a time when many ideal plans for a future society were invented by thinkers who lived solitary lives in isolation from the rest of the world. Already one of the greatest of Greek

arithmetical or geometrical plans regulating possession and population. The proposition to place all labour under the control of the state, and to transform the members of the working classes into organs rendering service to a

common governmental industry, is worthy of notice. Alcidas saw in slavery the chief cause of the troubles of economic life, and demanded its abolition. Finally, civilisation itself was looked upon as the root of all misery, and the doctrine "Away from civilisation" was accepted and preached by the cynics as the best remedy, quite as it was in later time by Rousseau; the tendency of Plato's Republic, also, was clearly in this direction. Of all philosophers of the time, it was Plato who saw deepest into the question of social improvement. In immortal words he lashed the domination of covetousness and greed, setting up in opposition a state in which the government should be by the mentally and morally fittest alone. The division of men into classes, as adopted during the Middle Ages, took its origin in Plato; the communistic ideas of his Republic awoke to life again in the French Revolution, during which a supporter of absolute monarchy became through reading his works one of the most distinguished advisers of the Jacobins. Abbé Mablé saw in private property the source of all man's errors and misfortunes.

Workers, warriors, and teachers formed the social pyramid of the "Republic." All men received an equal school education; from the most distinguished of the pupils were chosen those who were to compose the army and to take part in the civil service, while from among a class of especially proved individuals of fifty years and upwards were selected those who should hold the highest positions in the state, the offices of teacher and ruler combined. The greatest possible stress is laid upon the moral aim of the republic, and the necessity for a scientific education of its servants is likewise stated with unmistakable emphasis. Thus far all was possible, as has since been proven by the world's development; the fantastic portion of the scheme begins with the scorn shown for all history and tradition. The education of children is to be the basis upon which the new state is to be erected; no family life, no marriage, and no individual property, but a community of goods, wives (not promiscuous, but strictly regulated), and children, are also indispensable features of the "Republic."

Plato's Social Pyramid

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There is also a complete equality of women and men, the former taking part in all bodily exercises, sharing in the common fare of the state, accompanying the men on their military expeditions, and being eligible to any office.

In his "Laws" Plato no longer endeavoured to draw a sharp distinction between the real and the ideal, and made his state consistent with already existing conditions, although built upon new foundations. The common possession in land—that is, the territory occupied by the state—was to be divided into 5,040 portions of equal value, according to their yield—of course, differing in size—which should be unalterable and indivisible. In like manner, all movable property was to be divided, and the largest possible portion allowed for each individual to be fixed. Economic development was to be governed by laws forbidding the exportation of products of the soil, by the restriction of commerce and manufacture, and by official regulation, all in accordance with the highest ethical conceptions. The sovereign power, which in the "Republic" was vested in the magistrates, is assigned in the "Laws" to officials in certain cases; but, in general, the supreme power is conceived as resting with the mass of the people. It is true that, both in the teachings and in the life of Plato, the idea is also expressed that the dominion of one man is better adapted for the improvement of society. A "kingly man, in whom reason has won the mastery," would be able to adapt his personal views to the changeable relations of men; impersonal law, on the other hand, is unalterable. Thus the "Republic" itself hinted at the rule of a single individual, and in the "Laws" were pictured the princes of the future who should bring good government to their states, and therewith lasting happiness—rulers who should bring about a moral regeneration of their people. At the same time, however, the danger to the prince himself caused by the possession of the supreme power is dilated upon.

Laws of the Ideal State

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In teaching, as well as in life, there was no other escape from their unbearable conditions open to the Greeks, except that which could be furnished by the mind of a powerful leader who had the ability both to govern and to aid.



MACEDON

AND THE WORLD EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER

By Rudolph von Scala

THE EARLIER HISTORY OF MACEDON

THE oldest history of Macedonia is obscure. There is, indeed, a list of kings mentioned, but these are for us little more than names. It is not until Amyntas I., about 540-498 B.C., that the Macedonian kingdom is brought nearer to us; thus first from its connection with world-stirring events we gain a fuller knowledge of Macedonia. Thrace, as is sufficiently well known, was, after the Scythian expedition of Darius, subdued by the Persian general Megabazus, who was left behind in Europe. Even Amyntas of Macedonia submitted to the Persian king, but remained prince of his own land, and was forced merely to pay tribute and furnish troops.

In this position remained his son and successor, Alexander (498-454 B.C.), who was compelled to follow Xerxes on his campaign against Greece, although in his heart he was favourably disposed towards the Greeks. He proved his friendliness to Greece whenever he could. At Plataea on the night before the attack arranged by Mardonius, he communicated the Persian plan to the Athenian generals and thus contributed to the splendid victory of the Greeks. After the retreat

of the Persians from Europe the subjection of Alexander naturally ended. He was from that time an ally and friend of Athens, until the formation of the Athenian maritime league firmly established the hegemony of Athens on the Thraco-

Macedonian coast and inspired the king with mistrust. At the end of his reign he adopted a hostile attitude towards Athens, and he owed it to the friendship of Cimon that his country

Expansion of Macedon's Power

escaped a devastating attack of the Athenian fleet. His admission to the Olympian games and the victory he won there were very important for him. By these acts his own origin and that of his race were recognised as Hellenic, although his people continued to be regarded as barbarians by the Greeks. Macedonia owed to him the acquisition of the district of Bisaltia around Lake Prasias. By this means Macedonia extended her territory to the Strymon and came into possession of mines, which produced a rich revenue for the king. Under him Macedonia included all the country from the Candavian Mountains to the Strymon and from Olympus northward as far as the mountains of the Upper Axios. Of the Greek coast towns, Therma and Pydna, at any rate, were then forced to recognise the Macedonian rule.

His son and successor, Perdiccas II. (454-413 B.C.), had during his reign to face a difficult situation. At first he was in alliance with Athens; but when, in 432 B.C., the Athenians concluded an alliance with Derdas, chief of the Elimiotei, who was at war with Perdiccas, and with his own brother Philip, from whom the part of the kingdom which lay eastward

of the middle course of the Axios had seceded, Perdicas joined the enemies of Athens. The rule of Athens weighed so

Rebellion of the Disaffected

heavily on her subjects that there was no lack of discontented and hostile spirits. Perdicas availed himself of this state of affairs. Through his exertions the defection of Potidæa and the other Chalcidian towns from Athens was accomplished. By his counsel the Chalcidians destroyed their small places on the coast and went in a body to the newly founded town of Olynthus—the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Athens immediately sent a fleet and troops to Chalcidice. Derdas, the opponent of Perdicas, and Philip, joined the Athenian commander, who, too weak to attack Potidæa vigorously, had invaded Macedonia. They captured Therma and besieged Pydna. A new Athenian naval expedition, bearing troops under Callais, joined the army encamped before Pydna and compelled the king to make terms. When the Athenians subsequently marched away to Potidæa, Perdicas declared the convention which had been forced from him void, and sent help to the Potidæans. But though they made him leader of their cavalry, he could not undertake the command in person, for his presence in his country was essential. He fought with success against Derdas and Philip. The latter was forced to give way, and fled to Sitalces, king of the Odrysæ, by whom he hoped to be reinstated in power, Athens being allied to Sitalces. Perdicas was; however, able to divert the danger which an alliance of Athens, Sitalces, and his fugitive brother threatened; he won over the king of the Odrysæ by promises not to restore Philip and to negotiate a peace between Macedonia and Athens. This was actually completed—Perdicas received Therma back from the Athenians and was bound in return to support them in their struggle against the Chalcidians. We hear no more of Derdas, who evidently

recognised again the suzerainty of the king. A most serious danger threatened when, in 429 B.C., the Thracians invaded the land of Perdicas—who had not carried out his promises to Sitalces—in order to make Amyntas, son of Philip, who had died in the meantime, king of all Macedonia and to make the Chalcidian towns subject to Athens.

Sitalces entered Macedonia with his powerful army and marched, plundering and devastating, along the Axios, down to the coast. Contrary to the preconcerted arrangement, the Athenian fleet was not ready on the spot to attack the Chalcidian towns in co-operation with him. The Odrysæans contented themselves with laying waste the plains, and the fortified towns remained unharmed. When winter began, and there came a growing scarcity of food, they withdrew. Perdicas again, extricated himself from his difficulties by diplomacy; he won over Seuthes, nephew of Sitalces, who had great influence, by the promise to give him his sister to wife with a rich dowry; and he this time really carried out his promise. The pretender Amyntas was given up, and we hear nothing more of him.

Perdicas had afterwards to sustain a war with Arrhibæus, chief of the Lyncesti, and called in the aid of the Spartans. Since at the same time the Chalcidians desired the help of Sparta, Brasidas marched, in 424 B.C., through Thessaly to Macedonia. Athens now declared war against Perdicas. The expectation which Perdicas had entertained that Brasidas would subdue the rebellious chiefs of the Lyncesti was, however, not realised. In the first campaign no battle resulted at all, since Brasidas wished to reconcile the two antagonists, and not to strengthen the power of Perdicas by the subjection of Arrhibæus. Since, however, a reconciliation could not be effected, Brasidas concluded an agreement with the Lyncestian and withdrew. In the second campaign, however, Brasidas and Perdicas advanced into Lyncestis and defeated



A GREEK SOLDIER Archelaus of Macedon made the hoplites, the heavy Greek infantry, the type on which he re-modelled his army.



MOUNTS OLYMPUS AND OSSA FROM THE PLAINS OF THESSALY

These famous mountains became, under Alexander I. of Macedon, the southern boundary of the Macedonian territory.

Arrhibæus at first, but without following up or making use of the victory. When, therefore, the Macedonians were seized with panic at the mere rumour of the arrival of those extraordinarily dreaded Illyrians and of their union with the enemy, and fled in the night, Brasidas, too, was compelled to retreat. This was the end of the Macedonian alliance with Sparta. Once more Perdiccas made advances to Athens and concluded a second treaty with her; but he did not play a conspicuous part at all in the war between Athens and Sparta that was being fought in Chalcidice. When he died, in 413 B.C., he left the kingdom, which he had rescued by foresight and astuteness from the greatest dangers, as extensive as when he inherited it.

By his lawful wife, Cleopatra, Perdiccas left a son, seven years old, for whom the crown was destined, and also a bastard, Archelaus, who is said to have been born to him by a slave of his elder brother, Alcetes. He was appointed, it would seem, by the dying king to be regent and guardian of the infant successor to the throne; but this did not satisfy Archelaus. He first put out of his way Alcetes, who, being addicted to drink, had won for himself the surname of the Funnel. He

destroyed also Alexander, the son of Alcetes. He invited them to a banquet, and when they were drunk he had them thrown by night into a cart, which drove off with them—nobody knew whither. It was then the turn of the heir to the crown. He was drowned in a cistern.

**Archelaus
Usurps
the Throne**

Archelaus told his mother that the boy had run after a goose, had fallen into the water, and had perished there. This was the story told of Archelaus in Athens. It may not be all true, and much may be exaggerated or false. This much is certain—that he availed himself of foul means to seize the throne. However, the services he rendered Macedonia justify the supposition that he felt himself called to rule; the advancement and development of the country in the way he thought right and profitable could, he believed, be carried out only by him as king.

Thucydides says that Archelaus did more for his kingdom than all his predecessors combined. Frequently when the Thracians and the Illyrians had made inroads, Macedonia had keenly felt the want of strong-walled places, where the inhabitants of the plains with their belongings might find refuge and might offer resistance in conjunction with the townsfolk. Now the limited number of fortified

**Death of
Perdiccas
of Macedon**

towns was increased, and by this means the security of the inhabitants was strengthened. At any rate, when their hostile neighbours raided the land the inhabitants could no longer be carried off as readily as their goods. With increased security the industry of the inhabitants was bound to increase. Archelaus

What Archelaus Did for Macedon

promoted the development of the land by making roads, and contributed largely towards rendering the interior more accessible. But the more Macedonia came into contact with the Greek civilisation through intercourse with the industrial towns on the coast, the more urgently did it require a suitable reorganisation of its army in order to win a place among the hostile and warlike states. It had repeatedly interfered in foreign affairs during the course of the Peloponnesian War as the ally of one or the other of the warring powers, and the defects of its own military system must have clearly appeared as a result. Archelaus recognised the defects and remedied them. His army consisted no longer, as formerly, of cavalry exclusively, but he added to his forces infantry, which he armed after the fashion of the Greek hoplites, or heavy infantry, and drilled in Greek style, whereas previously the national levy, when emergency required it, had been a badly armed and badly drilled rabble. We may assume that the value of his innovations lay in his making the foot-soldiers a permanent part of the Macedonian army. The nobility supplied the cavalry, as before, while the peasants, who now were brought into military service, composed the infantry.

What Archelaus aimed at, Philip II. was destined one day to carry on—that is, to liberate the country from its narrow limitations and to conquer for it a place among the civilised states of Hellas. Besides this, Archelaus was desirous of raising his people to a higher plane of civilisation. He

Efforts to Spread Greek Culture

always had Greek artists and poets living at his court in Pella. He founded at Dion, on the slopes of Olympus, a festival in honour of Zeus, marked by musical and gymnastic contests, such as were held in Greece; and Euripides composed for the inauguration of this festival his drama "Archelaus," in which he treated the history of the ancestor of the royal house of Macedon,

whom arbitrarily, out of regard for his patron, he called Archelaus. Cultured himself, the king favoured Greek culture and learning when and where he could, so that they gradually spread from the court among the other classes of the people.

There are few warlike occurrences to mention in the reign of Archelaus. In 410-409 B.C. he brought back the rebellious town of Pydna to its allegiance and waged a war with Arrhibæus, prince of the Lyncesti, and Sirrhas, the dynast of the Elimioti, who, apparently disturbed by the strengthening of the kingly power, had invaded Lower Macedonia; we know no details about this, except that Archelaus gave one of his daughters to Sirrhas to wife, and by this means ended the war. His services consist more in his reforms and in his endeavours to exalt his country. He died in 399 B.C. by a violent death, as did many of his predecessors and successors. A young Macedonian named Crateuas was his murderer. His son Orestes, a minor, succeeded him under the guardianship of Aeropus, who soon

A Period of Calamitous Struggles

put him out of the way. The next forty years were filled with struggles for the throne and disturbances of every kind. The dynasties rapidly changed, and the pregnant plans and aims of Archelaus ceased to be carried out. The names as well as the dates of the reign of these kings who followed one another quickly are not certain. Different historians have drawn up different lists of rulers according to the legends they have preferred to follow: Archelaus, Aeropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argæus, Amyntas, or Archelaus, Orestes, Aeropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argæus, Amyntas. We are here little concerned with the names; the picture of calamitous party struggles, which is shown us by that period, remains the same whether we adopt the longer or the shorter list. And, as very often happens, foreign enemies knew how to avail themselves of the internal distractions of the country.

Olynthus held at this time the foremost position in Chalcidice. Situated in front of Macedonia and projecting with three peninsulas into the Ægean Sea, Chalcidice had been early occupied by the Greeks and possessed a number of flourishing commercial cities and prosperous agricultural towns. Under the influence

EARLIER HISTORY OF MACEDON

and guidance of Olynthus the Chalcidian towns had united in a league, which left the individual cities administratively independent, but in other respects was

other states besides their native state, and exempted them from the burdensome barriers which Greek states had formerly erected against each other precisely owing to the citizenship, we can see in this league of the Chalcidian towns a consolidated state, with which the neighbours and even the states of the mother country had to reckon. Potidæa, the most important town of Chalcidice next to Olynthus had at last joined the league, which directed its efforts towards attaching to itself as many towns as possible, and did not shrink from forcible measures in order to attain this end. The Bottiæans, Acanthians, Mendeans, and Apollonians were not members of the league, since they were unwilling to surrender their political independence; Amphipolis also, the town on the Strymon, held aloof.

Amyntas II. or III., who reigned from about 390 to 389 B.C. joined this league of the Chalcidian towns soon after his accession to the throne. He concluded

with it not only an alliance for mutual help in the event of either party to the treaty being attacked, but also a commercial treaty, in which advantages were conceded to the Chalcidians over other states in articles to be exported from Macedonia.

By these measures Amyntas was clearly seeking support against some imminent danger, for he also made concessions of territory to his ally. Unfortunately, we are unacquainted with details of the course of events; we only learn that Amyntas was driven by the Illyrians from his land, that Argæus, clearly in concert with these Illyrians, ascended the throne, and that the Chalcidians penetrated into Macedonia

Chalcidians in the name of Amyntas and
Invade conquered great parts of it,
Macedonia including Pella, the capital.

In any case events soon took a favourable turn for Amyntas; supported by the Thessalians he returned after two years of absence with an army, entered his kingdom, and found now that



A HORSEMAN OF THE MACEDONIAN ARMY

Prior to its reorganisation by Archelaus, the Macedonian army consisted entirely of cavalry drawn from the nobility. From a bronze in the Naples Museum.

intended to prevent the disastrous splitting up of their strength, since for the common interest the separate states waived all claim to follow a policy of their own,

The Towns Sink Their Differences

whether in foreign affairs or in commercial transactions. In the meetings of the league, attended by delegates from the constituent states, at which the administrative board was chosen, resolutions were passed on the questions of foreign politics, which became binding on the individual states. The same course was adopted in the sphere of commercial policy; just as a war was resolved on by the league and waged by the league, so commercial treaties were subject to the decision of the league.

When we add that in the towns which were members of the league there existed equality of laws, and a citizenship of the league which allowed the acquisition of property and the conclusion of marriages, which gave individuals freedom of movement in

the Chalcidians did not wish to give up the land they had acquired. We hear nothing more of Argæus; he had certainly been quickly deposed.

At this crisis, Amyntas, not being strong enough to face the Chalcidian league by himself, applied to Sparta for help. Acanthus and Apollonia, which had no longer been able alone to defend their autonomy against the encroachments of Olynthus, had already sent envoys there. Sparta, thus solicited for help, consented. In 383 B.C. Eudamidas invaded Chalcidice, but with his weak forces—Phœbidas, who was to accompany him had on the way occupied the Cadmea—was unable to undertake any serious operations. Potidæa alone deserted the league and joined Sparta. The next year Teleutias arrived at the head of 10,000 warriors. He had urged Amyntas to spare no efforts to regain possession of his kingdom; to hire troops, since the land that was left him was too small to yield him an army for the field, and to win over the neighbouring chiefs by presents of money. In accordance with these instructions, Amyntas, with a small army, and Derdas, chief of the Elimioti, with 400 horsemen, joined the Spartan commander in his advance.

At the beginning Teleutias gained a victory over the allies under the walls of Olynthus; but after that he sustained a reverse and was himself killed. It was left to Polybiades to invest Olynthus by land and sea and to cut it off from all communication. The Olynthians, through stress of hunger, were forced to make terms. The result was that they were obliged to dissolve the Chalcidian league, recognise the supremacy of Sparta, and furnish her with troops. The power of Olynthus, however, was not broken. The city soon revived and stood once more at the head of a powerful confederacy. The conquered territory in Macedonia had, of course, been given up, and Amyntas thus became again master of all Macedonia.

Chalcidian League Dissolved

Chiefly, then, through the support of foreign powers, Amyntas extricated his kingdom undiminished from its difficulties. The period of distress was followed by years of tranquillity and peace. The political situation of the Greek peninsula was in the king's favour. Sparta, which had just shown her power by the humilia-

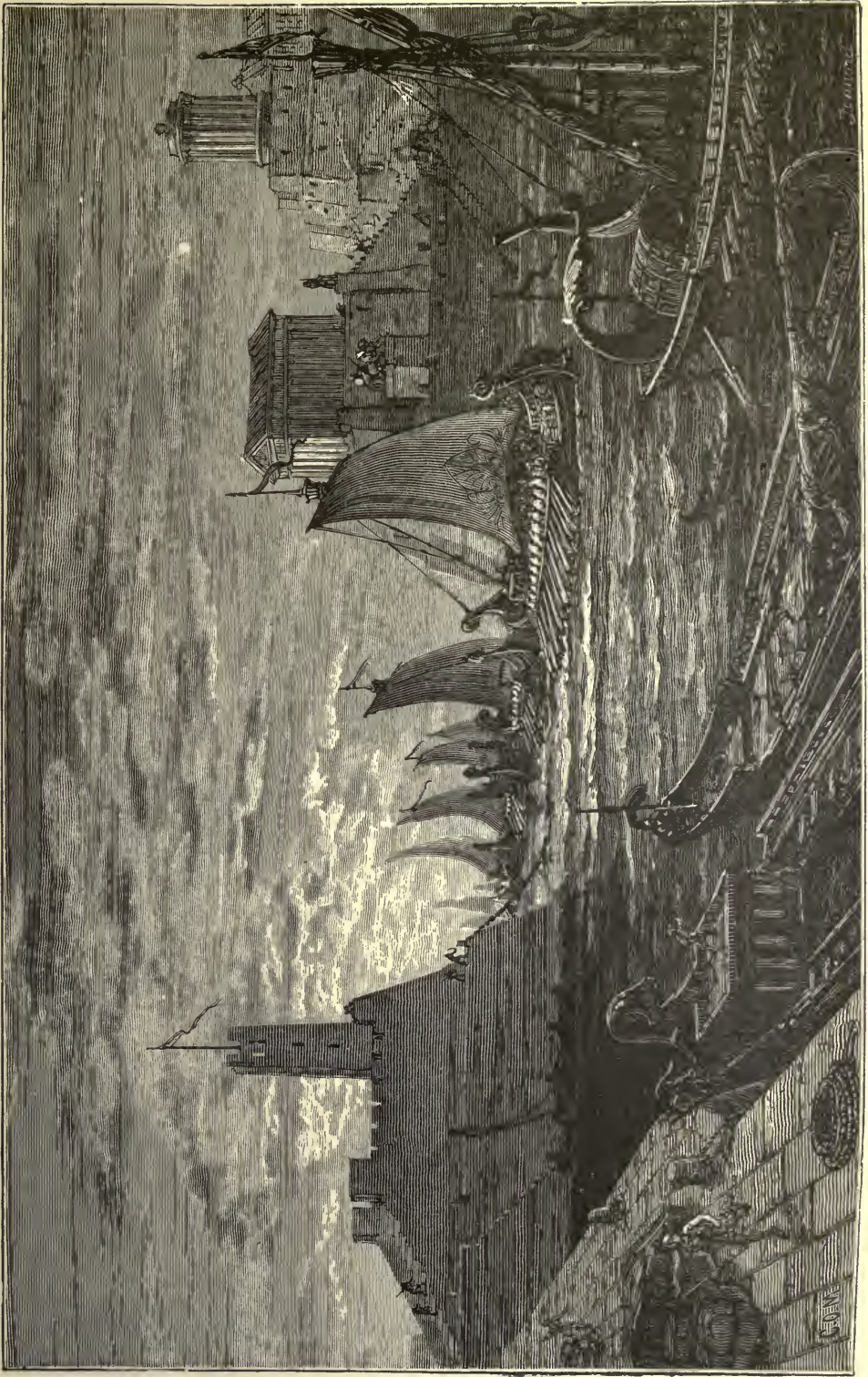
tion of Olynthus, was too much taken up by the rise of Thebes and its immense progress under Epaminondas and Pelopidas to be able now to extend her power in Chalcidice.

At the same time Athens had succeeded in founding the second Athenian maritime confederacy and in inducing many towns on the Thracian coast as well as on the Chalcidian peninsula to join it. But Olynthus on the one side, Amphipolis on the other, did not enter it. Olynthus, it is true, was for the moment humiliated by Sparta, but still showed a degree of power which commanded respect. Amphipolis, in an extremely favourable situation on the mouth of the Strymon and with a rich hinterland on the high-road from Macedonia and Chalcidice to Thrace, itself originally founded by the Athenians from whom it afterwards revolted, was destined to be brought back under the dominion of the Athenians, now that they had again planted themselves firmly in these parts. Athens spared no sacrifices and equipped fleets and armies to attain that end. Under these circumstances we understand the aim of the alliance

Macedonian Alliance with Athens

concluded between Amyntas and Athens, although the terms of it are not preserved to us. Amyntas sought support against the towns of Chalcidice, once his confederates and now his bitter enemies. Athens desired a powerful ally in her endeavour to restore her former power. We know that at the peace congress at Sparta in 371 B.C., Amyntas admitted the claims of Athens to Amphipolis and offered to support her in the reconquest of the town. What, indeed, can Athens have offered Amyntas as compensation for this proffered assistance? Unfortunately the terms to which the two parties agreed in the proposed alliance have not been preserved. But we shall soon see how great a part Amphipolis somewhat later was destined to play once more in the relations between Macedonia and Athens.

An alliance was formed also between Jason of Pheræ and Amyntas of Macedon. Jason had succeeded in suppressing political dissension in Thessaly, and stood as *Tagus* at the head of a united country. In the midst of the numerous unruly and discontented elements which must have existed there, when the power of this one man could be developed only at the cost of a number of families accustomed to



THE FLEET OF THE SPARTAN ADMIRAL TELEUTIAS, ALLY OF AMYNTAS OF MACEDON, ATTACKING PIRÆUS, THE PORT OF ATHENS

exercise a tyranny of their own, he thought it advisable to be on a good footing with his northern neighbours in order that Macedonia might not become a rendezvous for his foes. Perhaps also he wished to be able to reckon on the firmly re-established power of Amyntas in executing his own ambitious plans, for he aimed at nothing less than the hegemony of Greece. From all we know, this treaty started with Jason. The circumstance points to the fact that Amyntas at the end of his reign must have once more obtained an important and undisputed position. But before Jason could carry out his great schemes he was assassinated; and almost at the same time—in 370 B.C.—Amyntas also died.

In Thessaly, Jason's power, after the short reigns of his brothers Polydorus and Polyphron, who were likewise assassinated, was transferred to his nephew Alexander. The successors of Jason, by their cruelty and tyranny, soon roused universal discontent, which they on their side sought to overcome by murder and banishment. Exiled nobles came from Larissa to Pella. Urged by them and by other Thessalians, Alexander of Macedon, the eldest of the three sons of Amyntas and his wife Eurydice, marched into Thessaly, drove out the garrisons of the tyrant of Pheræ from Larissa and Crannon, and occupied the two towns. This proceeding did not please the Thessalians, who wished to be freed from the yoke of Alexander of Pheræ, but not to have two lords instead of one; and they now solicited the help of the Thebans. Meantime, the Macedonian Alexander had been obliged to return to his country, where Ptolemy of Alorus, the paramour of Eurydice, was grasping at the crown. The garrisons which he had left behind in Thessaly could not long hold out without him, and thus his attempt to extend his power beyond the borders of his own kingdom was frustrated.

But this was not the worst. In Macedonia itself foreign influence was destined once more to become predominant for some years. The Thebans, called in by the Thessalians, came under the leadership

of Pelopidas, and arranged matters as best suited their own interests. From Thessaly, Pelopidas went also to Macedonia and brought about a reconciliation between Alexander and Ptolemy. But soon after his departure Alexander was murdered by Ptolemy, who became the guardian of Perdiccas, the second son of Amyntas, heir to the throne, but a minor. New complications ensued.

A certain Pausanias came forward as claimant to the crown, occupied Anthemus and Threma with Greek mercenaries, and actually found supporters in the country. Under these circumstances Ptolemy and Eurydice, who were now married, turned to the Athenian general Iphicrates, who at that very time was cruising on the coast of Thrace. Pausanias was driven out of the country by him. But the Thebans, anxious not to lose once more their recently acquired influence in Macedonia, sent Pelopidas there again in 368 B.C. He concluded a treaty with Ptolemy, the regent and guardian of Perdiccas, in virtue of which men were to be furnished to the Theban army and hostages given; among these latter, Philip, the third son of Amyntas, and eventually king of Macedonia, came to Thebes. The rule of Ptolemy did not last long. In 365 B.C. he was murdered by Perdiccas, who

now ascended the throne as king. He withdrew from the influence of Thebes, and openly took the side of the Athenians, lending them assistance in their wars against the newly formed Chalcidian League, which once more was headed by Olynthus. Afterwards, however, he became

hostile to the Athenians—we do not know exactly on what grounds. We might conjecture that the capture of Pydna by the Athenians, which occurred at this time, and was connected with the conquest of Potidæa and Torone in Chalcidice, had made Perdiccas an opponent of Athens. The Athenian arms won a victory over the

Macedonian forces, and the contending parties made a compromise, the terms of which, it was said at Athens, were too favourable to Perdiccas and in 362 B.C. cost the Athenian commander, Callisthenes, his life. Perdiccas fell in a great battle against the Illyrians.



EURYDICE
The scheming wife of Amyntas II., king of Macedon.



COIN OF PERDICCAS III.
A fine gold stater of Perdiccas III., the predecessor of Philip of Macedon.



**Peace with
Profit to the
Conauered**



PHILIP OF MACEDON

AND THE FOUNDING OF THE EMPIRE

AFTER the death of Perdiccas, Philip, youngest son of King Amyntas, took over the government on behalf of his infant nephew ; but soon after—we do not indeed know the exact date—the nobles and national army of Macedonia summoned him to be king, and thus conferred on him the dignity and position for which he showed himself amply qualified from the outset.

Since more than four thousand Macedonians had perished with Perdiccas, the whole land was a prey to consternation and despair. The Illyrians invaded Macedonia and occupied the adjoining parts. Owing to this, their northern neighbours, the Pæonians, were likewise emboldened to invade and plunder the adjacent state. And, as had happened so often before on a change of ruler, kinsmen of the royal house appeared as claimants to the throne. Argæus, one of

**Quarrels
for the
Throne**

the claimants, found support at Athens, which had long been fruitlessly trying to reconquer Amphipolis, and now hoped to realise its object at last. In return for the promise of Argæus to help to conquer Amphipolis, the Athenians supported him with troops, which were landed in Methone by their strategus, Mantias, and then led to Ægæ by the claimant. Another claimant, the Pausanias mentioned towards the close of the preceding chapter, found support in the Thracians. This hopeless and complicated state of affairs showed only too clearly the point at which an energetic ruler must begin in order to lead his country onwards to a prosperous development and a more glorious future. The surrounding barbarian tribes would have to be subdued and brought to respect the power of Macedonia.

Even when this was successfully accomplished, Macedonia could not win a more important place in the political system of the old world until it was economically independent of those Hellenes to whom the

coast belonged. Macedonia could develop its powers only when the export of its natural products by sea was open to it, and when the import of foreign commodities was facilitated. But up till

**Macedon's
Dependence
on Greece**

now it had been economically dependent on the cities on the coast—namely, Olynthus, the Chalcidian League, and Athens, which, under Timotheus, had again obtained a firm footing in Chalcidice, had subdued the rich cities of Potidæa and Torone in the Olynthian War, and had actually conquered the originally Macedonian towns of Pydna and Methone on the western shore of the Thermaic Gulf ; so that no seaport worthy of mention was anywhere left to Macedonia. In fact, this remoteness from the coast had led to the circumstance that foreign states obtained and exercised political influence in Macedonia. But the success which the previous kings of the country had failed to obtain, despite their numerous attempts, was destined to attend the efforts of the young and energetic Philip to free himself from this cramped situation.

As we have already seen, Philip had been surrendered to Ptolemy as a hostage to the Thebans, and had thus early learnt in his own person the impotency and weakness of his country. However painful to the young patriot may have been his sojourn in Thebes, it certainly was beneficial to him, for at that time this town, through the services of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, stood at the zenith of its power. It is not known when he was allowed to return to Pella, but certainly it was before

**Philip a
Hostage
in Thebes**

the death of his brother Perdiccas. Beyond this we know nothing of his youth : wherever he appeared afterwards he showed himself to be no rude and unschooled barbarian, but emphatically a man who valued Greek education and culture, and knew how to appropriate it for himself.

