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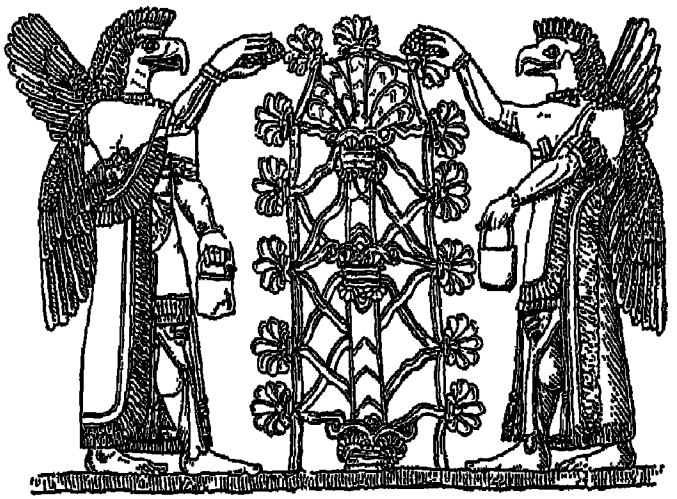
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HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

Ancient and Medieval

HISTORY OF
CIVILIZATION
ANCIENT & MEDIEVAL

BY HUTTON WEBSTER
STANFORD UNIVERSITY



D. C. Heath and Company, Boston

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Preface

HE who attempts to compress the history of civilization within a single volume may properly be expected to say something in the way of an apologia pro suo libello. *So much must remain unchronicled, so much left in the ink pot. Yet, after all, brevity in a historical work is a purely relative matter. Gibbon required only six quarto volumes (in the original edition) for his survey of thirteen centuries of Europe, whereas Macaulay devoted four volumes to a period of sixteen years in the life of the English people. Granted the grandeur of the subject, even a brief treatment of it should enable the student to gain some conception of man's cultural development through the centuries, some appreciation of the contributions made by peoples widely separated in space and time to what is steadily becoming the common possession of mankind.*

A history of civilization ought not to be "a post-mortem examination." We know too little of the past—we shall always know too little of the past—to discern in the historic process a movement predetermined and inevitable. The diverse cultures which have arisen in response to environmental influences and to human nature may be described and, whenever possible, the interactions between these cultures may be traced. That is all which, as historians, we can safely do. To do more is to make of ourselves philosophers.

My point of view is frankly that of an inheritor of European or Western civilization. Doubtless a similar work by a Chinese, for instance, would present matters somewhat differently. One cannot escape the limitations of one's age and clime.

The plan of the book is simple. Part I (Foundations of Civilization) begins with a general discussion of the nature of civilization or culture. This is followed by an account of the races and languages of man, the maker of culture. The next two chapters present the evidence for man's cultural growth in "prehistoric" times, as revealed by archaeological study of his handicrafts and arts and by

anthropological study of the beliefs and customs of existing "primitive" peoples. Part II (Centers of Early Civilization) follows a geographical rather than a chronological order and deals, in succession, with America before Columbus, China, India, and the principal countries of the ancient Near East. Pre-Columbian America remained in complete isolation from the rest of the world, and China and India, while not completely isolated, were cut off from many fertilizing contacts with other lands. Hence it is convenient to take them up at this stage and then to trace, without a break in the narrative, the gradual spread of civilization in the Near East and Europe until, a few hundred years ago, the Far East and America came within the purview of Europeans and under European influence. Part III (Classical Civilization) presents Greece and Rome as the two great civilizations which grew up, flourished, and declined in the Mediterranean area. Part IV (Medieval Civilization), save for two chapters on New Rome and Islam, is confined to western Europe in the Middle Ages.

I have not written this book from the primary sources of history. A lifetime would scarcely suffice for such a task. Nevertheless, they have been frequently consulted and quoted, especially in cases where the secondary authorities are not in agreement. The reader who misses here much of that "flower and perfume" of history which only the primary sources yield may be referred to my Historical Selections *(Heath, 1929). It is a compilation of the widest scope, containing nearly six hundred extracts and dealing with the cultural development of humanity in all ages for which there are written records.*

As regards the Bibliography, I have confined myself to books in the English language, and to those dealing with the particular topics in the chapter under discussion. The longer and more general works, which overstep the limits of the chapter, are not included. Recent books have been cited, wherever possible, in preference to older and often antiquated publications.

The manuscript has been read by Professor John F. Ramsey of the University of Alabama, Professor Lynn T. White of Stanford University, and Dr. Henry M. Adams, formerly at Stanford, but

now at Eastern Washington College. In addition, the proof sheets have been read, in whole or in part, by Professor A. L. Kroeber of the University of California, Professor Maxwell H. Savelle of Stanford University, and Dr. W. C. Bark of the same institution. I feel greatly indebted to all these gentlemen for wholesome criticisms and profitable suggestions. Several maps have been taken, by permission, from Professor W. O. Ault's EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

H. W.

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Contents

PART ONE

FOUNDATIONS OF CIVILIZATION

I. Culture 3
II. Man Past and Present 16
III. Preliterary History 31
IV. Social Origins 52

PART TWO

CENTERS OF EARLY CIVILIZATION

V. *Ancient America* 73
VI. China 84
VII. India 101
VIII. Babylonia and Assyria 124
IX. Egypt 148
X. Western Asia in Antiquity 175

PART THREE

CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION

XI. Greece and the Greek World 201
XII. Hellenism 233
XIII. The Roman Republic 258
XIV. The Roman Empire 287
XV. The Roman Empire (Continued) 315
XVI. Early Christianity 329

PART FOUR

MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION

XVII. The Germans 355
XVIII. The Northmen and the Normans 385

XIX. New Rome 401
XX. Islam 416
XXI. The Christian Commonwealth 442
XXII. Feudalism and the Aristocracy 469
XXIII. The People in Country and Town 485
XXIV. National States 510
XXV. Literature, Learning, and Art (XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth Centuries) 531
XXVI. Literature, Learning, and Art (XIVth and XVth Centuries) 555
BIBLIOGRAPHY 577
INDEX 589

Illustrations

PLATE *Facing page*

I Fresco of Hind, Altamira Cavern, Spain, Palaeolithic Period

Dolmen or Table Stone, Carnac, France, Neolithic Period (*Archives Photographiques d'Art et d'Histoire*) 32

II Maya Goddess, Honduras (*Courtesy Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University*)

Pre-Inca Fortifications, Cuzco, Peru 33

III Chinese Pagoda of the T'ang Dynasty, Kuan Ning, Manchuria (*Photograph, courtesy Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University*)

Chinese Wooden Carving of a Bodhisattva, 12th Century (*Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

Great Jar, Chanhudaro, India, *c.* 3000 B.C. (*Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*) 64

IV Copper Image of Siva the Destroyer, India, 15th Century (*Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

Buddha and the Eight Great Miracles, India, 12th Century (*Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*) 65

V Hammurabi Receiving the Laws from the Sun God, Babylonia, *c.* 2000 B.C. (*Louvre. Photograph, Giraudon*)

Amber Statuette of Assurnasirpal, Assyria, 9th Century B.C. (*Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

Assyrian Cuneiform Inscription and Relief, 9th Century B.C. (*British Museum*) 192

VI Egyptian Laborer of the Pyramid Age, *c.* 2500 B.C. (*Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

Portrait Bust of Queen Nefertiti, 14th Century B.C. (*New Museum, Berlin*)

Pillar Fresco in the Tomb of Ramses II, *c.* 1250 B.C. (*Photograph, Gaddis and Seif*) 193

VII Stepped Pyramid of Zoser: the Oldest of the Pyramids, *c.* 3000 B.C.

The Erechtheum, Athens, 5th Century B.C. 224

VIII Wall Painting of Bull-leaping, from the Palace at Cnossus, Crete, *c.* 1400 B.C. (Reproduction. *Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art*) 225

IX Marble Statue of Greek Boy. (Roman copy of Greek sculpture of 5th century B.C. *Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art*) 288

X Head of Athlete in Style of Praxiteles, 4th Century B.C. (*Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

Figure of Old Market Woman in Realistic Style of Hellenistic Age (*Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art*) 289

XI Triumphal Procession of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) (*Conservatory Museum, Rome. Photograph, Brogi*) 320

XII Early Christian Frescoes, Catacomb of Giordani, Rome (*Photograph, Alinari*)

Interior of Church of St. Sophia, Constantinople, 6th Century 321

XIII Dome of the Rock, Mohammedan Mosque, Jerusalem, 7th Century

Court of the Myrtles and Comares Tower, the Alhambra, Granada, Spain, 14th Century (*Photograph, Laurent*) 416

XIV The Church Defended against the Heretics: Symbolic Painting (Miniature of 15th century. P. Lacroix, *Vie Militaire et Religieuse*)

The Procession of the Blessed Sacrament Followed by René, King of Naples (Manuscript of 15th century. P. Lacroix, *Vie Militaire et Religieuse*) 417

XV Conway Castle, Carnarvonshire, Wales, 13th Century

Battle of Knights at Auray, 1364 (Woodcut of early 16th century. P. Lacroix, *Vie Militaire et Religieuse*) 448

XVI September: Peasants at Work in Vineyard (Pol de Limbourg, Book of Hours) 449

XVII The Tower of London, Showing Keep of 11th Century (Print of 17th Century)

Royal Court in the Middle Ages: Trial of the Duc d'Alençon before Charles VII of France, 1458 (Miniature of 15th century. P. Lacroix, *Vie Militaire et Religieuse*) 512

XVIII Abbaye-aux-Dames, Caen, France, *c.* A.D. 1070, Showing Massiveness of Romanesque Architecture

Tomb Effigy of King Edward III of England (1327–1377) (Electrotype reproduction. *National Portrait Gallery, London*)

Sainte Chapelle, Paris, 13th Century, Showing Lightness of Gothic Architecture (*Archives Photographiques d'Art et d'Histoire*) 513

XIX The Birth of Venus, by Sandro Botticelli (1447–1510) (*Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Photograph, Anderson*) 544

XX The Colonna Altar, by Raphael (1483–1520) (*Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art*) 545

Maps and Plans

Physical Features of Europe	*following*	12
Races of Man		25
Distribution of the White Race by Languages about 1000–500 B.C.	*facing*	28
Language Groups of Modern Europe		29
Europe during the Ice Age		33
Ancient Maya Cities		76
Culture Areas of Latin America		81
The Chinese Empire under the T'ang Dynasty		92
Ancient India		112
Expansion of Buddhism		113
The Near East and Greece	*facing*	124
Sumer and Akkad		126
Ancient Egypt		151
Colonization of the Mediterranean		179
The Assyrian and Persian Empires		191
The Greeks in the Aegean	*facing*	202
The Persian Invasions of Greece		220
Empire of Alexander the Great		229
Hellenism in Asia about 150 B.C.		231
The World according to Herodotus		249
The World according to Ptolemy		250
Orders of Greek Architecture		253
Ground Plan of the Parthenon, Athens		255
Italy before the Rise of Rome		260
The Expansion of the Celts		270
Rome in Italy		271
The Roman Empire at Its Greatest Extent		298–299
Ground Plan of a Pompeian House		301
Ground Plan of the Basilica Ulpia, Rome		312
The Prefectures of the Roman Empire about 395 A.D.		319
The Germanic Kingdoms and the Roman Empire, 526 A.D.		369
The Frankish Empire in 814 A.D.		373

Racial Types in Western Europe 378
Discoveries and Settlements of the Northmen 393
Western and Eastern Europe: the Cultural Frontier 399
The Expansion of the Slavs 406
The Vicinity of Constantinople 414
Expansion of Islam *facing* 426
Growth of Christianity from the 5th to the 14th Century 456–457
The Great Schism 464
The Frankish Empire, Showing the Division of 843 470
The Fiefs of the Count of Champagne (12th Century) 474
Plan of a Medieval Manor 489
A Medieval Walled Town – Leicester 497
Commercial Towns and Trade Routes of the 13th and 14th Centuries 502–503
Commercial Towns of France, Flanders, and the Rhine Valley in the 13th and 14th Centuries 507
The Unification of the British Isles 518
The Unification of France during the Middle Ages 522
The Unification of Spain during the Middle Ages 525
German Expansion Eastward during the Middle Ages 528
Language Frontiers in Western Europe 533
Cross Section of Amiens Cathedral 551
Ground Plan of Salisbury Cathedral 552

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, 3200 B.C.–354 A.D. 120
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, 376–1381 381

PART ONE

Foundations of Civilization

I

Culture

Civilization or Culture

HISTORY meant to the Greeks, whose word it is, very much what "philosophy" or "science" means to us now: it was the search for any kind of knowledge, the critical investigation of either nature or man. This broad use of the word persisted for centuries and lingers yet in the somewhat old-fashioned expression "natural history." "History," as the word will be used in this book, is an account of what man has thought and said and done from the beginning of his existence on the earth, or, at any rate, from the earliest period for which there is any evidence. The entire past of humanity may be said to concern the world-historian, who turns away from the merely curious and picturesque features of the human story, from annalism and antiquarianism, to set forth the constructive achievements of man, to trace the rise and growth, and sometimes the decline, of civilization or culture.

"Civilization," a noun derived from the Latin adjective *civilis*, "pertaining to a citizen," referred at first to the social condition existing under the forms and government of the classical city-states. The Greeks and Romans, assured of the superiority of their political institutions to those of the "barbarians," regarded themselves as alone being truly civilized, as alone having an elevated conception of citizenship. In popular usage "civilization" now implies all that social progress which separates men as members of states from men who live in rude hordes, clans, and tribes. Civilization is for us our civilization; those who do not belong to it are described as uncivilized or, at best, as semicivilized. We thus make ourselves the standard by which we judge the rest of mankind. The world-historian, interested in man everywhere and at all times, often prefers to use the unequivocal term "culture," rather than a term which carries with it the implication of a rigid distinction between low or primitive peoples and high or advanced peoples. Civilization or culture may be truly described as a seamless garment, in whose

making all peoples have co-operated according to their abilities and opportunities.

Culture has a material aspect and a nonmaterial, mental, or spiritual aspect. We begin by inquiring into the presence or absence, the low or high development, of those practical arts which enable man to get subsistence out of the earth and which supply him with food, shelter, adornment, clothing, and other economic goods. To live is the primary and fundamental human activity. Urgent bodily needs must be satisfied before there is leisure or opportunity to satisfy the cravings of the mind. Intellectual creation, from this point of view, is always a luxury; and religion, morality, law, government, science, literature, and art are essentially by-products of man's struggle for a bare subsistence. Progress in material culture is therefore indispensable to progress in nonmaterial culture. We must first live, before we can live well. The fairest types of humanity, the highest achievements of the human spirit, are never to be found among peoples whose physical life is almost on the animal plane; they are found only among peoples who have made a considerable advance in the practical arts. It is not without significance that civilization, in the sense of highly developed culture, is associated with the massing of men in cities, those nerve-centers of society, those seats of concentrated social energy.

Culture and Environment

Whatever men do to build or preserve culture must be done by them as individuals. Every implement, mechanical device, or machine is nothing but the material embodiment of an idea which preceded it in some human mind. All beliefs, customs, and institutions, whether simple or complex, must likewise originate in the ideas of individual minds. Nowhere else can ideas originate, for there are no other minds than those of individuals. But men do not dwell in an ethereal realm, nor do their thinking processes operate in a vacuum. They are fixed to the earth and bound to one another. Theirs is a physical environment of inorganic matter, flora, fauna, and climate; and a social environment of fellow men. Each molds the individual man, and by promoting or retarding the growth of ideas helps to determine the growth of culture.

Man is a pensioner on nature. He discovers, appropriates, and transforms natural energies, but he does not create them. He shares with plants and animals the same primary needs for air which can be breathed, a temperature which will support life, and food. Like them he must adapt himself to the physical environment or he must perish. With plants and animals the adaptation is chiefly direct, involving modifica-

tions and adjustments of the bodily structure; with man the adaptation is chiefly indirect, producing cultural changes. Man makes tools, wears clothing, constructs shelters, tames the brute creation, sows and reaps the fruits of the earth, smelts metals, invents machinery, and harnesses steam and electricity to work for him. Such cultural acquisitions do not lessen man's dependence on nature, but man's dependence is utterly unlike that exhibited by forms of life beneath him. Instead of lying helpless before nature, taking only what she chooses to bestow, man, through invention and scientific discovery, multiplies enormously the natural resources within his reach and gratifies his ever increasing wants to an extent practically unlimited. The physical environment always sets limits to his powers; within these limits he remains master of his fate. Man's control of nature began when he chipped the first flint implement, sharpened the first stick into a spear, and lighted the first fire. His control has gone on at an accelerated pace since those far-off days; and the history of civilization, from this point of view, is the history of man making over his physical environment.

It is often assumed that man is naturally social, as are so many animals; that he sprang from a gregarious stock; and that a herd instinct drove him irresistibly into union with his fellows. There is much reason, however, to regard human society as an adaptation forced upon man by the necessities of the struggle for existence. Human society would seem to be an outcome of man's intelligent co-operation, made possible by that superior mentality which more than counterbalances his physical deficiencies for both offense and defense — unprotected skin, atrophied teeth and claws, cumbersome gait — as compared with many animals beneath him. He must have learned the lesson of sociality very early. There are few peoples now on the earth who live in isolated families rather than in communities; recorded history deals with associations of men; and the evidence of archaeology, as far as it is available, reveals the existence of small groups of hunters and fishers in various parts of the world at a remote period. Associational bonds tend to become ever more extensive, complicated, and far-reaching, so that the history of civilization, from still another point of view, is the history of the progressive unification of mankind.