This could not have been due merely to his stay at Thebes. In Macedonia itself progress had in the meanwhile been made on the path pointed out by Archelaus. King Perdiccas, too, loved Hellenic art and Hellenic learning.

Philip undertook a difficult task when he first assumed the government for his nephew; but he showed natural capacity for it. When Argæus, rejected by the citizens of Ægæ, returned to Methone, he attacked and defeated him. This first success inspired the Macedonians, and filled them afresh with that confidence and courage which had failed them after their defeat by the Illyrians. But this victory had far more important results: Philip sent back without a ransom the Athenians who were taken prisoners in the battle, and thus paved a way towards a reconciliation with Athens. A secret treaty was arranged with the Athenian envoys, which on their return was laid before the council, but not before the popular assembly. In return for Philip's promise to conquer Amphipolis for them the Athenians were willing to surrender Pydna to him.

But before this Philip had first to secure his frontiers against his enemies. At the beginning of the summer of 358 B.C. he began the campaigns which were necessary partly to secure the frontiers, partly to win back the portions of Macedonian territory occupied by the enemy. Philip turned his arms first against the Pæonians, whose king, Agis, had died about this time. After defeating them he forced them to submit to the power of Macedonia. He then marched against the Illyrians, whose king, Bardylis, offered peace on the terms of recognising the status quo. Philip could have peace if he waived all claim to the territory occupied by Bardylis. But Philip rejected the conditions. After a fierce battle, in which Philip himself commanded his right wing, the Macedonians were finally victors. The prize of victory for them and their king was the expulsion of the Illyrians from the Macedonian towns, which they had previously occupied.

**Illyrians
Driven From
Macedon**

Thus triumphant in the north and west, Philip turned his arms the next year 357 B.C., against Amphipolis, as he had promised in the secret treaty with the Athenians. Strangely enough, the Athenians themselves took no steps to secure

the capture of the long-coveted town, but even rejected the offer of surrender made by the Amphipolitans to avoid becoming subjects to the Macedonians.

Apparently they trusted Philip's promises; yet the conduct of the Athenians is the less intelligible since, after the successful storming of Amphipolis, they had no intention of fulfilling the duty imposed on them by the treaty of giving up Pydna to Philip. Did they think to keep the one town and to acquire the other in addition? The king did not hold this view. The leaders of the Athenian party in Amphipolis were banished, and the town became thenceforth Macedonian, even though its civic independence was left it, and it was compensated by other acts of favour for the loss of the freedom it had so often and so long defended. Not long after, Pydna also was captured and again incorporated into the Macedonian kingdom, to which it had belonged before its occupation by the Athenians. Philip thus became master of these towns, both of which were strategically important, since the one commanded the road to Thrace, the other the road to Thessaly. Both also opened for the king the way to the sea. But what made the possession of Amphipolis especially valuable was that, simultaneously with, or shortly after, its capture, the small town of Crenides, which had been founded by the Thasians, being attacked by the surrounding Thracians, sought and obtained the help of Philip. Crenides received new settlers, and was called Philippi after its new founder.

**Founding
of
Philippi**

This new town, which soon flourished and found in the kingdom of Macedonia a powerful protection against its barbarian neighbours, presented on its side a favourable base from which to command the mountains of Pangæum, which were rich in precious metals, and the well-wooded plain of Datus; with the possession of Crenides Philip had acquired possession of all this district. The gold-mines were systematically worked, and are said to have brought him in 1,000 talents yearly. And while Amphipolis at the mouth of the Strymon offered him a port from which his ships might sail, Datus supplied him with the requisite timber and pitch for shipbuilding.

The Athenians now came to recognise the disadvantages of using someone else to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. They vented their indignation in high-sounding

PHILIP OF MACEDON

public resolutions. The treaty between them and Philip was, of course, broken off.

Athens at the moment lacked the means, and also the strength which proceeds from a definitely directed policy, to be able to carry on war against the Macedonian king with prospect of success. She had to fight with the rebellious members of her confederation, Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and others, and made great sacrifices in order to bring them back to their obedience. The Thracian Chersonese, the possession of which was the more important to her because through it she commanded the passage into the Black Sea, had to be defended by her against the continued attacks of the Thracian princes. And the defects which had often calamitously affected and crippled the conduct of the campaign in the struggle against Cotys and his son Cersebleptes during recent years—the indolence and self-indulgence of the Athenian citizens, their reluctance to take the field, the constant fluctuations to which their party-life was subject—were all unfortunately apparent when war was declared on Philip.

It might have been supposed that Athens would now, as a matter of course, have been anxious to come to terms with Olynthus and the league of the Chalcidian towns, in order to obtain a base of operations in the immediate vicinity of Macedonia, and to oppose Philip vigorously in concert with the powerful resources of Olynthus, especially since Olynthus had already sent an embassy to Athens, and had taken measures to arrange the matters in dispute, when Philip marched against Amphipolis. The proposal was not then acceded to; and now, after the outbreak of the war, we do not hear that Athens sought allies in Chalcidice against Macedonia. On the contrary, Philip joined

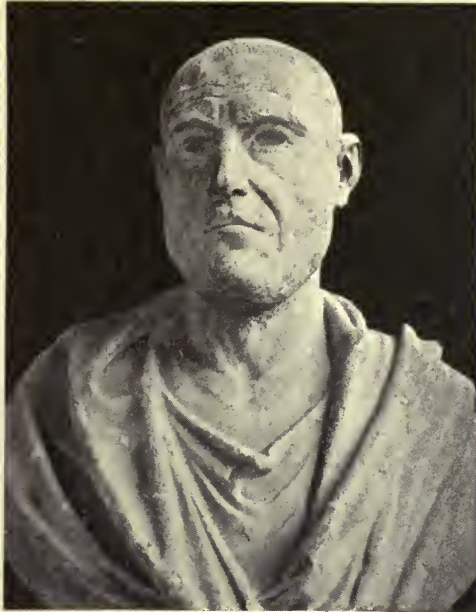
Olynthus and its league. He conceded to them Anthemus, a Macedonian town, and promised to conquer Potidæa for them, which, situated in the immediate vicinity of Olynthus, was the key to the peninsula of Pallene, and had been made an Athenian possession by Timotheus. Philip now advanced with a strong army against Potidæa, took it after a long siege, since the Athenian relieving fleet came too late, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, while he let the Athenian citizens who had settled there depart without a ransom. The town was destroyed and its territory given over

to the Olynthians in 356 B.C. Thus Athens had once more lost a strong position.

About this time the Athenians negotiated a treaty of alliance with Cetriporis, the ruler of the western part of Thrace, who was indignant with Philip on account of the loss of Crenides and the adjoining coast, and with the two princes of Pæonia and Illyria, Grabus and Lyppeius, old enemies of Macedonia. In the treaty assistance was expressly promised to Cetriporis in order to wrest Crenides and "other places" from the king.

The concessions made to Grabus and Lyppeius, and the promises made on their part by the three allies to Athens have unfortunately been broken off the stone on which the treaty is inscribed. This league might certainly have caused trouble to Philip. But before the allies were completely prepared and could proceed to united and vigorous action, they were subdued singly, so that there was no longer any serious danger threatening Macedonia.

Athens, left alone, showed herself no match for the king; she had always been worsted when opposed to him, and she was destined in the further course of the war to reap no laurels. For in the face of the losses which she had previously suffered, it is of little importance that in 353 B.C.



PHILIP II OF MACEDON

The great father of a still more renowned son, Alexander the Great, whose world empire he made possible.

**Athens
Without
Allies**

the Athenian general, Chares, inflicted a defeat on a Macedonian detachment of mercenaries at Cypsela in Thrace, and that the newly formed Macedonian fleet could escape his ships only by a stratagem, or that here and there Macedonian harbours were occasionally blockaded. Philip, who accompanied the Theban Pammenes

Athens' Unavailing Victories

on his expedition to Ariobarzanes, the rebellious satrap on the Hellespont, and pushed on as far as the Hebrus, had taken

away from the Athenians Abdera and Maronea, towns on the Thracian coast, which had belonged to the Athenian maritime confederacy since 375 B.C. These towns remained in the king's hands even after the victory of Chares. Philip indeed turned back, either because the Thracian chief Amadocus in the district of the Hebrus barred the passage through his territory, or because he wished to avoid a serious collision with Chares. For this time, at any rate, the Athenians were freed from their fear of a Macedonian invasion of their possessions on the Thracian Chersonese.

In the same year, however, Athens suffered another loss. Philip, having returned from Thrace, marched against Methone, which lay north of Pydna and had up till now remained in the possession of the Athenians; after a gallant resistance the citizens surrendered the town, which was plundered and destroyed, they themselves being allowed to withdraw. On this occasion also, as at Potidæa, Athenian aid came up too late. Philip himself lost his right eye by an arrow during the siege.

Meantime an opportunity presented itself to the king for interfering in Thessaly. Here Alexander of Pheræ had been obliged to surrender the headship of Thessaly, which Jason held, and was at strife and variance not only with the Aleudæ of Larissa, but with the whole country.

Athenian Want of Foresight

Even after his death, in 359 B.C., his successors, Lycophron and Pitholaus, were not able even to attain the former position

of a Jason. By 361 the Thessalians, who had formed themselves into a league, had concluded an alliance with Athens against the attacks of Alexander; but Athens did nothing to secure for herself the dominant influence in Thessaly. So she lost here also a favourable opportunity, and by inactivity and want of foresight let things

go so far that Philip became master of the whole situation in Thessaly.

In the so-called Third Holy War the Phocians, when attacked by the Amphictyons, especially by the Thebans and Locrians, had made themselves masters of the temple at Delphi and of its treasures, and had enrolled an army of mercenaries therewith; by which means they were able not merely to repel their antagonists, but also to interfere in the affairs of foreign states. The Dynasts of Pheræ had joined them; the Aleudæ, on the contrary, and the Thessalian League called in King Philip. He immediately started for Thessaly, took over the supreme command of the army of the Thessalian League, defeated Phællus, the commander of the Phocians, and occupied Pagasæ, the port of Pheræ. Onomarchus, it is true, advanced to bring help, worsted Philip in two battles and drove him out of the country; but the king was not the man to let himself be deterred by this disaster. In the next spring, 352 B.C., he advanced into Thessaly once more, and this time succeeded in checking and completely

Slaughter of the Phocians

defeating Onomarchus, in a spot admirably suited to the manœuvres of his own and the Thessalian cavalry. The

forces of the Dynast of Pheræ came too late to aid Onomarchus. The Phocian general himself and six hundred mercenaries were left on the field of battle; the prisoners, three thousand in number, were thrown into the sea, which was near, as being robbers of the temple. Phayllus was able to bring only a small number safely to Thermopylæ, where the detachments of other friendly states, such as Sparta and Athens, joined him.

Philip advanced through Thessaly to Thermopylæ; but the occupation of the pass made him turn back. He had indeed no intention of risking the advantages which he had just gained in Thessaly by a defeat at Thermopylæ, a pass most difficult to take; yet the rejoicings, especially at Athens, were great when it was known that Philip was not advancing into the heart of Greece. This result was willingly ascribed to the despatch of the Athenian troops under Nausicles. The consequence of the victory over Onomarchus was the capitulation of Pheræ, and the expulsion of the tyrants there, a success which filled the Thessalians with great gratitude towards Philip and made them perma-

nently his allies. From this time Philip was the leader of the Thessalian confederation and commanded their forces, to the maintenance of which the customs from various ports were applied. Thus he attained the object for which his eldest brother, Alexander, had striven in vain.

Meantime, affairs in Thrace had taken a turn which caused Philip to interfere. We have already learned what exertions and trouble it had cost Athens to maintain for herself the Thracian Chersonese, an old Athenian possession, against the attacks of the Thracian princes Cotys and Cersebleptes. For more than ten years war had been waged there against the Thracians, without sufficient forces, and therefore without successful results. Athens was not in a position to reduce her restless and conquest-loving neighbours to a state of permanent tranquillity, so that she might enjoy her possessions. Things seemed likely to turn out disastrously, when about 353 B.C., Cersebleptes made peace with the Athenians, and left the Chersonese to them, after evacuating the places conquered by him.

Dearly Bought Peace

But this reconciliation of the former opponents filled the Greek towns of Byzantium and Perinthus with anxious forebodings. They had won their independence from Athens in the war of the league, had left the Athenian maritime confederation, and for the moment indeed were living at peace with Athens but not exactly on terms of special amity. The two towns had also repeatedly suffered at the hands of Cotys and afterwards of Cersebleptes.

This anxiety was shared by the above-mentioned Thracian chief in the Hebrus district, Amadocus. He, as well as Byzantium and Perinthus, sought to join Philip of Macedonia and concluded a treaty with him, which was aimed at Cersebleptes but indirectly at the Athenians also. In fact we find Philip soon afterwards in Thrace, pressing along the Propontis, on which the kingdom of Cersebleptes lay; here he besieged Heræontæchus, a stronghold of the Thracian princes. The news caused great consternation at Athens; and it was resolved to equip a great fleet. But, as on so many previous occasions, notwithstanding their resolutions and their good intentions in the beginning, nothing serious was done. When, some months afterwards, ten ships

put to sea, Cersebleptes had already been overthrown, had been forced to make concessions of territory to the allies, and had given his son as hostage. Charidemus, leader of the Greek mercenaries, who had long been with him, was obliged to leave Thrace, and now entered the Athenian service. It must have been in this cam-

Expansion of Macedonia

paign that Cetriporis—who ruled that part of Thrace which immediately borders on Macedonia and had finally, in 356 B.C., attempted to make war on Philip in alliance with Athens and the princes Grabus and Lyppeius, as related above—was dethroned and his kingdom confiscated. Macedonia thus extended as far as the river Nestus.

The results of the long war were unusually favourable to Philip; the country from Thermopylæ as far as the Propontis came under his influence, and the last great possession of Athens, the Thracian Chersonese, was now directly menaced. But before this war ended a serious danger was destined to confront the king. As early as 352 B.C., while he was still occupied in Thessaly, Olynthus made peace with its old opponent Athens, contrary to the terms of the treaty entered into with Philip, which enjoined on the allies the joint conclusion of peace with their enemies as well as the joint declaration of war. Merely party politics alone induced the Olynthians to take this step; the supporters of Macedonia encountered an opposition which was friendly to Athens, and sought to join the Athenians, and the peace concluded with the latter city was a victory for this party. Besides this, there is no doubt that there prevailed in Athens an intense desire to render the Olynthians hostile to the hated Philip, and that the proper means were employed to create a popular feeling in favour of Athens.

For the time matters rested with the making of peace, and did not go so far as an alliance. Philip first took

The Great Orations of Demosthenes

active measures when Olynthus received into its walls his half-brother, who sought to gain the Macedonian crown, and refused to surrender him at the king's request. He then advanced into Chalcidice with a strong army, and Olynthus concluded an alliance with Athens in 349 B.C. There Demosthenes delivered his first speech against Philip; and his Olynthic orations sharpened the consciences of his fellow-

townsmen, who by their levity and dilatoriness had largely contributed to Philip's successes. He did not, however, succeed in completely rousing the Athenians and making them exert the force which he considered necessary, and from which alone he augured success. Chares, it is true, was immediately ordered to

**Philip
Destroys
Olynthus**

Olynthus with 30 triremes and 2,000 light troops, and, under Charidemus, 18 more ships with 4,000 mercenaries and 150 horsemen sailed for the same destination; but the citizen hoplites remained at home. Of these 2,000 were at last sent, with 300 horsemen, when Olynthus appealed urgently for help, being hard pressed by Philip, who had subdued one town after another in Chalcidice and, in spite of the preliminary successes of Charidemus, had actually invested the town itself. But they came too late. In the interval Olynthus had fallen. The town was destroyed and the land divided among the Macedonians in the summer of 348 B.C.

The fall of Olynthus produced consternation at Athens. The ten-years war with Philip had brought a succession of disasters to the Athenians; their possessions in Chalcidice and on the Macedonian coast were lost. The prospect of once more acquiring Amphipolis, which they formerly possessed, was gone completely. Gone, too, was the hope they had entertained that by promptly bringing aid to Olynthus and holding it against the king they might gain there at any rate a firm foothold, from which they might perhaps regain their influence in Chalcidice. Now indeed it seemed dangerously probable that they would lose the Chersonese also, and their old possessions Imbros, Lemnos, and Scyros through a Macedonian attack. There was the additional difficulty that large sums of money had been already employed in the war—Demosthenes and Æschines estimate them at 1,500 talents—

**Financial
Crisis
in Athens**

and the Athenian finances had thus been considerably drained. Especially after the war of the league, the money contributions of the allied states were much diminished, while the expenses of the public treasury, the theatre, and law courts had rather increased. The prospect of obtaining help from outside was destroyed, since not one of the Greek states, on the invitation of the Athenians to make common war with Philip, had

shown any readiness. We can well understand the desire for peace that prevailed at Athens.

The revulsion at Athens in favour of Philip was produced by an event quite unimportant in itself. An Athenian citizen, Phrynon of Rhamnus, having fallen into the hands of Macedonian privateers during the Olympian truce of the gods, bought his freedom, and on his return to his native town begged his fellow-citizens to send an envoy with him to Philip, in order if possible to recover the ransom. This was done. Ctesiphon journeyed with him to Macedonia. Philip received the two courteously, refunded the ransom, and made it known to the Athenians how unwillingly he was at war with them, and how gladly he would be reconciled to them. The effect of this message was that at Athens a decree of the people, passed after the fall of Amphipolis, by which it was forbidden to receive heralds or envoys of peace from Philip, was repealed on the motion of Philocrates. And the good feeling towards Philip was still further increased when, on the

**Philip's
Generosity
to Athens**

application of the Athenian people, he released without ransom two Athenian citizens who had been captured by him. These on their return to Athens praised both the friendly attitude of the king and his strong inclination for peace.

The Athenians therefore resolved to send an embassy to Philip and to enter into negotiations for peace. The terms were settled in Macedonia, and then, after the return of the Athenian ambassadors, and the immediate arrival of two representatives of Philip, were discussed in the popular assembly at Athens and accepted after a warm debate. The recognition of the *status quo*—that is, the abandonment of all claim to Amphipolis, Potidæa and all the other former Athenian possessions on the Chalcidian and Thracian coast—was the chief condition of the so-called "Peace of Philocrates"; the possession of the Thracian Chersonese was on the other hand, guaranteed to Athens. A second article extended the peace to the allies on both sides. Under "allies," however, Philip understood only the members of the Attic League, while at Athens there was a disposition to include under this term the Phocians and Cersebleptes. This changed the whole aspect of affairs. The king was at the moment in Thrace, waging war

PHILIP OF MACEDON

against Cersebleptes, and was urged by the Thebans to bring them help against the Phocians—the most favourable opportunity that could be imagined for interfering in Greek affairs and for firmly establishing the Macedonian influence on the other side of Thermopylæ.

Since his representatives refused to include the Phocians and Cersebleptes expressly in the peace, Demosthenes' contention was agreed to—namely, that the Phocians and Cersebleptes were not mentioned in the terms of the peace, and that

therefore "allies" meant in Philip's sense of the word only the states represented in the synod. On these terms peace and an alliance were concluded, and the treaty was sworn at Athens. In order that the king might take the oath to it, a new embassy was sent to him, in which among others Demosthenes and Æschines took part. On Demosthenes' motion the council ordered the ambassadors to start without delay and to hasten to the king by the shortest route, for as soon as he had taken the oath the orator hoped he would make no further conquests in Thracæ. Demosthenes certainly believed that by his personal negotiations with the king he would be able to obtain the inclusion of Cersebleptes in the peace and avert the danger threatening the Phocians. But the embassy had to wait for Philip at Pella; and when he at last gave audience to the Athenian envoys he declared that he neither would nor could abandon his Thracian conquests nor desist from war with the Phocians; openly and before the eyes of all—besides

Failure of Athens Embassy

Athens, other Greek states had sent embassies to Pella—he made preparations for this war. If Demosthenes had calculated on an alteration of the terms of peace through personal negotiations, he had deceived himself; and if afterwards

in his orations he made not himself but his fellow envoys and the craft of Philip responsible for this disappointment, his conduct is, humanly, quite intelligible. When Philip was actually on the march

against Phocis, he signed the peace with the conditions laid down at Athens. The Macedonian king was now about to realise the scheme that may long have been floating before his mind, the establishment of his influence in Greece. When he marched against Thermopylæ,

Phalæcus, the Phocian general, and 8,000 mercenaries laid down their arms. Phocis was in Philip's hand. His request that the Athenians should allow their army to join his, in order to settle the Phocian question in common, was rejected. The feeling in Athens was now changed, and the bitter opponents of Philip, especially Demosthenes and Hegesippus, made their influence felt. Thus the Athenians were obliged to approve and allow things to be done without sharing in the work, for they were helpless to prevent them, and could not make up their minds to join Philip in his task of reorganising Hellenic affairs. The Amphictyonic council, summoned by Philip, gave him the two votes of the Phocians, and decreed the destruction of all the Phocian towns

and the settlement of the inhabitants in villages—a penalty which they had well deserved, on account of their violation and plundering of the temple at Delphi, contrary to the law of nations, and of their numerous cruelties during the war waged by them. In alliance and amity with Thebes, and in possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, Philip could now march at any moment into Greece, as the decree of the Amphictyons allowed him at any time to interfere in Greek affairs. Thus, an important step had been taken towards the uniting of Greece, continually disturbed



DEMOSTHENES

The great statesman and orator who roused Athens for the final struggle with Philip of Macedon. From the statue in the Vatican.

by tribal and party feuds and exhausted by ceaseless wars, under the headship of Macedonia. In the course of this war, lasting twelve years, Philip not only made his country immune against the assaults of neighbouring powers that had formerly harassed it so often, but had brought Macedonia as an equal member into the state system of the time, and had actually created for it a leading position among the kindred tribes of the Hellenes.

**Macedon's
Rise
to Power**

Philip never planned a conquest of Greece, as his opponents falsely said of him, but a Macedonian hegemony.

In Athens the opposition which existed against the prevailing system of government increased after the Peace of Philocrates; the discredit brought by it on the city was finally evident to all. In addition to this, the opposition pointed to the glorious past of Athens, compared the present with it, and managed to remind the citizens from time to time that the headship of Greece belonged to them and not to a "barbarian," for as such the radical orators took pleasure in stigmatising Philip. They opposed the ambitious Macedonian by appealing to the spirit of nationality. Indeed, it is quite comprehensible that a nation with a great past should stake everything in order to remain in possession of her ancient power, and should refuse to divest herself of it in favour of another without a struggle. Up to this moment, Athens had certainly shown merely weakness where strength might have been expected. Nevertheless she roused herself once more.

This was the work of the great Demosthenes. He and his party had set their minds on a war from the very outset; not merely an Athenian, however, but a Hellenic war. He himself, and other orators of his party, frequently visited the Peloponnese, Eubœa, and other parts of Greece, in order to effect alliances with

**The States-
manship of
Demosthenes**

Athens. For the condition of affairs in Greece had driven into the arms of Philip the states of the Peloponnese, Megalopolis, Elis, Messene, which were continually attacked by Sparta, as well as the foremost towns of Eubœa, which Athens, in 348 B.C., had alienated by supporting Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria. The important point now was to bring over to Athens the states which had gone to the side of Macedonia; in short, the Mace-

donian influence had here, as in other states, to be destroyed, and the Athenian once more to be made predominant. And it may well be ascribed to the indefatigable efforts of Demosthenes that, in 342 B.C., four years after the Peace of Philocrates, Athens had concluded an alliance with the Messenians, Argives, Megalopolitans, Achæans, and other states, and that soon afterwards Eubœa, Megara, Corinth and others also joined the league.

It is evident that these conditions could not escape the king's notice. In 344 B.C. he had attacked the Dardanians and Illyrians, those ever restless neighbours of his kingdom, and once more secured his frontiers against them. Then in 343 he had undertaken a campaign in Epirus, in order to depose the Molossian king, Arybbas, and to place Alexander, the brother of his wife Olympia, on the throne of his fathers. He had taken this opportunity to subdue, for Alexander, Cossopia, which adjoins the Molossians on the south, but had desisted from wider operations in these districts, presumably because the Athenians had sent a force to Acarnania.

**Philip's
Consideration
for Athens**

It is certain that Arybbas found a hospitable reception in Athens, and that to ensure his personal safety he was placed under the protection of the council and the generals, but the resolution to reinstate him in his kingdom with an army was not carried out. Philip would certainly not have allowed that, although he showed great consideration towards Athens, for in the same year he sent Python as envoy to Athens in order to negotiate the alteration of the Peace of Philocrates.

The Athenians desired recognition of their old claims on Amphipolis, Potidæa, and their former Thracian and Chalcidian possessions. It was easy to comprehend that Philip could not and would not accede to this demand. In the following year he made offers again to Athens to alter the terms of the peace. This time he conceded to them the freedom and independence of the Greek towns not included in the treaty, and professed his readiness to submit disputed points to arbitration; but Athens replied to this with her former demand that each party should have that which by right belonged to it. Under these circumstances it was hardly possible to avoid a rupture with Philip; and the Athenians soon produced it. Athens had sent new cleruchs under

Diopithes to the Thracian Chersonese, which had been guaranteed to her under the Peace of Philocrates. They demanded of Cardia admission into the town and its territory, although by the terms of peace in 346 B.C. its independence had been acknowledged. Diopithes obtained mercenaries and made an attack on Cardia, which then asked for and obtained a garrison from Philip, its ally.

Thereupon Diopithes invaded and pillaged the king's Thracian possessions and sold his prisoners for slaves. Philip demanded as satisfaction from Athens the recall of Diopithes. But this was not done; on the contrary, he was supported by fresh funds and munitions of war. This was tantamount to a declaration of war; yet the actual outbreak did not take place for a considerable time. Philip was busy in Thrace, whither he had marched with a strong army in 342 B.C. His object this time was to check the activity of the warlike chief, Cersebleptes, from whom he had already captured some fortresses. The Thracian chief, notwithstanding his unfortunate experiences, continued to devastate the territory

**Thrace a
Macedonian
Province**

of the Greek towns adjoining Thrace. Philip came forward now as the protector and patron of the Greek towns; of which, indeed, Cardia, Byzantium and Perinthus were allied with him. And since Cersebleptes was allied with Athens, which came now more and more under the influence of the war-party and seemed disposed to open hostilities against the king, it may have been satisfactory to Philip to have a good reason for taking decisive measures against Thrace. Cersebleptes, beaten in several battles, was deposed and his territory made into a tributary province of Macedonia.

It was on this occasion that Teres, the son of the Thracian prince Amodocus, mentioned above, was deprived of his dominions. The founding of towns, among them Philippopolis, which has preserved the name of its founder to the present day, proves that Philip wished to extend civilisation into the most distant parts of Thrace, and to make the fruitful valley of the Hebrus a permanent possession of Macedonia. By this war Philip became involved in hostilities with Byzantium and Perinthus, which, up till now allied with him, had refused to render aid to him in the Thracian war. Both towns

were besieged; they both, however, held out, being situated on the sea, by which they could get supplies, and being in addition supported by allies—Perinthus, by the Persian satrap of the opposite coast, and Byzantium by Athens and other Greek maritime states. The Macedonian fleet could not enforce a blockade in the

**Expedition
Against the
Scythians**

face of the superior power of the enemy on the sea. Philip next undertook an expedition northward, in order to attack the Scythians. Though he obviously could have had little hope of their complete subjection and of a conquest of their territory, it seemed advisable to him to show his power, in order to deter them from their repeated raids. The Scythian king, Ateas, was defeated; unfortunately, the immense booty taken was mostly lost on the way back, where the Macedonians had to defend themselves against the attacks of the Triballi. In 339 B.C., after an absence of three years, Philip returned to Macedonia.

The refusal of the Hellespontine seaports Byzantium and Perinthus to support their ally, Philip, and the war that had thus been caused, had led in the meantime to a declaration of war by Athens against Macedonia. Since Philip required his fleet for the siege, and this might have been stopped on its passage through the Hellespont by the Athenian general Diopithes, who was still present in the Chersonese, he advanced on the Chersonese in order to accompany his ships, doing no more than Diopithes had previously done. This gave the Athenians the pretext to declare war on Philip in 340 B.C.

By means of appropriate financial measures on which Demosthenes had so long insisted, they raised the necessary money, prosecuted vigorously the fitting out of the fleet, and sent help to beleaguered Byzantium. If the king, nevertheless, undertook the campaign against

**The Last
War with
Macedon**

the Scythians first, it was clearly because he was momentarily more concerned with the security of Thrace, which he had conquered, than with a struggle against Athens. When Philip, therefore, returned to Macedonia he was summoned to Hellas. The accusation of gross sacrilege had been brought at the Amphictyonic assembly against the Locrian town of Amphissa. The levy of the Amphictyons had, however, been able to effect nothing against

the town, since the Thebans and Athenians would not permit their detachments to advance; and the Amphictyons, therefore, resolved to entrust the conduct of the war to Philip. He immediately advanced into Phocis through Thermopylæ, which he had permanently occupied, and took Elatea in the autumn of 339. Thebes and

Reconciliation of Athens and Thebes

Athens had long been at enmity. But men like Demosthenes, who wished to range against Philip the warlike inhabitants of Bœotia, after long endeavours to reconcile the two cities, succeeded. By this the power of Athens was considerably strengthened. Of her other allies, the Eubœans, Megarians, Corinthians and Achæans took the field, while Elis, Megalopolis and Messene had no part in the war. Once more Philip made offers of peace. Unfortunately, we do not know what conditions he laid down. But it was of no avail; the war party held the upper hand, and hostilities broke out. The army put into the field by the allies for the protection of Amphissa was completely defeated and the town captured; and their main army, which was in position near Chæronea, at the entrance to Bœotia, yielded to the veteran Macedonians and their skilful leaders after a brave resistance in August 338 B.C. The losses on both sides were great; the Athenians lost 1,000 men, and 2,000 were made prisoners.

This battle decided the war. Thebes surrendered and had to receive a Macedonian garrison into its citadel, the Cadmea; the union of Bœotia under the headship of Thebes, which had been established by Epaminondas, was destroyed, and the independence of the country towns of Bœotia was recognised. Corinth also received a Macedonian garrison, and probably also Chalcis in Eubœa. It is obvious that here, as in other towns, the leaders of the anti-Macedonian party

Philip's Supremacy in Greece

were banished, and Philip's adherents came to the helm; for it was an old-established custom that the victors should banish the vanquished. Philip showed himself a well-wisher of Athens. She retained her territory and her independence, actually received Oropus back from the Thebans, and had no garrison imposed on her; but in addition to the possessions on the Thracian and Chalcidian coast, which were already lost, she had now at

the conclusion of peace to give up the Thracian Chersonese as well; of her possessions there remained only Imbros, Lemnos, Scyros, Samos, Salamis, and Lesbos. After an expedition into the Peloponnese, in which he invaded Laconia but did not take the strongly defended town of Sparta, Philip went to Corinth, where envoys of all the Greek communities were assembled. The disputes of the Spartans with their neighbours were settled in such a way that Sparta was compelled to concede territory to the Argives, Megalopolitans, Tegeans, and Messenians.

What follows is more important. A league was formed between the Hellenes and Philip, and as Corinth was the usual place of meeting for its members, it has been known since as the Corinthian League. The Greek state south of Thermopylæ, with the exception of Sparta, which made no peace with Philip, sent their representatives regularly to Corinth; these composed the governing body of the league, which had to settle all disputes and to superintend the faithful execution of the terms of the peace, for universal

The Day of Universal Peace

peace was now to prevail in the country, and the everlasting feuds were to cease. The states were guaranteed their independence and their constitutions, as well as the possessions which they had at the moment when peace was concluded. There was also an important decree passed that no state should aid with money or arms any attempt made by exiles against their own city. The king of Macedonia was the general of the league; the Hellenic states, since they were autonomous, had not to pay any tribute to him, but had to furnish troops in case of war.

Philip, adroitly seizing on a sentiment already encouraged by the philosophers and popular in Greece, proposed a common war of all Hellenes against their hereditary enemy, the Persians; and all the members agreed with him. This common war, he thought, would bring the Greeks closer together, make them forget their hatred and dissensions, show them once more a goal towards which they might struggle with combined resources, and last, though not least, would reconcile them to his own leadership and accustom them to the Macedonian hegemony. There were undoubtedly germs in this league that promised good fruit. As soon as Philip returned to

PHILIP OF MACEDON

Macedonia, he made preparations for the war against Persia. An army under Parmenio was to invade Asia in the spring of 336 B.C. as an advance guard, while the king in person would follow soon. But, in 336 B.C., before this plan was carried out Philip was slain by Pausanias, one of his bodyguard, at a festival in honour of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander, king of the Mosolossians.

Philip had accomplished a stupendous task. How different was the position of Macedonia at his death from what it was at his accession! Its coasts were now open, and no obstacles hindered the export of its productions. Material prosperity and

by indefatigable training, and in part, too, by his many wars, in creating an army which had not its equal in the world. The Macedonian phalanx, with its long spears, formidable in its attack, invincible and impenetrable when attacked, roused the admiration of all antiquity. Notwithstanding its weight and size, it manœuvred easily and correctly, quickly changed its position, and rapidly re-formed. Besides this phalanx, the army of Philip, except for a light infantry regiment, which dispensed with the armour and the long spear of the Phalangitæ, and was equipped with helmet, sword, and small shield, consisted

Unequaled Army of Macedonia



SOLDIERS OF THE FAMOUS MACEDONIAN PHALANX

Macedonia owed to King Philip the army which, unequalled then by any other, achieved astonishing results.

culture were everywhere promoted. Philip had founded many new towns and had planted colonies near Mount Pangæus (Philippi) and in Thrace. Even in Macedonia itself Greeks had been allowed to settle. We are everywhere met by his unwearied efforts to advance the growth of his country and to blend its inhabitants together. The country owed its

Philip's Life Work fleet to him. But before everything else Macedonia owed to King Philip the army which had achieved such astonishing results. Philip first created an infantry which was equal in effectiveness to the cavalry, raising the levies regularly and not merely in case of necessity. He thus succeeded

mainly of the cavalry, which was recruited from among the Macedonian nobility, and of the artillery, as we should term them to-day, with their catapults, battering-rams, and the necessary staff. Thus the nobility composed the cavalry, the peasants and citizens the infantry; united they formed the military assembly, which had the right to judge in penal cases.

One more great service rendered by the king to his country must be mentioned. To him Macedonia owed its political unity. Before this time there were local principalities which recognised, it is true, the royal house as overlord, but frequently waged war against it. Philip deprived these princely houses of their thrones.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

AS JUDGED BY AN EARLY HISTORIAN

Arrian, who lived from 90 to 170 A.D., was one of the earliest historians of Alexander's world-conquests, and his "Expedition of Alexander," from which this personal study of the conqueror is taken, is his most valuable work.



His body was beautiful and well-proportioned ; his mind brisk and active ; his courage wonderful. He was strong enough to undergo hardships, and willing to meet dangers ; ever ambitious of glory, and a strict observer of religious duties. As to those pleasures which regarded the body, he showed himself indifferent ; as to the desires of the mind, insatiable. In his counsels he was sharp-sighted and cunning ; and pierced deep into doubtful matters by the force of his natural sagacity. In marshalling, arming, and governing an army he was thoroughly skilled, and famous for exciting his soldiers with courage, and animating them with hopes of success, as also in dispelling their private fears by his own example of magnanimity.

He always entered upon desperate attempts with the utmost resolution and vigour, and was ever diligent in taking any advantage of his enemies' delay, and falling upon him unawares. He was a most strict observer of his treaties ; notwithstanding which he was never taken at a disadvantage by any craft or perfidy of his enemies. He was sparing in his expenses for his own private pleasures, but in the distribution of his bounty to his friends liberal and magnificent.

If anything can be laid to Alexander's charge, as committed in the heat and violence of wrath, or if he may be said to have imitated the barbarian pride a little too much, and bore himself too haughtily, I cannot think them such vast crimes ; and especially when one calmly considers his green years, and uninterrupted series of success, it will appear no great wonder if court sycophants, who always flatter princes to their detriment, sometimes led him away. But this must be said in his behalf, that all antiquity has not produced an example of such sincere repentance in a king as he has shown us.

I cannot condemn Alexander for endeavouring to draw his subjects into the belief of his divine origin because it is reasonable to imagine he intended no more by it than to procure the greater authority among his soldiers. Neither was he less famous than Minos, or Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, who all of them challenged kindred with Jove ; and none of the ancients condemned them for it ; nor were his glorious actions any way inferior to those of Theseus or Ion, though the former claimed Neptune and the latter Apollo for his father.

His assuming and wearing the Persian habit seems to have been done with a political view, that he might appear not altogether to despise the barbarians and that he might also have some curb to the arrogance and insolence of his Macedonians. And for this cause, I am of opinion, he placed the Persian Melophori among his Macedonian troops and squadrons of horse, and allowed them the same share of honour. Long banquets and deep drinking, Aristobulus assures us, were none of his delights ; neither did he prepare entertainments for the sake of the wine (which he did not greatly love and seldom drank much of) but to rub up a mutual amity among his friends.

Whoever, therefore, attempts to condemn or calumniate Alexander, does not so much ground his accusation upon those acts of his which really deserve reproof, but gathers all his actions as into one huge mass, and forms his judgment thereupon ; but let any man consider seriously who he was, what success he always had, and to what a pitch of glory he arrived who, without controversy, reigned king of both continents, and whose name had spread through all parts of the habitable world, and he will conclude that, in comparison of his great and laudable acts, his vices and failings are few and trifling, and are not of weight sufficient to cast a shade upon his reign.

I am persuaded there was no nation, city, nor people then in being whither his name did not reach ; for which reason, whatever origin he might boast of or claim to himself, there seems to me to have been some Divine hand presiding both over his birth and actions, insomuch that no mortal upon earth either excelled or equalled him.

MACEDON
III



ALEXANDER
THE GREAT

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

AND THE MAKING OF HIS MIGHTY EMPIRE

PHILIP'S son and successor was Alexander, who in 336 B.C. was twenty years old. Brought up and educated by Aristotle, he was familiar with the literature and philosophy of Greece and full of enthusiasm for Homer and his heroes, of whom Achilles was his favourite. The young prince was also trained in all bodily exercises and familiar with the art of war and the whole military system; as, indeed, was to be expected in a country like Macedonia, where every man was liable to military service, and the officers and the bodyguard of the king were taken from the nobility.

Alexander could not have been unmoved by the influence which mighty deeds exercised on every man of that time. In fact we hear that at the age of sixteen the crown prince had held the regency while Philip was occupied with the war in Byzantium and Perinthus, and had during that time fought successfully the neighbouring Thracian tribe of the Mædi. At the age of eighteen he commanded the Macedonian cavalry on the left wing at the battle of Chæronea. Thus trained and familiar from boyhood with the demands of his future position, he entered on his heritage. What he had previously accomplished passed unnoticed amid the general brilliancy of Philip's successes; what the world saw was that the new king was little more than a boy. But he lost no time in proving himself a man, bold in decision, swift in action.

In Macedonia itself, where disputes as to the succession and wars were the usual accompaniments of the death of a ruler, Alexander immediately took vigorous measures and crushed all such attempts in the bud. His cousin Amyntas, whose kingdom Philip had once governed as guardian, and who had gradually sunk into the background, was put to death, since many held him to be the lawful successor; this step was certainly neces-

sary for the tranquillity of the country, though it may seem cruel, since there is no account of any rising led by Amyntas. But on another side preparations for an insurrection had actually been made. In 337 B.C. Philip had married Cleopatra, niece of Attalus of Macedonia, and by this step had caused his former wife, Olympias, and her son, Alexander, to leave the country, the latter returning to Pella shortly before his father's murder. Ever since the marriage feast, when Alexander had chastised Attalus for his wish that Cleopatra might bear a legitimate heir, hatred and hostility existed between them. Now, after Philip's death, Attalus, who meantime had taken over a command in the Macedonian advance guard in Asia Minor, immediately allied himself with the anti-Macedonian party in Athens; but before he had completed his proposed preparations against the young king he was murdered by Alexander's orders. His niece, Cleopatra, shared the same fate. In Macedonia itself, therefore, owing to Alexander's vigorous initiative, no disturbances of any sort resulted.

In Greece, where the unexpected death of Philip and the youth of Alexander had inspired all the enemies of Macedonia with renewed courage and made them think of a restoration of their former uncertain, but still independent, state, it seemed as if a determined rising would follow; at any rate, there was an intense wish to be freed from the hegemony of Macedonia. The town of Ambracia in Epirus drove out the Macedonian garrison; the Thebans made preparations to do the same; in Athens and other parts disturbances broke out. Here also Alexander crushed all attempts by his sudden appearance at the head of a large army, and the Greeks submitted. As he had been received into the Amphictyonic

**Risings in
Greece
Repressed**

**Alexander
Crushes all
Pretenders**

**Victorious
General
at Eighteen**

League, the states which took part in the Corinthian League renewed the conventions drawn up by Philip, and nominated Alexander protector and commander-in-chief of the Hellenes in the war against the Persians, the object of which was declared by the congress to be vengeance for the outrages once committed by the Persians in Greece.

In the winter of 336-335 B.C. Alexander returned to Macedonia, in order to make final preparations for the expedition into Asia which his father had already planned. But before this it was again necessary to make a demonstration in force in the Balkan peninsula and to subdue permanently the independent and irreconcilable tribes of Thrace and Illyria, who, bent on robbery and plunder, were apparently planning fresh inroads. Alexander started in the spring of 335, marched by the high-road to Thrace, through Amphipolis as far as the river Nestus, and up the valley of it, until in ten days he reached Mount Hæmus through the pass of the Rhodope Mountains. Here he first met with resistance. The pass, which led over the mountains, was occupied by armed men and blocked by a barricade of waggons. But the Macedonians, led by the king in person, pressed on courageously. Even the waggons, which were hurled down the mountain, did not cause the loss that was expected, since Alexander had divined this intention of the barbarians and had given his soldiers timely orders to step out of their way, where the road was broad enough, or, where that was not feasible, to throw themselves on the ground

and to make a roof with their shields, held up high and closely locked together. Thus Alexander routed the Thracians and made himself master of the pass over the Balkans. On the other side dwelt the Triballi. They had placed their women, children, and movable property for safety on an island in the Danube, whither their king, Symus, had also retired. The warriors allowed Alexander to advance without hindrance as far as the

Danube, intending to appear suddenly on his rear and attack him. But their plan miscarried: the Macedonians cut to pieces all who did not save themselves by flight. On the other hand, Alexander could not carry out his intention of occupying the island in the Danube. Instead of this he carried across the Danube during the night 4,000 foot soldiers and 1,500 cavalry in native boats, hollowed out of single tree-trunks, and on the tent-skins of the soldiers, sewn together and stuffed with hay. On the opposite bank the Getæ dwelt; they, indeed, were in a position with 14,000 men to resist the expected invasion of their country, but were so taken by surprise that they fled into their nearest town; and when

Alexander approached they abandoned this also, and fled precipitately with their women and children. The town of the Getæ was destroyed, and on the same day Alexander, richly laden with booty, re-crossed the Danube. In consequence, other neighbouring tribes, who had until now been independent, and Symus, the prince of the Triballi, sent envoys to Alexander and submitted to him. Even the Kelts who dwelt on the Adriatic—this is the



THE GREAT ALEXANDER
At twenty he became king of Macedonia and at thirty-two he had made himself master of a world-empire embracing the East as well as the West. Statue in Munich Glyptothek.



ALEXANDER THE WORLD CONQUEROR
From the fine statue in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

first time that we hear of them in these regions, in which they were destined later to play an important part—sent envoys to make assurances of their friendship to the young king.

From the Danube, Alexander marched through the territory of the Agrianes whose prince, Langarus, had formed a friendship with him and remained loyal to him, and of the Pæonians, and then along the valley of the Erigon up to Pelion, which was held by Clitus, king of the Illyrians. Glaucias, prince of the Taulantii at the back of Epidamnus and Apollonia, had promised him assistance. Since Clitus declined a battle, the siege of the town was determined on by the Macedonians; and when, on the next day, Glaucias appeared with large masses of armed men, Alexander withdrew. The Illyrians, who attacked him in a narrow road when crossing over the Devol, a river in Albania, were repulsed with loss, but his retreat was continued. Rendered confident by this, the Illyrians neglected all measures of precaution, whereupon the king surprised them on the third night and completely routed them. Pelion was evacuated by Clitus after he had set fire to it. Thus, security on this frontier was ensured by Alexander. He was not able to follow up his victory and in his turn to invade Illyria, in order completely to subdue the country, for his presence in Greece had meantime become urgently necessary.

We have seen how unwillingly the Greeks tolerated the headship of Macedonia, and how easily they allowed themselves to be driven to premature risings. In the autumn of 336 Alexander had nipped the movement in the bud by his rapid advance; now that he had been for months far away from his kingdom, all sorts of rumours were rife of the evil plight of the Macedonian army, and even of the death of the king. Theban fugitives, of whom there were many, secretly returned to their native town, induced their fellow-citizens to revolt from Macedonia, murdered the commanders of the Macedonian troops in the Cadmea, and blockaded the garrison itself in the citadel by a double line of circumvallation. In other Greek states also the party hostile to Macedonia held the upper hand, and from all sides the Thebans had good

prospects of aid. As soon as Alexander learned of these occurrences in Greece he advanced by forced marches from Illyria along the eastern slopes of Pindus, through Thessaly to Bœotia, attached to himself on the way the contingents of the Greek states which had remained loyal to him—Phocians and other Bœotians—and appeared before Thebes, where the approach of the hostile army had not been reported until it had already passed Thermopylæ.

Alexander delayed to attack the city in the belief that it would ask pardon for what had occurred. But the same persons who had urged on the revolt now in popular meetings counselled the most desperate resistance, while others spoke in favour of a reconciliation with Alexander, but could not carry their point. An attack, therefore, was made; after a bitter struggle the Macedonians forced the gates and joined the garrison of the citadel. And now a terrible slaughter began, in which the Phocians and the other Greeks of Alexander are said to have been conspicuous. By the decision of his allies,

Terrible Fate of Thebes

to whom Alexander entrusted the settlement of Theban affairs, Thebes was destroyed, its territory divided among its neighbours, and those of the citizens that escaped the massacre were sold into slavery, with the exception of priests and priestesses, friends of Philip and Alexander, and such as had been under the protection of Macedonia. In accordance with Alexander's own wish, the house in which once the poet Pindar dwelt was preserved and his descendants were spared.

The fate of Thebes had a terrible effect on Greece, and clearly placed before the eyes of all the dangers to which they exposed themselves by rising against the Macedonian rule. As quickly as possible envoys were sent to Alexander by the states to testify their submission, and the supporters of Macedonia were recalled to the places from which they had been forced to flee. Elsewhere those who seemed to be responsible for the revolt from Macedonia and for the making common cause with Thebes were put to death; in short, everywhere hasty measures were taken to undo what had been done. And Alexander was forgiving. From Athens, indeed, which had sent congratulations to him by ten envoys on his prosperous return from Thrace and

Thebes Again Revolts

of the death of the king. Theban fugitives, of whom there were many, secretly returned to their native town, induced their fellow-citizens to revolt from Macedonia, murdered the commanders of the Macedonian troops in the Cadmea, and blockaded the garrison itself in the citadel by a double line of circumvallation. In other Greek states also the party hostile to Macedonia held the upper hand, and from all sides the Thebans had good



A beautiful head in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.



The "Dying Alexander" in the Uffizi at Florence.



A terminal bust now in the Louvre.



A fine head in the British Museum, from Alexandria.

THE FINEST BUSTS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Illyria and on the punishment of the Thebans for their "revolutionary spirit," he demanded at first the surrender of several supporters of the anti-Macedonian policy, such as Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Charidemus; but, persuaded by a new embassy, he withdrew this demand and contented himself with the banishment of Charidemus. Thus,

Peace With All Greece peace of the Hellenes was restored, and the Corinthian League was naturally renewed on its earlier terms. In the autumn

Alexander returned to Macedonia and devoted the winter to the necessary warlike preparations for the impending campaign in Asia. We are told that while still a boy he astonished the Persian envoys at his father's court by his able and thoughtful questions about the state of affairs in the broad Persian realm, and made them marvel at his intelligence. It may be confidently assumed that now his preparations for the campaign were not confined to the collection of auxiliaries from his allies and training them according to Macedonian discipline, or to the enlisting of mercenaries, the arrangement of the necessary means for the transport and the feeding of the troops, or the assignment of commands and the like. It is far more likely that Alexander carefully studied the geographical, political, financial, and military conditions of the kingdom of Persia.

On the resulting basis the plan of campaign was drawn up. We have, unfortunately, no extant account of it. Did the king from the very beginning meditate the conquest of the entire Persian kingdom, or did he merely wish, as the manifesto drawn up at Corinth in the autumn of 336 ran, to take the field against the Persians on account of the outrages inflicted by them on the Hellenes? The plan of the war is to some extent adhered to throughout. The later events in Persepolis show

Persian Campaign Planned

that Alexander considered it executed by the burning of the Persian royal citadel; but the succeeding events show clearly that he already designed the conquest of the whole Persian kingdom. Whether he had, as it almost would seem, formed this plan from the very beginning, or only subsequently, his enterprise and audacity will always command our admiration and astonishment. In Persia, after the death of Artaxerxes Ochus, in 338 B.C., and after an

interregnum filled with bloodshed and atrocities, Darius III. had ascended the throne in 336 B.C. almost contemporaneously with Alexander.

Although the authority of the sovereign in the kingdom of Persia had been weakened since the times of Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes, and the power of the satraps had become more independent, Darius was still lord of a realm which was thirty times as large as the territories whose resources were at Alexander's disposal. Stored in the royal towns of Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis lay at the disposal of the great king enormous treasures of gold and precious metals; and Persia could place in the field from her wide territories an army that outnumbered the Macedonian forces many times. In addition, there was a fleet of 400 warships, manned by Cyprians and Phœnicians, the best seamen of the ancient world.

Opposed to this, Alexander's resources seemed weak. He had to raise 800 talents for his preparations; and no more than sixty were left at his disposal when he began his campaign. His fleet comprised

Alexander Advances Against Persia

160 warships; his army some 35,000 fighting men, of which 30,000 were infantry, and 5,000 cavalry. To this

must be added the contingent, of unknown strength, already sent to Asia by Philip. In any case, the war against the Persians was not begun with more than 45,000 men. But this well-trained and well-armed force of veterans was precisely Alexander's strength, for the Persians could not oppose any such body to him. However superior in numbers, they were far inferior in equipment, discipline, and experience of warfare; and he doubtless counted on the support of the Greeks in Asia Minor, who since 378 B.C. were again subject to Persia, but had in no way reconciled themselves to Persian rule.

The advance against Asia began in the spring of 334 B.C. Antipater remained in Europe as administrator of the kingdom, with an army of 12,000 foot soldiers, and 1,500 cavalry. Alexander himself marched along the Thracian coast to the Dardanelles, had his army carried over by the fleet, and united it with the troops already sent by Philip to Asia Minor, which, commanded by Calas since the death of Attalus, occupied the coast from Abydus to Rhœteum, and covered the king's passage. The Persian land force, under



THEBAN CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE ALEXANDER AT THE SACK OF THEBES
From the painting by Dominiquin in the Louvre.

the command of the Greek, Memnon, who had enlisted Greek mercenaries for the great king, and of the satraps of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, Spithridates, and Arsites, was encamped at Zeleia, to the west of Cyzicus; but neither that army nor the Persian fleet attempted to repel the invader at the outset. The want of a

**Alexander
Lands in
Asia Minor**

united command was at once felt. When Alexander had set foot in Asia Minor the most opposite plans were proposed in the council of war of the Persians. Memnon's advice was to avoid a battle, to retreat and lay waste the land, and gradually to entice Alexander and his army farther into the country; in the meantime, while the Macedonian king must necessarily be weakened by his march forward, the Persians would be able to strengthen themselves with new troops, until, protected by a strong line of defence, they could venture on a decisive battle with prospect of success.

The two satraps opposed him. They did not wish to give up their provinces to devastation and to retreat at the advice of a stranger in the face of an enemy by no means superior. Their views carried the day. Their army advanced westward to the Granicus, and took up a favourable position on the steep right bank of this river; their cavalry, 20,000 strong, were drawn up in a long line on the banks. Behind them was the infantry, equally numerous. It was here, then, that Alexander first met the Persians. On landing he had received news that the enemy was approaching from the east, and had marched along the coast against them. This first encounter at the Granicus showed at once the fiery daring of the young king and the ardour of his spirit, which swept everyone with it. The river was between the two armies. The Macedonian horsemen of the vanguard and a division of the

**Fiery Daring
of the
Conqueror**

phalanx received the order to cross it, and opened the attack. But the king himself soon followed with his heavy cavalry. The Macedonians dashed into the river. The Persians rode to meet them. A hand-to-hand fight ensued, and Alexander himself was saved from deadly peril only by the interposition of Clitus. By great efforts the Macedonians gained ground, scaled the steep bank, broke through the enemy's lines, and routed

the Persian cavalry. Afterwards their phalanx gradually advanced and deployed, and the Persian infantry was annihilated, with the exception of 2,000 prisoners.

At a single stroke the enemy's army had been driven from the scene, and no one was left to resist the advance of the conqueror into the heart of the Persian kingdom. But Alexander secured a firm base for fresh operations before he marched further east. Here, if anywhere, he showed his far-sighted policy.

On the entire west coast of Asia Minor lay Greek towns, which had early attained wealth and prosperity, and were seats of great intellectual and material culture. These had once been independent republics, but since the peace of Antalcidas in 378 B.C. were subject to Persian domination. They paid taxes to Persia and furnished her with troops, were garrisoned partly by Persians and were governed by "tyrants," who found their safest and best support in the great king, wherever an oligarchy had not been instituted with the assistance of the Persians in place of the former democracy. In all the cities there were parties

**Phrygia and
Lydia Fall
to Macedon**

which, hostile to the existing state of things, promised themselves fortune and wealth from a change. Alexander counted on these Greek towns for support. After the battle at the Granicus, the satrapy of Phrygia on the Hellespont was occupied and Calas appointed its governor.

After he had sent the captured Greek mercenaries, who had fought on the side of their hereditary foe against their countrymen, into Macedonia, condemned to hard labour, had granted immunity from taxation to the families of the fallen Macedonians, and had dedicated 300 suits of armour to the Acropolis at Athens in his name and in the name of the allied Hellenes as trophies, Alexander marched to Sardis, the ancient capital of the Lydian kings and the former capital of the satrapy of Lydia. The inhabitants came to meet him and surrendered their town. The citadel was likewise given up to him by the Persian commander, Mithrenes, and a Macedonian garrison introduced. Alexander was nominated governor of Lydia.

From Sardis, Alexander turned towards the coast and marched without meeting any opposition into Ephesus; the Persian garrison had withdrawn on news of the battle of the Granicus. Alexander's generals occupied the towns of Magnesia

and Tralles in the valley of Mæander and the Greek towns which lay northward of Ephesus. No opposition was encountered.

Only Miletus and, subsequently, Halicarnassus, both situated on the coast south of Ephesus, shut their gates before the approaching conqueror. Hegesistratus, indeed, the commander of Miletus, had already negotiated with Alexander about the surrender of the town; but the news of the approach of a strong Persian fleet of 400 warships induced him to break off negotiations and to prepare to defend the position. But Alexander rapidly came up, occupied the suburbs, and began to assault the walls. The Macedonian fleet, under Nicanor, had outsailed the Persian fleet, and was anchored at Lade, an island in front of the harbour of Miletus; and co-operation between the defenders of Miletus and the Persian fleet was rendered impossible. When Alexander, therefore, proceeded to storm the town, and at the same moment Nicanor entered the harbour, the Persians turned to flight. Many were massacred by the Macedonians, who pressed into the city. Miletus experienced the clemency of the victor. It received pardon and its freedom.

The Fall of Miletus

The king had rejected the proposal made by various persons to order his fleet, stationed at Lade, to sail out and attack the enemy's ships, which were anchored off the opposite peninsula of Mycale. He clearly saw that in numbers, as well as in seamanship, his fleet was far inferior to the enemy's. He now dispersed it, retaining only a small part. Its maintenance was expensive, and its utility appeared small, especially as Alexander was master of the coast, and the hostile fleet could do little towards changing that state of things. We shall soon see that in the hand of an enterprising and far-seeing man this fleet could, nevertheless, threaten Alexander with serious danger.

The young king turned next towards Caria, which was under the satrap Orontobates. The princess Ada of Alinda, who belonged to the Carian princely house—whose most famous member was Mausolus—which had once ruled the whole country, but was now restricted to this one town and citadel, placed herself immediately under the protection of Alexander and adopted him as her son; hence the Carian towns surrendered to him so soon as he approached. Halicarnassus alone offered

resistance. This well-fortified town, guarded by two strong citadels, was defended by Memnon, who had thrown himself into the place after the battle on the Granicus, with an adequate garrison, consisting mostly of mercenaries. The walls were high, and a broad and deep moat had been dug in front of them, which had to be

Great Siege of Halicarnassus

filled up by the assailants before any effective assault of the town could be thought of. This Alexander accomplished, notwithstanding a sortie of the enemy. He now raised siege-engines, though often hindered by attacks of the besieged, and at length succeeded in effecting a breach in the enemy's wall. But behind it rose an inner wall, running from the one tower to the other. Alexander wished to attack it, when Memnon made a final great sortie. Driven back after a fierce fight and with heavy losses, he determined to evacuate the city, and only the two strong castles remained occupied. The town was destroyed, but Alexander was obliged on account of the fortresses to leave behind a division of 3,000 mercenaries and 200 cavalry under Ptolemy. Ada received the satrapy of Caria.

Winter was now approaching. Parmenio was sent to Sardis at the head of the contingents of the allies to winter in Lydia, and in the next spring to join the king again in Greater Phrygia. All newly-married Macedonians were sent home on furlough with orders to join the army in the coming spring and to bring with them the fresh levies. Alexander himself marched without meeting any opposition through Lycia and Pamphylia, where hardly any preparations for defence had been made by the Persians. He then went through Pisidia, where the wild population, which in their almost inaccessible mountains had never submitted to the Persians, created all sorts of difficulties for him on his passage. From Greater Phrygia, where he occu-

Alexander's Conquest of Asia Minor

piated Celænæ, the capital, with its strong fortress, Alexander eventually reached the city of Gordium in the centre of Asia Minor, and stayed a considerable time there. In barely one year the greater part of Asia Minor had been conquered by Alexander. Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Greater Phrygia were administered by Macedonian governors. The taxes from these provinces flowed now into the Macedonian

treasury, and important military points, such as Sardis, held Macedonian garrisons.

It may well be asserted that Alexander had from the very first contemplated the permanent retention of his conquests. Besides the appointment of Macedonian governors, the fact that, in addition to them, a special official was entrusted with the entire management of the taxation points to the same conclusion.

Macedonian Government in Asia Minor

Although this arrangement is mentioned as existing in the province of Lydia only, there is no reason to doubt that it had been introduced in a similar form into all the satrapies. The only innovation made was that now two royal officials stood at the head of each province; otherwise the extent of their jurisdiction and the amount of taxation remained as they had been under the Persians. It may also be noticed as an improvement that now the royal administrators of the province ceased to be supported by the provinces themselves, and were paid by the king; thus all "tyranny" was obviated.

The Greek towns on the coast were treated differently from these countries. They were proclaimed free—that is, they were made autonomous in internal affairs, were not subjected to the royal governors, and paid no taxes. They also received no garrisons, and, what assuredly was very valuable in the eyes of the Greeks, they were permitted to restore their democratic constitutions, which had been everywhere abolished under pressure from the Persians. These Greeks thus recovered, through Alexander, that independence and freedom for which they had once fought so bravely.

The Greek towns on the islands, at any rate so far as they lay north of Samos and could be freed from the Persian fleet by the Macedonian, underwent the same treatment. We know that they entered

Greek Towns Regain Independence

the Corinthian League. On the other hand, it is not recorded whether the Greek towns on the mainland also were incorporated in this league or whether they were organised into a union of their own for the maintenance of the universal peace of the country. Undoubtedly, Alexander had created for himself in Asia Minor, as well as on the islands, supporters; who promised to render him profitable services on his march forward. The

necessary funds for further operations were drawn from the inflowing taxes of the conquered Persian satrapies.

An event occurred at this time which suddenly threatened to bring a disastrous end to the good fortune of the king. Memnon, who but recently had valiantly though unsuccessfully, defended Halicarnassus against Alexander, had been appointed by the great king to be commander of the fleet, which till now had done nothing noteworthy, in spite of its strength. Memnon now embarked a large force of mercenaries, which he may in part have brought safely from Halicarnassus and in part newly enlisted, and put out to sea. What he planned was a landing in Greece, where, from the strength of the anti-Macedonian and revolutionary party, an insurrection could easily have been excited, and after that an attack on Macedonia carried out. This plan would, indubitably, have presented a most serious danger for Alexander had it been executed. But first Memnon had to reconquer the islands off the coast of Asia Minor. Chios had already opened its

gates to him through treachery; the Lesbian towns, with the exception of Mytilene, were once more brought under the Persian rule, and wherever he went tyrants who favoured Persia were installed in place of the democracies. But suddenly, while besieging by land and sea Mytilene, which had refused to surrender to him, Memnon died in 333 B.C.

With the death of this man, who with daring determination and keen foresight was bent on transferring the theatre of war to the enemy's own land, his plan collapsed. Autophradates and Pharnabazus, his successors in the command of the fleet, took Mytilene, it is true, and subsequently won back Tenedos for the Persian crown, but they did not achieve any other considerable success. The expeditionary troops on the ships were recalled by Darius to join the main army. Alexander, through Hegelochus and Amphoterus, and Antipater, through Proteas, collected ships from all the allied states on the Hellespont and in Greece and organised a fleet. Proteas with the ships collected from Eubœa and the Peloponnese succeeded in surprising Datames, who had been sent by the Persian admiral to Siphnus with ten ships, and in capturing eight of his vessels. This first success was

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

followed by others. To anticipate events we may say that in the course of the next few years Hegelochus and Amphoterus freed the islands again from the supremacy of the Persians and the tyrants imposed by them, especially as the Persian fleet was dispersed after the battle at Issus.