When men live together and work together, they create culture. Their culture includes all sorts of material things, both consumable goods capable of immediate enjoyment and the instruments for the production and distribution of consumable goods. It further includes a great mass of nonmaterial things, such as languages, writing systems, laws, literatures, artistic compositions, religious doctrines, and scientific theories and principles. Lastly, culture in the broad sense here understood in-

cludes all the collective habits, customs, and institutions of a given society. Taken as a whole, these form a set of environmental influences, properly described as superorganic, or nonvital, in contrast to those proceeding from the physical and social environments.

To the cultural environment man the individual must adjust himself, even as he adjusts himself to the natural world and to his fellows. This adjustment takes place principally during the long period of childhood, before the child has gained sufficient strength and intelligence to shift for itself. We are all born naked in mind as well as in body, and how far the nakedness of our minds shall be clothed with culture depends entirely upon where and when we happen to see the light of day. Culture surrounds the individual man as closely as does the atmosphere about him; it is the medium, the *milieu*, in which he lives and has his being.

Accumulation and Transmission of Culture

What is new in the cultural environment, if also useful or otherwise desirable, tends to be preserved and added to the general fund. The rate of accumulation varies with the size of the social group, being slowest among small and primitive societies, which appear almost stationary. Accumulation is always a selective process, for when the new is added the old may be discarded. Introduction of the metals meant ultimately the disuse of stone and bone as materials for implements, and the development of factories and machine production has led to the disappearance of handicrafts that flourished a century or so ago. Similarly, ideas and customs become antiquated and either disappear or last on only in holes and corners. The belief in the existence of demons and the practice of magic were common enough among even educated people not so long ago; now they are superstitions surviving in illiterate and backward communities. The study of "survivals," whether or not of a superstitious character, forms the science of folklore.

Culture passes from one person to another, from generation to generation, and from age to age. Material culture — tools, machinery, factories, houses, roads, vehicles, and the like — persists of itself, unless it wears out or is destroyed by natural calamities or in warfare. Bad social practices also may destroy material culture, as when savages get rid of a man's property after his death because they fear to use it themselves. Lavish, extravagant sacrifices to spirits and deities illustrate another form of expenditure which keeps many a primitive community poor. Immaterial culture is handed over and handed down, in part, by spontaneous imitation. Children imitate their parents; we all imitate one another. Transmission of immaterial culture also takes place by means of precept,

training, and discipline, in short, by education, which is a kind of induced or compulsory imitation. Any cultural feature not preserved in one of these ways must be discovered or invented anew. Otherwise it disappears.

The transmissive process depends fundamentally on the use of verbal language, whereby man communicates to his fellows those general ideas which, in the last analysis, make up his culture. Had man remained dumb, it is conceivable that with his big, efficient brain he might have perfected other means of communication, relying on gestures and facial expressions, developing a system of musical notes and thinking in them as does a musician, or using marks and signs as substitutes for spoken words. The gesture languages of North American Indians, the curious "drum language" of West African Negroes, and the message sticks of Australian aborigines indicate the possibilities of development in these directions. Man's remarkable vocal apparatus, permitting him to reproduce a wide range of articulate sounds, put the emphasis on speech.

How words arose out of animal-like cries and chatterings and how they came to be associated with particular objects, actions, or conditions, thus serving as symbols of general ideas, we can only guess. The origin of verbal language is lost in the mystery which envelops all of man's prehuman or subhuman life. That word-making was antecedent even to tool-making seems probable; at any rate, man must have acquired a highly organized speech before he could have gone far in the practical arts. The existence of the latter implies much communication within the social group, so that whatever one man learned by accident or reflection could be passed over to others and become a group possession. Verbal language, we may believe, was the primary element of culture, and, once formed, it became the chief means of cultural transmission. Oral tradition preserved, though faultily, discoveries, inventions, and all other intellectual acquisitions until it was supplemented by the written record.

With the growth of verbal language the possibility arose of fixing it by conventional signs more or less indelible and therefore more or less permanent. The origin of writing may be traced to the cave man's carvings, engravings, and paintings. Most of these are simple representations of animals, but others deal with actions and events, and so tell a story. There are Spanish caves on the walls of which definite scenes are depicted: animals driven upon a line of archers; the collecting of honey; a dance of men and women. Similar instances of pictography occur in the art of existing savages, such as the Bushmen of South Africa, whose pictures sometimes commemorate unusual occurrences in the life of the community and even incidents in folktales. Still more developed

are the pictographs of North American Indians, with which they wrote on skins or birch bark and preserved myths, songs, and tribal annals. Indian pictographs occasionally become symbols of ideas, the figure of a man indicating any man, a human being, and that of a man with a hat referring specifically to a white man. Ideography passed into phonography when the pictures, now more or less broken down and conventionalized, were used for sounds of the human voice. The transitional stage between the two is found in the hieroglyphs of the ancient Mexicans (Mayas and Aztecs), but it is more completely illustrated by those of the Chinese, Babylonians, and Egyptians. Writing, by this time, had become the "divine art," as Plato called it, the most significant, after spoken language, of man's intellectual creations. It substituted for oral tradition, for weak and fallible human memory, a far surer means of preserving and disseminating human experience. It made possible a record of the past which was relatively exact, comprehensive, and ever growing with the growth of culture. History, as conventionally understood, is written history.

Culture, clearly, is not innate. It is a product of man's associational life, gradually accumulated and then transmitted to new members of the social group. A human society moves forward as in a relay race, each generation taking over what its predecessors have accomplished, and at the same time making its own contribution to the general store. This past of mankind forms a cultural heritage, just as truly as our bodies and minds form a physical heritage from our ancestors. It grows ever larger with the lapse of time, like a coral reef formed by the secretions of myriads of polyps, like a mighty stream fed by countless tributaries.

Culture Elements

Culture is a complex, consisting of numerous diverse elements, which may be compared with species of plants and animals as studied by the naturalist. Some elements are found among all peoples, for instance, fire-making and the belief in souls and spirits; some are found among many peoples, for instance, the use of the bow, tattooing, the decimal system, alphabetic writing, and the solar calendar; while others, again, are limited to a few peoples or to only one people. Since culture elements do not arise spontaneously, it becomes necessary to inquire into man's discovery or invention of them.

Broadly considered, discovery and invention include any modifications of culture that are looked upon as improvements. The one refers to the unexpected, unpremeditated finding of something; the other refers to purposeful experimenting with what already exists, in order to pro-

duce what does not now exist. A savage may come accidentally upon a new edible plant, which henceforth forms a part of the tribal food supply: that is discovery. He may utilize the elasticity of a bent sapling to construct a bow: that is invention. The two processes merge into each other, and both have nonmaterial as well as material aspects. Even a savage may chance upon new ideas acceptable to his group, or he may produce deliberately a new song or dance which wins popular favor. In earlier days discovery was much more usual than invention, as is still the case with existing primitive peoples, whereas now and among ourselves invention plays the larger role. Cultural history might well be written in terms of the great epochal discoveries and inventions which have lifted man above the animal plane and made him truly man.

Discovery and invention are dependent on the physical environment, which may or may not furnish opportunities. The abundant clay of the Tigris-Euphrates valley enabled its ancient inhabitants to build with sun-dried brick (adobe) and to become excellent potters; on the other hand, the lack of metals in the islands of the South Pacific, which are volcanic or coralline in formation, prevented the natives there from becoming metallurgists before the arrival of Europeans. Discovery and invention also depend on the social environment, which may or may not provide the necessary stimuli. The larger the social group and the denser the population, the more numerous are the needs which must be satisfied. A small tribe does not require for its existence the elaborate and complicated devices which make life possible in a modern city. Furthermore, there is always the dependence of discovery and invention on the cultural environment. Polished stone implements appeared only after, and long after, those of chipped stone; steel came into use only many centuries after iron; wheeled vehicles could not be introduced until the wheel itself had been achieved; and the airplane required the prior development of the gasoline engine. Anything novel in other fields — a new doctrine in philosophy, a new dogma in religion, a new scientific hypothesis — has likewise its antecedents and forerunners. Modern theories of biological evolution were to a certain extent anticipated by the Greeks, and the relativity theory of Einstein must be understood (if it can be understood) in connection with Newton's law of gravitation. Every discovery or invention has been thousands of years in the making, and for it to be made, a multitude of cultural achievements have been necessary. The roots of the tree of knowledge sink deep into cultural soil.

Discoveries and inventions are usually due to men whom nature has endowed with talent above their fellows or with that superabundant talent which is called genius. Their advent in a community can no

more be predicted than the appearance of specially gifted children in a family. Nor can we say why they should be more numerous at one time or place than another; why Athens under Pericles, Florence during the fifteenth century, and Elizabethan England should have given birth in a brief period and from a scanty population to so many eminent persons. The wind of genius bloweth where it listeth. We can only accept the fact that some peoples and some ages are prolific in the production of superior men, those prophets, poets, philosophers, scientists, who are the true "seers," whose minds seethe with new ideas, and whose discoveries and inventions may affect the lives and mold the destinies of innumerable inferior men for generations. These men are truly history-making and culture-shaping forces, even though it is true enough that they can accomplish little or nothing unless the ground is ready for them. Humanity, in idealizing and often idolizing its "heroes," has shown a just judgment.

It is now clear that every culture element must originate in discovery or invention at least once, somewhere, somehow, and at some time. May a culture element originate two or more times and in different places? The history of modern science, both pure and applied, affords numberless instances of discoveries and inventions for the credit of which there are two or more claimants. Newton and his German contemporary, Leibniz, devised independently the infinitesimal calculus. A Swedish chemist and an English chemist revealed independently the presence of oxygen in the atmosphere. Several European physicists formulated independently the law of the conservation of energy. Charles Darwin and A. R. Wallace set forth independently and almost simultaneously the theory of evolution by means of natural selection. Credit for the invention of the printing press, the telescope, the microscope, the pendulum clock, the Leyden jar, the telegraph, the telephone, the sewing machine, the typewriter, the steamboat, the submarine, and the airplane is also divided among two or more persons. All these instances show how minds of similar power engaged on similar problems have worked out similar solutions.

Many other discoveries and inventions, especially rather simple ones, seem to have been made over and over again in earlier ages. Examples from material culture are levers, rollers, and wedges; slings, lassos, and bows; oars, sails, and rudders; fishing nets, lines, and hooks; the dugout canoe; the balance; the needle; the bellows; basketry; and pottery. Examples from immaterial culture are notions of the soul and of an after life, witchcraft superstitions, flood myths, tattooing and other mutilations of the body, animal and human sacrifice, cannibalism, the use of intoxicants, methods of cooking, counting by ten (the decimal

system), and reckoning time by "moons," or lunar months. Independent origins for many elements of culture might well be looked for, considering that all men have the same feelings, impulses, and needs, and that all live under the same fundamental life conditions — "fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer," as Shakespeare says.

Culture elements tend to spread from their place or places of origin; they are characterized by wanderlust. Contact between peoples or their actual mingling makes diffusion possible. No social group is so entirely isolated as to obtain nothing from its neighbors. Even a savage tribe may secure such prized commodities as iron, salt, or tobacco by way of gift, barter, or plunder from another tribe. Travelers bring to it stories, songs, dances, and ceremonies. Foreigners adopted into it may introduce novelties, and so may war captives, or slaves, or women secured from the outside as wives. Two migrating tribes may settle in the same district or one tribe may be overrun by another tribe; in either case the two tribes will have many occasions for intercourse. The more advanced are social groups the more opportunities there are for trade, intercourse, migration, and warfare between them. Railroads, steamships, automobiles, and airplanes bind the nations together. The post, the telegraph, the submarine cable, the wireless, and the radio keep them in constant communication. Ideas and ideals now tour the globe at a speed which seems breathless in comparison with their tortoiselike pace in earlier ages.

Diffusion generally implies a voluntary borrowing of culture elements, but this occurs only when the new elements can be fitted into the group life and thought. The savage readily adopts the white man's firearms; he has not taken over poison gas. The revolutionary conceptions of the universe associated with the name of Copernicus did not secure general acceptance for more than a hundred years, while the equally revolutionary conceptions of animate nature summed up as Darwinism are not yet assimilated even by all persons who consider themselves educated. Diffusion may also be secured through a resort to coercion. Statesmen, by laws, and military leaders, by arms, sometimes force the culture of their groups upon other groups. Missionary activity illustrates the diffusion of elements of culture by conscious training and instruction. All the great religions of the world have been carried by missionaries — Buddhist, Christian, Moslem — who have aimed, not only to convert the heathen, but also to introduce among them their own moral and social standards. Advertising, organized propaganda, and the motion picture must be included also among the

agencies which in our time are becoming more and more responsible for the diffusion of culture.

Culture elements are more often derived by one group from another than independently discovered or invented, for the simple reason that it is usually easier to imitate than to originate. Diffusion, however, should not be sharply contrasted with discovery and invention; the two processes in culture-building are complementary. Whenever an element of culture is received from the outside it is almost always modified, in greater or less degree, so that it may be adjusted to the existing social framework. Rome took over from Egypt the solar calendar of three hundred and sixty-five days, but at the same time improved it by introducing the device of leap years. The seven-day week now in use among Occidental nations is of Oriental origin, but the names of four of the weekdays are derived from those of old Germanic deities. The alphabet, which also arose in the Near East, assumed a great variety of forms (Greek, Roman, Russian, Hebrew, Arabic, Hindu) among Europeans and Asiatics. In these cases, as in many others, adoption has spelled adaptation.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

Nothing is more familiar than the fact that an entire people may use the same speech, accept the same beliefs, obey the same laws, observe the same customs, follow the same fashions, and, in short, possess many elements of culture in common. There is a uniform group culture, which may be compared with that of another group. Cultural uniformity also exists on a more extensive scale, making it possible to refer to preliterary ("prehistoric") culture, to primitive culture, to classical culture (Greek and Roman), or to the culture of the Occident as compared with that of the Orient. Furthermore, general likeness in human nature and general likeness in the circumstances of human life produce a certain measure of cultural uniformity throughout the world. Languages, industries, matrimonial and social institutions, fine arts, scientific acquisitions, religions, manners, and morals belong to all peoples, from the lowest to the highest. The framework or skeletal plan of culture is everywhere the same. Man is one, culturally, as he is one in body and in mind.

Nevertheless, men differ with respect to logical power, imagination, and capacity for abstract thought; and their environments differ. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be cultural diversity. The elements of culture are many, and one element may be present here and absent there, or well developed in one place and feebly developed in

another place. Differences of culture exist within the same group: witness the familiar contrasts between town and country or between social class and social class. These differences become accentuated between groups, so that every human society possesses a certain degree of cultural uniqueness enabling it to make a special contribution to the life of mankind. It is almost a commonplace to point out how the genius of the Hebrews was displayed, above all, in religion; that of the Greeks in literature, art, science, and philosophy; that of the Romans in warfare, law, and administration; and that of contemporary Western peoples in scientific research and technology. But even primitive communities are not to be thought of *en bloc*, for there is a world of difference, culturally speaking, between Pacific Islanders, African Negroes, and American Indians. One who surveys mankind "from China to Peru" is impressed with the extraordinary richness and variety of culture.

Cultural Development and Decline

There is development in culture. The visitor to an archaeological museum sees an unbroken series of types of implements from the rudest stone ones to those of copper, bronze, iron, and steel; and in the collections of a patent office he observes how particular tools, mechanical devices, and machines — the plow, the potter's wheel, the steam engine, the automobile — have been derived from earlier forms. Every other element of culture, whether social, political, religious, moral, or artistic, likewise shows development, one thing paving the way for another and one phase passing into another. Wherever there are now found elaborate arts, abstruse sciences, complex institutions, these, we may be sure, did not spring forth, like Athena from the head of Zeus, fully formed and perfected. What is true of the elements of culture is true of culture as a whole. History and archaeology unite to prove that every existing community, the least advanced as well as the most advanced, has reached its present state only by slow and gradual steps from a base line of original destitution. In imagination, at least, we may go back to the earliest men, whose lives, as Hobbes, an English philosopher of the seventeenth century, so correctly surmised, were "poor, nasty, brutish, and short," who, cultureless, had to create culture.

There may be decline, as well as development, in culture. This is most often seen when the life of a people is suddenly and violently altered by forced migration into an unfavorable environment; by destructive wars, plagues, famines, and other calamities; or by mixture with an inferior people. Whatever be the causes, we know that in

times past the culture of one group after another has risen, flourished, and at length declined. The vanished glories of the Mayas and Incas in the New World and of the Babylonians and Egyptians in the Old World are familiar instances. The Dark Ages which followed the collapse of Roman imperial sway in western Europe afford an instance still more familiar. Decline is real enough, but it has never been more than local and it has been accompanied by development elsewhere. The Dark Ages of Europe were contemporaneous with the flowering of Islamic culture under the Arabs and of Chinese culture under the T'ang Dynasty, when China was the largest and most powerful state in the world. Now the Western peoples have forged to the front, and in their wake are drawing all mankind. Despite eddies and backwaters, the main stream of culture flows on.