In the spring of 333 B.C. Parmenio, with the troops which had been allowed to go home on winter furlough, and with some reinforcements, about 3,000 strong, entered Gordium. Here, according to the

collecting troops from his eastern satrapies in order to march with these to the west to recover what had been lost. He felt unable to leave Asia Minor without hazarding his conquests, for he did not wish to push on further east without urgent reasons, in order not to be too far removed from Greece, which was probably to be the new theatre of war. Memnon's death left the king to continue his march forward without anxiety. From Gordium he marched past Ancyra—

where the Paphlagonians, who were governed by their own dynasts, offered their submission through envoys—to the Halys, the Kizil Irmak, and then in a southerly direction to the Cilician Gates, a pass over the Taurus Mountains, leading from Cappadocia to Cilicia. This line of march was marked out for the king as soon as he had learned that Darius with his army, which comprised several hundred thousand native warriors, and some thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, had started from Babylon for Northern Syria. The Cilician Gates, easy as they were to hold on account of their narrowness, were deserted at Alexander's approach by the few Persian troops who had been sent there; and, unhindered, the Macedonians crossed the mountains and descended into the plain. The occupation of Cilicia was accomplished without



NATURE OF THE COUNTRY TRAVERSED BY ALEXANDER'S ARMY
A gorge in the Taurus Mountains crossed by Alexander in order to occupy Cilicia.

difficulty. The Persian garrison retired from Tarsus, the capital, and Alexander immediately after entered it.

Here he was seized with a violent fever, and his life was in great danger, until the Greek physician, Philip, saved him by a drastic remedy. With this event is connected the familiar story of the letter of Parmenio, in which he warned his king against Philip, who was alleged to be bribed by the Persians. Alexander, however, showed confidence in his physician, and drank the proffered medicine, while

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he gave Philip the letter to read. Restored to health, he subdued the remaining towns in the outlying region, and even undertook a short but successful campaign against the wild inhabitants of the mountains, who so often made inroads on the plain. Here he received the news of the fall of the fortress of Halicarnassus.

Campaigns in the Mountains

The Amanian Mountains divide Cilicia from Syria towards the east; two passes, the so-called Syrian gates in the south, the Amanian in the north, lead into Syria. Parmenio was sent in advance to occupy and guard the Syrian Gates. As soon as the news came that Darius was on the other side of the Amanus at Sochi, Alexander started and marched through Issus close along the coast, through the Syrian Gates, in order to turn Darius's flank. But, meantime, the great king had advanced through the Amanian Gates, abandoning his position in the plain east of Amanus, which was far more favourable for deploying his masses, had occupied Issus, and was marching after Alexander. The latter was, therefore, compelled to march back.

The two armies met in the autumn of 333 B.C. south of Issus on the river Pinarus, the Persians being interposed between the Macedonians and the sea, in a country as unfavourable for Darius as it could possibly be. Between the sea and the mountains, which lay somewhat back, stretched a plain, far too small to admit of the vast Persian masses being deployed. Alexander, as usual, commanded his right wing, Parmenio led the left; in the middle stood the phalanx. The king attacked first, broke through the enemy's line of battle, and fell on the Persian centre, composed of Greek mercenaries, who were pressing hard on his phalanx, which had fallen into some disorder in crossing the Pinarus, and forced them to give way. Darius, who was seated in his chariot in the middle of his battle array,

Tremendous Victory of the Issus

turned to flee, and thus gave the signal for a universal flight. The Macedonians now began the pursuit, from which they did not return until nightfall. The loss on the side of the Persians was enormous. The entire camp fell into the hands of the victors. The mother and the wife of Darius were among the prisoners, but were well treated by Alexander in consideration of their rank and dignity.

Once again, and this time against a vastly superior force, the Macedonians had won a splendid victory in the open field. Once again the victor did not turn immediately to the east, but first made Syria and Phœnicia submit to him. This he accomplished without difficulty; the towns of Aradus, Byblus, and Sidon immediately went over to him. The kings, who from old times reigned in the towns there, had their power confirmed, and a Macedonian was placed over the land as governor. Thus, Alexander again built himself a strong foundation for further enterprises. The ships of the Persian fleet had up till now been built in Phœnician yards and their crews recruited from the seafaring population. The conquest of this land and the submission of its towns and kings was bound to lead to the breaking up of the Persian fleet, which till now had ruled the sea. This was an invaluable gain for Alexander.

Tyre alone of the Phœnician towns opposed him, but it was too powerful and important for him to leave unconquered. He therefore determined to besiege it.

Alexander in Phœnicia

Tyre lay on an island at a short distance from the mainland, and was entirely surrounded by a high and strong wall.

In order to approach it, Alexander had a mole thrown up, for which purpose there was an abundance of stones and wood in the vicinity. So long as the water near the coast was shallow, the operations went on smoothly. But the further the Macedonians advanced and the deeper the sea became, the more frequent and serious became the attacks of the Tyrians, who could now bring up their warships and bombard with their heavy artillery the workers on the mole. Alexander ordered two high portable towers to be erected for their protection on the extremity of the mole; but these were set on fire by a fire-ship which the besiegers skilfully succeeded in bringing up. At the same time the mole itself, together with the war machines, during the confusion caused from the fire, were destroyed by the Tyrians, who came from their warships in small boats.

This set-back, far from deterring Alexander, only taught him that without a fleet he could not subdue the strong island fortress. The Phœnician towns, which had submitted to him, placed their ships under the command of Alexander,



THE FAMILY OF DARIUS BROUGHT BEFORE ALEXANDER AFTER HIS GREAT VICTORY AT ISSUS.

who himself went to Sidon; the Cyprian kings also made their peace with him and sent their ships to him. With this fleet, consisting of some two hundred vessels of war, he turned once more against Tyre, where, meantime, the Macedonians had

The great Siege of Tyre begun to throw up a new and broader mole. This time, under the protection of the fleet, which blocked the two harbours of Tyre, they succeeded in bringing the mole right up to the enemy's walls. But the wall still offered a long resistance to the siege machines, which were brought close by means of the mole, and also of ships chained together; until at length in July, 332 B.C., by the combined efforts of the fleet and of the artillery, the Macedonians succeeded in penetrating into one of the Tyrian harbours, effecting a breach in the wall, and entering the city. This decided the fate of Tyre.

Alexander started from Tyre in order to reach Egypt through Gaza—which he captured only after a two-months siege—and Pelusium. This land bore the Persian yoke unwillingly, and had often risen against it. Alexander was here hailed as a liberator, and met with submission everywhere. At Memphis, the capital, the Macedonian sacrificed to Apis, and in this way, as in general by his consideration for their religious manners and customs, won the hearts of his new subjects.

From Memphis Alexander proceeded down stream on the west arm of the Nile to Canopus and founded a new town at a short distance from this old harbour, which, called Alexandria after him, was soon to attain great prosperity, and is still flourishing. This was the first town which

Founding of Alexandria he founded. It was intended to be a centre and a protection for the numerous Hellenes already residing in Egypt, and a point of attraction to the newly arrived settlers from Hellas and Macedonia. Difficult to be approached by land, easily defensible, and provided with excellent harbours, Alexandria was fitted for a centre of intercourse and com-

munications between the mother country and the newly subdued territory, and helped to establish the new supremacy firmly in the land of ancient civilisation.

From Alexandria the king proceeded to the far-famed shrine of Ammon in the oasis of Siwah. He was led to do this chiefly by political reasons. He wished to sacrifice to the god of the country, as at Memphis, and by this diplomatic homage to bind more closely to himself the whole land, on the possession of which much depended. The priests of Ammon welcomed him and addressed him as son of their god, whom the Greeks had long identified with their highest deity, Zeus: an honour for the young monarch, which had nothing unusual in it for the Egyptians, who were accustomed from antiquity to regard their kings as gods.

From the oracle of Ammon, Alexander marched back across the desert to Memphis, twelve days' march distant, and there reorganised the government. He

Egyptian Government Reorganised divided the whole of Egypt at first into four districts, but afterwards into three, since one of the Egyptians nomin-

ated by him as governor declined the post. These divisions were Arabia and Libya—that is, the countries east and west of the Delta, at the head of which Greeks were placed; and Egypt—that is, the Delta and the rest of the land, the administration of which was entrusted to an Egyptian. The command over the fleet of thirty triremes stationed there was given to Polemon; that over the troops left there to Peucestas and Balacrus, one of them commanding the infantry, the other the cavalry. The religion of the Egyptians was left unaltered, as well as their national institutions, such as the division of the land into provinces, which were at the same time districts for purposes of taxation. The appointment of the Egyptian Doloaspis as governor over the Delta and Upper Egypt showed clearly enough that Alexander was not bent on the subjugation, but on the peaceful development of the land, and thought to accustom the inhabitants to the new order of things.





ALEXANDER'S WORLD EMPIRE

TO THE DEATH OF THE GREAT CONQUEROR

WHAT, in the meantime, had happened to Darius? The great king had fled in the night, after the battle of Issus, with some few followers, had on the next day collected round him scattered divisions of his army, and with these, which finally numbered some four thousand men, had continued his flight until he reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus. Not until the broad river separated him from his conqueror did he check his speed.

In what a different condition did he come back to Babylon, which a few months before he had left at the head of a mighty army, full of confidence and hope of victory over the far smaller forces of Alexander! Not merely was his army beaten and broken; his mother and wife and children were in the power of the victor; his baggage, which he had sent to Damascus before the battle under the orders of Cophes, had been captured by Parmenio, and at the same time the war-chest and treasure of all sorts were taken, and the families of many noble Persians made prisoners. But the treasuries of Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana still held large quantities of gold and silver, and a fresh army could be recruited from the provinces which would far outnumber the Macedonian forces—in short, with some energy and circumspection, resistance could still be offered to the enemy and an attack on the heart of the kingdom repelled. Ample means for the purpose stood at the disposal of Darius, yet the blow at Issus had been so stunning that he at first thought of coming to a friendly understanding with Alexander.

While Alexander was still waiting at Marathus, a Persian embassy had petitioned for the release of the prisoners and proposed a treaty to the king. In his answer Alexander demanded complete submission and the recognition of his supremacy, on which conditions Darius might obtain what he wished. During the siege of

Tyre an embassy came for the second time, this time with definite offers of peace; 10,000 talents were to be paid as ransom for the captured women, all the land between the Euphrates and the Ægean Sea was to be ceded, friendship and alliance were to be concluded between the two rival monarchs, and to be sealed by the marriage of Alexander to a daughter of Darius. These terms also were rejected; once more the absolute submission of the great king was demanded.

Then Persia broke off negotiations. Darius assembled an army afresh, in order to repel the attack of the Macedonians on the very centre of the empire. In the course of the years 332 and 331 B.C. troops from Persia and Media, from Cappadocia and Bactria—in short, from all the satrapies which were still left to Persia—flocked into Babylon, and were there assiduously drilled and prepared for the campaign. The cavalry was more efficiently armed, being provided with shields and longer lances; two hundred scythe-bearing chariots were introduced, and even elephants equipped. In the summer of 331 B.C. Darius was able to leave Babylon and take the field with an army, the strength of which is estimated at 1,000,000 effective men.

In the spring of the same year, 331, Alexander had started from Memphis. He halted at Tyre, where his feet were waiting for him. Here a festival was celebrated in honour of Heracles with contests in music and gymnastics, to which Greek artists in large numbers were attracted. From here Am-

Alexander's Festival at Tyre photerus, the admiral, was sent with his fleet, which the Phœnicians and Cypriotes were to strengthen by one hundred ships, to the Peloponnese to co-operate with the regent, Antipater, in crushing the Spartans, who, under their king, Agis, aided by money from Persia, declared war against

Macedonia. The Macedonian army then started eastward, avoided the Syrian desert by a detour, and reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus. The advance guard had already begun the construction of two bridges, but had been prevented by the enemy's cavalry from carrying them across to the left bank. When Alexander

himself appeared the enemy withdrew; the bridges were, therefore, completed, and the Euphrates was crossed without hindrance. From Thapsacus he first marched up-stream in a northerly direction, then eastward past Nisibis on the southern slopes of the Armenian Mountains, through districts which furnished ample food to the army and sufficient fodder for the horses, and exposed the troops less to the heat than if they had marched from Thapsacus directly eastward through the plains of Mesopotamia. The enemy, it was reported, was awaiting him on the Tigris.

On the news of the advance of Alexander, Darius had started from Babylon, crossed the Tigris, and occupied a position on its left bank on the far side of the Lycus—the present Great Zab—near Gaugamela, choosing advisedly a wide, level country, which allowed scope for the operations of the great masses of his army. But Alexander met with no opposition on crossing the Tigris. After a rest on the other bank he proceeded down stream, and after four days' march came on the enemy's cavalry sent out to reconnoitre. He learned at the same time that Darius was not far from there, at Gaugamela. On October 1st, 331 B.C., a battle was fought there, which, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Persians and their more favourable ground, ended in their complete overthrow. Darius fled with his bodyguard and some cavalry from Arbela—now Erbil—over the mountains to Ecbatana, and left to the conqueror the

lower half of his kingdom. **Darius' Last Defeat** Soon after the battle, Alexander entered Babylon without encountering any resistance. Here also, as in Egypt, he understood how to win the goodwill of the population. He sacrificed according to the injunctions of the Chaldeans, and directed that the temple of Bel, which is said to have been destroyed by Xerxes, should be rebuilt. In the organisation of the satrapy we see the same principles followed as in

Egypt; here again a native, named Mazæus, was chosen governor, but along with him were Apollodorus of Amphipolis as military governor and also a Greek, named Asclepiodorus, as chief collector of the revenue. Armenia received a noble Persian as satrap in the person of Mithrenes, the former commander of the citadel of Sardis. Alexander organised the satrapy of Susa with its capital of the same name, whither he had gone from Babylon about the end of November, 331 B.C., in the same way as Babylon. A noble Persian, by name Abulites, became governor, while the command of the troops of the garrison was entrusted to Macedonians. Susa, where town and castle immediately surrendered to the victor, was during winter and spring the residence of the Persian kings. Here the treasure of 50,000 talents of silver (\$60,000,000) fell into the hands of Alexander. Spoils from the Greek wars of Xerxes were found there. The king gave the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton back to the Athenians. Reinforcements from home arrived here, in all some 8,000 men, and were enrolled

in the army, filling up the gaps that had been made. **Vast Treasures of Susa** The real capital, with the sepulchres of the kings and their residence on especially solemn occasions—coronations and the feast of Norus—was Persepolis, south-east of Susa and separated from it by lofty and impassable mountains. This mountain district was inhabited by the Uxii, who had preserved their independence of Persia, and were accustomed to receive a present of money, even from the great king, when, marching through their land, he crossed the pass that lay in their possession; practically, then, they exacted tribute.

They demanded this tribute from Alexander also as he approached their pass; but the king, with picked troops, led by guides from Susa, avoided the pass by taking difficult paths, attacked the mountain settlements of the Uxii, amassed rich booty, returned by forced marches, and now attacked them assembled on the pass. The Uxii had to surrender and to furnish immediately as tribute a definite number of cattle, horses and sheep. The Macedonian army then divided. Parmenio with the heavy infantry marched further on the great road which leads past the western slopes of the mountains; Alexander himself marched through the



ALEXANDER'S FINAL DEFEAT OF DARIUS, THE "GREAT KING" OF PERSIA, AT ARBELA
In the two years following his defeat at Issus, Darius collected and trained a fresh army, the strength of which is estimated at a million effective men; but when he engaged with Alexander at Arbela on the Tigris, in 331 B.C. he was totally defeated and fled with his bodyguard over the mountains to Ecbatana, leaving to the conqueror the lower half of his kingdom.

mountains. The second pass, the so-called Persian Gates, which must be crossed on the route from Susa to Persepolis if a march is made through the mountains, was occupied by the satrap Ariobarzanes, who had walled across the narrow road and with his 40,000 men opposed Alexander's attack. Here also the king, who

Persepolis Falls to Alexander had left his general, Craterus, in front of the pass, succeeded with a light detachment in turning the flank of Ariobarzanes, who, attacked in front and in the rear, was forced to give way and leave open to the conqueror the passage through the Persian Gates and the road to Persepolis.

The capital fell into Alexander's hands without offering further resistance; the treasure that was taken as booty, far exceeding that in Susa, is said to have amounted to 120,000 talents, or \$300,000,000. At Alexander's orders the royal fortress with its large and splendid palaces was set on fire—a satisfaction exacted for the outrages which the Persians had once committed in Greece by the destruction of towns and shrines. Thus the programme laid down in the meeting of the league at Corinth in the autumn of 336 was carried out. The importance attached to the burning of the royal palaces in Persepolis is borne out by the fact that Alexander soon afterwards at Ecbatana—to mention it at once in this connection—dismissed the contingents of the Thessalians and Greeks belonging to the league to their homes, continuing their full pay until their arrival at their destination and distributing among them a present of 2,000 talents. Only a part of the Thessalians remained with the Macedonian army and entered the service of the king.

From this time the king conducted the war only with his Macedonians and the mercenaries he had enlisted; and the conquest of the entire Persian kingdom, an idea which may well have hovered before his mind from the first as his ultimate object, was now approaching completion. The great king still lived; the eastern satrapies still obeyed him. Alexander's next task was to crush him finally.

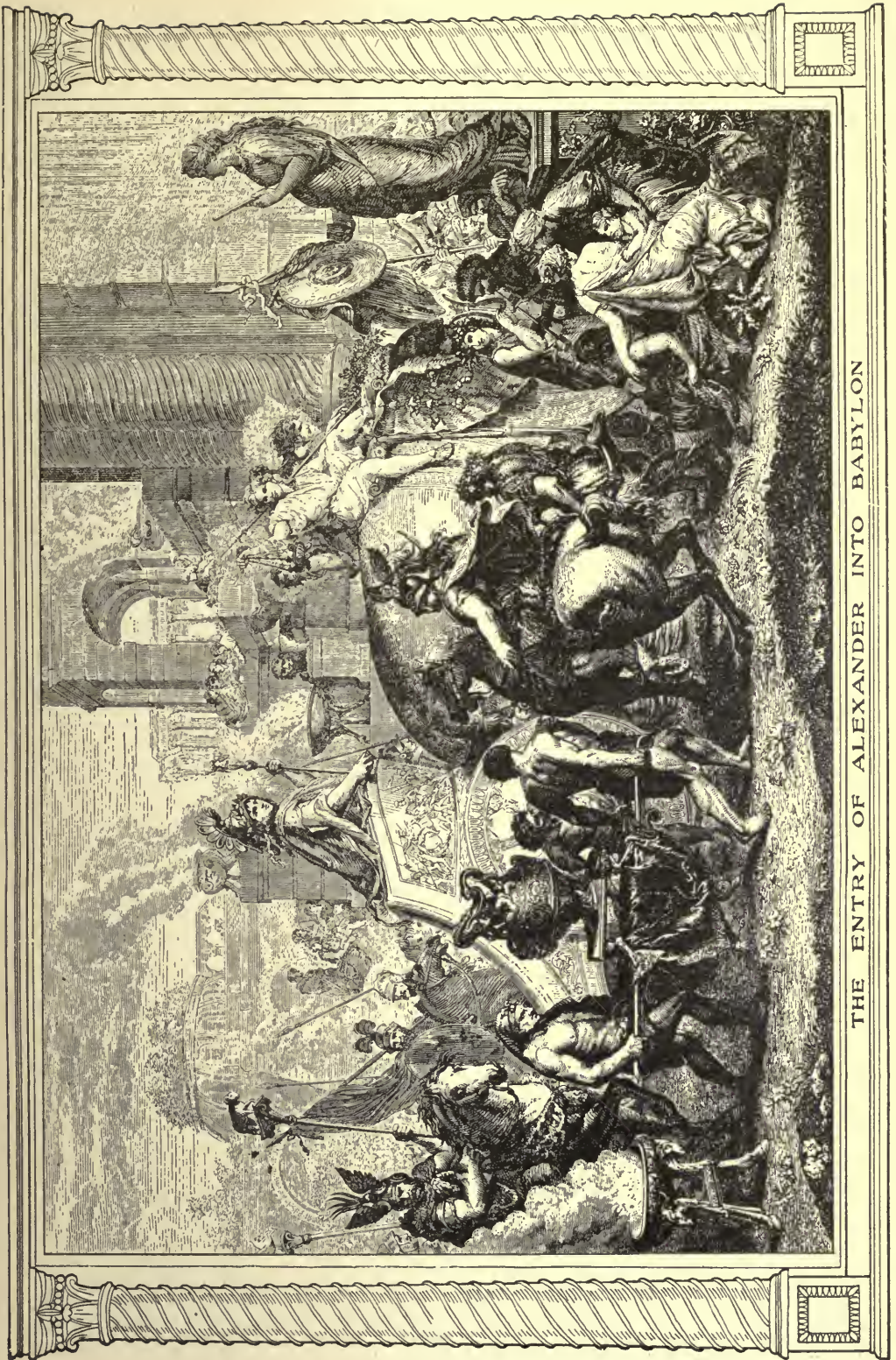
Darius had withdrawn after the battle of Gaugamela with some few troops, which had escaped with him, to Ecbatana (now Hamadan), the summer residence

in Media of the Persian kings, and here awaited developments. Ecbatana, in fact, was favourably situated for the purpose, owing to its easy communication with Babylonia and Persis, as well as with the East, whither the great road led past Ragæ (now Rei, near Teheran) and the Caspian Gates (now Pass of Sardarra), between the mountains and the salt desert, through a well-cultivated, fertile country. He had either to await fresh troops from the still unconquered eastern satrapies or to retreat further in that direction if the reinforcements did not come at the right time. Unfortunately, the latter happened. Alexander was more rapid. At the news of his advance Darius fled east, having taken the precaution to send ahead his baggage and his harem to the Caspian Gates.

Alexander left Persepolis in the spring of 330 B.C. After a short halt at Ecbatana, where he left Parmenio at the head of 7,000 Macedonians to guard the treasure which had been brought from Persepolis and Susa to Ecbatana, and had been entrusted to Harpalus and to protect the

Furious Pursuit of Darius Median capital and satrapy, he followed the flying king by forced marches along the great road past Ragæ. Thence he advanced swiftly with only picked troops through the Caspian Gates. Alexander's speed was redoubled when he learnt that the satraps round Darius, Bessus of Bactria and Barsaentes of Arachosia, had seized their monarch and were taking him about with them as prisoner, and that Bessus had been proclaimed general by the troops of Darius; only Artabazus of the Persians and the Greek mercenaries had remained loyal to their master, and, since they were powerless to rescue him, had separated from Bessus. More and more of the Macedonians remained behind as their strength failed them in the furious pursuit, until at last the king had only 500 horsemen with him. Finally, on the sixth day, Alexander overtook the conspirators in the vicinity of the later Hecatompylus. The exploit of marching 256 miles in six days has always evoked astonishment, and deserves the reputation of miraculous which it possessed in antiquity.

The sudden appearance of Alexander made such an impression on the Persians under Bessus that, without thinking of resistance, they sought safety in a general flight, and murdered Darius, whom they



THE ENTRY OF ALEXANDER INTO BABYLON

were taking with them in a chariot. If the followers of Bessus, who thought themselves secure from any attack, had suspected with what a small and exhausted force Alexander was coming to meet them, they would certainly have found courage to oppose him; but the suddenness of his appearance robbed them of all reflection. Bessus fled with 600 horsemen. Alexander ordered the body of the great king to be buried at Pasargarda in July, 330 B.C.; he looked upon himself now as the lawful successor of Darius.

After he had given his exhausted troops some rest, he rejoined the army on its advance, and then subdued the satrapy of Hyrcania, situated on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. On this occasion he took into his army a great part of the Greek mercenaries, who, after separating from the conspirators, had taken the route to the mountains of Hyrcania. Only those who had entered the service of Persia before the conclusion of the Hellenic League were set free.

Many noble Persians, too, went over to his side, such as Artabazus, whom we have already mentioned; the chiliarch, Nabarzanes; and Phrataphernes, the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania. The envoys of Greek towns who had been with Darius, but had withdrawn with the Greek mercenaries after his capture, were treated variously by Alexander; he imprisoned the four Lacedæmonians and one Athenian, while he liberated the envoys from Sinope and Chalcedon, since their towns did not belong to the Corinthian League. Sparta did not actually belong to it, but at this time had waged war against the regent, Antipater. We find envoys from Greek states with Darius to the very last; only by his death and the transfer of his monarchy to Alexander were the hopes the Greeks cherished of Persian aid annihilated. Meantime, the instigators of

**Last Hope
of
the Greeks**

the capture and subsequent murder of Darius had separated: Bessus fled to Bactria (now Balkh), the capital of his satrapy, placed the tiara of the murdered king on his head there, took the name of Artaxerxes, and organised an army afresh; in doing which he chiefly counted on the support of the warlike nomad tribes of the neighbourhood, the Scythians. Satibarzanes, on the other hand, the satrap of Areia, went to his own land, but submitted

when Alexander approached from the Caspian Sea. He confirmed Satibarzanes in his office, left with him some Macedonian cavalry under the command of Anaxippus, and started eastward to attack Bessus, attempting to reach Bactria through the desert by the shortest way, past the present Merv. But the revolt of Satibarzanes in support of Bessus and the murder of Anaxippus and his men compelled him to turn back, in order first to subdue Areia with its capital, Artacoana (which is supposed to be near the present Herat), the rebellious satrap having fled at the news of Alexander's advance. He afterwards made an attempt to come back at the head of 2,000 horsemen, and to induce the province to revolt, but paid the penalty with his life. The Persian, Arsames, received the satrapy.

This incident may well have determined the king not to carry out his original plan of marching through the desert past Merv, but first to conquer the country of the Drangi, who bordered on Areia, the present Seistan, and then to proceed thence through the valley of the Etymandrus

**Alexander
in Central
Asia**

(Helmund) and Arachosia (Kandahar) to the foot of the Paropamisus (Hindu Kush). He clearly wished to deprive Bessus of the possibility of obtaining support and reinforcements from these districts. He founded the town of Alexandria at the foot of the Paropamisus. He then crossed the mountains in mid-winter, in deep snow, suffering every kind of privation, and found when he reached the plain, after an equally laborious descent, that all the country had been devastated by Bessus. In spite of hardships of every kind, he advanced into Bactria.

Bessus had fled before him over the Oxus, or Amu Daria, to Sogdiana, clearly because he believed that his opponent would not dare to follow him thither, since Sogdiana was surrounded on the south, west, and north by waterless deserts. Alexander did not let himself be deterred. After a fearfully severe march of forty-five miles through the desert of Bactria, where the lack of water, together with the red-hot sand, made the march almost unendurable for the soldiers, he reached the river, which, swift, deep, and very broad, presented still greater difficulties in crossing, because Bessus on his retreat had burnt all the boats. Alexander overcame this obstacle, too; the leather tent-covers of



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CONQUESTS AND THE WORLD EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

the soldiers were sewn together into bags, filled with reeds, and used to ferry the men across the river. The march was then continued in a northerly direction, in order to overtake Bessus in his flight. His companions, Spitamenes, the commander of the cavalry of Sogdiana, and the Persian, Dataphernes, made a proposition to Alexander to surrender the murderer of Darius into his hands if he would send them troops, upon which Ptolemy was sent forward with a division of horsemen and light infantry. He succeeded in coming up with Bessus, and as there were only few soldiers with him, took him prisoner. Fettered and bound, Bessus was brought to Alexander in the beginning of the summer, 329 B.C. The king ordered him to be scourged and to be taken as a prisoner to Bactria and afterwards to be crucified.

Two full years were to pass, however, before Alexander could leave Sogdiana. Spitamenes, who on Ptolemy's arrival had departed with his Sogdian horsemen, organised a rising in Sogdiana and Bactria, and won over the nomad tribes of the desert, whose horsemen supported him. Alexander soon after the capture of Bessus marched past Maracanda (Samarkand) for the Jaxartes (Syr Daria), founded on that river a town, Alexandria, with the additional name of Eschate (the "Furthest"), drove back by a swift, forward movement the Sacæ, assembled on the other bank of the river, and received from them the oath of obedience. Then the insurrection broke out. It was a war carried on at many points simultaneously, and repeatedly caused considerable losses to the Macedonians. But the persistence of Alexander eventually prevailed, especially after Spitamenes, the soul of the revolt, was murdered by the Massagetæ.

At last, in the summer of 327 B.C., when some mountain strongholds situated in the east were captured after fierce fights and great exertions, the whole country up to the Jaxartes, which Alexander recognised as the boundary of the empire, as it had been under the Persians, might be considered as subjugated and pacified. Among the prisoners who fell into the hands of the conquerors after the storming of one of these mountain fortresses was Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, a woman of great beauty. She so stirred Alexander's passion that he married her.

**Alexander
Marries
Roxana**

By this he satisfied the long-cherished desire of his people to see their king married.

To these years belong some events which allow us a glimpse of the inner life at the court of Alexander. The first incident concerns Philotas, son of Parmenio, the leader of the Macedonian household cavalry. Even in Egypt he had awakened Alexander's suspicion by his dangerous intrigues and treasonable plans; but the king had given no credence to the information for old friendship's sake. When the Macedonians were in Drangiana in the autumn of 330, a conspiracy against Alexander was discovered, and its members were immediately arrested. Philotas also was seized, and brought by the king before the assembled army, which had to judge in such cases. Whether Philotas had himself taken any share in this conspiracy or not is undetermined; but this much is certain, he knew of a plot against the king's life and gave no information of it, although he daily went in and out of Alexander's presence. The assembled army condemned him and the men accused with him, and immediately put them to death.

**Conspiracy
Against the
Conqueror** His old father, Parmenio, was involved in his fate. Alexander sent a message to Ecbatana with orders to kill the old general, either because he saw in him an accomplice to the conspiracy or considered him, on account of his great influence, to be dangerous after the death of Philotas. However little Alexander may be excused for such high-handed methods, yet it is apparent that a certain degree of justification existed for his acts. Later we will make these still clearer.

On a subsequent occasion Alexander was holding a banquet in honour of the Dioscuri, in which Clitus, who stood in peculiarly intimate relations with the king, also took part. When the wine had heated the feaster's heads, and flatterers struck up songs, which with scoff and scorn disparaged the old Macedonian kings and extolled Alexander to the skies, Clitus rose up, lauded Philip and the other kings, and told Alexander many unpleasant things which deeply wounded him. An altercation ensued. Alexander sprang up suddenly and snatched the spear from one of the bodyguard standing near. The guests threw aside their beakers and leapt up in terror, but Ptolemy had sufficient presence of mind to push Clitus out of the

door. He came back, however, by another door, and once more insulted his master. The latter, losing all self-control, struck him down with his spear. Immediately after this wicked deed remorse and grief seized on the king. He was carried to his chamber, where he lay, wailing and lamenting, until the exhortation of his friends and the impulse of his nature brought him back to reason. The act had been done in anger and passion, and his remorse certainly proves most clearly how far removed Alexander was from the bloodthirsty and revengeful nature of an Oriental despot.

In the spring of 327 B.C. a new conspiracy against Alexander's life was discovered at Bactria. A page, by name Hermolaus, had been punished for misconduct by his master, had vowed revenge, and, with four other pages, determined the murder of Alexander on a certain night. The king by chance did not come home, and the plan of the conspirators miscarried. One of them then revealed the plot, and the others were arrested and executed. It is certain that purely personal, and not political

Crucifixion of Conspirators motives, lay at the bottom of this conspiracy; but it was not devoid of high political importance. Callisthenes of Olynthus, a nephew of Aristotle, accompanied Alexander on the campaign as one of the philosophers and men of letters, of whom there were several in the royal camp. He wrote a history of the war; and several fragments of it, which are preserved for us, show that he had attained a marvellous facility in the use of flowery language.

But his attitude towards the king had gradually changed. He now played the part of a lover of freedom, a hater of tyranny, and railed at the flattery which his rival, Anaxarchus of Abdera, only too lavishly bestowed on the king. According to the story, he is said to have denounced especially the ceremonial act of prostration before the king, which had been introduced into the practice of the court; to have consorted much with the young men, and not to have shown the necessary caution in his language before them. When Hermolaus and his companions were arrested, Callisthenes was charged with having prompted them to their crime. Alexander ordered him to be arrested and crucified; according to another account, he died in prison soon after his arrest. It thus became early

evident that between Alexander and a part of his followers a misunderstanding prevailed, which the altered position of the king had produced. As lord of the Persian realm he had to appear to his new subjects in the full splendour and majesty of an Oriental monarch, to assume actual Oriental attire, and to employ the Oriental ceremonial on festive occasions and state levees. Among the Macedonians secret dissatisfaction existed in many forms, and required only an opportunity to burst out into a raging conflagration. The opposition subsequently died out.

Discontent in the Ranks In the summer of 327 B.C. Alexander departed with his army from Bactria, where he left behind a strong division, crossed the Hindu Kush, strengthened and enlarged the town of Alexandria, which he had founded there, and then began the conquest of the country of the Indus. He had raised 30,000 Bactrians and Sogdians, armed and drilled in Macedonian fashion, and these were now to fight under his standard, side by side with the Macedonians.

But Alexander did not undertake this Indian campaign, as has been supposed, chiefly for the purpose of attaching to his person the conquered peoples and blending the old and new elements in his army by new victories. There were other reasons which certainly determined him to do so. Above all, former kings of Persia, a Darius and a Xerxes, had already ruled over the Indus territory, and Alexander wished to rule over an empire of the same extent as it had been under those monarchs. The Indus territory—the Punjab, as well as the mountainous parts in the west, now Afghanistan and Kashmir—was divided into many separate principalities, and had not yet been formed into a political unity. The different princes were at war with each other; some formed friendly relations with Alexander and had invited his help. Little as was then known of India, and little though it had been explored, its profusion of valuable products of all kinds was known. Long before Alexander, Indian wares had been brought over the pass of the Hindu Kush to Bactria and then to the Black Sea into the Greek colonies and the rest of Europe. A motive that certainly helped to decide the king on his Indian campaign was his wish to open up these rich territories more

effectually to trade, to make them more accessible to his newly conquered lands, as well as to his own country, and thus to make new paths for traffic and commerce.

The way from the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush to the Indus leads through the Kabul valley and the Khaibar pass. Perdicas and Hephæstion advanced on

The Indus Crossed this road with a part of the army, with orders to throw a bridge across the Indus as soon as they reached it. Alexander

himself marched through the mountainous region watered by the northern tributaries of the Cophen, or Kabul River, the present Kafirstan and Chitral. The warlike tribes of the country, the Aspasii, Guræi, and Assaceni offered a vigorous opposition, and could be subdued only after many battles. Alexander nominated Nicanor governor, ordered many of the existing towns to be fortified, and rebuilt others, which the inhabitants had burnt on his arrival, placing garrisons in them. He thus regarded the complete subjugation of the land as necessary for the lasting peace and prosperous development of his territories lying to the south and north of the Hindu Kush. Since, as there is no room to doubt, he wished to retain the Indus territory, its permanent and secure union with the more distant districts of his monarchy was indispensable.

Not until the spring of 326 B.C. was Alexander able to effect a junction with Perdicas and Hephæstion and to cross the Indus on the bridge which they had erected. The prince of this district, Taxiles, who had already come to Alexander at Sogdiana and had asked him for help in the war with his neighbours, offered his submission and was confirmed in his possessions, which were soon largely increased. Other Indian princes likewise submitted; but Porus (probably a title, not a personal name), who ruled on the other side of the Hydaspes, sent no envoys

Victories in India to Alexander, and awaited him on the river, which bounded his kingdom, with a well-equipped army. When Alexander arrived

at the Hydaspes it was swollen by the summer rains, and was difficult to cross; Porus also was carefully guarding the banks. Craterus was ordered to remain on the bank, opposite the camp of the Indian king, and by all kinds of manœuvres to direct attention to himself, while Alexander at some little distance

accomplished the crossing of the river unnoticed by the enemy. The Macedonians won the battle, notwithstanding the elephants of the enemy. Porus surrendered and retained his kingdom, henceforth as a loyal ally of Alexander, who soon afterwards, on the defeat of a second Porus, on the other side of the Acesines, entrusted the subjugated kingdom to him. On the site of the battle against the first Porus a new town, Nicæa, was founded; and on the scene of the passage of the Hydaspes another, Bucephala, so called after Alexander's war horse, Bucephalus. Besides this, he ordered a fleet to be built on the Hydaspes, where there was abundance of timber for ship-building, in which to sail down the Indus. While this was being constructed Alexander marched forward over the Hydrates but wheeled round at the Hyphasis; being forced to do so, it is said, by his own soldiers, who, exhausted by their intolerable hardships, clamoured to return.

After the construction of the fleet the return westward was begun. Alexander sailed down the Hydaspes, the Acesines,

Greeks' First Sight of the Open Sea and lastly the Indus. Divisions of the army on both sides of the rivers accompanied the fleet. The king had frequently to halt, in order to fight the tribes inhabiting the country round. At the storming of the town of the warlike Malli on the lower Acesines, where the king himself was the first to scale the wall, and thence leapt down into the middle of the enemy, he was severely wounded and saved only by the heroic bravery of his followers. At last they reached the town of Pattala at the beginning of the delta, and eventually the mouth of the Indus.

Alexander sailed out into the open sea, and as the first of the Hellenes offered a sacrifice to Poseidon in the midst of the waves of the newly discovered Indian Ocean. Here the Greeks, to their intense surprise, saw for the first time the ebbing and flowing tide. Everything points to the conclusion that Alexander intended to maintain the Indus as a boundary. To the west of the river he had organised two satrapies; to the east of it lay the two vassal states of Taxiles and Porus. Besides the already mentioned towns of Nicæa and Bucephala, a town was founded on the Acesines, and Pattala, at the head of the Indus delta was fortified and



ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF INDIA: THE SUBMISSION OF PORUS, ONE OF THE INDIAN PRINCES

Alexander opened his great Indian campaign in 327 B.C., crossed the Hindu Kush, conquered the Indus territory, and entered the Punjab. Most of the native princes submitted, but Porus resisted Alexander's crossing of the Hydaspes river and was defeated. He surrendered and became a loyal ally. From the painting by Lebrun in the Louvre.

provided with docks and a harbour. At the end of the summer of 325 B.C. Alexander started from Pattala, whither he had returned after his voyage to the sea and an exploration of the two arms of the mouth of the Indus, marched through Gedrosia, now Baluchistan, towards the west, and after an indescribably difficult

**Alexander's
Geographical
Explorations**

march through the desert, entailing heavy loss, arrived in Persia. He had ordered his admiral, Nearchus, to sail down the Indus with his fleet and then put to sea, with instructions to look for the means of communication between the mouths of the Indus and the Euphrates, and to collect everywhere information as to the land and its inhabitants. Nearchus executed his task brilliantly; he discovered the sea route from India to Babylonia through the Persian gulf. Thus the rich and costly treasures of India were opened to the commerce of the western nations, and the towns founded by Alexander himself on the Indus became serviceable to the new and flourishing trade.

When Alexander reached Persepolis he found his presence urgently necessary. A usurper had arisen in Media and assumed the title of Great King; his treasurer, Harpalus, had fled, guilty of immense embezzlements and breaches of trust; some satraps were oppressing their subjects in the old Persian way, others had enlisted mercenaries and taken them into their personal service. Alexander acted promptly and with merciless rigour, and in a short time restored order.

The next years were devoted to the concerns of the internal administration, the perfecting and strengthening of the new government, and the task of blending the conquerors with the native population. In the spring of 324 B.C. Alexander married two princesses of the royal Persian house, Statira and Parysatis. At the same time many Macedonian generals

**Marriages
With Persian
Princesses**

celebrated their nuptials with noble Persian women; Alexander also gave a feast and a wedding present to the soldiers who married Persian wives. This was a wise step towards amalgamating the two races.

The same idea was served by the incorporation into the Macedonian army of thirty thousand Persians, who had been raised by the king's order, armed in Macedonian fashion, and trained according to the Macedonian tactics. The

Macedonian army was mortified at the creation of these new troops, but Alexander appeased it by paying the soldiers' debts out of the royal treasury. After the exploration of the two rivers and the removal of hindrances to navigation on the Tigris, in the summer of 324 B.C. Alexander came to Opis, whither Hephæstion had previously led his army.

There he dismissed to their homes, under the command of Craterus, ten thousand veterans, into whose place the Persian levies were to step. Discontent in the army broke out and ended in open mutiny. But Alexander's appearance in person had a great effect on the disobedient soldiers; for when the king withdrew from their sight and entrusted his person to the Persians they were filled with remorse and entreated forgiveness. The ten thousand veterans marched homewards without murmuring; the thirty thousand newly levied Persians were enrolled in the army and united with the old army into military units. In the company, sixteen deep, the first files and the last were Macedonians, the intermediate lines Persians.

**Persians in
the Army
of Macedon**

From Opis Alexander marched to Ecbatana. Here he lost his friend and general, Hephæstion. He lamented for him a long time and paid his memory extravagant honours. He then went on further to subdue the Cossæi, a people that, like the Uxii, had remained independent and led a life of pillage in the middle of his empire. Alexander compelled them to settle and become agriculturists, and founded several strong forts in order to keep them in check.

His career was ended by his death at Babylon in the summer of 323 B.C. He had busied himself to the last with great plans: the country at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the east coast of the Persian Gulf with its islands, were to be colonised, and Phœnicians to be settled there; Arabia was to be circumnavigated, starting from the Persian Gulf; the communications and commerce by sea of these Eastern lands and of the Indus valley with Egypt were to be restored. Alexander was intent at all times and all places in pointing out new paths for trade and intercourse and in promoting civilisation. Macedonia was no longer the petty inland state of former kings. Freed from



THE CONQUEROR CONQUERED: DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AT BABYLON IN THE YEAR 323 B.C.

its chains and narrow limits by Philip, it became a world-empire under Alexander. Whether the empire would have become permanent if its creator had lived longer, and whether the intention of its bold builder to amalgamate the various nations of that gigantic empire and to unite them into a flourishing political entity would

Death of the World Conqueror

have been realised, are idle speculations. A gloomy silence reigned in Babylon during the night after Alexander's death. The inhabitants kept in their houses, and did not even venture to kindle a light. The Macedonians, who felt the insecurity of their position, stood under arms. In reality the situation was extremely uncertain and complicated, since there was no heir and successor; and yet someone had to undertake the conduct of affairs. The foremost generals met in council. After long debate it was decided to await the expected confinement of Roxana, and till then to have affairs carried on by a council of regency, consisting of four members.

The infantry, however, under the influence of one of their leaders, Meleagrus, nominated as king Alexander's step-brother, Philip Arrhidæus, who was of feeble intellect. The cavalry sided with the generals. In this dispute, which broke out among the Macedonians immediately after the death of the great king, and in the open war which followed, the generals with the cavalry evacuated Babylon and encamped before the town. After long negotiations the contending sides were reconciled.

Peace was concluded by the two parties on the terms that Philip Arrhidæus, as well as the expected child of Alexander, if it proved to be a son, should be clothed with the purple and should reign. Perdiccas was to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs as the highest officer of the realm. Now came the epilogue. At a review and inspection of the army before the gates of Babylon the infantry stood opposite the cavalry and elephants. King Arrhidæus rode up to the infantry and demanded the surrender of the mutineers and ringleaders, threatening to attack them if they refused compliance. The chiefs of

the insurrection were given up, thrown before the elephants, and trampled to death. Meleagrus, too, was killed. The position of Perdiccas was powerful, for he completely ruled King Arrhidæus. Thus order was once more restored, and the continued existence of the empire seemed secured by the nomination of Philip Arrhidæus as king and by the subsequent birth of a son to Alexander's widow.

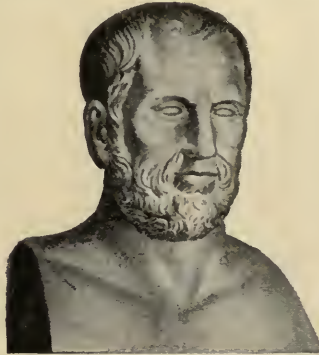
But of the two kings, one was an infant, the other a man of feeble intellect. The generals and commanders, who mostly belonged to the high Macedonian nobility, and in some cases—for example, Leonnatus and Perdiccas—were related to the royal house, had submitted to their great king, and under his rule had been obliged to suppress their ambition and desire of power in the interest of the common good. But the matter now stood thus: Perdiccas was

only the equal of most of them in rank and dignity, and yet was to exercise the royal power in the name of the kings; and just as Perdiccas on his side would be only too glad to have the generals go as far away as possible from Babylon, in order that he might not be hindered in the administration of the affairs entrusted to him, so, on the other hand, it was for the interests of each general to obtain a province where, far removed from the central

government, he might hope to find a field for his restless energy and ambition.

Thus it was with profit to all that soon after the restoration of order a division of the satrapies was arranged. Antipater received Macedonia and Greece, and Antigonus Greater Phrygia, where he had long been satrap. And to mention only the most important of the others, Ptolemy received Egypt; Leonnatus Hellenpontine Phrygia; Lysimachus Thrace; and Eumenes Cappadocia, which he had first to conquer for himself with the help of his two neighbours, Antigonus and Leonnatus.

From this point Alexander's conquests in Asia and Africa pass out of our subject-matter. Their later history has been dealt with elsewhere. With the partition of his empire among his generals



THEOPHRASTUS

Who, with Aristotle, stood at the head of Greek science in Alexander's time.

Partition of the Empire

ALEXANDER'S WORLD EMPIRE

disappeared all prospect of the fulfilment of his world-embracing visions. Placed at an early age by his father under the instruction of Aristotle, the soul of the boy had been filled with the Aristotelian ideal of a king-hip that should win the hearts of men through great abilities and noble deeds. His mind was stored with pictures of the Heroic Age of Greece; and the glorious figure of Achilles made an especially deep impression upon his imagination. He became inspired with the idea of a struggle of the West against the East; and with this conception the teaching of Aristotle, that the mission of

united through fear and admiration for him alone. The army with which he set out to accomplish the great object of his life was but little greater than that which Napoleon had with him in the Egyptian campaign; but it contained the flower of the Macedonian-Greek soldiery, and was complete both in knowledge and experience of the arts of war. The single combat had passed away, the closed phalanx had been introduced during Hellenic times. But already Xenophon had recognised the unwieldiness of a heavy mass of men, and had demanded a closer co-operation

The Army of Alexander

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VASES OF THE FINEST PERIOD OF GREEK ART

These vases, made during the time of Alexander, are products of the finest period of Greek art. On the left is a fine vase in the Athenian style; in the centre a wine-bowl with medallion handles, and on the right an Apulian amphora.

the Greeks was to extend their dominion over the barbarians, was in full accord; while the march of the Ten Thousand through the Persian empire, and the conquests of Agesilaus, had revealed the weakness of the colossus with

Power of the Conqueror's Personality

feet of clay. At the death of Philip, Alexander was twenty years of age. He immediately succeeded to a dominion over faithful Macedonians, dissatisfied Greeks, and rebellious Illyrians and Dardanians; yet scarcely a year after his accession he was ruler of an empire that had already become

between the phalanx and the other branches of the army. By Epaminondas the phalanx had been separated into parts—a wing for attack and another for defence. Philip may have introduced the use of organised units, but Alexander returned to the older method employed by Epaminondas, retaining the ancient oblique order of battle and making the right wing the attacking body. The army of Alexander fought in single hand-to-hand encounters, just as men had fought during the Heroic Age, but with this difference—instead of individuals, troops of soldiers

that had become as indivisible bodies, swayed by one idea, filled the places that had formerly been occupied by single men. At the time of the conquest of Egypt, which brought the entire Mediterranean basin under the control of Greece, when Alexandria, the centre of Greek commerce and traffic, was built, Alexander was still the champion of Grecian ideals, the leader in the war of vengeance, and the hero of the pan-Hellenic ideals of Isocrates; but in his second period of development he turned away from the soil of his forefathers, which had given him his power, forsook the ideal of his nation, the conquest of the Persian empire, and formed the idea of amalgamating Orient with Occident. Feeling certain of his own West, for which familiarity had bred in him a certain contempt, he deemed it inferior to the East, both in morals and in manners. The proclamation by which he was recognised as son of Jupiter Ammon was, therefore, his first step in the new direction; and it only proved his profound knowledge of the Eastern spirit. The first link in the chain that was to bind Occident to Orient was Alexandria, the centre of world commerce, founded by him. With this plan of uniting mankind into a league of peace, the half-forgotten but deeply venerated Hellenic conceptions of international justice awoke in him to new life. This side of his character has been

regarded with enthusiasm, especially during the time when mankind sought to break down the barriers that separated nations from one another. Montaigne, Montesquieu, and Voltaire were all of them great admirers of Alexander. In short, it was no longer the conquest of the Persian empire, but the conquest of the world that had become the object of his ambition, for which firm foundations had been laid by the declaration respecting his divine origin. Thus from the union of Greece, through Philip, a theodivine dominion of the world arose. It fell, to be sure, at the death of Alexander; yet it lived on in the claims of the Diadochic kingdoms, and especially in



ONE OF THE WORLD'S FINEST SCULPTURES

The head of the Hermes sculptured by Praxiteles, one of the greatest of Greek sculptors, about 350 B.C. The statue is given on page 2457.

**Amalgamating
East
With West**

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Egypt, where it furnished the basis for the divinity of monarchs. To the enormous circle of city colonies Alexander added Alexandria, Alexandretta, Herat, and Alexandria in the Punjab; these towns completed the Grecian sphere, and for the time being raised the Greek speech to the position of a universal language. Syrians, Indians, Persians and Bactrians were now joined to Scythians, Iberians, Kelts and Romans; the art and poetry of India were influenced by Greece; and scientific investigations in

**Results of
Alexander's
Conquests**

astronomy, medicine and philosophy were carried on as far east as the regions of the Indus and Ganges. The results of Alexander's conquests were no less important to the civilisation of Greece itself. Greek science, with Aristotle and

ALEXANDER'S WORLD EMPIRE

Theophrastus at its head, was occupied for centuries in working over the enormous mass of new material for research which had been placed at its disposal. Art arose from the provincial decline into which it had fallen; and the works of the sculptor Lysippus, who made a celebrated statue of Alexander, as well as pictures by distinguished painters of the time, were fully worthy of the spirit of this great



THE MNEMOSYNE OF LYSIPPUS

One of the results of Alexander's conquests was that art arose from the provincial decline into which it had fallen; the works of Lysippus were fully worthy of this great age.

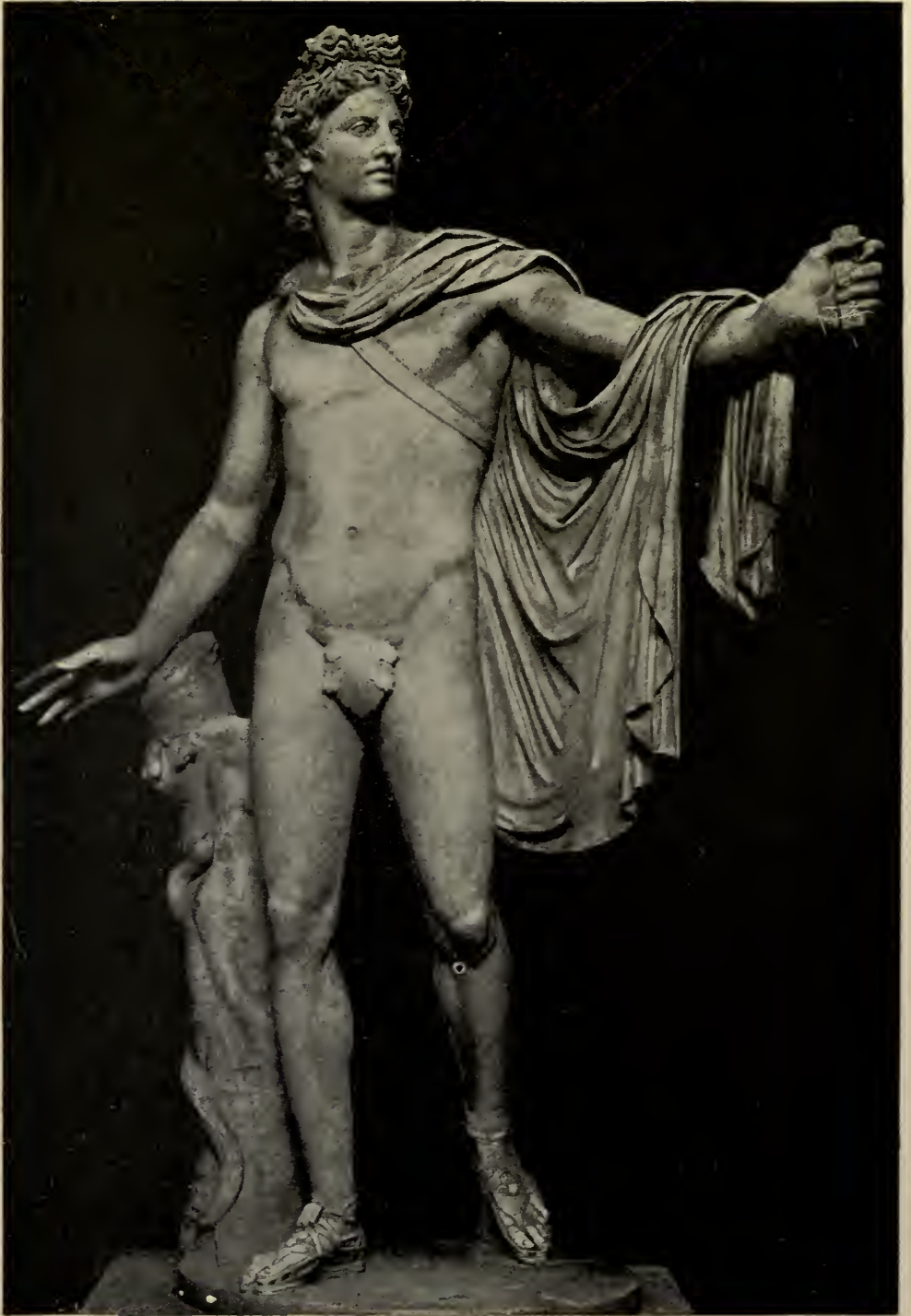


NIOBE AND HER DAUGHTER

This famous sculpture was probably executed by Scopas, the third of the three great sculptors of the period of artistic revival following Alexander's world conquests.

age of intellectual and material acquisition, in which Athens and Argos took the foremost place. Art and science were united in the writing of history; the broadened horizon of the period and the ability to compare with one another the fundamental traits of different men and races led to descriptions which were not only accurate but which also possessed high literary value. Preparation for this had been furnished by the close investigations into psychological and ethical questions that had been carried on by the Socratic school, as well as by the results of the tendencies of the admirers of Isocrates, who, through the practice of delivering encomiums, were led into a closer examination of human character.

The personal plan of Alexander the Great opened up unbounded vistas to the Greek race, but failed. The greatest champion of cosmopolitanism known to the world of history suffered defeat in the attempt to form a political amalgamation of East and West.



GREEK ART AFTER ALEXANDER: THE FAMOUS BELVEDERE APOLLO

A marble copy, now in the Vatican, of a bronze statue executed a few years after Alexander's death.



THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY AND THE LAST OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

WHILE Alexander was conquering the Persian power in Asia, his general, Antipater, had remained behind in Macedonia as regent. The Hellenic states were subject to his direction. They were, indeed, free, and bound only by treaties with Macedonia; but they no longer ventured to assert any policy of their own, since the charge of the common interests and the settlement of disputes and feuds were undertaken by the council of the league at Corinth under Macedonian influence.

Macedonia had also a seat and a vote in the Amphictyonic council, and thus acquired a most important means of exercising pressure and influence on Greece. In Athens, no less than in other Hellenic states, there was probably no lack of an anti-Macedonian party; but it kept quiet everywhere. The hope of a rising, as at Philip's death and a year afterwards, faded away in proportion as Alexander's victories were known, and thus the help

**Sparta
Defies
Alexander**

which so many looked for from Darius became impossible. Sparta alone had made no peace with the Macedonian king. Her king, Agis, who in 333 B.C., aided by money and ships from the Persian admirals, had been able to take possession of the important island of Crete, continued later his intrigues against Macedonia. In the spring of 331 B.C. he was able to ally himself with other Greek states, such as Elis, Achaia—except Pellene—and Arcadia, with the object of freeing Greece from the Macedonian yoke. The allies besieged Megalopolis, which, not wishing to go over to them, remained loyal to Macedonia.

Antipater had now to intervene. But he was confronted in his native country by a difficult situation, of which we have very scanty information. We learn only that the general commanding in Thrace, Zopyrion, perished with his entire army on a campaign against the Getæ, who dwelt north of the Danube, and that in Thrace itself the native prince, Seuthes, clearly in connection with Zopyrion's over-

throw, organised a rising against Macedonia, in which a Macedonian general named Memnon seems to have taken part. Antipater having taken the field against the Thracians, soon found himself compelled, by the revolt of Agis, to patch up a peace with his foes in the north; it appears that he surrendered at least a part of Thrace, probably in the hope of reconquering it later. Thus relieved, Antipater marched south and completely defeated Agis and the allies in a decisive battle before Megalopolis. The Spartan king fell, and the insurrection was crushed. Elis and Achaia had to pay 130 talents to Megalopolis, and even Sparta submitted.

By these means peace was, to outward appearance, restored in Hellas; but the hope of liberation from the Macedonian yoke, as the supremacy of Macedonia in Greece was called by many, was by no means quenched. It required only a spark to make the smouldering fire blaze into bright flames. This time the insurrection broke out in Athens. Here excitement was caused by the presence and the arrest of Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, who had fled with vast riches from Ecbatana to avoid the punishment threatened by the king. Next came his escape from Athenian custody, and the trial, connected with this event, of Demosthenes, who was condemned, probably unjustly, for taking bribes. It is true that Harpalus's object—namely, to

**Athens' Hope
of Freedom
Rekindled**

hurry the Athenians into a war against Macedonia, was not immediately realised; but the money which they took from him on his imprisonment—computed at 700 talents—was destined to be very useful to them. The excitement grew higher when, in 324 B.C., Alexander, by a decree, permitted the return to their native town of all Greek exiles, with the exception of common criminals and of the expelled Thebans. Athens and the

Ætolians did not execute this order. Then Alexander died suddenly, and with his death the desired liberation from the power of Macedonia seemed to the patriots to have arrived. Hyperides stood at the head of the movement. Since Alexander had ordered his satraps to dismiss their mercenaries, there were many unemployed soldiers who gladly enlisted. And as Athens had money enough and obtained a skilful general in Leosthenes an army was soon brought together. An alliance was made with the other Greek states in order to make the movement general in all Hellas; Ætolia especially sent troops and played an active part in the war, which at first took a favourable course for the confederates.

Antipater, who had advanced from Macedonia at the news of the revolt of Greece, was, after a disastrous fight at Heracleia, surrounded and besieged in Lamia. This is, therefore, called the Lamian War. During a sortie of Antipater, Leosthenes fell, and with him the real soul of the revolt. When Leonnatus, the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, came to the help of Antipater, the Hellenes abandoned the siege and advanced against him. In a battle, disastrous for the Macedonians, Leonnatus fell; but the junction of his army with Antipater, who came to meet it, was achieved. Antipater, strengthened by the army of Craterus, who was leading back the discharged veterans of Alexander, soon afterwards defeated—near Crannon—the Greeks, in whose ranks disaffection had already appeared, and some contingents of whom had already gone home; he then concluded a separate peace with the allies of Athens. Athens herself had to consent to alter her constitution, and make the possession of a fortune of 2,000 drachmas a qualification for full citizenship, by which means out of 21,000 citizens only 9,000 remained entitled to full rights. Hyperides, Demosthenes, and other men connected with the revolt were condemned to death; and Antipater marched on to Ætolia in order to subdue that country also.

If Perdiccas, when he took over the administration of the empire, had hoped that the central authority would be strong enough to punish any insubordination of the governors and to frustrate their ambitious plans by means of the

imperial army under his command, he was mistaken; it was too soon apparent that there was an impassable gulf between the efforts of the governors to obtain more power and freedom, on the one side, and the supreme authority, representing the unity of the empire, on the other.

This led immediately to the war of Perdiccas against the two governors of Asia Minor, Leonnatus and Antigonus, who had not carried out the commands given them by the administrator of the empire to assist Eumenes in conquering the province of Cappadocia assigned to him. Eumenes joined the side of Perdiccas; Antigonus—for Leonnatus, as we have just seen, had, meantime, fallen in Thessaly—was supported by Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy of Egypt. Antipater and Craterus had to cross into Asia Minor to fight Eumenes. Craterus was killed in the war. Perdiccas himself went to Egypt, and after carrying on unsuccessful operations, which cost the lives of many men, was murdered by his own soldiers in 321 B.C. His army was led back to Syria. It here joined Antipater,

who was now appointed regent of the empire. At Triparadisus, for the second time, a division of the provinces was made. In Europe, Antipater kept Macedonia with Greece, and Lysimachus Thrace. Antigonus was nominated general of the empire and entrusted with the war against Eumenes, who had been declared an enemy of the empire on account of his taking the side of Perdiccas. Antipater, after the discharge of the most urgent business with the kings, went to Europe, and took up his residence at Pella; Babylon, which lay in the very centre of Alexander's empire, was abandoned as the capital.

Another still more important step, which was fated to contribute much to the disintegration of the mighty empire, was likewise taken by Antipater. Before his death, which took place in 319 B.C., he had nominated an old comrade in arms, by name Polyperchon, to be regent. His own son, Cassander, who had been passed over by his father, deeply hurt at this slight, fled to Antigonus, who was governor of Phrygia, and at the same time, as general-in-chief in the name of the kings, was conducting the war in Asia against Eumenes. Polyperchon, who, till now quite unknown and possessed of no

**Revolt
of all
Greece**

**The
Greeks
Subdued**

**Disintegra-
tion of
the Empire**

THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY

authority, had been suddenly placed at the head of the empire, naturally looked for supporters. At his advice King Philip issued a decree conceding to the Greeks the reintroduction of the constitutions which they had had at the time of Alexander, and allowing the Greek exiles to return to their native cities. This was an appeal to the democrats of Greece, for Antipater as far as possible had favoured the oligarchs, and Cassander likewise had maintained the oligarchic institutions.

What Polyperchon wished to attain by this proclamation—namely, to bring over to his side the Greek communities, especially Athens and the Peloponnese—was not effected. Disturbances broke out at Athens; an attempt was made to introduce the democratic constitutions abolished by Antipater; but the Macedonian garrison in Munychia, commanded by Nicanor, was in favour of Cassander. And when Nicanor seized the Piræus, and when afterwards Cassander himself came to Athens, the town was obliged to content itself with the governor set over it by him, Demetrius of Phalerum. In the Peloponnese also Polyperchon achieved nothing. He failed to get possession of Megalopolis, which was under oligarchic government and had long favoured Macedonia. Thus he was restricted to Macedonia.