Centers of Early Culture

Man inhabits almost the entire earth, but not all parts of it are equally adapted to his needs. There are vast regions where nature sets insuperable barriers to his progress in the arts of life. Cultural development has always been slight in the frozen deserts of the Arctic and in the hot deserts of Asia, Africa, and America. It has always been slight in the equatorial forests, including those of the Malay Archipelago, the Congo basin, and the valley of the Amazon. Here the combination of great heat and great moisture produces a luxuriance of plant life too great for man to cope with, while at the same time it enervates him and makes activity irksome. Between these extremes the greater part of the inhabited earth enjoys a climate neither so cold as to stunt body and mind nor so hot as to sap human energies. This is true even of certain so-called tropical countries. Mexico, part of Central America, Ecuador, Peru, and part of East Africa, by reason of their great elevation, reach literally out of the tropics; and in many of the Pacific islands (as Hawaii and Tahiti) the climate is so tempered by sea breezes as to be not really tropical at all. On the other hand, the grasslands of the temperate zone, though well endowed climatically, have lagged behind culturally. The prairies of North America, the pampas of South America, the plains of Africa, the European and Asiatic steppes, and the Australian downs were peopled, almost to our own day, by wandering tribes of hunters and herdsmen. We look elsewhere for the first seed plots of highly developed culture. In the Old World they were principally alluvial valleys, such as those of the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, the Indus, the Ganges, the Yangtze, and the Huang Ho. In the New World — at a much later date — they were the plateau of

Mexico, part of Central America, and the Andean region of South America. Why culture should have flowered in these centers rather than in others equally or more favored by nature remains an insoluble problem, even when due weight is assigned to the influence of such factors as fertility of soil, defensibility, and a geographical position inviting cultural contacts. The problem remains insoluble because we cannot tell how far one people is marked off from another by specific intellectual qualities determining whether or not it shall take a leading place in the world. We cannot isolate " race " as a factor in history.

II

Man Past and Present

Fossil Man

THE first, and also the most extensive, discoveries relating to fossil man were made in Europe. His bones have been found there in increasing numbers, indeed in greater numbers than could have been anticipated, considering how unusual must be the preservation, during long ages, of the comparatively delicate human skeleton. There is now abundant proof of man's presence in Europe during the later Pleistocene (or Glacial) Epoch, while two recent finds reveal him there as far back, apparently, as the early Pleistocene.

In 1907 workmen unearthed in the Mauer sand pit, near Heidelberg, Germany, a human jaw, eighty-two feet below the surface, in deposits washed down by an ancient river. On or near the same level were bones and teeth of various mammals now extinct. The jaw is the largest and stoutest human mandible known; it lacks a chin; and its branches, closing in on the space left for the tongue, suggest that the owner did not have the power of articulate speech. The teeth (all intact when found) are larger than those of the average European, but are relatively small when compared with the massive bone in which they lie. *Homo heidelbergensis*, as he has been christened, clearly was some sort of man.

In 1911–1912 a gravel pit near Piltdown Common, Fletching (Sussex), yielded, about four feet below the surface, fragments of a human cranium, part of a lower jaw, and two molar teeth. In 1913 further search on the site led to the finding of nasal bones and a canine tooth. All were mineralized and stained, as were the mastodon, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, and other animal remains found in the same layer of the pit. The cranium is extraordinarily massive, about two-fifths of an inch in thickness, or double that of the average modern European skull. The brain once inside it must have been small, though probably equal in size to many human brains at the present day. The high forehead and feebly developed brow ridges are other features of the cranium that give to it a modern appearance. On the other hand, the chinless lower

jaw and the large, prominent canine, a veritable tusk, are almost animal-like in aspect. Their association with the cranium as parts of the same individual is therefore by no means certain. *Eoanthropus*, the "dawn man," is an enigmatical creature. He seems to have been about contemporary with *Homo heidelbergensis*.

The first human fossils of which we have much knowledge are those of the Neandertalers. Their name comes from the Neandertal gorge, near Düsseldorf, Germany, where in 1856 a human skeleton was found embedded in the floor of a cave. The most striking features of the skull are its thickness, the low and backward-slanting brow, and the immense bony ridges over the eyesockets. In 1848 a skull of the same sort had been taken from a quarry at Gibraltar, but its significance was not realized until after the Neandertal discovery. The geological age of these remains could not be determined because neither objects of human workmanship nor bones of animals were found with them. However, in 1886 the cave of Spy, near Namur, Belgium, yielded parts of two skeletons of the Neandertal type, associated with stone implements and mammalian bones — bones of the woolly elephant, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave hyena, the wild ox, and the wild horse. Similar fossils have been found in France, Italy, Spain, Jugoslavia, and other European countries.

It is now possible to make a fairly accurate reconstruction of Neandertal man. He was short — about five feet, three or four inches for males — thickset, heavy-browed, heavy-jawed, with a protruding set of teeth, a receding forehead, and a retreating chin. His head leaned forward on a strong bull neck. His eyes were small and round; his nose was broad and flat. His hands were large and ill adapted for delicate manipulation. His legs were permanently bent at the hips and knees, giving him a shuffling, awkward gait. His skull, looked at from above, was long and narrow. It held a large brain, scarcely inferior in size to that of existing savages, but its shape and the proportions of its parts imply mentality of a low order. The lobe of the brain associated with the power of speech was little developed, as compared with that of modern man. A shaggy coat of hair probably covered his body, increasing his brutish appearance. This is the creature who lived in western Europe so many thousands of years ago, only to become extinct as did many of the animals which he hunted and which hunted him. However, some authorities hold that he never died out completely but mingled with later human forms — that he was an ancestor of man of today, not a distant cousin.

Europe toward the close of the Pleistocene seems to have been occupied by men of various types. The Cromagnons are the best known.

Their name is derived from the rock shelter of Crô-Magnon in the Dordogne, France, where five skeletons were unearthed in 1868. Cromagnon man, as we learn from these and about a dozen other specimens, was tall – at least six feet for males – with a broad face, a prominent nose, slightly developed brow ridges, a high forehead, a well-molded chin, and a brain larger than the average today. Physically, and perhaps mentally, he resembled modern man: he was *Homo sapiens*. We cannot tell whether the Cromagnons were in Europe when the Neandertalers lived there or whether they came later as emigrants from Asia or Africa. Human remains, probably more or less contemporary with those of the Cromagnons, but in some respects unlike them, have also been found at several sites in England and on the Continent. It is clear that by this time Europe was already a meeting ground of different peoples.

Other regions of the Old World have begun to yield evidence of man's great antiquity. In 1891–1892 a Dutch surgeon, Eugène Dubois, unearthed on the banks of a river near Trinil, Java, in alluvial deposits forty-five feet below the surface, the top part of a skull, two teeth, and a thigh bone of the creature which he called *Pithecanthropus erectus* ("erect ape-man"). A third tooth was subsequently discovered. The skull, or what is left of it, shows a narrow, receding forehead and great brow ridges like those of the Neandertalers; the teeth, though large, are quite like those of a true man; and the thigh bone is straight, indicating a fully erect posture. The brain capacity is estimated to be considerably less than that of Neandertal man and not much more than half the average for modern European man. These scanty remains have aroused a storm of controversy. Dr. Dubois himself regarded them as belonging to a type intermediate between man and the apes – a veritable "missing link." Some authorities argue for their wholly simian character, but according to the more general opinion they belonged to a very ancient form of man. The remains of *Pithecanthropus* were associated with those of many extinct species of mammals dating from the earlier part of the Pleistocene, when both Java and Sumatra formed a part of the Asiatic continent. Remarkable finds of skulls and skeletons of a primitive type have also been recently made in Rhodesia, Palestine, Siberia, and, above all, in China. Excavations conducted since 1927 near Peiping (Peking) have yielded a number of teeth, jaws, and brain cases belonging to the former occupants of a deep cave in a limestone hill; they were unquestionably men of some sort, as is proved by the stone tools, charcoal, and ashes found with them in the cave. Altogether the remains of about forty persons, including males and females, adults and juveniles, have been unearthed up to the present time. Peking man (*Sinanthropus pekinensis*) is ascribed quite definitely to the early

Pleistocene. Contemporaneously with him lived huge stags, giant boars, and other animals which he hunted and whose broken bones have been found in the cave.

All these discoveries have raised more puzzling problems than they have solved. According to conservative opinion *Pithecanthropus*, *Sinanthropus*, Heidelberg man, and Neandertal man represent human types which developed, flourished for a time – an immensely long time – and later died out, as countless species of plants and animals have succumbed in the bitter struggle for existence. They would not be ancestral to modern man, but simply approaches to him before his type became fixed and persistent. On the other hand, there are authorities who accept these fossil forms as in the direct ancestral line of modern man and who therefore see no gap in the sequence *Pithecanthropus* – *Sinanthropus* – Heidelberg man – Neandertal man – *Homo sapiens*. It must be emphasized that our knowledge of the forerunners of modern man is still very fragmentary and that vast regions in the Old World are yet to be explored for light upon the questions at issue. The science of human origins is a very youthful science.

Homo Sapiens

The only surviving representative of the human family, *Homo sapiens*, made his first certain appearance in late Pleistocene times, when the Cromagnons and more or less contemporary peoples inhabited Europe. *Homo sapiens* forms a single species, all of whose varieties interbreed freely and produce fertile offspring. A "species," it may be said parenthetically, is distinguished from a "variety" by the fact that varieties can cross, one with another, while species either cannot do so or else produce offspring that are sterile. On biological grounds, therefore, good reason exists for believing that all the world's peoples descend from one ancestral stock. The close resemblances in both body and mind which they present also imply their blood-relationship. Such differences of complexion, features, and other physical traits as exist between them are usually ascribed to the influence of climate, diet, and other environmental forces operating over a long period of time, and to the influence of interbreeding. But the nature of the process remains obscure. Apart from the effects of interbreeding, the physical traits which now mark off one variety of mankind from another seem to be extremely stable. Five or six thousand years ago they were as pronounced as now, judging from pictures on old monuments, the examination of ancient skulls, and the earliest written descriptions that have come down to us.

Migration and Mixture of Peoples

If modern man is essentially one, he cannot have had more than one place of origin. He must have had a single cradle-land whence he made his slow way over the globe. Where it was we do not know. The vast size, the widely varying life conditions, and the central position of Asia lend plausibility to the suggestion that this continent, rather than Europe or Africa, formed the birthplace of humanity. America may be left out of consideration, since it remained a manless world until the ancestors of the Indians arrived there, not so long ago as archaeologists reckon time. Man's tendency to migrate was the result of his constant search for food, his desire for a more genial climate, his love of fighting and plundering, and sometimes the pressure exerted by foes about him. Mere restlessness and the wish for a change of scene must also have driven him onward, as is still the case with the vagabond Gypsies. Man's ability to adapt himself to varied surroundings is noteworthy; no place is too hot or too cold or too high or too low for him, provided it offers the necessary subsistence. He inhabits the entire globe, except the circumpolar areas. He is found in regions below sea level (e.g., in the Caspian basin) as well as in tablelands elevated as much as fifteen thousand feet above the sea (e.g., in Tibet). His adaptation to a wide range of climatic conditions is, however, largely cultural rather than physical. It could not have been originally as extensive as it became after he learned to temper the elements by using fire, by building shelters, and by wearing clothing. Thus man, as has been said, carries his climate with him.

Archaeological evidence testifies to extensive migratory movements on the part of early man. Human remains unearthed at Palaeolithic and Neolithic sites in Europe belong to several physical types and indicate that many thousands of years ago Europe was occupied by more than one invading people. The Polynesians, starting out from southeastern Asia, passed from one Pacific island to another over an uncharted ocean and even ventured into the icy Antarctic. The American Indians, whose ancestors probably entered America from Asia, crossing over at Bering Strait, spread eastward and southward until they reached the extremity of South America. These and other migrations were made by man while at a low cultural level, before he possessed metal tools and weapons to overcome the obstacles offered by seas, deserts, rivers, and mountain ranges, as well as by the wild beasts that disputed his advance.

Written history likewise tells of repeated invasions, conquests, and displacements of one people by another. We know that in Britain

Romans crowded upon the Celtic-speaking population of the island, to be followed by Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans. On the Continent the inroads of Germans and Slavic-speaking peoples were followed by those of the Huns, Arabs, Mongols, and Turks, who poured in from Asia during the Middle Ages. Still another example of extensive migration is offered by the Northmen, or Vikings, whose settlements dotted Iceland and southern Greenland. The colonization of America by Europeans, seeking overseas the wealth, adventure, and freedom which they could not find at home, is the most significant migratory movement of modern times.

Migrations, long continued and extending over wide areas, have led to the fusion or mixture of peoples. The population of every European country exhibits diverse strains. The white population of the United States, mostly English in origin, has received during the last century so many millions of emigrants from the Continent that the American type has already become somewhat unlike what it was during the Colonial era. As for the Negroes in the United States, it is estimated that from fifteen to twenty per cent are mulattoes, and these increase more rapidly than the pure blacks. Latin America, without a color line or a color problem, contains all sorts of hybrid stocks formed by the crossing of Indians, Africans, and Europeans. In Greenland, where Scandinavians have intermarried with the natives, there are now very few Eskimos of pure blood. In many Pacific islands the intermarriage of Chinese and Japanese with the native women is producing a mixed population more Oriental than Polynesian in type. This process of amalgamation may also be witnessed in many other parts of the world, as in Africa, central Asia, and Indo-China. It must increase with the closer and ever closer contact of peoples, except so far as by immigration laws and other restrictive measures one group erects barriers against other groups.

Racial Classification

The term "race" is often applied to peoples united by ties of common language, culture, and historical tradition: witness such expressions as the "Anglo-Saxon race," the "Latin race," and the like. From the standpoint of the anthropologist this use of the term is inadmissible. For him a race is a biological group whose members possess certain physical traits in common, the group, of course, being as large as possible.

The physical traits that are taken into account include skin color (black-brown, yellowish-reddish, white), head form (narrow, broad, medium), and texture of the hair (woolly, straight, wavy or curly). Negroes, for example, have long, narrow heads and crisp, woolly hair,

CLASSIFICATION OF MANKIND

Races	*Peoples*	*Stock Languages*
NEGROID (*Black*)	1. Negroes proper 2. Bantu Negroes 3. Negritos (in equatorial Africa) 4. Hottentots and Bushmen 5. Papuans (in New Guinea and the Melanesian Islands) 6. Negritos (in Andaman Islands, Malay Peninsula, Philippines, and New Guinea)	Bantu
MONGOLOID (*Yellow*)	1. Mongolians proper (Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Burmans, Siamese, Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, Siberian tribes, Turks, Bulgarians, Magyars, Estonians, Finns, Lapps)	Sinitic family (Chinese, Siamese, Burmese, and Tibetan) Japanese Korean Altaic family (Turkish, Mongolian, and Manchu branches) Finno-Ugrian family (Magyar, Estonian, Finnish, and Lapp branches)
	2. Malays (in Formosa, the Philippines, Malay Archipelago, and Madagascar) 3. Indonesians (in Malay Archipelago)	Malayo-Polynesian family
	4. American Indians	
CAUCASOID (*White*)	NOTE: Peoples of doubtful position and therefore not included in this threefold classification are (1) the Australian aborigines, (2) the Dravidians of southern India, and (3) the Polynesians (Maoris of New Zealand, Samoans, Tahitians, Marquesans, Hawaiians, etc.)	1. Hamitic (Libyans, Egyptians, Eastern Hamites) 2. Semitic (Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs, Abyssinians) 3. Indo-European *a.* Asiatic (Indo-Aryans, Medes and Persians, Hittites, Armenians, Scythians) *b.* Graeco-Latin (Albanians, Greeks, Italians, Spaniards, Catalonians, Portuguese, French, Provençals, Walloons, Rumanians) *c.* Celtic (Bretons, Welsh, Irish, Highland Scots) *d.* Teutonic (Germans, Frisians, Dutch, Flemings, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, English Lowland Scots) *e.* Lettic (Letts, Lithuanians) *f.* Slavic: South Slavs (Serbs Montenegrins, Croats, Slovenes); West Slavs (Czechs Slovaks, Poles); East Slavs (Great Russians, Little Russians or Ruthenians, White Russians)

while Chinese and Japanese, in addition to yellow skins, have short, broad heads and straight, lank hair. Other grounds for distinction exist in the shape of the nose, as thin and prominent or large and flat; in the form of the eyes, as horizontal or oblique (compare the "almond" eyes of Orientals); in the color of the eyes; in the extent to which the upper and lower jaws project beyond the line of the face; and in stature and bodily proportions. On the basis of such traits many attempts have been made to identify a few primary races, but no scheme has yet been devised which will neatly pigeonhole all the existing varieties of mankind. If we divide men according to their skin color, we do not get the same result as when we divide them according to their head form or the texture of their hair. These incompatibilities will be magnified if still other traits are made the basis of classification. As already indicated, human types have become so mixed in the course of ages that sharp and definite lines cannot now be drawn between them. Purity of blood exists nowhere. We are all mongrels.

This being true, it follows that any racial classification is an arbitrary proceeding. The opinions of classifiers will differ and do differ as to what physical trait or what group of physical traits shall be taken as the basis of distinction between men. The earlier observers classified by skin color alone, thus setting apart black men, yellow men, white men, brown men, and red men. Anthropologists nowadays are not inclined to stress the importance of skin color, partly because of the difficulty of observing the finer degrees of pigmentation and even more because pigmentation is so evidently affected by climatic conditions. A broad classification which pays heed not only to the color of the skin but also to the texture of the hair, the shape of the head, and other characteristics yields three primary races, or ethnic groups. These are generally called Negroids, Mongoloids, and Caucasoids, though the color terms, Blacks, Yellows, and Whites, are often used as convenient though not very accurate labels. The term Caucasoid, it may be observed, was originally used because the people of the Caucasus were supposed to be typical representatives of this race.