But another measure, by which he thought to make his power more felt, seemed more successful. He joined forces with Olympias, mother of the great Alexander, an enemy of Antipater and his house. Olympias, however, was at enmity with Eurydice, the wife of King Philip, who must have felt herself deeply injured by this arrangement between her and Polyperchon. These two allied themselves with Eumenes, who, having been nominated general-in-chief in Asia, with ample resources, was still fighting against Antigonus, and undertook to defend the rights of the kings. Eurydice allied herself with Cassander, who, through her agency, had been appointed regent by King Philip. The empire thus had two administrators, neither of whom had been appointed, as their two predecessors, by the really competent and popular representative body, the army, and both of whom were only partially recognised in the empire and at war with each other. Events in Macedonia were determined by the two hostile women, Olympias and

Eurydice. Olympias, who had stayed in Epirus, availed herself of the absence of Cassander from Macedonia to make an inroad. Eurydice marched against her with an army; but it went over to her foe, since the Macedonians would not fight against the mother of their great king. So Philip and Eurydice fell into

A War of Two Women the power of the cruel Epirote princess, who caused both to be mercilessly tortured and miserably slain, and wreaked her fury equally on the kinsmen and adherents of Cassander. But when Cassander arrived from Greece and appeared in Southern Macedonia without Polyperchon's being able to hinder his crossing the mountains, Olympias shut herself up in Pydna; and when provisions gave out and the ship in which she wished to escape was taken away, she had to surrender. Impeached before the army by the friends and relatives of the many Macedonians killed by her, she was condemned to death; and as the old soldiers refused to slay the mother of their king, she was stoned by her accusers.

Roxana and the young king, Alexander, had fallen into the hands of Cassander at Pydna, and he kept them in strict custody. After the fall of Pydna, Pella surrendered to the conqueror, and soon afterwards the strong fortress of Amphipolis followed suit. Thus, Cassander was in a short time master of Macedonia. Polyperchon, it is true, maintained his position in the Peloponnese and some other places of Greece; but his post of administrator had lost all possible significance since the one king was dead and the other in the power of Cassander. Eumenes also, the ally of Polyperchon, and the most zealous protector of the royal rights, had been betrayed in the war against Antigonus by his own troops and murdered by his enemy. In fact, matters were in a favourable position for Cassander. His

Alexander's Son Murdered marriage with Thessalonice, daughter of Philip, who had been at Pydna in the suite of Olympias, was sure to increase his importance with the Macedonians, and even to give him claims to the Macedonian throne when Alexander's son was no longer alive. For the time being, indeed, he was alive and universally recognised as king. But some years later the young Alexander was murdered by his keeper, Glaucias, at the command of

Cassander. With the death of Alexander's son the empire of Alexander the Great became only a geographical conception. In fact, it was split up into separate parts, and the central power, continually weakened since Antipater's death, had completely vanished. The generals now regarded the provinces, which had been originally assigned to them by a higher power merely for administration, as their own dominions. It was, therefore, only natural that after 306 B.C. they styled themselves "Kings," for kings they had been for years.

However much Cassander may have striven at first for the possession of the Macedonian throne, in no case did he contemplate any scheme of world sovereignty or try to reorganise the empire of Alexander in its full extent. On the contrary, he opposed efforts such as Antigonos, for instance, made after the death of Eumenes, and was on the side of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus in their struggles against Antigonos, which lasted until his schemes of conquest were ended by the battle which the allies won at Ipsus in 301 B.C. Cassander's influence in Greece, which had been allied with Macedonia since Philip's time, and did not exist apart from Macedonia, no longer extended so widely, and was no longer so firm as it had been in his father's time. Demetrius of Phalerum, it is true, governed in his name at Athens; and Bœotia also, where Thebes had been rebuilt and re-peopled by him, stood under his influence, as did Epirus and other districts. But Polyperchon still opposed him in Greece, and the feeling in Ætolia was very hostile to him. The importance of Polyperchon waned, indeed, rapidly. In the year 310 B.C. he dragged Heracles, bastard son of Alexander, out of his retirement at Pergamus, and declared him his heir with the intention of striking a heavy blow at Cassander; but he then suddenly entered into negotiations with Cassander and

bought for himself the sovereignty over the Peloponnese by the murder of Heracles. From that moment the last imperial regent vanishes from history without leaving a trace.

A far more important antagonist in Hellas confronted Cassander in the person of Demetrius Poliorcetes "the Besieger," the son of Antigonos, who, in 307 B.C., starting with Athens, subdued for himself other Hellenic communities and territories. Cassander was himself freed from a great danger when, in 302 B.C., Demetrius was summoned by his father to Asia, in order to take part in the great struggle that was to end with the battle of Ipsus and the death of Antigonos. This forced Demetrius to abandon his plan of wresting Macedonia from his opponent. Now, for the first time, Cassander was able to subdue the Hellenic states, such as Bœotia and others, which in the interval had been subject to Poliorcetes.

Though Cassander's power was disputed in Hellas, in Macedonia itself his throne was firm. We have, unfortunately, little account of what he did for his country. He rebuilt Potidæa, the town in Chalcidice which Philip II. destroyed, and called it Cassandria. He considerably enlarged the former Therma, situated on the gulf of that name, and called this new and more extensive foundation Thessalonica after his wife.

The town has kept this name to the present day. Cassandria and Thessalonica, supported in every way by the king, became the most important seaports of Macedonia. A proof of his desire to im-

Cassander's Improvements in Macedonia

prove the country, which had been greatly depopulated by the large levies and long wars, and to attract new inhabitants, is the settlement of 20,000 Autariates on Mount Orbelus. These Autariates, an Illyrian people, being pressed by other and stronger tribes, invaded Pæonia, where the king, Audeleon, applied to Cassander for



PYRRHUS, KING OF EPIRUS
One of the greatest commanders of ancient times, who attempted to emulate Alexander, making himself master of part of Macedon.

THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY

help. Instead of slaughtering them, he settled them in his land, and by this means helped both parties. Cassander died in 297 B.C., and his son and successor, Philip III., did not long survive him. The two other sons, Antipater and Alexander, divided the power between them. Now began for Macedonia a time of terrible struggles and great revolutions. Antipater killed his mother, Thessalonice, and expelled his brother, Alexander. The latter sought help from Pyrrhus of Epirus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, while Antipater solicited the aid of Lysimachus. Demetrius was occupied by Greek affairs, and could not immediately furnish the desired help; but Pyrrhus, to whom Alexander, as a reward, had conceded Tymphæa and Parauæa, besides Athamania, Ambracia, and Amphilochia, succeeded in driving Antipater back and restoring Alexander to power. Lysimachus did not, it is true, make any armed intervention in Macedonian affairs for the support of Antipater, but mediated a peace between the two brothers, and induced Pyrrhus, by a bribe of 300 talents to desist from helping Alexander, clearly because he wished to keep his enemy, Demetrius, away from Macedonia.

had dined with Demetrius, and his army declared Demetrius, who justified himself before it, to be king of Macedonia. Antipater, who had made himself hated by the murder of his own mother, was banished without trouble. Demetrius was now king of Macedonia (294-287 B.C.). His restless spirit did not content itself with firmly establishing supremacy in Macedonia and Hellas, but wished to reconquer Asia, which Seleucus and Lysimachus had divided between themselves after the death of Antigonus.



PHILIP III. & ALEXANDER II.
Sons of Cassander, king of Macedonia, who, after very short reigns were succeeded by their brother Antipater.

The mighty preparations made for this purpose aroused the anxiety of these kings, so that they formed fresh alliances. Pyrrhus joined them. Demetrius proposed to open the campaign with 98,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 500 ships. The kings advanced against him simultaneously from different directions. Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from the Thracian side, but was defeated near Amphipolis. Pyrrhus advanced from the west, and Ptolemy appeared with his fleet on the coast of Hellas. Demetrius was fated to learn now how detested his rule was. An insatiate love of war and the imposition of heavy taxes cannot win the hearts of subjects. As he was encamped opposite to Pyrrhus, his army went over and proclaimed the Epirote king. Demetrius had to flee from his kingdom in disguise. He died in Asia in 283 B.C., a prisoner of Seleucus, while his son, Antigonus Gonatas, held his own in Hellas. In Macedonia, Pyrrhus came to an agreement with Lysimachus, who naturally claimed his share of the booty, on the conditions that the western districts with Edessa fell to Epirus. But this state of affairs did not last long. Pyrrhus, who was king only by a temporary arrangement, was driven out by Lysimachus. In the previous year Lysimachus had

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DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES
Son of Antigonus, who subdued Athens and other Hellenic states, and became a king of Macedon.

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COIN OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS

Son of the great Demetrius Poliorcetes, whose conquests he retained. This coin shows the Macedonian shield.

He aided to do this; in fact, Demetrius Poliorcetes appeared now, when he was no longer welcome, resolved to use this opportunity and to make himself master of Macedonia. Alexander went to meet him as far as Dion on the southern frontier of Macedonia, in order to make it evident that his interference was no longer necessary. In spite of feigned friendliness, the two princes regarded each other with great mistrust, since one was secretly plotting against the life of the other. In fact, Alexander was murdered while leaving the banquet hall where he

united under his rule a great part of Alexander's empire. At the distribution of satrapies at Babylon, Thrace had fallen to his share. When he came into his new province he was unpopular. During the government of Antipater, as we have seen above, the Odrysæ, under Seuthes, had already risen, and, as it appears, had won

their independence. When **Lysimachus** came, the same **Fights** Seuthes had succeeded in rousing his fellow countrymen to war, and marched against him with a strong army of 20,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. Lysimachus, notwithstanding his far inferior numbers, did not avoid a battle, which, thanks to the excellent discipline of the Macedonians, remained indecisive. Seuthes was afterwards conquered and forced to submit. Thus it was only by fighting that Lysimachus acquired possession of his province. But once in possession of the country of the Odrysæ, the fertile and favoured valley of the Hebrus, he extended his power gradually over the Hæmus up to the Danube.

Here, on the coast of the Black Sea, were Greek colonies, Odessus, Callatis, Istrus, and others, which, like the Greek towns of Asia Minor, were proud of their freedom, and sought to retain it by force of arms. Lysimachus evidently succeeded at first in making himself master of these towns and occupying them with garrisons. In 313 B.C., Callatis expelled the garrison, declared itself free, and liberated Istrus also and other neighbouring Greeks. This was the signal for the outbreak of a war, in which Lysimachus very soon retook Odessus and Istrus, but was compelled to besiege Callatis for a considerable time. When the Scythian and Thracian tribes also encroached and Seuthes again revolted, Antigonus supporting the hostile movements by sending troops, Lysimachus required all his skill to defend himself against the different enemies. But the Scythians were beaten, Seuthes was overcome in battle, Antigonus' general was conquered, and Callatis finally surrendered. From that time, it appears, the Greek towns on the coast of the Black Sea were permanently subject to Lysimachus.

In 306 B.C. he, like the other governors, assumed the title of king; and in 301 B.C. he was, next to Seleucus, the chief parti-

cipator in the decisive fight against Antigonus at Ipsus. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, and Hellespontine Phrygia fell to the kingdom of Thrace. Notwithstanding its magnificence, it was not securely founded. The Thracians themselves were difficult to pacify and always inclined to rise, especially the unruly and unmanageable Getæ and Scythians in the north. Lysimachus once marched against the Getæ over the Danube, but got among the barren steppes between the Danube and the Pruth, and, continually surrounded and harassed by the bands of the enemy, was finally forced to surrender unconditionally to their king, Dromichætès. The conduct of the barbarian king was, indeed, noble and magnanimous: he let his prisoner go free on the promise to give up the portions of Getic territory which he possessed and to give him his daughter in marriage.

In 287 B.C. Macedonia also fell to Lysimachus. From 285 B.C. on he was king there, but in 281 B.C. he was defeated and killed in battle against Seleucus. Neither Thrace nor Macedonia was destined to enjoy quiet during the ensuing years. Ptolemy Ceraunus, who, abandoning the prospect of the Egyptian throne in favour of his younger brother, according to the wish of his father, Ptolemy Soter, had left his fatherland, struck down the old Seleucus, placed the double diadem of Macedonia and Thrace on his own head, and married the widow of Lysimachus, Arsinoë, who was his own sister. He then killed her children of the first marriage, who had claims on Thrace. But fate soon overtook him.

In the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. appear the earliest signs, for us at least, of a movement which, coming from the north-west, convulsed Thrace and Macedonia. On the south bank of the Danube there dwelt in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Getæ, between the sea and Mount Hæmus. To the west of them were settled some smaller tribes, which in turn the Oscius, now the Isker, divided from the Triballi, living in modern Servia. About 340 B.C. the Getæ had, to a large extent, left the south bank of the Danube and had crossed over to the other bank of the river, while the Triballi, pushed further westward, occupied the districts between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, abandoned by them. Diodorus relates that



SEUTHES IV.
King of the Odrysæ, deposed by Lysimachus.

Barbarian Invasion of Thrace

west of them were settled some smaller tribes, which in turn the Oscius, now the Isker, divided

the Triballi, compelled by hunger, marched out with bag and baggage about 370 B.C. and in their invasion of the neighbouring Thracian territory reached the town of Abdera, situated on the coast of the Ægean Sea, defeated all its effective forces, and besieged the town itself. The Athenian Chabrias liberated the beleaguered town and drove the enemy from the land. We know nothing more of this expedition, except that it clearly did not have the desired success; as a fact the Triballi changed their abode only by an expedition made towards the east.

This was no ordinary marauding expedition, as

Diodorus thinks, for the point was that, being pressed by other stronger tribes, they were forced to leave their old homes. It was, indeed, through the Kelts, who, from the northern side of the Alps and from the plains of the Danube, pressed southward on the Illyrians and there produced revolutions—20,000 Au-

riates, who had abandoned their homes, had been settled on Mount Orbelus by Cassander—just as they strove to spread eastward and thereby pushed the Thracian tribes onward. The Keltic Scordisci pressed on as far as the valley of the Morawa, where formerly the Triballi dwelt.

These are the first discernible traces of a flood of nations which was destined to break over Macedonia and Thrace. Powerful rulers, indeed, like Philip, Alexander, Antipater, Cassander, and Lysimachus, had kept the surrounding nations in check, and, in any case, protected their own territories.

An expedition into Thrace for plunder and conquest by the Kelts, or, as they are mostly called, the "Galatians," under their leader, Cambaules, must, indeed, come within the time of these last-named rulers; but that expedition did not at the time assume formidable proportions.

On the fall of Lysimachus the Galatians poured in three separate bodies over the Balkan peninsula; the bands of Belgius turned towards Macedonia, demanded money from King Ptolemy Ceraunus in case he wished for peace, and when he refused, invaded the land, ravaging and laying it waste. The king was defeated

and killed. The whole land was at the mercy of the barbarians. The inhabitants fled into the fortified towns, where the Galatians could not attack them with any prospect of success. At last, after some months, Sosthenes was able to drive the unwelcome guests out of the land. The army then placed him on the throne. The next year



A WOUNDED GALATIAN

After the fall of Lysimachus the barbarian Galatians overran Macedonia, but, marching into Greece, were defeated and nearly annihilated at Delphi. One of a series of Greek sculptures commemorating the victory, now in the Louvre.

the Galatians made another incursion, attracted by the rich booty which their comrades had brought home, but also with the intention of conquering new settlements. Lutarius and Leonnorius overran Thrace, Brennus marched into Macedonia. Sosthenes fell; once more the inhabitants had to fly into the strong towns. Brennus marched further into Greece. There fate overtook him; the united forces of the Greeks, whom Apollo himself helped, so it is related, succeeded in defeating the Galatians at Delphi and in nearly annihilating them. Those who escaped

from the disaster, as well as the hordes which, meantime, had plundered other parts of Greece, withdrew to Macedonia. While a part of them returned home and another part went into Thrace to join Lutarius and Leonnori, the third remained in Macedonia, in order completely to ravage the disorganised country. At

Macedonia Freed from the Galatians this crisis Antigonus Gonatas, the son of the king Demetrius Poliorcetes, appeared with a strong fleet and a well-equipped army. He succeeded in defeating the Galatians, who offered him peace in return for money, as they had once offered Ptolemy Ceraunus; and the people, at last set free from the oppression of the invaders, welcomed him with acclamation.

But Thrace, which Philip and Alexander and lately Lysimachus had ruled, together with Macedonia, became for the ensuing period the prey of the Galatians. Thither also had fled those able to escape from the battle with Antigonus. When Lutarius and Leonnori, who had made Byzantium and the whole coast of the Propontis tributary, conquered Lysimachea and the Thracian Chersonese, and crossed over in 277 B.C. to Asia Minor, in order, after many random expeditions, finally to found a kingdom, the hordes of Brennus, which had escaped from the disasters at Delphi and in Macedonia remained behind in Thrace and entered, as it were, on the inheritance of their brethren who had gone to Asia. Under their leader, Comontorius, they brought into subjection the Thracians, who often endeavoured to shake off the yoke and had again to be conquered, and see their valour yield to the greater valour of a still ruder people.

Thrace thus became the spoil of strangers, who organised a state there and made their leader, Comontorius, the first king. The capital of the kingdom was Tylis; from its situation we may conclude that its dominion extended as much over

Thrace the Spoil of Barbarians the territories north as over those south of Mount Hæmus. The conduct of the Galatians is shown by their treatment of Byzantium, the rich Greek emporium on the Bosphorus. This town, to have peace from these pests, was forced to pay yearly first 3,000, then 5,000, later 20,000 pieces of gold, and finally 80 talents. And the other seaports the Galatians treated in the same way. The rule of the Galatians in Thrace lasted several generations. About

213 B.C. the Thracians succeeded in shaking off the yoke. King Cavarus was, indeed, peaceful and sensual, weaknesses which aided the Thracians. Perhaps also the tendency of the Galatians to enlist as mercenaries may have stripped the land too completely of men capable of bearing arms.

As we have seen above, Antigonus Gonatas had become king of Macedonia after his victory over the Galatians. In Hellas he exercised sovereignty over Thessaly, Bœotia, and Eubœa; and in the Peloponnese, Corinth, Argos, Sicyon, Megalopolis, and Messenia were subject to him. In the north the task to which he first devoted himself was tremendous, for not only had the swarms of the Galatians cruelly wasted and impoverished the land, but pretenders, who since the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus and Sosthenes were for ever rising up and fighting, kept Macedonia in a perpetual state of disorder, and prevented all prosperous development.

Antigonus put an end to this confusion. First of all, he secured the frontiers of his kingdom by taking, after a long siege, Cassandria, where the cruel **Antigonus Restores Order in Macedonia** Apollodorus had seized the power, and deposing the tyrant. When he soon afterwards celebrated his marriage to his niece, Phila, by festivities to which Greek philosophers, men of letters, and poets were summoned, he wished to show to the world not only that his power was firmly established, but that he, like Archelaus, wished to foster the development of the moral and intellectual powers of his people and to make room for poetry at his court.

Antigonus was not fated long to enjoy quiet and peace, for, in 275 B.C., Pyrrhus of Epirus, who had just returned from Italy, undertook a war of conquest against Macedonia. His pretext was that Antigonus, in spite of his requests, had not sent troops to his assistance in Italy. In reality, he wished to avail himself of the present situation of his opponent, who was not prepared for a war, to break into the neighbouring country with his veteran troops, and to reconquer his old possessions. In point of fact, this preliminary success answered the expectations of the king. Antigonus, with his hastily levied troops and Gallic mercenaries could offer no resistance to the attack of Pyrrhus. Beaten, he was forced to withdraw to Thessalonica, and saw his power limited

THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY

to this town and some towns on the coast, while Thessaly and the whole of Upper Macedonia with the old royal town of Edessa fell to the Epirote. It was brought as a reproach against Pyrrhus even in antiquity that he allowed the sepulchres of the kings there to be plundered by his Gallic bands without interfering or punishing the miscreants. He also treated the inhabitants harshly. These were not means calculated to secure the possession of the land, which had hardly been conquered and had never been entirely subjugated.

Shortly afterwards Pyrrhus's army advanced into Greece, in order primarily to expel the garrisons of Antigonus from the towns of the Peloponnese, and thus to deprive his adversary of his bases of operation and supplies in that country. At the same time it was not unwelcome to him that Cleonymus, son of King Cleomenes, who had been forced reluctantly to renounce his claim to the Spartan throne in favour of his nephew, Areus, placed himself under his protection and hoped with his help to bring about his accession to the throne. If this succeeded, Pyrrhus would have a devoted friend in the king of Sparta, who must stand or fall with him, while otherwise he had only opposition to look for in Sparta, should he wish to win the Peloponnesian towns for himself. After marching through Laconia and laying waste the country, Pyrrhus attacked the capital, but was repulsed.

Meantime, Antigonus Gonatas had reconquered Macedonia and had then advanced with an army into the Peloponnese. At the news of his approach Pyrrhus went as far as Argos to meet the enemy. There Pyrrhus was killed in a street fight at night in 272 B.C. Antigonus ordered his body to be burnt with every token of respect, and gave the ashes of it to his son

Death of the Great Pyrrhus

Hellenus, who led the Epirote army back home. In this manner Antigonus Gonatas rescued Macedonia and restored his influence in Greece. This powerful position, however, was soon to entangle him in a new war, in preparation for which the kings Ptolemy of Egypt and Areus of Sparta, together with Athens, formed a confederacy. The old catchword of the liberation of Greece was again called into play; yet nothing is more certain than

that every one of the kings taking part in this war understood by freedom merely the destruction of the Macedonian influence and aimed only at the widening of his own sphere of sovereignty. This war, usually called the Chremonidean War—after Chremonides, the leading statesman in Athens, under whose archonship the alliance for the freedom of Greece

Athens Falls Again to Macedonia was concluded—was fought mostly round Athens, which was besieged by Antigonus and at last captured in 263 B.C. The attempt of the Spartan king to relieve Athens was unsuccessful.

Areus fell in a bloody battle in 265 B.C.; even the expected help from Ptolemy failed, the Egyptian fleet having been completely defeated near Cos. Athens was forced to surrender to Antigonus, who treated it with leniency. He placed garrisons on the Museum and in Munychia and Piræus. So Athens, after it had been free for some twenty-five years, was once more dependent on Macedonia, as formerly in the first years of Cassander's rule.

But the rest of Greece withdrew itself more and more from the influence of Macedonia. In 280 B.C. four Achæan towns had united into a league, which six others soon joined, the professed object being the expulsion of the Macedonian garrisons and the overthrow of the Macedonian supremacy. Its importance was insignificant at first. Yet in 251 B.C. Aratus liberated his own town of Sicyon from tyrants and induced it to enter the Achæan League. Acrocorinth was then wrested from the Macedonian garrison, and Corinth likewise joined the same league.

At last Megara, Troezen and other towns were won for the Achæans, and withdrawn from the Macedonian hegemony. And just as in the Peloponnese, the Achæan League gained ground, and with set purpose checked Macedonia, so the Ætolian League was founded in Central Greece, which, gaining ground more and more, attached towns and districts to itself, and in 245 B.C. compelled the country of Bœotia to join it. When Antigonus Gonatas died, in 239 B.C., at an advanced age, the Macedonian supremacy over Greece had thus suffered great loss. Only in Macedonia itself was the throne of the Antigonides still firm.



CLEOMENES III.
Who ruled in Sparta from 236 to 222 B.C., greatly extended her power, but was defeated by Antigonus.

Demetrius II. (239-229 B.C.) failed to evoke in Greece any important reaction in favour of Macedonia. The attitude of Demetrius towards the Illyrians was fated to bring about most weighty consequences in the future. It was admittedly to the interest of Macedonia, as of Greece, that all these northern barbarian tribes should be

Macedonia Supports the Barbarians

as much as possible kept in check. But Demetrius, far from attacking and attempting to weaken the power of Agron, prince of Scodra, who with his large pirate fleet rendered the Adriatic Sea unsafe, making raids as far as Elis and Messene and harassing the Greek settlements on the Illyrian coast, actually supported him with money in order, with the assistance of the Illyrians, to rescue the Acarnanian town of Medeon, which was besieged by the Ætolians. He attained, indeed, his immediate object. In order to check the growing insolence of the Illyrians and to prevent the subjugation of the Greek colonies, Rome had to interfere. Illyria was humiliated, and its fleet of corsairs broken up. Corcyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia, and the Epirote tribes of the Parthini and Atintani became allies of Rome.

Rome had broken the power of the Illyrian princes, deserved the gratitude of the Greeks, and opened the way for the establishment of her influence in Greek affairs, thus undertaking the duty, which once Macedonia was accustomed to discharge, of protecting the civilised world from the wild barbarians of the north.

A near relation of the royal house, Antigonus, surnamed Dason, took over the government of Philip V., the infant son of Demetrius, who was killed in 229 B.C., in battle against the Dardani, who were invading from the north. In both cases there was absolute need of a grown man. In the north the Dardani had overrun Macedonia. In Central Greece,

Athens Lost For Ever to Macedonia

it is true, Demetrius had, by the recovery of Bœotia, restored the Macedonian influence; and even Athens, still a very important town, submitted, so long as Macedonian garrisons occupied Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium. But now Athens, too, was lost for Macedonia, since the commander of the garrison, bribed by Aratus, the general of the Achæan League, gave up these places to the Athenians. Thessaly, too, which since Philip's time

had been allied with Macedonia, revolted. Antigonus Dason secured his frontier for the time by driving out the Dardani. He then brought back the greater part of Thessaly to its allegiance. He also won successes in Greece. The progress which Sparta made under King Cleomenes, and the expansion of the Spartan power in the successful war with the Achæan League, compelled Aratus, general of the Achæan League, finally to seek help against Sparta from Macedonia, the very power by combating which the league had grown strong. Antigonus naturally granted the request, came with an army to the Peloponnese in 223 B.C., once more took possession of the citadel and city of Corinth, and defeated Cleomenes so decisively in the battle at Sellasia in 221 B.C. that he was forced to fly to Egypt for safety.

The newly acquired power of Sparta was crushed at a blow; the supremacy of Macedonia in the Peloponnese, from which it had been forced since Antigonus Gonatas to retreat step by step, was restored, and in most states of Hellas the Macedonian overlordship was again recognised. An inroad of the Illyrians summoned Dason back to Macedonia; he defeated them, but

Macedon's Supremacy Restored

soon afterwards died from apoplexy, in 220 B.C. Philip V., son of Demetrius, for whom Dason had been regent, now became king. The Ætolians, fearing Dason, had for some time kept quiet; but now, despising Philip's youth, they renewed their old raids. At this time Rome was engaged in the Second Punic War, and had been reduced by Hannibal to a perilous situation. Philip, in order to satisfy the hatred of the Romans, which he had inherited from his father, concluded peace with the Ætolians and an alliance with Hannibal, under which a Macedonian army was to be landed in Italy; in return the Roman possessions in Epirus were to be given to him.

Thus the First Macedonian War broke out (216-208 B.C.). Philip, however, did not rouse himself to vigorous action. Moreover, the plan of landing a Macedonian force in Italy waned in proportion as the position of the Romans gradually improved and that of Hannibal grew less favourable. In 210 B.C. Rome concluded a treaty of alliance with Ætolia, Sparta and other states, so that Philip was again occupied in Greece and involved in a war, in which the Achæans stood on his side, and the

THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY

movements of his opponents were supported by a Roman fleet. After he had come to terms with the Ætolians and the other Hellenes, Philip concluded a peace with Rome also, which had no intention of carrying on the war against Macedonia without Greek help. Rome kept her possessions in Epirus; Philip took the territory of the Atintani. But this was, after all, only a truce between Macedonia and Rome; a decisive settlement between the two was reserved for a later time. Philip turned his attention for the moment to affairs in the east, since Rome was still fully occupied in the west.

The death of Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt, in 204 B.C., who was succeeded on the throne by a minor, led to a treaty of alliance between Philip and Antiochus III. of Syria. The two allied monarchs had no meaner schemes in view than the partition of the possessions of the Lagidæ (that is, the house of the Ptolemies). While Antiochus immediately set about the conquest of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, Philip crossed to Asia Minor, took Chalcedon, stormed Chios, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. Such acts justly incensed the Greeks.

Byzantium, Rhodes and Pergamus concluded an alliance and declared war on Macedonia. Pergamus and Rhodes sought help from the Romans. At first they hesitated; finally, the invasion by Philip of the territory of their allies, the Athenians, gave the pretext, and the Second Macedonian War then began. In autumn, 200 B.C., the consul P. Sulpicius Galba landed at Apollonia, and in the spring of 199 B.C. invaded Macedonia from Epirus, being supported by simultaneous attacks of the Dardani and Illyrians on the north and of the Ætolians and Athamenians on the south. Philip was in a critical situation, but he repelled his opponents; Galba withdrew, and the Ætolians were beaten on the Peneius. The year 198 B.C. also brought no decisive result.

In the summer of 197 B.C. the decisive battle was at length fought near Cynos-

cephalæ—the Dog's Head Hills—in Thessaly; Philip was totally defeated, and accepted the conditions of peace which he had previously rejected. He had to give up to the Romans, who left them once more free, all the towns recently taken or previously possessed by him in Asia Minor and Greece. He was also compelled to surrender his fleet and to pledge himself to keep up only 5,000 armed men and to wage no wars outside Macedonia.

In this way Macedonia was struck out of the list of great powers. In the war of Rome with Antiochus III., which broke out shortly after, Philip stood on the side of Rome, but was disappointed in his hope of being permitted to hold some of the conquered Thessalian and Thracian towns. He did not, however, give up his hatred of Rome and the expectation of better times. He contrived skilfully to evade the command not to keep more than 5,000

armed men. He was continually training the young men—of whom he certainly never had more than 5,000 under arms at the same time—so that he left behind a well-disciplined army of 30,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. He also knew how to make skilful use of

the royal powers of taxation; he revived the working of the mines and made them profitable to the state coffers. At any rate, at his death, in 179 B.C., there was money in the treasury sufficient to keep 10,000 mercenaries for ten years, and in the state granaries a supply of corn also for ten years.

His son Perseus tried to carry out his father's unaccomplished plans, directed against Rome. In spite of a favourable start, the Third Macedonian War (171-168 B.C.) ended only in the overthrow of the Macedonians at Pydna by Æmilius Paulus. Macedonia was divided into four independent departments. This state of things was not permanent; after a pretender, Andriscus, had come forward and had been defeated by a Roman army, Macedonia became a Roman province in 146 B.C., and her history is absorbed in that of the Roman Dominion.



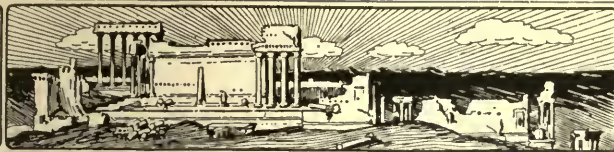
PHILIP V. AND PERSEUS, KINGS OF MACEDON

Philip V. of Macedon allied with Illyria and Carthage, and began the First Macedonian War with Rome, but, like his son Perseus, the last king of Macedon, was totally defeated.



THE LAST DAYS OF ANCIENT GREECE : THE DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH BY THE ROMANS

From the terrible days of the last stage in the political history of ancient Greece, when the national life was hurrying towards the precipice and a contemporary historian had to describe his countrymen as a nation of lazzaroni, having no hope for the future, from this ruin the ruin of Rome was a release. From the painting by Fleury in the Luxembourg.



THE PASSING OF ANCIENT GREECE THE LAST STAGE IN HER POLITICAL HISTORY

ALEXANDER THE GREAT had assumed the part of a champion of freedom in Hellas, since he put an end to the power of the tyrants and showed especial honour to Athens. But he kept in view his plans for creating a monarchy invested with religious attributes. While in the army of Alexander the Greek opposition made common cause with the discontented Macedonian nobility, the cities of Hellas were generally tranquil.

Athens, in whose case the war of desperation had already marked a departure from her previous policy, returned after Charonea to the old paths, and flourished with fresh splendour under the guidance of Lycurgus (335-326) in the time of Alexander. In this era of peace the Ministry of Finance became the most important office in the state; like military offices, it had to be filled with experts—who, contrary to democratic traditions were elected and not chosen by lot—and secured from rapid changes by a four years' tenure.

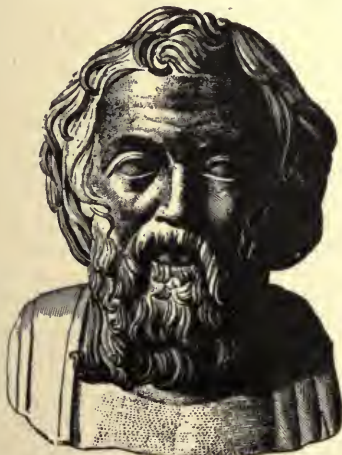
Athens had found in Lycurgus one of her greatest finance ministers. This man, who amid the growing luxury of his native city led a studiously simple life, understood not only how to raise the state revenue once more to twelve hundred talents, but also how to turn his personal credit to the advantage of the state, since private individuals would lend their money to it only on his personal guarantee. In order to increase the public interest in the figures of the revenue, the budget was publicly displayed on tablets. The immense naval arsenal at Piræus was now constructed; accommodation for the

fleet was for the future provided by three hundred and seventy-seven boathouses. A pan-Athenaic racecourse was built, and the fleet was put on a war footing. But

Downfall of Lycurgus

after the downfall of Lycurgus Athens entangled herself in the Lamian war with Macedon, and had to consent to a diminution of her political privileges and to the introduction of a Macedonian garrison. The attempt of Polyperchon to restore the old constitution on a democratic basis failed completely. Demetrius of Phalerum, at once a statesman, philosopher, and orator, made Athens independent under a moderate oligarchy, even though the Macedonian garrison was left. Under his government (318-307) not only did a sound financial policy prevail, so that the revenue rose again to the amount which had been realised under Lycurgus, and the burdensome requirements for the

theatre could be paid out of the state coffers and splendid festivals held, but, owing to Demetrius, the researches of his master Theophrastus in the field of jurisprudence were revived and a reformation of the laws was carried out. But the luxury of the "Tyrant," and the way in which he allowed himself to be feted, made him hated; Athens therefore greeted with effusion the man who liberated her from the Phalerian, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus. All Central Greece and the Peloponnese, with the exception of Messenia and Sparta, were freed from Macedonian and Egyptian



LYCURGUS

One of Athens' greatest finance ministers, under whom she flourished anew.

garrisons; the old Congress of Corinth was solemnly revived to maintain the national peace; and Demetrius Poliorcetes, like Philip and Alexander, was nominated

commander-in-chief of the league. The recall of Demetrius to Asia Minor by his father Antigonus did not directly destroy his power, but it gave opportunity for energetic opponents, such as Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes, to come forward, and led to the revolt of Athens after the battle at Ipsus in 301. Under

Athens' Desperate Revolt

the leadership of Lachares, Athens offered a desperate resistance, for which the temple treasures and the golden robe of Athene had to furnish means. In 294 B.C., however, Athens again fell to Demetrius, and henceforth was garrisoned for many years by the Macedonians. Victory over the Spartans, whom he had attacked, did not now attract Demetrius so much as the crown of Macedonia; this he secured by the conquest of Bœotia, where the historian Hieronymus of Cardia was governor, but he held it only for a short time. The son of Demetrius, the able Antigonus Gonatas, then ruled Greece on the basis of a new treaty and by the help of partisans, who governed in the various towns as tyrants.

It was everywhere evident that a more effectual resistance to despotism could be offered by the new leagues than by the antique city-state. The individual Greek city-state was a shuttlecock in the hands of the "Diadochi," the warring kings of the divided empire. What assistance could be given in the struggle by alliances of the old pattern? To-day cemented, to-morrow disunited—there was no relying on them, and no strength in them. Finally, after centuries, the further step was successfully taken, and the union of the country was achieved under a form which allowed to the individual city-state self-government, its own laws, and "the constitution of its fathers," but also rendered possible a combination of all the states for foreign policy. The contest with the great powers was now put on

The Greek States Re-combine

another basis. The new form of union was the federation of which we have examples in the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues. This marks the greatest advance of Greek development since the seventh century B.C. In order not to leave the greater city-states at the mercy of a numerical majority of the smaller, votes were taken in the Achæan League by cities, each of which had more or less votes according to their population. The highest

official of the league (strategus) had to attend to current business; he was assisted by a board of officials (Apocletæ in the Ætolian League, Demiurgi in the Achæan) who presided in the congress of the league. Most of the states of Central Greece united in the Ætolian League, the communities of the Peloponnesus in the Achæan League; a rural population formed the core of the first, while the second was composed mainly of the inhabitants of small towns.

These leagues were now the representatives of the political power of Greece. But they found only cleyer diplomatists, not great men, to lead them. Thus Aratus, who was strategus of the Achæan League after 251 and 245, obtained some increase of territory and temporary successes, but he was quite incompetent to lead the whole federation firmly towards a great goal. Vacillation between a pro-Macedonian and an anti-Macedonian policy was an attitude most injurious to the Greek cause at those grave times. It was Sparta and her reforming monarchs that produced this wavering. The struggle between landowners and mortgagees

Downfall of the Spartans

under King Agis in 242 B.C., the revolution in all conditions of tenure by the "Lycurgan" redivision of the soil under King Cleomenes in 226 B.C., and the hegemony which Sparta claimed, and indeed already had assumed, over the Achæans, led to a great combination between Antigonus Dason of Macedonia, the Achæan League, the Thessalians, Epirotés, Acarnanians, Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, and the towns of Eubœa in 223 B.C. The battle of Sellasia, in 221 B.C., drove Cleomenes into poverty and exile at Alexandria.

The peace congress of Naupactus, in 217 B.C., welded together all the states which we have enumerated, with the Ætolian League, for common defence against the West. However the struggle between Carthage and Rome might end, the conqueror was certain to become a menace to the Greeks. An effort was made to ascertain more clearly the inner sources of the strength of the Roman empire. The treaty, the terms of which are still extant, between Philip of Macedonia and Carthage, represented by Hannibal, shows the desire to resist the alarming growth of the power of Rome by an alliance with the Semite.

THE PASSING OF ANCIENT GREECE

But the foolish policy of Macedonia had made it impossible that the league of Naupactus should lead to a combined movement of Macedonians, Greeks, and Semites. The Ætolian League, in combination with the new military monarchy of Sparta, the Messenians, Eleans, and Athenians, took the side of Rome in 210 B.C., but were soon compelled to conclude a peace with Philip, to which the Romans became a party in 208 B.C., since the Achæan League under Philopœmen and Philip himself achieved considerable successes. The combined attack of Syria and Macedonia upon the Asiatic possessions of Egypt (204-201 B.C.) not merely broke up a federation of the states which, like Rhodes, desired to preserve the old balance of power in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, but compelled Rome also to interfere. The independence of all the Hellenes formerly dependent on Macedonia was solemnly proclaimed by T. Quinctius Flamininus at the Isthmian games of 196 B.C.

The discontent in Greece increased, since neither had the Ætolian League obtained the alliance of Thessaly, nor the Achæan that of Sparta. **Growing Power of Rome** In the latter state a communistic military monarchy asserted itself. The interference of Antiochus II., king of Syria, in 192 B.C., who was called in by the Ætoliens, was quickly averted by Rome; the Ætolian League consequently sank into absolute insignificance. In the meantime the Achæan League had attained the zenith of its expansion. But it was apparent that the external unity of the federal state could not overcome the diversity of its component constitutions. Such confusion reigned in Sparta that order could not be restored either by the Ætolian League or by the arbitration of Rome. Nabis, the military despot, had, since 206 B.C., exiled or executed all the wealthy, and divided their possessions, wives, and children among emancipated slaves and hordes of mercenaries. But after the conquest of Sparta by Philopœmen in 192 and 188 B.C. the position of affairs was not improved; even Charon confiscated property and distributed it as he liked.

At other points of Greek territory national life was hurrying towards the precipice. In Bœotia only those were elected to office who could gratify the palate of the populace with something

new, division of property, or an embargo on all criminal procedure. Trials lasted a lifetime, and a man who embarked on a lawsuit did not venture to show himself if he wished to escape assassination. The rich man showed more favour to the members of his dining club than to his relations, or even to his children, who frequently received a smaller heritage than the boon companions for whose carousals the month had not days enough. A fictitious brilliancy solaced the emptiness of an existence which was enlivened only by civil feuds, wholesale executions, and exiles, robbery, and redistributions of land.

A nation of lazzaroni physically effete, self-indulgent, without loyalty or religion down to the very swineherds, having no confidence in themselves or hope for the future—such was the description which the Arcadian historian Polybius of Megalopolis sorrowfully gave of his countrymen of the second century B.C. Terrible wars of class against class are recorded in Arcadia and Messenia, Ætolia and Thessaly; even the last hopeless struggle for independence was utilised for their own purposes by men—as, for example, Diæus, the head of the league—who only wished to fish in troubled waters and to obliterate accusations against themselves in the general confusion. There is a ring of mockery at this grave crisis in the speeches of the orators, who roused popular feeling first against Sparta and then against Rome, and wished to conciliate the masses by the repeal of the laws of debt and the enlistment of slaves in the army. Greece, unable to defend herself, felt the Roman yoke to be in some sense a release. Polybius would never have been able to write his history had he not realised this when face to face with the intolerable conditions of his day; it was not merely the friendly influence of the Scipios and their circle which taught him to value the firm fabric of the Roman empire, but the contrast between that fabric and the crumbling of Greek confederations, which the Romans were now demolishing.

Terrible Last Days of Greece Corinth a wilderness, the leagues politically dissolved and tolerated only as the managers of festivals; the imposition of a tribute and the supervision by the governor of the city constitutions—such was the last stage in the political history of ancient Greece.

RUDOLPH VON SCALA

GREAT DATES IN ANCIENT GREEK HISTORY

1200	Mycenean period	411	Overthrow of the Democratic Government at Athens
1183	Fall of Troy (traditional date)	410	Athenian victory at Cyzicus
1103	Doric migration; invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidae	406	Athenian victory at Arginusæ
1066	End of the Monarchy at Athens	405	Lysander captures the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami; blockade of Athens
884	The Spartan constitution established by the Laws of Lycurgus	404	Submission of Athens; end of war; supremacy of Sparta; the "thirty tyrants" at Athens
850	Period of Homer's epics	403	Overthrow of the thirty by Thrasybulus
776	First record of the victor in the Olympic games; era from which the Greek system of dating by "Olympiads" begins	402	Expedition of the "ten thousand Greeks" in the revolt of Cyrus against Artaxerxes
743	First Messenian war	399	Death of Socrates
734	Founding of Syracuse; period of colonisation	395	Agessilaus the Spartan in Asia
723	Messenian war ends; victory of Sparta	394	Corinthian war with Sparta; Spartan victories of Nemea and Coronea; Athenian naval victory of Cnidus
700	Perdiccas I. King of Macedon	393	Walls of Athens rebuilt
664	Great naval battle between Corinth and Corcyra	387	Peace of Antalcidas
655	Cypselus tyrant of Corinth	379	Revolt of Thebes against Sparta
645	Second Messenian war	378	Second Delian League, headed by Athens; alliance with Thebes
625	Periander tyrant of Corinth	376	Athenian -naval victory at Naxos; Jason of Phereæ
621	Draco's legislation at Athens	375	Spartans defeated by Pelopidas at Orchomenus
600	Thales of Miletus	371	Defeat of Spartans by Thebans at Leuctra
594	Solon's legislation at Athens	370	Establishment of the Arcadian confederacy; Megalopolis founded
546	Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus the Persian; the "Ionic" states of Asia subjected to Persia	369	Thebans invade the Peloponnesus
537	Pisistratus tyrant of Athens	362	Epaminondas of Thebes invades Peloponnesus; defeats the Spartans at Mantinea, but is himself killed
510	Expulsion from Athens of the Pisistratidæ; destruction of Sybaris by Croton	359	Philip becomes king of Macedon
509	Democratic reforms of Cleisthenes at Athens	358	Revolt of the allies from Athens
499	The Ionians revolt from Persia; burning of Sardis	355	The Sacred War against the Phocians
493	Suppression of the Ionic revolt	352	Progress of Philip
492	Persian expedition under Mardonius is broken up by storms, and by the Thracians	351	First "Philippic" oration of Demosthenes
491	War between Athens and Aegina	348	Philip captures Olynthus
490	Persian invasion; victory of Athenians, helped by Plataeans at Marathon	347	Death of Plato and Aristotle
482	Development of Athenian navy	346	End of the Sacred War; destruction of Phocis
480	Second Persian invasion; Leonidas and the 300 at Thermopylæ; Persians occupy Athens; overthrow of Persian fleet at Salamis, due to Athenians and Themistocles; defeat of Carthage by Syracusans at Himera	340	War between Philip and Athens
479	Persian army annihilated at Plataeæ; Greek naval victory at Mycale	338	Victory of Philip at Chæronea; Philip chosen to command a Greek national invasion of Persia
478	Athens restored; the Piræus built	336	Philip murdered; Alexander the Great succeeds
475	Establishment of the Delian League; Athens at the head of the Maritime States	334	Alexander invades Persia; Asia Minor secured by victory of the Granicus
468	Pericles appears in public life at Athens	333	Alexander routs Darius at the battle of Issus
466	Victory over Persians at the Eurymedon	332	Siege of Tyre; Alexander in Egypt
458	Athens attacked by allied Peloponnesian states	331	Final overthrow of Darius at Arbela
456	Death of Æschylus	327	Alexander invades India
452	Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta	323	Death of Alexander; partition of the empire
449	Athens renews the Persian war; wins victory by land and sea at Salamis in Cyprus	322	Death of Demosthenes; supremacy of Macedon
447	Boeotians defeat Athenians at Chæronea	307	Ten years contest between Cassander and Demetrius Poliœretes
445	Thirty years truce between Athens and Sparta; ascendancy of Pericles at Athens	287	Pyrrhus of Epirus in Macedon
444	Hostilities with Persia ended by peace of Callias; Sophocles, Phidias, Euripides	281	Formation of Achæan League
440	Revolt and reduction of Samos	279	Invasion of Gauls broken up at Delphi
432	Athens rejects dictation of Sparta	272	Death of Pyrrhus
431	Peloponnesian war begins, lasting till 404	226	Contest between Achæan League and Sparta
430	Plague at Athens	225	Restoration of Spartan constitution by Cleomenes
429	Death of Pericles	216	Treaty between Philip of Macedon and Hannibal
428	Fall of Plataeæ	208	Philopœmen at head of Achæan League
427	First comedy of Aristophanes	200	War between Philip of Macedon and Rome
425	Surrender of Spartans at Sphacteria; Cleon at Athens	197	Philip overthrown at Cynoscephalæ
424	Brasidas in Thessaly	192	Resistance of Ætoliens, supported by Antiochus of Syria, to Rome
421	Truce between Athens and Sparta	191	Victory of the Romans at Thermopylæ
415	Ascendancy of Alcibiades at Athens; the Sicilian expedition despatched	188	Philopœmen overcomes Sparta
413	Renewal of war with Sparta; occupation of Decelæa by Spartans; destruction of Sicilian expedition	183	Death of Philopœmen, "last of the Greeks"
		171	War between Perseus of Macedon and Rome
		168	Macedon absorbed into the Roman Empire
		147	War between Achæans and Rome
		146	Fall of Corinth; Greece becomes a Roman province



HELLENISM

A GENERAL SURVEY OF GREEK CIVILISATION

By Professor Rudolph von Scala

PERSIA and Greece began at an early period to exchange the products of their civilisations. The palaces of the Persian kings were adorned not merely with the spoils of their victories over the Greeks, such as the brazen rams' horns found at Susa in 1901—which the Greeks cast from captured arms and had offered to Apollo of Didyma—and the statue of the god which Canachus of Sicyon had sculptured. The palaces at Susa must have been built and decorated by Greek artists. The name of one of these alone, Telephanes of Phocæa, who worked at the court of Darius, has come down to us; but their traces are visible in the whole style of Persian architecture, in the harmonious agreement between the interior and the facade, in the great audience-chambers and halls of columns (*apadana*), in the fluted pillars and their bases [see page 1800]. In sculpture and painting the bold treatment of the dress and hair, which, in spite of all similarity, is sharply differentiated from the Assyrian style, the drawing of the eye, the representation of the step, are all thoroughly Greek. Together with Greek artists, who must have been nearly akin to those of Ægina, numerous Greek works of art reached Persia and in their turn served as models.

The minor products of Persian art are equally Greek. The splendid amphora, of which two handles have found a resting-place in the Louvre and the Berlin Antiquarium, is, with its Ionic acanthus leaves and Persian winged ibexes, as completely Greek as the golden bowl of Theodorus of Samos, as the golden vine with the emerald-green grapes which shaded the throne of the Achæmenidæ, or the golden plane-tree, masterpieces

which Antigonus Monophthalmus ordered to be melted down. Numerous gems were made by Greeks for Persians, in Oriental setting but with Greek designs. Thus on a cylinder of chalcedony, found at Kerch, Darius is represented

Greek Gems Made for Persians

chastising the rebel Gaumata, the latter in Grecian garb. Another gem exhibits a scene of ritual, a Persian queen entering the presence of a deity; her cloak is drawn as a veil over the back of her head in the Greek fashion. Hunting scenes, with Persian cuneiform inscriptions, point to Greek workmanship in the fidelity to Nature with which the deer and trees are delineated. Indeed, the political disruption of the Greeks is strikingly expressed to us on one such Persian gem: a noble Persian holds two naked Greek prisoners fastened by a rope, and the guard of the prisoners appears as a Greek in full armour.

In other spheres, also, Greek culture was employed by the Persians. The Greek physician Democedes of Croton practised at the court of Darius, the first of a series of physicians in ordinary at the Persian court, and was sent on a journey of exploration. A Carian explorer, Scylax of Caryanda, used the Greek language to describe his travels, undertaken by the order of Darius, which included the courses of the Kabul river and the Indus down to the sea. Finally, this intimate intercourse increased the awe with which the Persian kings regarded the Greek gods. A strong proof of this is afforded by the well-known decree of Darius to the governor Gadatas, expressing his royal dissatisfaction that taxes had been imposed upon the officials of the shrine of the Branchidæ. Three

hundred talents of incense were offered to the Delian Apollo, and the most complete immunity was assured to all his subjects. Thus the every-day intercourse of Greece and Persia presents a picture quite different from that afforded by the Persian wars of traditional history. Phrygian art also was stimulated by

Widespread Influence of the Greeks Greece. Façades in the style of the Greek temples took the place on the tombs of the native Phrygian façades with their Egyptian pylons and lions like those of Caria and Mycenæ. The tombs of Ayazinu show us the increasing effect of Greek influence, until finally the façade on a tomb at Gherdek-Kaiasi bears all the characteristics of a Dorian temple.

But the Greeks did not live merely among foreigners and near foreigners; the Greek community included members who spoke alien tongues. The Greeks thus lived with foreigners on the closest terms of intercourse.

Scattered over the wide expanse of the Mediterranean, on the desert which fringes the highlands of Barca, on the fertile banks of the Rhone, on the slopes of Etna, in the hill country of Epirus, on the coasts of the Black Sea, and in the valley of the Nile, the strangest types of city-state developed and adapted themselves to the country without faltering in their loyalty to their common home.

Prehistoric strata were preserved on completely Greek soil, as in Lemnos and Crete, down to the age of writing—witness the so-called Tyrrhene inscription from Lemnos and Eteacretan inscriptions from Praisos. The language of every-day life at Ephesus was permeated with Lydian, while the vernacular of Tarentum showed Italian elements; the town of Perinthus had a Thracian tribal division; Bithynians of Thrace served the Byzantines as bondsmen, and Siculi were the serfs of Syracusan landholders. The petty townships of the peninsula of

Languages and Racial Intercourse Athos were inhabited by a Thracian population, which was, however, so far Græcised that it employed Greek as the colloquial language; while in towns of what is now Southern France, Iberian and Greek quarters existed, and from this region was diffused through the Greek world that influence of Northern, and especially Keltic, civilisation which is termed the La Tene culture. The language, writing,

and products of Greece were disseminated through purely Keltic regions. To this intercourse are due those imitations of Greek gods and letters on Keltic coins which were prevalent from the mouth of the Seine to Bohemia, and on the commercial highway as far as the Lower Rhine and Northern Italy.

In Egypt the Greek enclaves, the Greek mercenaries of Daphne or Tell Defennet, and the Greek manufacturing and commercial town of Naucratis carried on a brisk trade with the Egyptians, in accordance with whose customs scarabæi were made and engraved, and with whose neighbourly assistance a whole cycle of Græco-Egyptian myths was formed. It was then that the pretty legend of the treasure-house of Rhampsinitus originated, which throughout is not originally Egyptian, but an imitation of the legend of Trophonius and Agamedes, who built the treasury of King Augeias of Elis. The priests then adopted the legend of Proteus and the Egyptian king who tore Helen away from Paris in order to restore her to her husband. This arrest of Paris in Egypt looks much like a frivolous travesty of the Greek

Greek Myths Adapted by Egyptians legend. The festival of Perseus was celebrated at Chemmis with gymnastic contests in imitation of the Greek games; in fact, the entire cycle of Delian myths is transplanted to Egypt, and a floating island was discovered there also. This mutual exchange of intellectual wealth between Greeks and Egyptians may account for the introduction of the bands and the annulets of the Doric columns which encircle the floreated Egyptian capitals. Pharaoh Necho, after the victory over King Josiah of Judah at Megiddo, dedicated his coat of mail to Apollo of Branchidæ, and the earliest dated Greek inscriptions of 590–589 B.C. relate to an expedition of King Psammeticus II. against Ethiopia, in which Greek mercenaries were engaged; they are engraved on the leg of a colossal Rameses in the splendid rock-temple of Abu Simbel far up in Nubia.

Amasis the Philhellene contributed to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, dedicated in the temple of Lindus a linen breastplate, in which every thread was woven out of 360 strands corresponding to the days of the year in the old calendar, and sent presents to Sparta. In his reign the settlements of the Greeks were trans-

ferred from the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile to Memphis and further, a place in the Delta, subsequently Naucratis, was assigned to them, which was entirely disconnected from the Egyptian state and received complete self-government. The Greeks, faithful to their language, manners, and customs, erected there a central shrine, the Hellenion, for all their Egyptian colonies, which thenceforward multiplied more rapidly and extended far into the desert. The Samians had founded a factory in the great oasis of Uah el-Khargeh, seven days' journey from Thebes.

We hear of the brother of the poetess Sappho as a wine merchant in Naucratis; Alcæus, the poet, stayed in Egypt, while his brother distinguished himself in the service of Nebuchadnezzar. The foremost men of Greece either actually visited Egypt, or, according to the legend, drew wisdom from these newly opened sources. Solon and Pythagoras undoubtedly stayed in Egypt. At this period the terms for coarse linen and fine linen, and linen tunics ornamented with fringes, found their way from Egyptian into Greek. There were

**Great Men
of Greece
in Egypt**

three strata of population in Epirus; Acarnania, and Ætolia: a Greek (Æolian or Thessalian), an Illyrian, and a Corinthian (or North-west Greek) imposed one on the other, and these tribes were usually regarded by the Greeks as mixed nationalities. In fact, the strong Thraco-Illyrian strain among the Macedonians enabled the more exclusive spirits of old Greece to stigmatise the Macedonians as barbarians.

The numerous Carian names among the families of Halicarnassus show how strongly the original population was represented, while the naming of Milesians after the goddess Hecate illustrates the power of the Carian cult. The intimate union of races is proved by the fact that the fathers of Thales (Hexamyes) and of Bias (Teutamios), the uncle of Herodotus (Panyassis) undoubtedly, and his father Lyxas probably, bear Carian names, such as occur also in Samos and in Cos. A similar mixture of blood occurs in Græco-Libyan and Græco-Thracian districts; Hegesypyle, wife of Miltiades, was a Thracian princess; Thucydides was descended from her father Olorus, and the two Dions and also the historian Arrian had Thracian blood in their veins. In the aristocratic and agricultural state

of Lycia Greek settlers filled the rôle of a commercial and money-making middle class, and disseminated a knowledge of the arts for which their native land was famous. Dynasts of Lycia struck coins which represent them with the Persian tiara, but bear on the reverse the figure of the goddess Athena. Monuments were erected to the

**Curious Results
of Greek
Influence**

princes, which extol them in the Lycian and Greek languages, and an Attic epigram on the Columna Xanthia praises the son of Harpagus, because, with the help of Athena, the destroyer of towns, he laid low many citadels, and dedicated to Zeus more trophies than any mortal. Greeks and Dynasts together drew up in bilingual agreements the regulations for festivals, as is shown by the inscription of Isinda. The coins of the towns of Mallos, Issos, and other places on the Cilician coast bear Greek inscriptions by the side of those in Aramaic.

The Greek towns of the kingdom of the Bosphorus, such as Panticapæum, near the modern Kertch, founded by the Milesians, which climbs the hills in terraces, not only accepted the Phrygian Mother, but, since Scythians also lived in the same political community, had in great measure adopted Scythian manners. Thus they covered their lower limbs with the trousers and high boots of the barbarian. Masterpieces of Greek art, like the silver vase of Kertch [see page 2448], originated in these towns; nevertheless an Oriental influence became more and more prominent, in the huge sepulchral mounds which they raised, in the decoration of their robes with gold leaf, in the use of the Persian mitre and the golden diadem as the royal head-dress. Olbia also enjoyed brisk commerce with the Scythians, and was subject to Scythian influence. A flourishing inland trade was conducted along the Dniester, Bug, and Narew, and the connections of the traders extended to the mouths of the Vistula; on the caravan

**Greek
Culture in
Distant Lands**

road to Central Asia, which even at the present day possesses importance, and suggests the line of the future trans-continental railroad, there lay in the middle of forest-country a town, built of wood and surrounded with palisades, in which Hellenic farmers and trappers settled. They borrowed largely from the language of the adjoining tribes, and, far from their homes in the northern forests, worshipped their own deities, especially

Dionysus. A Greek cup found on the Obwa, representing the dispute between Ulysses and Ajax, and a statue of Hygeia found at Perm, show that Greek trade flourished even in those parts.

The Greek people thus grew to maturity in constant intercourse with every nation of the civilised world. The ancient bonds of union, the national games, which united the Greeks of the most various regions, and the common religious centres, soon made the whole nation share alike in the lessons which had been learned on the fringes of the Greek world. It was only when all intellectual importation had become unnecessary that exclusiveness became a feature of the city-state, and it was in the age of Pericles that Athens first regarded mixed marriages with non-Athenian women as invalid.

The founding of Alexander's empire brought to the East an expansion of Greek culture; it promoted an exchange of commodities between East and West, and a mixture of barbarian and Greek nationalities, such as the ancient world had never seen before. Iberian tribes in Spain, Keltic clans in Southern France, Etruscan towns, Italian arts and crafts, Egyptian military systems and Egyptian legends, Lycian sepulchral architecture and Carian monuments, the work of Scythian goldsmiths and Persian palaces had already long been subject to Greek influence, so that the Greeks won their place in the history of the world far more as citizens of the Mediterranean sphere than by their domestic struggles. But now the old colonising activity of the Greeks, which had been relaxed for two centuries, was renewed over the whole expanse of a broad empire, whose political life was Greek, whose government was Persian, whose rulers and army were Greek. The founding of Alexandria and revival of Babylon had created great cities in the

Culture of the East Flows West

East, which, from the height of their intellectual and material civilisation, were destined to become the centres of the new empire. The whole stream of their wealth flowed westward; the stored-up treasures of the Achæmenids once more circulated in the markets; the observations and calculations of Chaldæan astronomers, which went back thousands of years, became available to the Greeks. Pytheas, and after him Hipparchus, used Baby-

lonian measures in calculating the distance of the stars. The political and religious traditions of Babylon, which had already brought the Assyrian monarchs under their spell, and made a coronation in Babylon appear the necessary condition of a legitimate title, played a foremost part in the world-sovereignty of Alexander, and fitted in marvellously well with his schemes for investing his empire with a religious character. The building of the temple to Marduk played in Alexander's plan a part not less important than the construction of harbours and dockyards.

Hellenism could now regard these conquered countries as a real intellectual possession. The reports of the general staff, which contained an exact survey of the conquered country, were deposited in the imperial archives at Babylon. Special officials—Bematists, or step-measurers—were responsible for the measurement of the distances. Trustworthy figures were forthcoming, instead of the estimates based on the caravan trade with eastern countries, against the inaccuracy of which Aristotle so vigorously protested. The course of the Indus and Ganges, and the

Scientific Conquests of Greece island of Taprobane, or Ceylon, became known. The reports of Nearchus the Cretan effected a scientific conquest of the

coast between the Indus and Euphrates. In December, 323 B.C., this explorer, the leading member of the scientific staff of Alexander, entered the Persian Gulf with a fleet for which the Himalayas had supplied the timber. To his pen is doubtless due that wonderful account of the tidal-plants—the mangroves with their supporting roots, which grow on the shore and spread far out into the sea—in Theophrastus.

Alexander had entrusted to Heraclides the exploration of the Caspian Sea and its connection with the ocean—his death prevented the execution of the plan—and three times he organised attempts to circumnavigate Arabia; but Archias of Pella, Androstenes of Thasos, and Hieron of Soloi were all equally unable to pass the surf-beaten Cape Musandam. To the second of these naval explorers we owe the masterly description of the isle of Bahrein, Tylos, with its flowering gardens and cool fountains, on which Androstenes stayed from December, 324, to January, 323 B.C. Here the discovery was made that plants sleep, and we are given a beautiful description of the way in which

the ficus-leaves of the Indian tamarind fold up for the night. The cotton plantations, which recalled so vividly the vines of Hellas, were carefully studied. Thus we possess in this account, extant in Theophrastus, a brilliant commentary on the difference of the methods by which this expedition of Alexander opened up the conquered territories from those, for instance, of the Arabian conquerors, who saw barely anything on this marvellous island.

We do not know who of Alexander's staff supplied the observations on the banyan which were made about 326 B.C., during the halt at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, nor who so accurately mapped out the species of the trees on the north-western Himalayas, nor who discovered, from the case of the citron-tree, the existence of sexual differences in the vegetable kingdom. However easy it was to exaggerate in the description of the gigantic Indian fig-trees, where the Bematists fixed the circumference of the foliage at 1,450 yards—considerably less than that of the still existing giant trees of Nerbuda—and however difficult it was to

explain the aerial roots which spring from the older branches and become supporting roots, we are everywhere astonished at the way in which these phenomena were surveyed with open eyes and intelligent appreciation. Nothing has been preserved for us of the reports of Gorgos, a mining expert, who explored, probably at Alexander's command, the gold and silver mines as well as the salt mines in the Indian kingdom of Sopheithes; and the treatise on harbours by Cleon of Syracuse is lost. But the comprehensiveness of the survey by which the new world was opened up is clearly shown us from such broken fragments of the keenest intellectual activity.