Negroids, Mongoloids, and Caucasoids

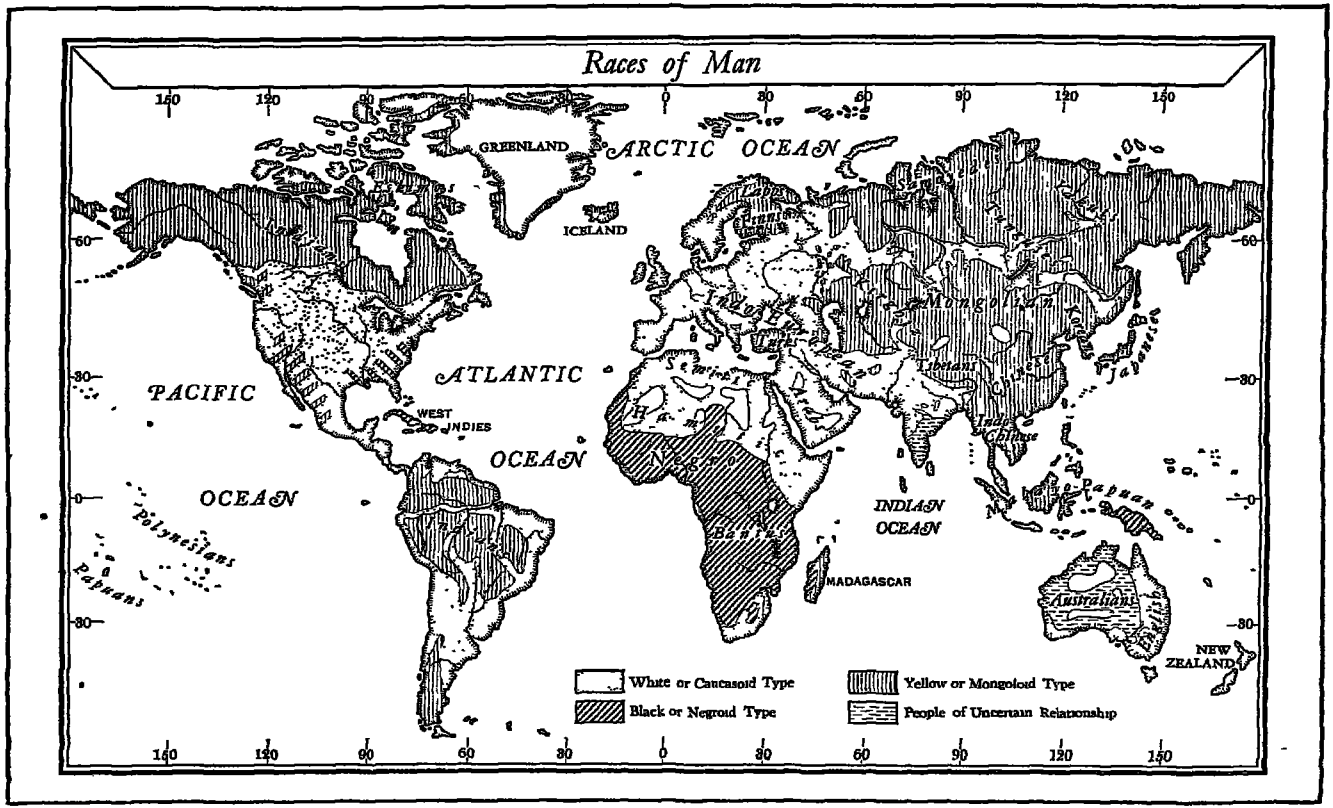
The Negroid race falls into two large divisions: the African Negroes, chiefly south of the Sahara, and the Papuans of New Guinea and the adjacent Melanesian Islands. These groups are clearly near relatives. Perhaps the most conspicuous difference between them is in the shape of the nose, regularly flat with the Negroes but often aquiline with the Papuans. In addition, there are the Dwarf Blacks, or Negritos, found

in equatorial Africa, the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, and New Guinea. All are hunters and fishers, very low in cultural development. The African Pygmies are the shortest of mankind, their average stature being only four and a half feet. With the latter may be included the rude Hottentots and Bushmen of South Africa, likewise distinguished by extremely short stature. Negroids, as their geographical distribution shows, belong essentially to the southern hemisphere. How and when they came to be located on the opposite sides of the Indian Ocean we can only guess.

The Mongoloid race has likewise two large divisions: the northern Mongolians, found in the northern hemisphere from Japan to Lapland and from the Arctic Ocean to the Great Wall and Tibet; and the southern Mongolians, including Chinese, Indo-Chinese, and Tibetans. The Mongoloid territory reaches into Europe, but Ottoman Turks, Bulgarians, Magyars, Estonians, Finns, and other peoples of Asiatic origin have so blended with Caucasoid types in Europe as to have lost almost entirely their Mongoloid characteristics. The Malays and Indonesians of the East Indies, though sometimes considered as a separate "Brown" race, seem to be chiefly of Mongoloid origin. A similar, though still more remote, origin is commonly assumed for the so-called "Red" race of American Indians.

It is difficult to realize how comparatively small an area was occupied by Caucasoids before their recent and great expansion into the Americas, Australasia, South Africa, and northern and central Asia. Today they have inherited or acquired nearly four-fifths of the habitable surface of the globe; until about four centuries ago they were confined to Europe, northern and northeastern Africa, and southwestern Asia. This vigorous branch of the human family, which has now come to dominate the globe, includes many different peoples, with complexions presenting every shade of color, except yellow, from white to the deepest, darkest brown. Yet their common racial stamp may be recognized in the facial expression, the structure of the hair, and the bodily proportions; for in all these physical traits they agree more with one another than with the other major divisions of mankind.

The aborigines of Australia at first sight appear to be Negroids. Their skin color, however, is not black but chocolate brown; their lips are not thick and protruding; and their hair, though often curly, is never woolly. Nor are their beetling brows, so reminiscent of the Neandertalers, a Negroid characteristic. Some authorities recognize a primary Australoid race, including in it not only the "black-fellow" himself, but also various groups in and near India, such as the Veddas of Ceylon. The Dravidians, who form the bulk of the population of southern India,


Races of Man
GREENLAND
ARCTIC OCEAN
ICELAND
PACIFIC
OCEAN
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
WEST INDIES
INDIAN OCEAN
MADAGASCAR
Polynesians
Papuans
Australians
NEW ZEALAND
Japanese
Malayan
Papuan
Negro
Bantu
White or Caucasoid Type
Black or Negroid Type
Yellow or Mongoloid Type
People of Uncertain Relationship

are considered to have Negroid affinities or to be Caucasoid intermixed with an anterior Negroid type. The position of the Polynesians in a racial classification is likewise unsettled. Physically they are well developed, tall, with a brown complexion, black eyes, curly hair, and regular, often beautiful, features. They may represent a mingling of Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasoid strains, but in what proportions it is quite impossible to say.

Race and Culture

The physical traits which distinguish the varieties of mankind are, after all, superficial; they do not go deep. *Homo sapiens* seems to be essentially one in bodily endowment. Some anthropologists believe that he is likewise essentially one in mental endowment. According to this view, all the races, how many or how few we make them, must be considered as being by nature equal in intelligence and perhaps even in capacity for social development. Such actual inferiority as may exist would therefore be explained as due to the influence of an unfavorable habitat (as in the case of the African Negroes) or to isolation (as in the case of the Australians, Polynesians, and American Indians). Still other anthropologists are persuaded that there are qualitative differences in aptitudes, habits of mind, and temperaments between the fundamental human types, and that these differences provide the final explanation of the fact that during the thousands of years of recorded history some peoples have become strong and great and other peoples have remained weak and little. Those who uphold this position believe that it is no more possible to account for the culture of a social group by reference solely to environment and cultural contacts than to explain a person's career by enumerating merely the circumstances of his life, without reference to his heredity. Until we know better what a "race" is and how racial characteristics, both physical and mental, can be set apart and evaluated, the relationship between race and culture must be left in an inconclusive state.

Race and Language

The contact of races and peoples, whether or not producing mixture between them, may result in the substitution of one language for another. The language of the American Negroes—English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese—is on the whole identical with that of their neighbors in various parts of the New World. Arabic is now the speech of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa, where in former

times were many different languages. Latin, carried by the Romans, displaced the earlier languages of Italy, Spain, and Gaul. The Normans, in spite of Scandinavian ancestry, learned to speak French after their settlement of Normandy; still later, they took over Anglo-Saxon from the English people whom they conquered and by whom they were gradually absorbed. On the other hand, such peoples as the Finns, the Estonians, and the Magyars of Hungary, while completely Europeanized in physique and culture, are still Asiatic in speech. Languages sometimes manage to preserve their existence with remarkable tenacity although the peoples speaking them have been overrun and conquered by their more powerful neighbors. Thus the old Celtic speech of western Europe survives in the Breton of Brittany, the Welsh of Wales, and the Irish of Ireland. It seems to be true, in general, that "skulls are harder than consonants," that race traits tend to be more permanent than linguistic traits, but the statement is subject to many qualifications.

The authors of the Book of Genesis relate that originally "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech," and that, as a result of the impious attempt to build the Tower of Babel, there came the confusion of tongues and the scattering of men abroad in every land. The skeptical philologist, while admitting the possibility that all existing languages derive from one ancestral form, points out that the time required for their differentiation must be very great indeed. So far are they differentiated that many languages, such as English, Chinese, and Turkish, have nothing in common, or so little that we cannot now find traces of any remote connection between them.

Linguistic Families

The thousands of languages and dialects are grouped into linguistic stocks, or families, based on similarities of grammatical structure. This reduces their number within manageable limits and makes possible their comparative study. Africa south of the equator is the home of the Bantu family, except in the extreme southwest, where the Hottentots and Bushmen preserve their own isolated speech. In Madagascar, throughout the East Indies, and among all the islands of the Pacific ranges the widespread Malayo-Polynesian family. In southern India there is the Dravidian family. The Sinitic family includes the languages of Chinese, Siamese, Burmans, and Tibetans, and the Altaic family those of the Turks, Mongols, and Manchus. Japanese and Korean are also important families in Asia. In Europe the Finno-Ugrian family comprises Lapp, Finnish, Estonian, and Magyar (Hungarian), as well as various idioms and dialects spoken mainly by scattered groups in

Russia. As for the New World, the stock languages of the American Indians number over one hundred and fifty, an astonishing diversity of speech unparalleled elsewhere.

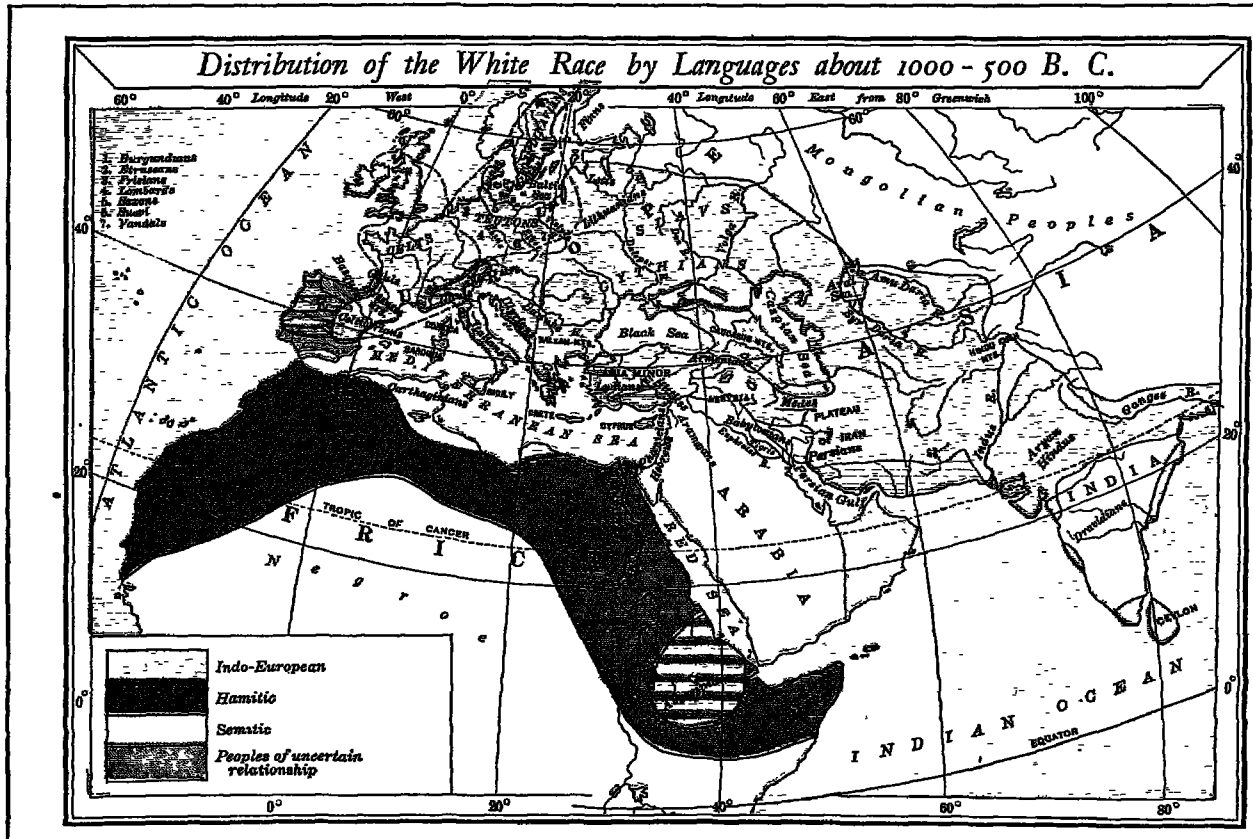
Hamitic and Semitic Languages

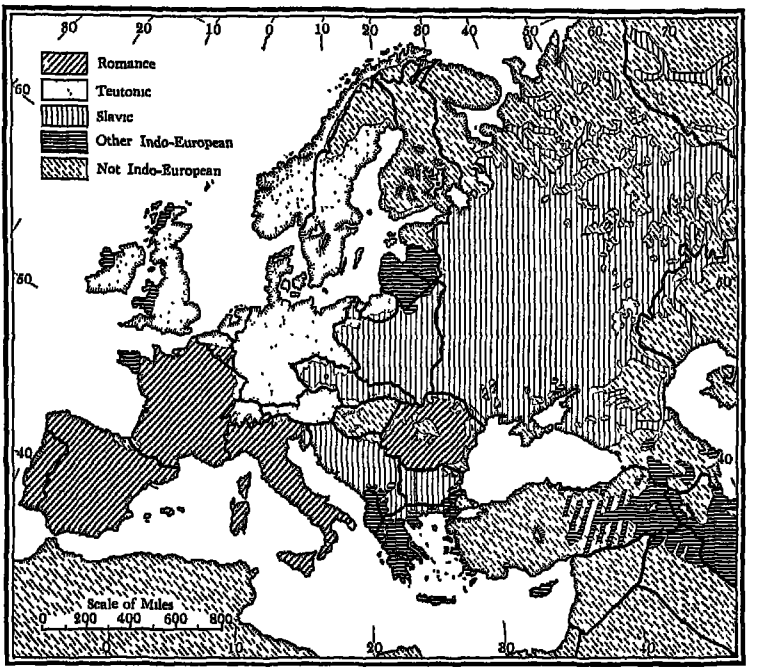
The languages of Caucasoids belong, with some minor exceptions, to one or other of three families. Least important, historically, is the family of Hamitic languages, named after Ham a son of Noah (Genesis, x, 1, 6) and found over a wide area in northeastern and northwestern Africa. Ancient Egyptian seems to have been a Hamitic language, as was its descendant, Coptic, which ceased to be spoken only a few centuries ago. The African Hamitic shows clear relationship to the Asiatic Semitic. According to some philologists, it is only a division of the latter family; according to others, both derive remotely from a common source. During recent centuries Arabic, a Semitic language, has been steadily encroaching on the Hamitic domain in Africa.

The family of Semitic languages, so called from Shem, another of Noah's sons (Genesis, x, 1, 22), has its chief living representatives in Arabic and Ethiopic (Abyssinian). In addition to Arabs and Abyssinians, the Semitic-speaking peoples of antiquity included Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Canaanites, Phoenicians, and Carthaginians. All their languages were very closely related, much as are the Romance tongues of modern Europe. A commonly accepted theory locates the fountainhead of Semitic speech in Arabia, that great peninsula from which wave after wave of Arabs has poured forth into the more fertile neighboring lands. However, in view of the relationship between Hamitic and Semitic, it seems more reasonable to regard northeastern Africa as the earliest center, whence Semitic speech spread to Arabia, and from Arabia to Palestine, Syria, and the Tigris-Euphrates region. Semitic-speaking peoples originally formed a compact group, but Arabs are now found everywhere in northern Africa.

Indo-European Languages

The third family is that of the Indo-European languages, the term indicating that they are found in both India and Europe. The term "Aryan" (Sanskrit *arya*, "of good family," "noble"), though often used to designate all these languages, is properly limited to those spoken by the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians, who once lived together on the plateau of Iran and called themselves by one name, Aryans. The branches of the Indo-European family with the largest representation


Distribution of the White Race by Languages about 1000 - 500 B. C.
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East from Greenwich
1. Burgundians
2. Suevians
3. Visigoths
4. Lombards
5. Heruli
6. Rugi
7. Vandals
Indo-European
Hamitic
Semitic
Peoples of uncertain relationship
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
Mongolian Peoples
INDIA
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Black Sea
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Ceylon



Language Groups of Modern Europe
(After A. Meillet)

today are the Indic, Slavic, Teutonic, and Romance; other existing branches are Persian, Armenian, Greek, Albanian, Baltic (Lithuanian, Lettish), and Celtic. The ancient Italic languages included Latin, from which the Romance group has descended. During the last millennium B.C. Indo-European languages occupied an almost continuous belt of territory reaching from northern India to Scandinavia and the British Isles.

More than a century ago Occidental philologists discovered that Sanskrit, the ancient speech of the Aryans in India, was distantly connected with the classic Greek and Latin. All the Indo-European languages, both living and "dead," have now been shown to be related. They must have sprung from some parent language no longer adequately represented by any one of them. Their likeness is illustrated in the case of such terms as "father," "mother," "brother," and "sister." Thus "father" in Sanskrit is *pitar;* in ancient Persian, *pidar;* in Greek, *pater;* in Latin, *pater;* and in German, *Vater.* A great many Indo-European languages have a common name for some kind of plow: Armenian, *araur;* Greek, *arotron;* Latin, *aratrum;* Old Irish, *arathar;* Lithuanian,

arklaṣ. The *Dyaus pitar* of the Hindus, the *Zeus pater* of the Greeks, and the *Jup-piter* of the Romans reveal the common name and the common conception of a father god in the shining sky. The comparative study of such linguistic fossils makes it clear that the people speaking the parent language had advanced considerably in civilization; for they bred cattle, raised grain, spun and wove, built houses, and used wheeled vehicles. We know, further, that they had developed a patriarchal organization of the family and clan, some form of kingly government, and a religion based on the worship of the great powers of nature.

Where did this people live? Their original center was first sought along the banks of the Indus River. After the discovery that Lithuanian and other European languages are in some respects more archaic than Sanskrit, the search was transferred from Asia to Europe. The arguments favoring Scandinavia or Germany as the place of origin are now discounted, and the balance of probability leans toward the great plain of central Europe, stretching from Lithuania on the Baltic across Poland to Russia north of the Black Sea and west of the Volga River. Another plausible theory locates the "home" of the Indo-Europeans in the grassy steppes east and northeast of the Caspian. But even if we knew where they lived we should still be in the dark as to when their speech began to split up into separate languages, nor can we trace the routes by which these languages spread over so great an area of the Old World. In all discussion of Indo-European origins we must "carry our theories on our finger-tips."

III

Preliterary History

Antiquity of Man

PREHISTORY, studied in man's bones and in his artifacts, the things he made by conscious art, was once set off abruptly from history, for which there are inscriptions and documents to make clear the order of events. The distinction between the two tends to be blurred and even to disappear with the broadening of our conception of history to include the entire range of human experience, and with our growing realization of the continuity of cultural development through the ages. No great gap or hiatus, we now know, exists between the culture of early man and that of his modern successors. He had achieved much, culturally, long before the introduction of written records. The evidence for his advance has been gathered in many regions, but particularly in western Europe, the Mediterranean basin, and the Near East.

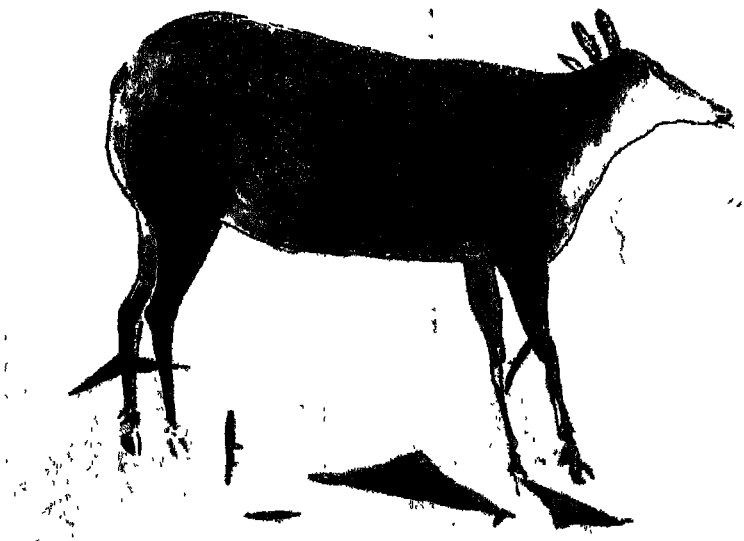
Archaeological discovery began in England as far back as 1690, when workmen digging near Gray's Inn Lane, London, unearthed a large, black, chipped flint, now preserved in the British Museum. The flint was recognized as an implement, the work of human hands, and was assigned to the Roman occupation of Britain. In 1797 John Frere came upon similarly chipped flints in clay pits at Hoxne, Suffolk. These objects he assigned to "a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world," a conclusion which aroused little or no interest at the time. Archaeologists met more encouragement in Denmark, and from the opening of the nineteenth century excavations were made in the shell mounds of that country. Christian Thomsen, curator of the national museum at Copenhagen, classified the objects found and in 1836 suggested the sequence of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages. This division of cultural history had been made, nineteen centuries previously, by the Roman poet Lucretius. It was now revived and generally adopted. Meanwhile, more or less systematic exploration of caves and pile dwellings in England and on the Continent

led to the discovery of flint implements in association with the remains of extinct animals. Finally, a Frenchman, Boucher de Perthes, laboring alone and without encouragement in alluvial deposits of the Somme valley, near Abbeville, uncovered chipped flints and the bones of the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros. The first volume of his monumental work, *Antiquités celtiques et antédiluviennes*, in which he argued that "these rude stones prove the existence of man as surely as a whole Louvre would have done," appeared in 1847. The scientific world still remained incredulous. It was not until 1859 that a commission of antiquaries and geologists visited the scene of Boucher de Perthes's discoveries and had the good fortune to find one of the chipped flints undisturbed, seventeen feet down in the gravel. All doubt as to the antiquity of man being now removed, a great impetus was given to further research, and the science of archaeology was gradually erected on solid foundations.

Europe in the Pleistocene Epoch

These artifacts, the first sure traces of man's presence in Europe, belong to the epoch of geological time called the Pleistocene. This epoch was marked by the greatest glaciation in the earth's history. An immense icefield formed in the Arctic regions (which had previously enjoyed a genial climate), gradually moved southward, and covered Europe to the valleys of the Rhine and Thames with sheets of accumulated ice probably hundreds of feet in thickness. Enormous glaciers also arose in the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Caucasus and descended from these mountains into the valleys. Greenland, which is today similarly buried in ice, except at the edges, doubtless affords a good picture of what much of Europe looked like under glacial conditions. The Pleistocene was not a time of continuous cold; several retreats of the ice occurred, possibly three or more, producing interglacial stages when the climate was probably even warmer than at present. It must be understood that the glacial and interglacial stages did not follow one another rapidly; on the contrary, each embraced a stretch of time so long as to be measured only by geological methods. While many theories have been advanced to account for the successive glaciations, so far no theory has satisfactorily explained them. It is probable, however, that the Ice Age in Europe was only a particular phase of glacial phenomena which affected our entire planet.

Great fluctuations of the land level characterized Europe during the Pleistocene. These seem to have been due to the reservation of so much water in ice sheets and glaciers and its subsequent return to the



FRESCO OF HIND, ALTAMIRA CAVERN, SPAIN
Palaeolithic Period. *Page 40.*



DOLMEN OR TABLE STONE, CARNAC, FRANCE
Neolithic Period. *Page 45.*

PLATE I



MAYA GODDESS, HONDURAS. *Page 77.*





Europe during the Ice Age

ocean after their melting. Elevation and subsidence did not occur everywhere at the same time. During the period of maximum elevation the English Channel and the Irish Sea were not in existence, so that both Great Britain and Ireland formed part of the Continent. The Somme, where Boucher de Perthes found his flints, the Seine, and other streams of northwestern France emptied into a "fossil" river, which can be traced by soundings on the sea bottom between the Channel Islands and the Isle of Wight. The Thames, Scheldt, Meuse, and Rhine fed another watercourse in a plain now covered by the North Sea. No Baltic Sea separated Scandinavia from the rest of the Continent. The Mediterranean consisted of two shallow inland seas divided by a land bridge between northern Africa and southern Italy by way of Sicily and Malta. Another and more extensive land bridge united Asia and Europe where are now the Aegean Sea and the passages leading to the Black Sea. The Strait of Gibraltar seems to have been formed by this time, though possibly still another land bridge existed there during the early Pleistocene. Europe was thus easily accessible for the great African and Asiatic mammals and perhaps for man.

The Stone Age

The definition of man as the "tool-using animal," which Benjamin Franklin seems to have suggested, is not absolutely true, for monkeys use coconuts as missiles and apes use stones for cracking hard nuts. Tool-making, however, must be regarded as a distinctively human activity. Spiders spin webs, bees construct honeycombs, birds build nests, and beavers construct dams, but all this is done by means of specialized organs. Man alone uses matter that is not a part of his body for the purpose of modifying other matter indefinitely. To put the distinction another way: animals make things; man alone makes things with which to make other things. How did he become the "tool-making animal"? Given his superior brain, the answer is found in the conjunction of three physical factors: an erect posture; a marvelous hand, with exceedingly flexible fingers and opposable thumb; and stereoscopic vision, or the power of seeing things in the round, which so immeasurably increased his appreciation of the form, color, and nature of various objects. The three factors arose together, influenced one another, and, in turn, reacted on mental development. The result was the selection and ultimately the manufacture of tools as artificial substitutes for those physical qualities, such as fleetness of foot and strength of arm, in which man is conspicuously deficient as compared with many animals. The use of tools must have been suggested by man's bodily experiences: they formed extensions and projections of himself. It has been often pointed out how one may see in the hammer the lengthened arm with a harder fist as the end, in the saw the improved tooth, in the knife the sharpened nail, in the hook the crooked finger, in the scoop the enlarged hollow of the hand.

Eventually man learned that a shaped tool was far more serviceable than an unshaped one for such relatively complicated processes as splitting, piercing, scraping, and cutting and that hard stones — chert, obsidian, quartzite, and, above all, flint, which fractures so readily and with so sharp an edge — were most utilizable. Pieces of flint, broken by some accident into natural axes, borers, scrapers, and knives, were used, doubtless for ages, before it occurred to man that they might be retouched, resharpened, or fitted more neatly to his grasp by the chipping off of small flakes. Improvement of naturally shaped flints led at length to a specialized technique, flakes being removed, either by percussion or pressure, from shapeless nodules of flint to form various types of tools. Still later, friction methods came into use, and flints, after preliminary chipping, were ground, rubbed, and polished on flat slabs of sandstone in a final shaping process. There is, then,

a certain fitness in the designation Stone Age for the epoch previous to the introduction of metals. No doubt much use was also made of wood, bones of animals, and perhaps shells. But man's tools of lasting stone are what have chiefly come down to us, and in them we read the first chapters of the human story.

The Stone Age is divided into the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods. The distinction between these was at first based entirely on the technique of stone-working, fractional processes being employed for palaeoliths and frictional processes for neoliths. It is now known that in the earlier Neolithic chipping was usually resorted to, and that chipped implements continued to be made throughout the entire period. Perhaps not more than half of the implements found in Neolithic deposits are polished. There are other reasons, nevertheless, for distinguishing between the two periods, so that the old names for them have been kept.

Some archaeologists now recognize another and still earlier period of the Stone Age, the so-called Eolithic. Eoliths are more or less irregular stones (flint only), found in pre-Palaeolithic deposits, and bearing knocks or chips along the edge which look as if someone had trimmed them slightly. Their human workmanship being admitted, eoliths would represent the first experiments of man in tool-making. It is also possible to explain their chipped edges as simply the result of hard usage as axes or hammers: they would still be man's tools, but made unintentionally. Other archaeologists deny their authenticity altogether, pointing out how easily such battered stones may be formed by natural agencies — by frost and ice, by the pressure of overlying rocks, by landslides, and by the flood waters of streams and the heavy surf of the seas. Eoliths were first discovered in France as far back as 1867 and since that time Portugal, Belgium, and especially the English counties of Kent, Norfolk, and Suffolk have yielded them in great numbers.

The archaeologist must be something of a geologist, to measure the thickness of rock strata and estimate the time required for these to be laid down by wind and water; something of a palaeontologist, to appreciate the evidence yielded by remains of plants and animals in successive deposits; something of an anatomist, to reconstruct from a few human bones fossil man. Such methods provide a relative, not an absolute, chronology. They show the sequence of cultural stages, but afford only rough calculations as to the length of these stages. The Neolithic period lasted only a few thousand years, but the duration of the Palaeolithic period must be estimated in tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of years. Recognition of an Eolithic period

ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN EUROPE

Geological Epochs	*Climatic Stages*	*Human Types*	*Cultural Periods*	*Cultural Progress*	*Time Estimates*
Holocene or Present	Postglacial	Modern races	Metal: Iron	Organized trade Ocean navigation	1000 B.C.
			Metal: Bronze, Copper	City life Wheel and cart; the plow Metal working	3000–1000 B.C.
			Neolithic	Agriculture, domesticated animals Rough stone monuments Pile dwellings, lake villages Pot-making, plaiting, and weaving Bow, canoes, vice, lever, loom, spindle, etc. Tools and weapons of polished stone	7000–3000 B.C.
Pleistocene or Glacial	4th Glacial	Cromagnon (*Homo sapiens*)	Upper Palaeolithic	Realistic painting, carving, and engraving Magical rites Ceremonial burials Cave dwellings, bark huts Fur clothing, body ornaments Harpoon, spear-thrower, needle, lamp Wooden handles Finely flaked stone implements	
		Neandertal	Middle Palaeolithic	Fire for warmth, the chase, and cooking Flaked stone implements	
	3d Interglacial 3d Glacial 2d Interglacial		Lower Palaeolithic	Fire? Chipped implements	
	2d Glacial 1st Interglacial 1st Glacial	*Eoanthropus?* *Homo heidelbergensis?*	Eolithic?	NOTE: The Eolithic cultural period, if it be recognized, dates from late Tertiary times, with an extension into the Quaternary era (the early Pleistocene). The Palaeolithic cultural period perhaps began in the second interglacial stage, but some authorities say in the first, some in the third.	

would mean a still greater antiquity for man. But cautious students do not commit themselves to dates, being content with the realization that the Stone Age as a whole covers by far the longest span of human history, and that by comparison with it the Age of Metals dawned but yesterday. What historians once described as "ancient times" were truly recent times, a brief and late phase in the development of culture.

The Palaeolithic Period

The Palaeolithic period is best known in western Europe, where the evidence for it was first discovered and where it has been most carefully studied. The lower Palaeolithic, the earliest and longest division of the period, seems to have begun in one of the warm interglacial stages of the Pleistocene, but in which one authorities do not agree. The middle Palaeolithic apparently dates from the earlier part of the fourth glaciation. The upper Palaeolithic has a quite definite association with the fourth glaciation and the beginning of the postglacial period. The Neandertalers belong to the middle Palaeolithic and the Cromagnons to the upper Palaeolithic. (No skeletal remains associated with the lower Palaeolithic have been found, and the men of that remote time are known only by their artifacts.)

Hundreds of thousands of chipped stone tools have been recovered from Palaeolithic deposits in Europe. Archaeologists show how they were made, what they were used for, and in what ways they were gradually improved. The most common, most distinctive tool of the lower Palaeolithic is the so-called *coup de poing* ("blow of the fist"). It was formed by striking off chips from a nodule of flint until there remained a core, averaging from four to six inches in length and more or less pointed at one end. The other end was reserved for a handhold. The *coup de poing* has been described as an ax, a hatchet, a cleaver, a pick, a chisel, and a wedge; it must have been employed in all these ways and likewise as a hammer, a scraper, and a saw. This is the earliest finished tool which has survived to our day. The Neandertalers of the middle Palaeolithic introduced a new method of stone work, using, instead of the core, the flakes struck from it and trimming these, by pressure of bone or wood, into the desired form. Here was a real improvement, which saved labor, economized flints, and made possible the production of smaller, lighter, and more effective tools. The Cromagnons and other upper Palaeolithic peoples exhibit still greater skill, for their tools are often chipped on both sides and are beautifully regular in shape. Bone and horn, formerly little used, now supply ma-

terials for many specialized tools, and hafting, or handling, for which there is no evidence in earlier times, comes to be regularly practiced.

A weapon may be defined as a tool used for destruction instead of for construction. Distinctive weapons appear in the upper Palaeolithic, when man became more and more a hunter of big game. There were spear points of bone, ivory, and horn, which must have been fitted to wooden shafts. There were harpoons of reindeer antler, at first with a single row of barbs, and later barbed along both edges. There was the spear-thrower, an ingenious device which enabled the hunter to cast his weapon much farther and faster than by the hand alone. And there was, at least in Spain, the great invention of the bow, the first reliable long-distance weapon made by man. Some Spanish rock pictures represent archers shooting at animals and even at one another.

Palaeolithic man at the outset lived on what nature supplied in the way of berries, nuts, roots, herbs, honey, the eggs of wild fowl, shellfish, and grubs, and on the small animals which he could kill by throwing sticks and stones. Doubtless he resorted also to snares, traps, and pitfalls. Improvement in weapons and increased skill in using them involved his ever greater reliance on the chase. He hunted the woolly mammoth, the European bison, the reindeer, and especially the steppe horse, which at one time roamed in great herds over western Europe. The French site of Solutré, near Lyons, contains the bones of at least one hundred thousand horses, which had been slaughtered by being driven over a precipice in the neighborhood. From a cavern in Sicily have been dug out the bones of no less than two thousand hippopotamuses killed by hunters. Předmost, in Moravia, was a sportsman's paradise, for the bones and tusks of more than a thousand mammoths were found there, together with many remains of cave bears and other carnivores. The pelts of the slain animals were made into covers and clothing, as is indicated by the discovery of flint skin-scrapers and bone needles in upper Palaeolithic deposits. Personal ornaments, such as necklaces of reindeer teeth, sea shells, and fish vertebrae, were also worn.