The intellectual conquest of the East was thus achieved by the keen Western faculty for scientific observation. But the nuptials of the Orient and Occident which were celebrated at the wedding festival in Susa remained a slave-marriage, in which the East was the lord and master. The admission of the Persians and other races into the great frame of the Macedonian army signified, it is true, a further victory of Western organisation; but the contemplated admission of Persian troops into the Macedonian phalanx would have ended in breaking it up.

And yet Alexander thought that the political organisation of Hellenism, the world-empire, was possible only by a fusion of races. By the transplantation of nations from Asia to Europe, and from Europe to Asia, it was proposed to gain for the world-monarchy, with its halo of religious sanctity, the support of those

disconnected masses who were united with the ruling dynasty alone, but had no coherence among themselves.

At a distance the Hellenic Polis, the city-state, seemed the suitable representative of a new culture; at home, however, the old constitutional life might become dangerous, so that all recollections of the Corinthian League were suppressed, and decrees were published by Alexander which counselled the return of the exiled, but prohibited the combined meetings of Achæan and Arcadian towns. Garrisons were placed in the towns, tyrants were favoured or condemned, so that Oriental despotism seemed to have won the day over all Western developments.

In the East the association of Alexander's sovereignty with the substrata underlying the Persian imperial organisation was unmistakable. We see how fully Alexander used the religious convictions of the Egyptians and Babylonians, and perhaps even the political traditions of the latter, for his own ends, and how he restored to the city of Sardis and the Lydians the old Lydian rights.

Court etiquette and official institutions were, on the other hand, largely borrowed by Alexander from the Persian empire. His father, Philip, had taken the first step in this direction by imitating a Persian custom, the military education of noble youths at court. It was not the study of Herodotus's history and Xenophon's "Anabasis," but the presence of Persian exiles at the Macedonian court, that led to these views. The custom at the Persian

court of kissing the ground, the harem, the Persian state-robe, the Persian criminal code, as in the case of Bessus, were adopted; and the eunuchs were taken over with the Persian court officials. The vizir was called in Greek, since Æschylus's "Persians," Chiliarch, a name which was now officially borne by Hephæstion. Chares of Mytilene was nominated chief chamberlain, and the head scribe or secretary, took a prominent

position. The official protocols and royal diaries were kept up in the new Macedonian world-empire after the old Persian style. These royal diaries of Alexander form the core of the tradition on which our knowledge of the era of Alexander ought to rest, but owing to the later literature of romance they are not always

The Diaries of Alexander

recognisable beneath the mass of legends. A considerable fragment, which comprises the last

days of Alexander, has been preserved for us in tolerable completeness. The Persian system of roads and the Persian imperial post were maintained; and the basis of the imperial administration was the old division into satrapies. But the powers of the governors were kept as before in close connection with the centre of the empire. The command of the army and the administration of the finance were detached from the office of satrap; the rights of coining money and keeping mercenaries were altogether abolished.

The last year of Alexander's life was typical of the world-wide position of the Græco-Macedonian kingdom. Embassies from the sources of the Blue Nile and from the steppes of Southern Russia, from Ethiopia and the Scythian country, from Iberians, Kelts, Bruttians, Lucanians, and Etruscans, and, above all, from Rome and Carthage, came in that year to Alexander's court. Arabia was to be circumnavigated, and a scheme initiated to regulate the irrigation of the Euphrates region by lowering the weirs, repairing the canals, and building dykes. The coast and the islands of the Persian Gulf were to be colonised. It was intended also to rear temples on the most ancient holy sites of Greece—Delos, Dodona, Delphi—as well as at home at Dion, Amphipolis, and Cyrrhus. The old hereditary culture of the East and the energy of the West seemed to be welded together, and Greek had become the language of the civilised provinces of Western Asia,

Great Schemes of Alexander's Last Year

just as Babylonian had been a thousand years before.

And this inheritance of Alexander was not transitory. Even if on that summer's evening of 323 B.C. (June 13), when the news that he was dead, and that the world was without a lord, burst on the passionately excited populace at Babylon, the plans for the future were dead, and the disintegration of the mighty empire was inevitable, yet the creation of a new

sphere of culture, which partially embraced the ancient East, is the work of Alexander. No Roman world-empire, no world-embracing Christianity, no Byzantine empire, with Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, as provinces, would have been possible without this monarchy of Alexander.

At the time when geographical knowledge was immensely widened towards the east by Alexander's victories, a bold mariner set sail from Marseilles, or Massilia, the chief emporium of the products of the north, of amber, and of tin, and the centre from which Greek influence spread among Kelts and Iberians. This was Pytheas, one of the most successful explorers, and also the first Greek to reach the Teutons. As Humboldt characterises the great and common impulse which mastered the spirits of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries with the words, "The age of Columbus was also the age of Copernicus, Ariosto, Dürer, and Raphael," so we may point to the fact that the age of Pytheas was also that of Plato, Aristotle, and Lysippus, of Philip and Alexander of Macedon. Columbus started out in pure faith; that is shown by his *libro das pro-*

An Era of Intellectual Energy

fecias. But Pytheas not only stood at the head of the science of his day, but increased that science by new discoveries which held good for all time. He worked with comparatively small apparatus for observation, with the gnomon (shadow-indicator), a rod, the length of whose shadow at noon during the equinox, compared with the actual length of the rod, gave the geographical latitude of the place where the observation was taken. Yet in spite of this insufficient apparatus, the latitude of Massilia, as determined by him, is correct within five minutes. The old idea that the Pole star marked the celestial Pole was definitely refuted by him.

Scientific problems, such as the inquiry into the size of the globe, and the extent of the inhabited world, led him far into unexplored regions; his intention was to reach the polar circle. As soon as the limits of the Mediterranean were passed a multiplicity of phenomena attracted the attention of the bold explorer; the phenomenon of the tides, which was explained even by Plato as due to supernatural causes, was then for the first time assigned by Pytheas correctly to the action of the moon. At first driven by south-westerly winds, and then pressing

forward more slowly without any assistance, he reached the north-west corner of Spain in thirteen days, and then steered out into the open sea with a northerly course for three days. The Pole star showed the observer the direction of his course, and ultimately the geographical latitude was determined from the altitude of the Pole. Westerly and south-westerly winds, as well as the Gulf Stream, drove Pytheas out of his course, and thus, under the belief that he had sailed continually northward, he reached the western point of Brittany and the island of Ushant.

He then circumnavigated Great Britain, since he first sailed thirteen days to the north, reached the most northerly cape of Britain, and, two days later, the Shetland Islands, which he calls Aibudes. The longest day, of nineteen hours, which he records, exactly tallies with this latitude. Accounts of "Thule" (Iceland) found their way to him. He brought with him mysterious tales of a mixture of water, air, and earth, comparable rather to the gleaming of a medusa or jelly-fish—a long misunderstood description, not merely of the thick, grey mist which makes earth, the water,

Extraordinary Voyage of a Greek Explorer

and the air indistinguishable, but of the Northern Lights. He then sailed to the mouths of the Rhine, penetrated to the Elbe, to the land of the Teutons, to the islands which at low tide were dry land, and to the island of Abalos, perhaps Heligoland, whither in spring the waves bring the amber; finally, he reached the coast of Jutland.

Pytheas, the discoverer of the Germans, undertook his bold voyage in the interests of science, and offered to science enormous tracts of new territory, which, from foolish but explicable doubts, it long wished to relegate to the domain of fable. Some practical extension of the sphere of Massilian commerce, in fact the founding of a settlement at the mouth of the Loire, may well have been connected with this important expedition. An excessive estimate of the distance over which he sailed, and the consequent assumption of the immense expanse of the coast of Britain, certainly caused errors in the chart of Pytheas; but our age is competent fully to grasp the high importance of Pytheas as one of the earliest and most successful explorers of all times.

Greek daring and Greek intellect thus surveyed the then known world from

the Shetland Islands to modern Turkestan, from the west coast of Libya to the Ganges. The survey of Britain and Persia, the Aurora Borealis, the tides in the Atlantic, no less than the growth of banyans and mangroves, amber on the shores of Germany, gold and silver mines in India, and scientific inquiry into the

Origin of Aristotle's Philosophy outer ocean and the limits of the land, were objects of Greek investigation as much as the laws of social development and the laws of thought itself.

Thus the philosophy of Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) seems to us like the pean of this world-embracing thought, teaching that thought itself is the immaterial divinity, the cause of all movement, the absolute self-consciousness. Insight into the laws of human thought is the most certain starting-point of all knowledge. We follow in thought the universal cause into its particular effects, just as we see the white light break up in the prism into its bright component colours. That thing which, through every period of change, preserves its comprehensible existence is the object of true knowledge. All development consists in the relation of potentiality to realisation, of matter to form. If the matter develops to the form which is latent in it by design, then, according to the laws of predisposition and necessity, it develops progressively, without beginning or end, in unceasing movement, from the formless, that is, the pure matter, through an immense series of graduations, upwards to the immaterial form, to the divinity. And in this scale of graduations, where even the changes of the inorganic imply a development of latent potentialities, the evolutionary process passes through the lower forms of life, possessing but a vegetative soul, to man, whose soul is reason. Happiness is the aim of human life, and to obtain it the ethical virtues, which are rooted in the will, come into play together with knowledge. But man can

A Great Intellectual Discovery

never pursue his goal in solitude. He requires fellow-men and society; he is a "political animal," a social being. One of the great intellectual discoveries of the age of Alexander shows itself in the doctrine that man cannot fully realise his latent potentialities except in the state; this doctrine supplies an irresistible protest against those cowardly and selfish anarchist delusions of the Cynics and Megarians,

who held that the only happiness possible to the individual by himself consisted in the reversion to impossible conditions of barbarism and in the enjoyment of the moment. All intelligent persons grasped clearly the importance of the fact once established that only a combined social effort and the strength of the community had created for Hellenism that predominant place which it held in the world. Thus Aristotle, whose influence has been felt for two thousand years, is the best personification of that age which created a living and active philosophy from the results of its achievements, and no longer clung to political phrases, but from an investigation of the abundant historical material brought into clear relief the outlines of the state and its primary object, the education of the citizens.

The focus of political activity shifted towards the East, and the direction of world commerce changed; the centres of trade were now the new Greek cities, in comparison with which the ancient capitals seemed insignificant settlements. Alexander valued the Semite as a necessary complement to the Persian; he was also not without reverence for old traditions and for scientific eminence. He therefore promoted the prosperity of Babylon; but Seleucia on the Tigris, not Babylon, became the metropolis of the fertile plain of Mesopotamia.

The combined commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Egypt itself converged on Alexandria, that city of world trade and cosmopolitan civilisation. It was there, close to that emblem of world trade, the marble lighthouse, the Pharos, which towered high above the palm-trees [see page 232], and near the museum and the library, the homes of civilisation, that the mortal remains of Alexander's fiery spirit found their last resting-place. How small seemed the "great" cities of the

The Mighty City of Alexander mother country compared with this city of Alexander, covering some 2,200 acres (three and a half square miles) with its 500,000 of inhabitants. Carpet factories, glass-works, the production of papyrus and incense, gave the commercial city the stamp of a manufacturing town. Alexandria, as the centre of a new movement, became also the headquarters of the new industry of cameo-cutting. That marvellous Farnesettazza, which has rightly

been termed the foremost product of Alexandrine art, came from its workshops.

Alexandria, then, was the starting-point of that policy, justly to be compared with the attitude of the English in India, which ruled the Nile country in civilisation, politics, and nationality. It forced upon the native population the language of their rulers, and burdened the natives alone with a poll-tax; but in compensation it allowed an infinity of religious ideas to ascend from the lower strata of society to the ruling class. Districts, towns, and villages were given new Greek names, and at the period when the Greek influence was at its height many of the old population Græcised their names or gave them a Greek look; and not only were the royal edicts published in the Greek language—occasionally with an Egyptian translation—but also the private contracts of ordinary business, such as leases, labour contracts, and conveyances, are in Greek. Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeded in assigning the proceeds of a very ancient tax (the *apomoira*, or one-sixth of the produce of vineyards, orchards, and kitchen gardens) to the cult of his sister Arsinoë—that is, to the Ptolemaic government (264–263). The assignment of other imposts in compensation did not check a considerable shrinkage in the revenue of the native temples. The prevalence of Greek notions in the worship of Serapis is incontestable.

Counter influences, generated in the lower levels of society, offered a stout resistance to the potent ideas of the Hellenes. The old native divinities brought not merely Alexander, but also the Ptolemies, so strongly under their spell that numerous temples were built in their honour. The old administrative divisions were left, with the natural exception that the Ptolemies, following Alexander's uniform policy in Persia, placed military commanders by the side of the civil officials. The wonderfully close-meshed net of taxation which the Pharaoh dynasty had drawn round its subjects was preserved and developed as a welcome institution; so also the system of monopolies, the exploitation of the royal demesnes, and the official hierarchy of the court. The old magic formulæ, the influence of the Magi, the mythology, and the religious ideas of Egypt poured in mighty streams into the Hellenic world.

And even if these latter suffered a transformation at the hands of the Stoics and other Greek schools, yet their essential features persisted, and showed a marvellous power of revival. Even in art the old Egyptian style carried the day. We find a princess of the Ptolemaic house depicted on a cameo as an Egyptian; and if artistic representations may be trusted, the princes themselves adopted native dress.

The ancient cities of Syria were so far graced that the new capital, Antioch, on the Orontes, with its suburb Daphne, henceforward the emporium for the Euphrates trade, was surrounded by a chain of Greek settlements. Military colonies, inhabited by veterans who had earned their discharge, as well as by natives, were founded on the model of the city-state, both in the old country and in Asia Minor. City life, with a government by a mass assembly and an organisation of the citizens in tribes, flourished in these colonies. Supported by the national government, occupying the position of the dominant class, the Greeks acquired enormous influence upon social life. How

Greek Influence in Syria

completely the Greek polis had conquered the Semitic East is proved by the forms of worship and of law. Ascalon could produce a Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo, in addition to Astarte and the fish-goddess—Atargatis-Derketo. The coins of Damascus show, it is true, a Dionysus who exhibits some assimilation to the Arabian god, but they bear also the heads of Artemis, Athene, and Nike. The so-called Syrian Code was compiled in these regions on the basis of Greek legal notions. Even in the era of the Maccabees a gymnasium in Jerusalem shocked the orthodox Jews; the Feast of Tabernacles was, by the introduction of thyrsus wands, made to resemble the Dionysia, which, however, a Seleucid could not introduce.

The Jews of the Dispersion were Hellenised in various ways. The translation of the Scriptures, the Septuagint version, was due to the necessity of keeping up the knowledge of the Bible among those who had gradually lost their acquaintance with the sacred language. Thus a new channel was opened for the diffusion of Greek influence, although diffusion was accompanied by a process of corruption, and the Greek language took a tinge of Hebraic idiom among the Jews

of Alexandria. Even the remote countries of the East now drew nearer to Hellenism. The Greeks of Asia Minor had, of course, belonged to the same empire as a part of the Indian nation, so that commerce was early able to bring into the Punjab the products of Greek art; and philosophical ideas, such as the Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls, found their way into Greek territory.

India's Influence on Greece

It is certain that the Indians, at the time of the grammarian Panini, had become familiar with the Greek alphabet, and had struck coins after the Athenian pattern. It was not until Alexander's expedition that the country was conquered by science, and the Indian trade, which was now so important to Alexandria, became a part of Greek commerce. The Indian custom of ornamenting golden vessels with precious stones was adopted in the sphere of Greek culture; thus Stratonice of Syria sent golden cups inlaid with ivory as an offering to Delos, and Indian jacinth became a favourite material with lapidaries.

After the conquests of science the spirit of romance asserted its claim; the imaginative writers of Alexander's age busied themselves with India. At a much earlier date the Greeks had welcomed the fantasies of Indian folk-lore, such as the gold-mining ants as large as jackals and clad in skins, which some wish to explain as a Tibetan fur-clad tribe. Even if the myth of the Cyclops, who occur substantially in the Mahabharata as Lalataxa, arose independently among the Greeks and the Indians, those tribes which always carry their homes with them, since they only require to wrap themselves up in their enormous ears, are distinctly the creation of an Indian story-teller. They also appear in the Mahabharata as Tscharnaprawarana. In the age subsequent to Alexander a flourishing commerce was maintained with India, and Megasthenes in astonishment tells of

Greek Tales of Indian Marvels

the marvellous country, its splendid mountain forests, its smiling well-watered plains, and the strong, proud race of men which breathes the pure air. What a fluttering, crawling, and leaping there is under the mighty trees, whose topmost foliage rustles in the wind! Tigers twice the size of lions, and coal-black apes, whose faces are white and bearded, roam through the Indian forest in the daytime. Gigantic

serpents with bat-like wings whiz through the air at night; innumerable kinds of birds screech and coo and sing in a bewildering babel.

Among the men, however, the most remarkable were the Philosophers, who meditated over the problems of the universe in solitude for thirty-seven years, and then never discussed them with women. For, as Megasthenes naïvely thought, if women were unworthy of the high teaching, a grievous sin would have been committed in wasting it on them; but if they were worthy of the teaching, they would certainly be diverted from their own duties, or, to express the idea in modern phraseology, they would be filled with ideas of emancipation. The philosophy itself was gladly recognised as akin to the wisdom of the Greeks. Megasthenes, perhaps, when he makes this statement, has in mind the doctrine of transmigration. So, too, the Greeks, when they saw the procession in honour of Siva winding through the vine-clad valleys, with the clash of cymbals and kettledrums, may have thought themselves transported to their own homes during the noisy passing of a Dionysiac rout. With the Indian precious stones came their names—opal, beryl, etc.—into the west. Indian fables influenced the Greek travellers' tales, the true precursors of Defoe's immortal work. Thus the romance of Iambulus shows an unmistakable likeness to the adventures of Sindbad, which are the products of Indian fancy, and were later incorporated by the Arabians in the collection of "The Arabian Nights."

But an influence spread also from the west to the east. A typical instance of this is shown by the fact that Indian expressions connected with warfare found their way into Sanscrit from the Greek. An echo of the great struggles between Greeks and Indians is heard even in the commentaries of the grammarian Panini, and intellectual links of connection are forged in abundance. Alexander had brought the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to India with him, and his gigantic train included numerous actors. We must date back to that period the similarities which the *Mritshshhakatika* present to the Attic comedy, the imitation of the Greek stage, which calls the curtain in Indian *yawanika*,

The Reign of Hellenism in India

or "the Greek," the transference of Homeric legends into the Indian epics, the beast fables on Indian soil, until later even the Greek romances of Achilles Tatiuss served to adorn the romance "Kadamhari" of Bana (600-630 A.D.) and his son. The plastic arts were enriched. Doric (Kashmir), Ionic (Taxila), and Corinthian (Gandhara) pillars arose in that fairyland, which, under King Asoka, after the Persian model, had passed from the stage of wooden buildings to stone buildings; the symbol of the god of love, the dolphin, may have been transported from Greece to India by the sculptor's art. Coins were struck on the Greek model. Finally, the Greek dialogue served as a framework for the discussions of Greeks and Indians on philosophic subjects; thus the *Melinda = panha*—of a somewhat later date—presents one such dialogue between King Menander and the Buddhist priest Naya Sena.

The relations of Asoka with the West in the field of religion and politics are somewhat audaciously stated in his thirteenth inscription, and the assertion that he, the "pious" king, had succeeded in winning over even the Greek princes Amtiyoga (Antiochus), Tulumaya (Ptolemaus), Amtekina (Antigonus), Maka (Mayas), Alikasadala (Alexander of Epirus) cannot be seriously entertained. The Indo-Bactrian empire and the petty kingdoms parcelled out of it were long a home of the Greek spirit. Great vitality must have been latent in these kingdoms of the Greek conquistadores, since they did not shrink from the danger of mutual hostility. The struggle which was carried on from these parts seemed to the adjoining peoples more colossal than the conquests of Alexander the Great. Its importance for the establishment of relations between the Greek-speaking world, India and East Asia, has not yet been sufficiently appreciated.

King Demetrius (180-165 B.C.) and the town of Demetrias, which he built, appear in the stirring verses of the *Mahabharata*. Tibetan hordes drove him out of Bactria and forced him completely into the Punjab. The huge gold coins of his successor Eucratides, with the bust of the king and a horseman, are described by Chinese records of the first century B.C. Indian culture and philosophy must have gained a footing in this kingdom by degrees.

King Menander (about 125-95 B.C.) was already a Buddhist; but, even when fading away, this Greek civilisation had strength enough to influence the adjoining Indo-Scythian territory. The coins of this empire usually bear Indian and Greek inscriptions in Greek letters; then Indian in Greek letters; finally the native language, but still in Greek letters.

But the influence reached still further eastward. The Bactrian province of Ferghana (in Chinese, Ta yüan), was occupied by the Chinese general Li Kuang li in 101 B.C.; we find here the bridge connecting the Greek and Chinese civilisations over which came the movement which revolutionised Chinese art under the emperor Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.). It had long been clear that the Chinese at this time and from this district imported the noble Turkoman blood-horses, lucerne as excellent horse fodder, and the vine. After Chang Kien, the explorer, had brought the vine from Ta yüan to China the emperor Wu Ti had it planted in the palace gardens at Singan fu. But now critics of Chinese art assign to this very period metal mirrors which show marvellous vine-leaf orna-

Connection of Greece and China

mentation, as well as the lion and the winged horse. It is more than mere conjecture that Chinese art, which had stood still since the second millennium B.C., owed its sudden renaissance to Græco-Bactrian influence and the naturalism of Greek art.

The excavations of Aurel Stein, 1900-1901, in Khotan, have brought to light fresh evidence of the expansion of Greek culture, as well as a further station on the road by which the peoples of the West migrated towards Eastern Asia. A Pallas Athene, represented on a seal in archaic style, a seal with a sitting Greek figure, probably Eros, and, above all, a seal with a portrait head after a Western model, but with thoroughly Chinese features, show that here, half-way between West Iran and Peking, Greek culture had established a firm footing. The types of the coins for Transoxania or Western Turkestan originated in the Greek centres of civilisation in Bactria, so that the silver tetradrachms found in Samarkand and Tashkent must have been struck after the pattern of the coins of Heliocles and Euthydemus, and similarly the path of Greek influences must have led thence through Ferghana, past the Greek city

of Alexandria Eschate and Kashgar and Yarkand, to Khotan.

And while thus in the remotest east of the countries which were included in the habitable world, on the fringe of the East Asiatic world, the Greek spirit, wantonly prodigal of its forces, was tearing itself to pieces, and nevertheless was able to influence coinage, art, and flora, as far as India and East Asia; while in the Nile valley and at Babylon native authors wrote in Greek; while Greeks had explored the Red Sea, the Nile, the Caspian, and Scythia, this same Hellenism had founded for itself in the west a province of Hellenic manners and customs, and had completely enslaved it. This was the Roman empire, now coming to the fore, which, as it took its part in this international commerce, offered the Greek intellect a new home with new constitutional and legal principles.

Roman historiography, philosophy, eloquence, mathematics, medicine, sculpture, and poetry, the games of Rome, the fauna and flora of Italy, the forms of daily life and the religions of Rome, became Greek. A world-empire could not be won except in alliance with a cosmopolitan civilisation—Rome herself was powerless to create both these at once. The Greeks had given the Italians the fruit trees of the East, peach and almond, walnut, chestnut, and plum. In the midst of this enriched flora there now arose in Italy the Greek house, with its two divisions, ornamented with Greek marble, or the old Italian house transformed with the Greek ridged roof; its rooms, which bore Greek names, were divided by Greek tapestry curtains. In the dining-room (triclínium), the guests reclined, wearing long woollen tunics. The soft house-shoes, slippers, and sandals of the Greeks were in use. The girls in the house wore the Greek skirt (cacomboma).

Rome's Debts to Greece

On the high-roads were seen the Macedonian kausia as head-wear, together with the Greek (broader-brimmed) petasos; for cold weather the fur tippet (arnacis) of Greek pattern had come into fashion. Whether we regard the higher employments of life, education with its three grades and its three classes of Greek teachers, or the new professions which originated in the development of the luxuries of the table, everywhere Greek

influence is predominant. In ancient times a critical period, such as famine or pestilence or a practical want, may have called in individual divinities of the Greek religion, and these motives were indeed always important. On the occasion of a pestilence in 293 B.C. the worship of Æsculapius was brought to Rome from

**Greek
Art of
Medicine**

Epirus, and attracted at the same time the Greek art of medicine. The war troubles of 249 B.C. effected the transference of the Greek ideas as to the lower world from Tarentum to the Ara Ditis—in the "Tarentum" on the Campus Martius—so that henceforward Pluto and Proserpine are worshipped as native divinities. Again, the defeat at Lake Trasimene in 217 B.C. aroused a desire to bring in new deities; Venus of Mount Eryx and Mens (Sophrosyne) then came into the Italian capital.

But now another point made itself felt. There was not only the continual wish to invoke the help of the Greek gods, but a desire was felt for the noisy festivals of the Greeks; thus in 238 B.C. the feast of a Greek goddess was introduced under the name of the Floralia. The ritual of the Greeks was so much more elaborate and artistic than that of Rome that a religious revolution at once resulted. Thus both Italian and Capitoline divinities—for instance, Juno Sospita, of Lanuvium, and Juno Regina of the Aventine—were now honoured with Greek rites. To the latter a procession of virgins went in pilgrimage, chanting the refrain of the propitiatory hymn which L. Livius Andronicus, a Greek of Lower Italy, had composed. The circle of the twelve gods was completed after the Greek model; other assimilations were made, and Greek myths then completely concealed from view the old Italian divinities. But where, nevertheless, some clear ideas of their nature were preserved, there the plastic

**Greek
Myths
Adopted**

art of Greece, with its powerfully elaborated types of divinities, crushed the last remnants of native imagery. These dethroned deities seemed almost to exist on sufferance in order to fill up gaps in the chronology. What had become of the time when foreign deities might be worshipped only outside the boundaries of the city?

With the Greek religion came Greek philosophy, Greek rationalism, and re-

ligious inquiry into Italy, and although hindered in various ways—for example, by the censorship which prohibited the "Pythagorean" books and the expulsion of individual teachers—finally, in the dress of the Stoic school, attained to undisputed sovereignty.

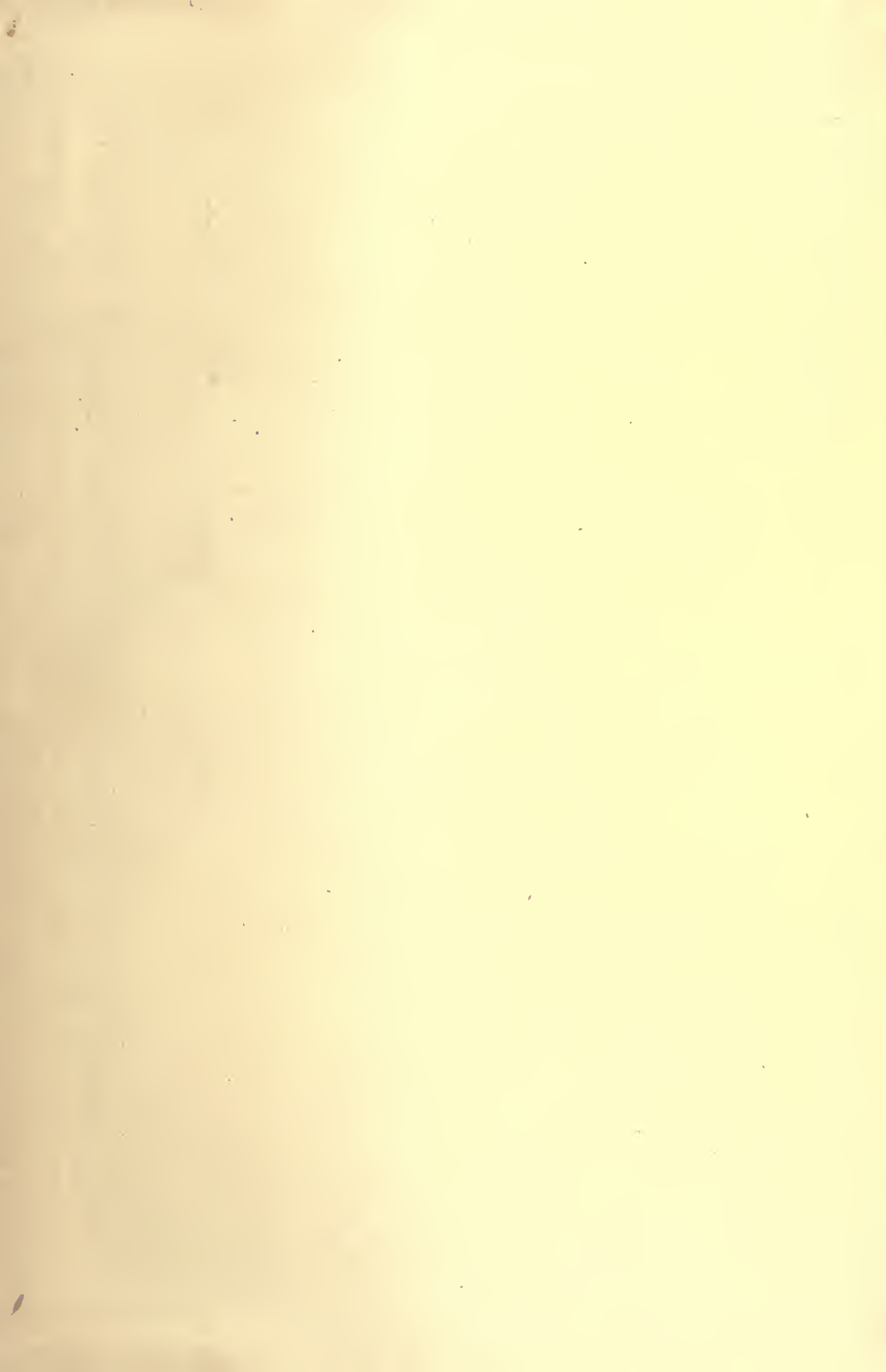
Thus the past history of Rome was remodelled and given a Greek colouring. The national fancy had already tried to illuminate the obscure beginnings of the city, borrowing many details from the legend of Cyrus in Herodotus. Greek imagination now bestowed form and colour on the dark history of the kings of Rome. The siege of Veii was retold with incidents suggested by the Trojan War. Gods of the Greek type take part in the battles; characters are created according to Greek models (Decemvirs as a parallel to the Thirty Tyrants, Scipio as a new Alcibiades, Fabius as a modernised version of Nicias). How excellently the occupation of Athens by the Persians supplies particulars for the Gallic conquest! How the accounts of Greek battles (the battle of Cunaxa is a prototype for Cirta) and the stories of sieges (Hal-

**Roman
History is
Greek**

carnassus, Saguntum) make up for the Roman deficiency in imaginative power! To fill up the great void of the national past the Roman historians, if so we may call them, borrowed from their Greek precursors the descriptions of diplomatic negotiations, satirical reflections suited to the surrounding tribes of Italy, and questions on the theory of history. It is little wonder that the Roman historians, down to M. Porcius Cato, wrote in Greek.

The world has hardly ever seen such vast districts and nations so various thus steeped in a civilisation—however much it may have been a "world-civilisation"—which still showed its national origin in the greater majority of its component parts. The larger area belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race of to-day is dominated by the English world-language; but the civilisation which goes with the language is not purely Anglo-Saxon, it bears only an Anglo-Saxon tinge. Those centuries preceding the Christian era saw the language of Athens become the Greek vernacular, which, in its turn, became the language of the world; and a large part of the known world became at the same time a sphere of Greek culture and intellect.

RUDOLPH VON SCALA



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