That middle Palaeolithic man was a fire-user, if not already a fire-maker, is inferred from the hearths found in the caves which he occupied. Embers from fires started by lightning or by other natural agencies were kept alive, cherished, and carried from place to place, long before man learned to kindle a blaze at will. He may eventually have learned to strike a blaze by rubbing two pieces of wood together, the friction method most common among savages today. However, the first certain evidence of the artificial production of fire is afforded by lumps of pyrites and flint strike-a-lights in upper Palaeolithic deposits.

Flints, out of which the earliest tools were fashioned, thus played a part also in taming the great elemental force of fire. Man could now cook food instead of eating it raw, could smoke meats and preserve them, could keep off marauding animals at night, and could make his cave home comfortable. Later he used fire to bake clay into pottery and to smelt the metals, but these inventions do not date from the Palaeolithic period.

Lower Palaeolithic men seem to have lived in the open, on or near the banks of the mighty streams then flowing through interglacial Europe. It was natural for them to do so, for the rivers supplied fresh water and fish, attracted animals which could be killed, and provided highways through the wilderness. Their stone implements, sole evidence of their culture, are generally found in gravel beds accumulated by river action. The increasing cold of the fourth glaciation drove men indoors, as it were, to find shelter under rock ledges and in the limestone caverns so numerous throughout western Europe. Wherever they found a good cave they took it, provided the bears, lions, and hyenas already in possession could be ousted. Ashes and charcoal, worked flints, bones of animals, and sometimes human remains cover the floor of a Palaeolithic cave to a depth of many feet, often being sealed up in stalagmite formed by lime-burdened water dropping from the roof. Some caves were occupied, intermittently, for very long periods, if we may judge from the quantity of deposits in them. Perhaps the most remarkable example is afforded by the cavern of Castillo, near Santander, Spain, where the accumulations are in twenty-five distinct layers, all but the last four dating from Palaeolithic times. Since there were not enough caves to go around, the Neandertalers and Cromagnons may have built huts of bark and boughs, and no doubt they learned to burrow and dig, constructing such underground habitations as the Roman historian Tacitus tells us were made by the ancient Germans for use in winter.

Upper Palaeolithic men in both Spain and France were artists of no mean ability. They made designs on bone implements, modeled figures in clay, carved statuettes and bas-reliefs from stone and ivory, and covered the walls and ceilings of rock shelters and caves with a variety of engravings and paintings. It was in 1879 that the first paintings were discovered in the Altamira cavern, near Santillana, Spain, and since then more than fifty caves on either side of the Pyrenees have yielded specimens of a truly remarkable art. How old this art is may be judged from the thick coating of stalactite which so often overlies the paintings and from the fact that many animals represented have become extinct or survive only in distant regions. The artist in most

cases could have had no living models, but must have worked from memory, by the dim light of a torch or of a moss wick fed with melting grease. Materials for painting he found in various oxides, which yielded black, red, brown, and other pigments; these minerals were powdered in a stone mortar, mixed with fat, and probably applied by means of hair brushes or by the hand directly.

In the French caves the subjects are almost always animals (mammals, some birds, and fishes), depicted with an accuracy and liveliness to which the art of modern savages affords no parallel. Font-de-Gaume, in the Dordogne, contains more than eighty animal pictures: bison, mammoths, horses, reindeer, and one woolly rhinoceros. Combarelles, in the same region, has over four hundred engravings of animals, but no polychrome paintings. Altamira is so famous for its frescoes that it has been called, not inaptly, the "Sistine Chapel of Palaeolithic art." Here is a whole series of polychrome paintings — of bison, horse, hind, and wild boar — most of which are in an excellent state of preservation. In the Spanish caves pictures of men and women predominate, sometimes represented dancing or fighting, but more often grouped with animals in hunting scenes. The human figure, however, is never well rendered; when the artist tried to engrave or paint it he came to grief; he could draw only animals.

The Cromagnons and other peoples of the upper Palaeolithic were hunters and fishers and, like primitive hunters and fishers today, they seem to have believed that images or pictures of animals would put the living creatures under their control. By means of magic, animals might be captured and killed, or be made more prolific, or, in the case of the fiercer ones, be driven away from the community. When we find that so much care was taken to delineate animals with precision; that those best represented were nearly always used for food; that the pictures are frequently in the deepest recesses of the caves and visible only by artificial light; that they are scattered promiscuously, one above another, on the cave walls; and that they were often mutilated after serving their purpose, we may be sure some motive other than love of beauty or desire for self-expression inspired their makers. The artists may well have been the tribal magicians who carried out secret rites in the darkness and stillness of the caverns. Some of these functionaries are actually represented for us, the best example being in the French cave of Les Trois Frères, where the magician wears a stag's mask with antlers. Masked and costumed women, engaged in what appears to be a ritual dance, are also shown in the Spanish rock shelter of Cogul.

A number of ceremonial burials have been found in rock shelters

and caves of middle and upper Palaeolithic times. The bodies were stretched out at length in a sleeping position or else were flexed, with the knees drawn up to the head; in some cases the bones, having been stripped of flesh, were covered with red ochre. The latter practice was clearly symbolical; for in primitive thought red, the color of blood, is the life-giving color. Tools, weapons, and ornaments seem to have been regularly deposited with the dead, perhaps for use in the shadowy hereafter, perhaps because the survivors feared to use them. The food offerings so often provided could only have been intended for the material comfort of the deceased. Such funerary practices suggest that both Neandertalers and Cromagnons believed in the soul and its continued existence after death. Religion, as well as magic, would seem to be of Palaeolithic antiquity.

The industries, art, magic, and religion of Palaeolithic men afford indirect evidence of their social life. Even at this remote period men had begun to co-operate in the food quest and for defense against animal and human enemies. Each group was small, as must be the case when man is a food-gatherer and not a food-producer, and group contacts were limited. Doubtless there was government of some sort, by magicians, chiefs, or tribal elders; and doubtless there was justice of some sort, restraining human passions and imposing a measure of law and order. These ancient peoples cannot be denied the manners and morals which are indispensable for the existence of any human society.

The Palaeolithic period began in Europe many thousands of years ago, when geographical and climatic conditions were quite unlike what they are now; when vast forests, dense jungles, swamps, and steppes covered the land; and when wild animals, in variety and numbers more than can be conceived, lurked on every side. Here and there in this strange, terrible world lived a few thousand human beings, not yet lords of creation, but culturally so low that they have left to us only their rudely chipped stone implements. The Palaeolithic period ended with man in possession of the fundamental elements, the raw materials, of culture. He makes many tools and weapons, not only of stone but also of wood and bone, and fits them with handles; he occupies and perhaps builds shelters; he controls fire; he wears clothing; he wages successful war on the beasts about him; and he finds time for ceremonies of magic and religion, for remarkable achievements in the fine arts, and for social life. He has accomplished much, even though he remains a savage, unable to tame animals or till the soil. These and other cultural acquisitions were reserved for the Neolithic period.

Europe thus provides the fullest and clearest record of man's cul-

tural development during the Palaeolithic period, but the record there is not unique. Both Africa and Asia have yielded numerous finds of stone implements corresponding in shape and size to European palaeoliths. Such discoveries indicate that Palaeolithic culture spread over a wide area of the Old World during Pleistocene times. On the other hand, Australia, Oceania, North America, and South America have failed to produce any implements of undoubted antiquity, and these regions, as far as our present knowledge goes, seem to have been unoccupied by man throughout the Palaeolithic period.

Post-Pleistocene Europe

We return to Europe, but to the new Europe of the post-Pleistocene epoch. Great Britain and Ireland are now separated from the Continent by the shallow waters of the North Sea, the English Channel, and the Irish Sea. The Scandinavian peninsula is freed from the great mass of ice in which it had lain buried. The Mediterranean land bridges disappear: Europe and Africa are no longer united. With the gradual recession of the ice sheet northwards and the melting of the great glaciers, the climate alters from cold and dry to warm and humid. The plants which flourished in the previous era give place to those characteristic of temperate conditions. The animal life changes also. The woolly rhinoceros, woolly mammoth, and cave bear become extinct; the musk sheep and reindeer retreat into Arctic latitudes; and the lion, hyena, and other carnivores find their way into tropical zones. Only a few of the animals associated with Pleistocene times survived into the post-Pleistocene, among these were the elk, wild boar, wild ox (aurochs), and European bison.

Doubtless some of the Cromagnons and other upper Palaeolithic peoples lived on here and there in post-Pleistocene Europe, but their fate is as obscure as that of the Neandertalers whom they succeeded. Their place was taken by peoples who, in stature, head form, and other physical traits, differed little from Europeans today. The new inhabitants of Europe are believed to have been emigrants from North Africa and Asia. They probably crossed the Mediterranean where it narrows into straits and its islands serve as stepping-stones, and also followed the open country between the Urals and the Caspian, where Asia and Europe are really one. Migrations may also have been made across Asia Minor. All these routes have often been taken by invading peoples during the centuries of recorded history.

The Neolithic Period

The newcomers from Africa and Asia seem to have brought with them the new arts which characterize the Neolithic period. Such is the prevalent opinion. The European Neolithic may have begun about 7000 B.C., though some would date it several thousand years earlier and others several thousand years later. It passed gradually into the Age of Metals, with the introduction into Europe of copper and bronze after 3000 B.C. The period is known to us, not from deep-lying or sealed-up deposits, like those of the Palaeolithic, but from remains found on or near the surface of the soil or in rubbish heaps, pile dwellings, and burial places.

Mounds of shells and other refuse, accumulated by primitive folk who lived largely on shellfish, occur all over the world, either on the seacoast or inland along streams and lakes, and many are of quite recent formation. Those on the shores of Jutland, Denmark, are ancient: they belong to the earliest Neolithic, to a time when Scandinavia had just been freed from the ice and when the Baltic Sea was more extensive than now. The "kitchen middens" are sometimes as much as one thousand feet long, two hundred to three hundred feet wide, and ten feet high. Covered with vegetation, they look like natural beach formations. In 1850 the investigations of a Danish archaeologist, J. J. A. Worsaae, proved that they marked the sites of former settlements of fishers and hunters. Sure tokens of man's presence are the myriads of oyster and other shells; animal bones with the larger ones split lengthwise for extracting the marrow; countless artifacts of wood, bone, and unpolished flint; flat stones forming hearths and bearing marks of fire; and fragments of thick, coarse pottery. There is no evidence that the men of the "kitchen middens" tilled the soil, but they had one domesticated animal, the dog, probably descended from the common wolf. Human skeletons are also found in the refuse heaps, placed there near or beneath the dwelling of the living, as some lowly tribes bury their dead today. Shell mounds quite similar to those in Denmark have been recognized in other European countries, particularly at Mugem, in the valley of the Tagus, Portugal, where they lie many miles from the coast. The shells are of marine origin, indicating a very considerable elevation of land since their accumulation. The Mugem mounds contain unpolished implements and pottery, but no traces of domesticated animals, not even of the dog. They must be at least as old as the "kitchen middens."

The winter of 1853–1854 happened to be exceptionally cold and dry in Switzerland, so that the lakes fell much below their usual level. The

people on the shores of Lake Zurich took advantage of this condition to reclaim the exposed land by raising it with mud dredged from the shallow lake bed. Removal of the mud exposed deeply driven piles, which fishermen, whose nets had been often entangled in them, had mistaken years before for the stumps of a submerged forest. Investigations by Ferdinand Keller, a Swiss antiquarian, showed that here had once been a village of considerable size. Over two hundred similar villages have since been discovered in Switzerland. How many more may have completely disappeared? Morgis, on Lake Geneva, one of the largest, is believed to have contained twelve hundred inhabitants. Robenhausen, near Zurich, covered about three acres and required one hundred thousand piles for its construction. To fell oak, beech, and pine trees, partly with stone axes and partly by fire, and to drive the pointed logs several feet into the bottom of the lake must have involved long, hard labor. Crosspieces laid over the tops of the piles supported the platform, on which stood the huts made of interlaced twigs covered with clay and thatched with straw, each one large enough to contain a family. Plank bridges, easily broken down if need be, connected the settlement with the shore. This mode of life offered protection against wild animals and human enemies; it is still followed for the same reason by primitive peoples in various parts of the world. There is reason to believe that in Neolithic times the level of the Swiss lakes was lower than now, in which case some of the settlements would not have stood over the water but on the shore. Pile dwellings similar to those in Switzerland were numerous in France, Italy, Austria, and Germany, as well as in England. They may be said still to survive in Europe; for Ravenna was built, during Roman times, in lagoons, and Venice, the city "that is always putting out to sea," was founded by refugees from the mainland.

Pile dwellings were first constructed during the Neolithic period, but they continued to be built still later, during the Age of Metals. Men lived in them for many hundreds of years, a time long enough to account for the enormous accumulation of objects which are found well preserved in the mud of the lake bottom. These provide the most extensive record of the Neolithic period that has come down to us. We have the pile dwellers' implements of polished and unpolished stone and of wood, bone, and horn; their clay dishes, bowls, and jars; their bows and arrows, spears, harpoons, fishhooks, fish nets, and dugout canoes; their handmills for grinding grain; their spindle whorls for spinning; and their looms for weaving. Cattle, swine, sheep, and goats were domesticated; these were kept in summer on the "alp," the rich meadow above timberline, and in winter on the platforms of the

villages. In the oldest settlements the bones of wild species are far more numerous than in the later ones, showing that the inhabitants became increasingly dependent on their flocks and herds. Men were now farmers of a rude sort, cultivating their fields with deer-horn hoes, but possessing neither wooden plows nor wheeled carts. Forests and lakes provided other sources of food supply. The pile dwellers must have led a fairly comfortable existence. Nor could it have been altogether monotonous, for intercourse by water was easy between one settlement and another. The picture presented is that of thrifty, busy communities, at peace among themselves and with their neighbors.

In the late Neolithic and succeeding Bronze period alpine lake folk entered northern Italy and occupied parts of the Po valley. Here they continued to erect pile dwellings after the traditional fashion, not over the water, however, but on dry land. The little hillocks marking the sites of their settlements have received the name of *terramare* (*terra*, "earth"; *marna*, "marl" or "manure") from the use as fertilizer of the ashes, charcoal, animal bones, and other debris found in them. Over one hundred *terramare* are known. A village of this type was regularly built, with two main streets intersecting at right angles; it was protected by an embankment and a wide, water-filled ditch. The culture of the people who raised *terramare* seems to have been most highly developed about the fifteenth century B.C., a date well within the period of recorded history in Oriental lands.

Great stone monuments, or megaliths, are the most impressive memorials of the Neolithic period. They are not architecture in the modern sense, for the stones were only slightly dressed, when dressed at all, and mortar was never used to bind them together in courses. All the various types of megaliths derive from two fundamental forms: the menhir, a tall pillar with its base fixed in the earth; and the dolmen, which consists of a horizontal slab supported by several other slabs set vertically so as to enclose a chamber. The names menhir and dolmen come from the Breton language, the former meaning "long stone" and the latter "table stone." Megalith-builders used the stones that were most accessible, splitting them when too large by means of wooden wedges or in some other manner; they then rolled the stones over logs or pushed them down earthen ramps to the desired site, and erected them without the aid of cranes or traction engines. A giant menhir in Brittany, sixty-seven feet long and weighing about three hundred and thirty tons, was moved nearly a mile and set upright. Menhirs were sometimes arranged in parallel or converging rows, as at Carnac, Brittany, where there are three alignments of this sort, nearly two miles in length and containing no less than 2730 stones. The dol-

men seems to have been covered entirely or in part with a mound of earth or a heap of stones, but in most cases the covering has been removed in recent times. Stone circles are also met with, the best-preserved example being Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain in the south of England.

Why should so much time and labor have been devoted to the erection of these huge stones? Religion supplies the only reasonable explanation. We know that dolmens had to do with the cult of the dead. Human bones and sometimes ashes (the latter testifying to the practice of cremation), implements, pottery, and ornaments found undisturbed in many of them leave not the slightest doubt that they served as mausoleums and vaults in which persons of importance were buried. Dolmens sometimes have a small circular hole in one of the side stones, probably as a means of egress or ingress for the ghost of the deceased. Menhirs were tombstones, cenotaphs, monuments to the dead; in some cases, they were objects of worship. The veneration of stones is both ancient and widespread. Even now European peasants hold them in awe, associating them with giants, fairies, devils, and other mythical personages. The significance of the stone alignments and circles is more obscure, but beyond question they mark places where religious assemblies were held and sacred rites were performed. They formed temples, rather than tombs, though burial mounds were sometimes clustered around them like graves in a churchyard. This is the case at Stonehenge.

In spite of the ravages of time and man's irreverent hands a surprisingly large number of megaliths remain. Over fifteen hundred isolated menhirs and about forty-five hundred dolmens have been counted in France alone. These monuments are common elsewhere in western Europe, in some of the Mediterranean islands, along the northern coast of Africa, and in several Asiatic countries. While many date from the Neolithic period, others were erected after the introduction of the metals and therefore in quite recent times. Their geographical distribution has suggested the theory that megalithic "architecture" was the work of a single people who, as they traveled from east to west, carried it with them. According to another theory it originated independently in several regions, so that what spread was the custom of building the structures and not the builders themselves. Still another theory finds in Egypt, home of the obelisk and the pyramid, the original center of megaliths. No satisfactory solution of the problem has been proposed.

The builders of the megaliths lived in huts (the dead were the better housed), made pottery by hand and not with the potter's wheel, spun and wove, kept a few domestic animals, and probably practiced a

simple agriculture. That they were very religious can hardly be doubted. Their communities must have been populous and well organized, for the construction of stone monuments required the cooperation of many workers. Probably the entire group joined in the labor; it was like a "log-rolling" in American pioneer days. On the whole, the megalith builders seem to have been less advanced than the lake dwellers.

Compared with the Palaeolithic period the Neolithic covered only a brief space of time, but it was a period of rapid progress. Man is no longer wholly dependent on hunting, fishing, and food-collecting for a livelihood: he has learned to rear animals and to sow and reap the fruits of the earth. He makes the finest of stone tools and weapons, even mining deep into the earth to reach the best deposits of flint. He attacks the forest with his polished ax and adze, and with his chisel and saw he shapes the fallen timber. He hardens clay by fire and finds in pottery vessels a substitute for basketry. He spins and weaves, so that textiles replace skins as clothing. He grinds grain and bakes bread. He builds rafts and canoes, erects houses, and lays out villages. Food, clothing, shelter, transport — his greatest needs of a material sort — are now provided for as never before. Nor does he confine himself to the severely practical and useful: he raises great tombs for the dead and imposing temples for the gods. Whether or not these Neolithic arts reached Europe from outside is not so important as the fact that they took root and flourished on European soil.

The Neolithic, with its polished stone implements, pottery, and domestication of animals and plants, represents an almost universal stage in the cultural development of humanity. Carried by traders, travelers, and migrating peoples, these arts spread over all the continents except Australia. In Europe and Asia the Neolithic lasted until copper and bronze came into use, and in Africa (excluding Egypt) until after the introduction of iron. The natives of the Pacific islands and most of the American Indians were still in this stage at the time of their discovery by Europeans a few centuries ago. The original center or centers of the Neolithic culture cannot be determined with the scanty evidence at our disposal. Its birthplace was certainly not in the New World nor probably in Europe, but rather in the Near East, where the oldest remains have been found.

The Age of Metals

All man's higher culture rests on the metals, which first provided him with tools worthy of his wonderful hands and yet more wonderful brain. Stone is not pliable; it is very likely to split in use; and it is

ground and polished only with great difficulty. There came a time when substitutes were sought for it, and for wood and bone as well, in the metals. Gold and silver early attracted man's attention and provided him with ornaments. They were less "precious," however, than the harder tin, copper, bronze (a fusion of tin and copper), and iron. Copper sometimes occurs in a pure state, not as an ore, so that it can be readily extracted and hammered into any desired shape. American Indians in this way got pure copper from mines near Lake Superior and made metal spearheads, knives, and hatchets, which were modeled on those of stone. The Greenland Eskimos did the same thing with iron in its meteoric form and chipped out iron implements from fragments of meteorites. In fact, hammering the metals generally preceded smelting them.

How metallurgy arose we can only guess. Either by accident or by experimentation it was learned that while some stones cracked in a fire and some were scarcely affected by it, still others, subjected to intense heat, became soft and malleable. Then followed the furnace, bellows, anvil, sledge, tongs, and all the appliances and processes of the smith's craft. With the development of this art the metals became indispensable to man, so that in a sense the Age of Metals continues still and must continue to the end of time.

The researches of archaeologists have proved that in Europe copper, bronze, and iron were gradually introduced, in the order named, but this succession did not prevail everywhere. Among Malays, Polynesians, and African Negroes the use of iron followed immediately on that of stone; neither copper nor bronze was familiar to them. In Japan bronze and iron came in about simultaneously. The American Indians before the Columbian discovery were unacquainted with iron; they worked pure copper, as has been said. In Mexico and Peru they smelted it and also made bronze. India, Indo-China, and China in the Far East and all the principal countries of the Near East afford evidence of the regular succession of copper, bronze, and iron.

Copper, a common metal, is found in large quantities near the surface and is easily worked. A Copper period may have arisen independently in various regions where the ore was abundant and men had wit enough to mine it, smelt it, and cast it in molds. The ancient Mexicans and Peruvians seem to have invented metallurgy on their own account, for there is no evidence that they adopted the art from some foreign source. Possibly Neolithic Europeans also learned by themselves to utilize some of the deposits of copper in Hungary, northern Italy, and other parts of the Continent; possibly metallurgy reached them from the Near East where it was older than in Europe, going back at least as far

as 4000 B.C. The copper mines of the peninsula of Sinai and those on the island of Cyprus (whose Greek name, Kupros, appears in the Latin *cuprum*, whence our *copper*) were worked at a very remote epoch.

Copper implements, being soft, did not keep an edge. Ancient smiths eventually discovered that the addition of a small quantity of tin (about one-tenth) produced the much harder and tougher alloy called bronze, as superior to copper as steel is to iron. Where this simple but important improvement in the metallurgic art was first made we do not know. Bronze appears between 3000 and 2000 B.C. in the lands bordering the eastern Mediterranean; somewhat later it spread to central and western Europe. Many hoards or caches of bronze implements and ornaments have been unearthed on the Continent and also in the British Isles; these sometimes belonged to traders who hid their goods in time of danger. An enormous earthenware vase found at Bologna contained no less than 14,800 objects of bronze (including fragments). The course of the new metal was rapid, for it was eagerly accepted everywhere; and the Copper period soon gave way to the Bronze period over much of the Old World.

Though iron ores are more abundant and more easily reduced to the metallic state than any others, iron came late on the scene and only after copper and bronze had been known for several thousand years. Its very name in some languages, including our own, is derived from a word meaning copper or bronze. The Egyptians seem to have made little use of iron for tools and weapons before 900 B.C.; they called it the "metal of heaven," as if they had obtained it originally from meteorites. In the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Old Testament, iron is mentioned only twelve times while copper and bronze are referred to forty-four times. In the Homeric poems iron appears as a comparatively rare metal and so valuable that a lump of it forms a prize in an athletic contest. The peoples of central and western Europe became acquainted with iron only in the last millennium B.C. The slowness with which it spread among them was probably due to the fact that they already possessed fairly satisfactory implements of bronze. On the other hand, iron was quickly introduced among the American Indians and Polynesians. The latter were so ignorant of metal that they planted the first iron nails obtained from Europeans, in the hope of raising a new crop. They did not forge iron but simply worked it up into the forms with which they were familiar from their own shell and stone implements. The diffusion of iron is now world-wide, though in some parts of Australia and New Guinea very primitive peoples are still living in the Stone Age.

Survivals of the Stone Age

It is convenient to speak of a Stone Age and of an Age of Metals, but between the two no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn. Stone tools and weapons continued to be made when those of metal were still costly or difficult to procure, or when the former served a special purpose of their own. Copper implements associated with those of polished stone are often found in tombs of Neolithic Europeans, just as, since the opening-up of Australia, metal spoons, knives, and the like are now mingled with stone objects in the graves of the aborigines. Herodotus, a Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., tells us that some of the soldiers in Xerxes's expedition against Greece were armed only with stone weapons, and it is said that at the battle of Hastings in 1066 some of the Saxons who fought under Harold against William of Normandy wielded stone mauls or hammers. Flint strike-a-lights and flint-lock muskets remained in use among ourselves until about a century ago, and we continue to make grindstones and whetstones. Religion, always conservative, has sometimes prescribed the retention of stone for ritual purposes. Egyptian embalmers employed flint knives long after metals had found a way into the Nile valley, and the priests of ancient Mexico slaughtered their human victims on the altar with blades of stone, though for secular purposes copper and bronze were in common use. No iron tool might be employed in building Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem; Roman priests might not be shaved with an iron razor, though one of bronze was allowable; and even now European peasants, when gathering the sacred mistletoe from trees on which it grows, avoid the use of iron tools and knock it down with stones. The religious objection to the metals probably dates from that early time when they were novelties and as such were viewed with suspicion.

Something mysterious, uncanny, has always invested the smith's craft, which requires a special training and technique. Metal-workers often constitute a privileged class, as in Africa today, and the popularity of the name "Smith" indicates that the same was once true of European peoples. The smith is a familiar figure in mythology. One recalls the Greek Hephaestus (Vulcan), an Olympian divinity whose forge was in the crater of Mount Aetna; the Hebrew Tubal-Cain, who lived in the seventh generation after Adam and was "a master in all copper and iron work"; and Wayland (Wieland), of Germanic legend, the maker of magic swords and impregnable armor. All over Europe the implements and monuments of the Stone Age are connected in the popular mind with witches, fairies, and evil spirits. Thus the Neolithic arrowheads so often picked up on the surface of the ground are called

"elf-shot," from the notion that elves, or fairies, shoot them at men and cattle. Iron is a sovereign remedy against these creatures of the darkness: where it is found they dare not venture; hence the luck of the horseshoe, due, originally, not to its form but to the material of which it is made. Such superstitions descend from remote times; they open a window into man's distant past.

Dawn of Literary History

The introduction of the metals into the Near East was about coincident there with a flood of new discoveries and inventions, among them, phonographic writing, which made possible literary records. Such records were first kept by Babylonians and Egyptians toward the close of the fourth millennium B.C., so that history, in the sense of written history, dawned in the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile. Elsewhere — in China and India, in the eastern Mediterranean, in Greece and Italy — the "historic" curtain rises much later; in some parts of Europe only after the Christian era; and in the New World only with Columbus. But the use of letters has been given an exaggerated importance because of the fact that formerly all knowledge of man's past was limited to the few thousand years for which literary records exist. We now realize that a very considerable advance in the arts may be made by peoples who have never learned to read and write. Such was the case with the inhabitants of Europe during the Stone Age and the earliest part of the Age of Metals, who remained "unwept and unknown," as the Roman Horace puts it, until the spade of the excavator uncovered in their caves, rubbish heaps, pile dwellings, and burial mounds the vestiges of a culture that had utterly passed away. Archaeological research in Africa, Asia, and America has begun to reveal other chapters of preliterary history.

IV

Social Origins

Primitive Peoples

ARCHAEOLOGICAL research, being confined chiefly to the examination of man's handicrafts and arts, cannot afford much information about his customs and beliefs in bygone ages. This gap in our knowledge is filled, to some extent, by the study of primitive peoples still living in a state of savagery or of barbarism. "Primitive," as the anthropologist uses the word, is not a synonym for "primeval." It is impossible to tell, it will always be impossible to tell, anything about man as he was when he first drew away from the brute creation and started on the long road upward to civilization. Certain peoples are primitive only in a relative sense, namely, by comparison with other peoples who, because of a more favorable environment or greater intellectual capacities or for other reasons, have moved forward while they have lagged behind. To speak of their primitiveness implies nothing more than that, culturally, they stand nearest to the original condition of humanity.

We must remember that primitive peoples have as long a pedigree as ourselves and that their culture has therefore been the subject of an evolution no briefer than that through which the culture of the rest of mankind has passed. The rate of change with them is slow, incredibly slow as judged by our standards, but neither their customs nor their beliefs can have remained quite stationary for hundreds and even thousands of years. Furthermore, since culture elements are often spread by diffusion from a single center rather than by being independently developed in several centers, the possibility always exists that particular customs and beliefs now found among the less civilized folk have come to them from the outside, as borrowings from their more civilized neighbors. In short, not everything that characterizes primitive peoples today necessarily originated with them or dates from a remote epoch. This consideration must be kept steadily in mind.

Savagery

Savages are "nature peoples," simple hunters, fishers, and food-collectors as are the animals about them. In tropical regions the abundance of fruit and game may allow savage groups to occupy one spot more or less permanently, but in barer, colder regions, where food is procured with difficulty and the supply is soon exhausted, they must be ever on the move. The hardships of their life result in a high mortality, and the group is always small. It is probable that the lowly estate of some savages has been due to pressure from the outside, compelling them to occupy regions where the culture of their forefathers could no longer be maintained and where it consequently dwindled away. They are now generally found in fever-infected swamps, steaming jungles, hot deserts and frozen deserts, the circumpolar regions — all places where more civilized folk would not or could not live.

Only one continent is still inhabited, outside of the European settlements, by savages: Australia, where in deep seclusion a rude form of culture has kept itself alive down to our own day. With the Australians may be included the aborigines of Tasmania, who remained until a few decades ago. They habitually went naked except in winter, when the skins of kangaroos were sometimes worn. They had not learned to build roofed huts but only bark screens. On the uplands and along the seashore they took refuge in caves and rock shelters. Their tools and weapons were of wood or of chipped, unpolished stone. Their stone implements, lacking handles, had to be held directly in the hand. They kindled a fire by the friction of dry sticks and usually roasted game, but cooking by boiling was unknown to them. They hunted with spears and clubs, but remained ignorant of the bow and arrow. They made no pottery, possessed no domesticated animals, not even the dog, and raised no crops of any kind. Lacking fixed abodes, they wandered constantly from place to place in search of the small creatures which they could kill and the wild fruits, roots, nuts, vermin, and shellfish which formed common articles of their diet. The Tasmanians numbered only a few thousands when discovered by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. They could not survive contact with Europeans; the white man's civilization proved scarcely less fatal to them than the white man's bullets; and in 1876 the last Tasmanian passed away.

Barbarism

Savage hunters, fishers, and food-collectors must constantly use up the means of subsistence without being able to replace them. The crea-

tion of new resources in the way of food becomes possible only with the domestication of animals or with the tillage of the soil. Men may be considered to have reached the state of barbarism when they take to herding or farming. Pastoral life developed on the grasslands of the world, except in Australia and America, where, because of the absence of domesticable animals, the natives could not resort to this occupation. Some peoples, such as the Hottentots of South Africa, combine cattle-keeping with hunting, and the tribes which range over the barren tundra of Siberia eke out their scanty supplies of wild food by keeping reindeer. Other peoples, again, combine agriculture with hunting, as did most of the North American Indians. The Germans, at the time of their descent upon the Roman world, were mainly pastoral, but some of their tribes also cultivated the soil.

Pastoralists possess in their flocks and herds a relatively certain source of subsistence, barring such calamities as drought or cattle-plague; in consequence, their life is ordinarily less precarious than that of hunters, fishers, and food-collectors and their numbers, for a given tract of land, far greater. It is true that shepherds and herdsmen must be nomads, always moving from one field or water-hole to another, but, unlike hunters, they move as a social group, taking with them their animals and household gear and not sacrificing such material comforts as they may have gained. But only with agriculture, the most laborious but the most rewarding of occupations, can there take place all that progress in the arts of life which so greatly extends the productive capacity of the land and makes possible the concentration of men in ever larger communities. Tillage, unless it be limited to such simple hoe-culture as was practiced by the American Indians, presupposes the domestication of animals as well as of plants. It represents, therefore, a momentous advance in the arts of life, comparable in importance to those improvements in man's estate which followed the discovery and utilization of fire, the making of stone tools, and the introduction of the metals.

If the life of existing savages and barbarians shows, on its material side, so many resemblances to the life of "prehistoric" men, it is natural to assume that there are also resemblances between them in immaterial culture. The anthropologist makes this assumption, being persuaded that what can be learned about the extinct Tasmanians and the nearly extinct Australians will afford some idea of Palaeolithic savagery; and, similarly, that knowledge of the African Negroes, the Polynesians, and the North American Indians will contribute to the understanding of Neolithic barbarism. For the anthropologist these and other primitive peoples are a sort of "contemporaneous ancestry." To look at

them and compare them with the more civilized peoples of today is to gain some comprehension of social evolution through unnumbered centuries.

Marriage and the Family

We are perhaps entitled to believe that even truly primeval man could never have led a Robinson Crusoe existence without any reference to his fellows. The long period of helplessness characterizing the human infant would seem to have made it necessary for at least a few adults to remain together, in order to care for the children until these were able to care for themselves. If the adults were the children's near relatives, then some form of marriage and some form of family life may be as old as man himself. But in the countless ages which have elapsed since human beings first roamed the earth their sex instincts and matrimonial arrangements have doubtless undergone innumerable changes.

According to a hypothesis once commonly held and not without champions now, the earliest condition of humanity was a complete or nearly complete promiscuity, in which mating took place at random and each man paired with any and every woman who caught his fancy. However this may have been in "the dark backward and abysm of time," certain it is that no primitive society can now be found which does not impose definite restrictions upon the sexual proclivities of its members. Generally speaking, the more primitive the society the more numerous and complicated are these restrictions. The family itself forms an anti-incest group. Marriage between parents and children seems to be everywhere prohibited. Marriage between brothers and sisters, the children of the same mother as well as of the same father, is also never allowed except in a few instances where it has been customary for persons of exalted rank to marry their sisters, lest they sully their pure blood by mating with commoners. Incestuous unions of this sort occurred in the royal families of ancient Egypt and Persia and among the Inca rulers of Peru.

Many savage and barbarous peoples observe the custom of exogamy (out-marriage), whereby a man or a woman of a particular group must choose a partner from another group. A violation of the exogamous rule is often considered a criminal offense, punishable with death. A community frequently practices exogamy as respects its subdivisions and yet follows the custom of endogamy (in-marriage) as a whole. For example, a tribe may be made up of a number of exogamous settlements, but marriage may seldom or never occur beyond the tribal limits. Intermarriage between members of different races, social classes, castes, and

religions is very commonly forbidden or at least viewed without approval. There is one African tribe in which blacksmiths are considered outside the pale; hence no one of good standing ever marries into a blacksmith's family. Another African tribe rigidly separates the three classes of hunters, herders, and farmers, and their intermarriage is therefore disapproved. The castes of modern India are always endogamous. In ancient Rome centuries passed before patricians and plebeians might legally intermarry, and among the Germans in ancient times any freeman who married a slave became himself enslaved. During the Middle Ages marriages between Jews and Christians were not allowed by either Jewish or Christian law. The progress of civilization has tended to break down both exogamous and endogamous restrictions, thus narrowing the inner circle within which people must not marry and widening the outer circle within which they may marry.

Partners are obtained in various ways. A man may take a woman by force or by guile from a hostile community. The practice of wife-capture is not unknown to some primitive peoples today, any more than head-hunting, slave-raiding, and cattle-stealing; and that it was found in ancient times appears from references to it in the Old Testament and from the famous Roman tale of the rape of the Sabine women. A man may get a woman by working for her in her father's abode, as Jacob served seven years for Rachel, " and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her." He may give a kinswoman in exchange for her, as when two Australian natives barter sisters. And he may buy her outright, paying a " bride-price " to her family as compensation for the economic loss which it has sustained. Marriage by purchase, the commonest method of obtaining wives among primitive peoples, has also been found widely among those of archaic civilization in both Asia and Europe. Under more advanced conditions the bride-price passes into something quite different — the dowry. Even the practice of dower tends to decline as marriage becomes less and less a business transaction and more and more a matter of romantic attachment.

All the possible varieties of conjugal relationship have been tried out by primitive peoples. Polyandry, the union of one woman with several men, seems to be due chiefly to a surplus of males, these being more numerous than females because of female infanticide or for other reasons. Sometimes the husbands are not related to one another, but most commonly they are brothers, as in Tibet and among the Todas of southern India. Polyandrous marriage has probably always been exceptional, for it presupposes an abnormal lack of jealousy on the part of men. It is also very unfavorable to the growth of numbers, so that

any community practicing it, unless protected by isolation, must have gone down in the competition with more fecund groups.

Polygyny, the union of one man with several women, is found among barbarous peoples rather than among savages, but almost everywhere it is confined to the wealthy and ruling classes. Sometimes only the chiefs have two or more wives; sometimes, where large payments for a wife are required, only the rich enjoy this privilege. In one Melanesian community a second wife is allowed the man who has shown his prowess by taking ten heads in warfare. Among some Australian tribes only the elders are polygynous. There are many reasons why a man may want more than one wife: the social prestige and feeling of authority which polygyny confers upon him; the desire for offspring, when the first wife is sterile; the need for additional servants and workers; not least, perhaps, the liking for a change on the part of men, who, as some Negroes expressed it, are "not able to eat always of the same dish." Polygyny does not necessarily imply the degradation of women, nor is it an especially difficult form of marriage because of female jealousy. The first wife may welcome an additional helper or helpers in the household. "Why have I to do all the work; why do you not buy another wife?" an East African woman asks her husband. It should be noticed that under polygyny there is usually a tendency to regard the first wife as the true wife and other wives as inferior to her in rank and importance, that is, as concubines.

Polyandry is sporadic; polygyny, while far more widespread, is nevertheless occasional; monogamy is general. Tempered often by an illicit concubinage, it is the only form of marriage in the most civilized societies. It prevails in the state of barbarism, except among the prosperous minority, and it prevails in savagery. The prevalence of monogamy finds a simple explanation in the fact that under normal conditions the number of males and females in a given group is approximately equal. The natural sex ratio is one to one or thereabouts, so that if mates are to be allotted equitably monogamy must be the rule.

Almost everywhere that monogamy exists it is unstable. There are very few primitive peoples about whom we are told that a man may not have more than one wife, provided he can support her. Even when polygyny comes to be regarded as a criminal offense or as a sin, the ease of divorce often enables a man to practice what amounts to polygyny. In fact, monogamy as an exclusive and permanent form of marriage has been rare among highly civilized peoples until comparatively recent times. That monogamous relations of this sort are most favorable to the upbringing of children and most conducive to a life lived above a sensual animal plane requires no argument. "There is nothing might-

ier or nobler," says Homer, "than when man and wife are of one heart and mind in a house, a grief to their foes, to their friends great joy, but their own hearts know it best."

The Chinese, Hindus, Persians, Babylonians, Arabs, and Hebrews in Asia and the Greeks, Romans, and other European peoples, when we first learn about them from written records, had some form of the paternal family. By marriage the wife entered her husband's group of relatives and lived with him in his own abode; henceforth his people were her people and his gods were her gods. The father was the protector of the children, giving them his name and, in case of divorce, keeping them. Property, rank, and titles were all transmitted through the father to his own offspring.

The paternal family often took an extreme form, with the head of the household (Latin, *pater familias*) enjoying well-nigh absolute authority over its members. This is the so-called patriarchal system. It flourished for centuries in ancient Rome, and from Rome our own ideas of the family and of the father's place in it have been in large part derived. The patriarchal system is also familiar through the Old Testament narratives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, those ancestors of the Hebrew people who roamed with their flocks and herds over the land of Canaan and whose simple pastoral life is depicted in the Book of Genesis. The decline of the patriarchal family has been very marked in recent times, so that marriage is more and more considered a partnership of husband and wife on equal terms, and the father's authority over his minor children is regarded only in the right of guardianship.

Political Organization; the Clan and the Tribe

"Man," said Aristotle, "is born to be a citizen." The philosopher had in mind citizenship in one of the Greek communities of his day, but the statement has all but universal application. It is true that some very primitive peoples whose food supply is scanty and unreliable are said to live habitually in single, isolated families — for example, the miserable Fuegians, some of the Eskimos, and the forest Veddas of Ceylon. Such a degree of solitariness is rare. Savages usually form small local groups, each of perhaps fifty or a hundred persons mostly related by blood or connected by marriage. A local group, if migratory, may be called a horde; if fixed to one spot it is a village community. Co-operation for common defense, mutual helpfulness, and friendly relations of the members with one another always characterize such groups. Thus local proximity — the geographic bond — unites with the kinship bond to establish a simple form of political organization.

The clan (Old Irish and Gaelic, *clann*, " offspring," " descendant ") is a group larger than the family, but its members are held to be related to one another by descent from some common ancestor. Their relationship may be purely fictitious, since outsiders are often taken into the clan by adoption; nevertheless, the tie of clanship thus created is as strong as that made by common descent. The belief or assumption that the clanfolk are of one blood gives rise to the stringent rule of exogamy, forbidding them to intermarry. Thus among the Iroquois Indians, with whom descent was in the female line, the son of a woman belonging to the Bear clan would be a Bear, and accordingly he might not marry a Bear girl, but might take a woman belonging to the Deer clan or to the Heron clan. There is much solidarity of feeling between clanfolk, and the obligation to help one another and avenge an injury done to one of them by a member of another clan is always strongly stressed. The clan sometimes owns land in common, as well as " copyrights " to certain dances and songs which only its members may reproduce.

This type of political organization is lacking among many savages. It rather characterizes peoples in the barbaric state of culture, for instance, various African tribes and some North American Indians. Many peoples of archaic civilization seem to have been familiar with the clan system, as were the Greeks and Romans. It existed in medieval Ireland and Scotland, where the use of the genealogical surnames with *O'* (" grandson ") and *Mac* (" son "), as in such common names as O'Conor, MacCarthy, fostered the notion that all who bore the same surname were related to one another. The clan has still great vitality in China.

Clans are usually parts of a larger group for which there is the familiar designation " tribe." We cannot tell, however, whether the clans came first and afterward combined to form the tribal aggregate, or whether the tribe came first and later split up into the several clans. Tribes may also be composed of migratory hordes or settled village communities without the clan system. In any case, a tribe is a group of a simple kind, whose members occupy a more or less definite territory, speak the same dialect, possess similar customs, and unite for common action such as warfare or a mass migration. It is regularly endogamous, that is to say, its members as a rule marry within and not without the tribal group. The tribesmen often regard themselves as descended from some common ancestor, a belief which helps to bring them and keep them together. They may also give themselves a common name, referring to themselves as " the men," in contrast to all outsiders who are only " foreigners." The tribe is found almost everywhere in primitive society. Among peoples of archaic civilization there are such well-

known examples as the twelve tribes of Israel and the three tribes (*tribus*) which, according to tradition, united to form the *populus Romanus*, the Roman people.

The State

The state may be defined as a social group of considerable size, occupying a well-defined territory, under a single government, and organized for defense or offense against similar groups. This type of political organization is naturally unknown in savagery. Some barbarous peoples with whom the kinship tie became less important than the territorial tie formed real states, as did the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru. There are still many Negro kingdoms in West Africa, more powerful in former days than now. During the early nineteenth century the fighting Zulus conquered half a million people and formed a strong state in south Africa. It was during the wars of the Israelites with their neighbors in Canaan that the former gave up their tribal system and established a kingdom under Saul, David, and Solomon. So it was also with the Germanic tribes, which, during the early centuries of our era, united into great groups for resistance against, or attack upon, Rome. Their military confederations later developed into the first kingdoms of western Europe. States, indeed, are most often made by "blood and iron." Nor does political development end with the annexation and incorporation of related peoples. Ambition overleaps its proper bounds: visions of universal sovereignty dazzle the eyes of an Alexander, a Caesar, a Charlemagne, a Napoleon; distant, unrelated peoples are subjugated and made tributary; and the world empires appear on the stage of history.

Slavery as an Industrial System

It may be a self-evident truth that "all men are created equal"; if so, however, they have not preserved equality. The division between nobles and commoners, patricians and plebeians, reaches far back into antiquity, while the greatest of all divisions, that between freemen and slaves, has existed ever since men began to keep war captives for forced labor, instead of killing them or adopting them into the tribe.

There is little scope for slavery in most primitive communities unacquainted with cattle-raising or farming; as a rule slaves will be kept only when they can be gainfully employed. Under pastoral conditions slaves are useful as cowherds, swineherds, and shepherds, but no need exists for many workers. Moreover, the nomadic life of pastoralists forms a bar to the keeping of slaves. Where agriculture is the principal

or only occupation, forced labor becomes much more profitable, for on a given plot of land every additional worker means, as a rule, an increased yield. The settled life of agriculturalists also makes it easier to maintain oversight and control over bondmen. Thus slavery develops into an industrial system, with the slave class recruited from prisoners of war and their descendants, persons kidnaped or purchased from the outside, poor men who voluntarily sell themselves into servitude, and debtors and criminals. It seems to be the rule among primitive peoples that slaves, especially household slaves, receive kind treatment, being often regarded as inferior members of the family. Slavery is still found in the Malay Archipelago, Arabia, and Africa. It prevailed among all the nations of antiquity, among even the Hebrews; in the Tenth Commandment the man-servant and the maid-servant are considered just as much a man's wealth and therefore just as likely to be coveted as his ox and his ass. Early civilization owed much to slavery, for it facilitated the accumulation of wealth and out of war-captives and their offspring it helped to create the class of workers, as distinct from warriors, who at first were the only freemen.

Development of Private Property

Among hunters, fishers, and food-gatherers much more is possessed collectively than individually. Camping places, hunting grounds, and fishing streams belong to the group as a whole — sometimes to a single family but often to a clan or a tribe. The boundaries of the group possessions are usually respected, for trespassing results in feuds and bloodshed. As for individual ownership, that must always be very limited among wandering savages who lead so literally a hand-to-mouth existence. With them it is confined chiefly to what a person wears or carries about with him, the things he finds or makes with his own hands. A digging-stick, a parcel of boomerangs, some spears, a few skin rugs, stone implements, and bead ornaments are about all that an Australian native can have for himself or pass on to his descendants. The scope of private property widens under pastoral conditions, for the herdsman has his cattle, sheep, and goats, his horses and camels, together with the hides, wool, and milk which they yield him. These and other possessions are prized for themselves and also because they can be bartered or sold for more livestock. The realization of the advantages to be derived from individual ownership thus becomes a powerful incentive to the accumulation of wealth in private hands. But land is still not monopolized by individuals, for the pasturage must be shared among all the members of the group, and when the grass has been exhausted or

the water-holes have dried up, there is a general exodus to a better region. Private property in land and in all that land produces is found among many primitive peoples who lead settled lives and till the soil. Often, however, there is some form of collective ownership by groups of relatives or by the members of an entire settlement.

Government; Chiefship and Kingship

No community in which every man did what was right in his own eyes without regard for his neighbors could exist for any length of time. Some authority, determining the relations of the members of the community to one another, must be lodged somewhere. To Greek philosophers, the founders of political science, we owe the rather obvious classification of governmental forms into monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, according as authority resides in the one, the few, or the many.

The simplest societies may be described as democratic, if by the rule of the people be understood the rule of the mature and regularly initiated men. Women seldom take any active part in public life, but exercise such influence as they possess through the male members of their family or kindred. A government of this sort tends to become more or less oligarchical in character, for the older, more experienced men will often manage affairs to the practical exclusion of the younger men. This is the situation in aboriginal Australia. Here the tribal elders meet in solemn conclave to decide what camping place shall be selected, what mass migration shall be made, what quarrels with a neighboring tribe shall be straightened out or fought out, or what magical ceremonies shall be performed to bring rain and increase the food supply. Even where the chiefship has developed, the council of elders may have the greater power, as was generally the case with the American Indians. How this form of authority lasted on is seen in ancient Sparta, with its council of elders who assisted the two kings, and in Rome, with its Senate made up originally of elders (*senes*). The popular assembly also appears among the rudest peoples, as when the men of a Brazilian tribe will be called together by the chief to consider some weighty matter laid before them. The second book of the *Iliad* describes how a similar meeting of the "flowing-haired Achaeans" at Troy was summoned by King Agamemnon. The Roman historian Tacitus, writing about the German barbarians at the end of the first century of our era, tells us that on minor matters the chiefs consult alone; for more important business all the freemen come together. If the latter approve of what is said to them they clash their arms; if not,

their murmurs reject it. Such unwieldy assemblies are much better for decision than debate, but until the representative system began to come into use a few centuries ago no other form of popular government was possible.

To set forth all the ways in which men have gained authority by force or by fraud, by their own talents or by the weakness or foolishness of others, would be equivalent to writing a treatise on political science. Among the ruder, simpler peoples personal ability is the essential factor making for predominance. Strength of body and strength of will, a persuasive tongue, great energy, initiative, and resourcefulness are the qualities which raise a man above his fellows and constitute the leader. This is not to deny that other grounds for superiority are often found. In Australia age alone, unless accompanied by mental decay, is usually enough to secure leadership. In some of the Melanesian Islands the chiefs are those who reach the highest degree in the secret societies. There are instances in Africa and North America where the richest man rules the group. Not infrequently the magician or priest, feared and respected because believed to control the mysterious forces of nature, has risen to a commanding place.

Chiefs ruling despotically and handing down their power to their descendants seem to be unknown in really savage communities. They are found rather among barbaric peoples much given to fighting, who need one man to make decisions and enforce discipline. Supremacy in time of war tends to become supremacy in time of peace: the successful military leader enjoys the prestige of victory and has an armed force to back his commands. When a tribe settles in a conquered country, reducing its people to slavery or exacting tribute from them, there is need for a strong government, and chiefship develops almost inevitably into kingship. Thus war and conquest beget the king as they beget the state. It should be added that the barbaric monarch more often than not is the high priest of the state religion as well as a temporal ruler. His adoring subjects look upon him as a deity on earth, or at least as descended from a deity. To the Peruvian Indians and the ancient Egyptians alike, their ruler was the son of the sun god; and the Japanese still revere their emperor as the son of the sun goddess.

Customary Law and Justice

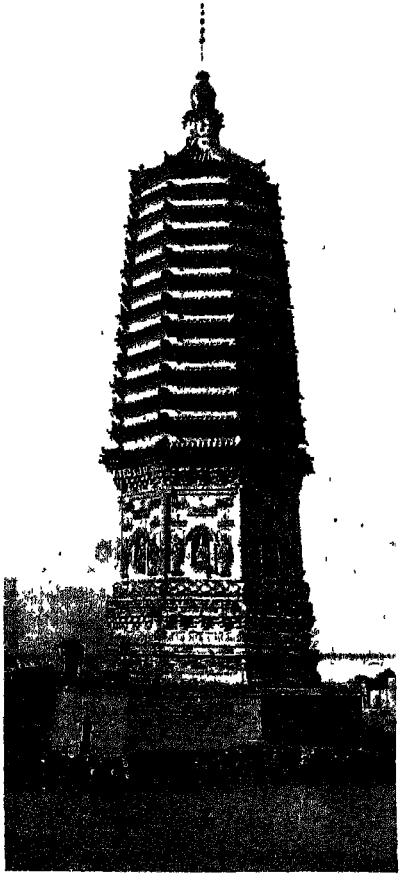
A "law" is usually defined as a rule laid down by a sovereign to his subjects, whether the sovereign be one man to whom obedience is given or a few men or many men. A law has binding force; it always implies coercion and some form of punishment for its violation; for us it also

suggests policemen, lawyers, courts, jails, and the soldiery which in the last resort must be called out to impose the sovereign's will. In this sense law is "whatever you can enforce." But in primitive society the rules observed are not so much the commands of a superior as the customs which everyone in the group acknowledges as right and proper. It is the duty of the chief or of the council of elders to ratify and carry out these customs rather than arbitrarily to prescribe new rules. In the same way, among ourselves a judge who has no statutes to guide him in making a decision will ordinarily follow the long-established usages of the community. English common law was once altogether customary, not statutory, in character. Among savage and barbarous peoples there are seldom any police organizations constantly on the watch to detect and apprehend wrongdoers, though secret societies sometimes assume such functions. Customary law is obeyed simply in deference to public opinion. A man who has committed a minor misdemeanor must face the ridicule or contempt of his fellows, while against one guilty of a very serious crime, such as treason, violation of the exogamous rules, or witchcraft, the whole community rises in its wrath, perhaps driving him from the group or putting him to death by a sort of lynch law.

In addition to these social sanctions for time-honored customs, there are also extra-social sanctions. One of the latter is the power of taboo (Polynesian, *tabu*). A taboo might be described briefly as a self-enforcing thou-shalt-not. The violator of such a prohibition is supposed to call down upon himself some automatic punishment, just as, in the physical world, a person who touches a live wire receives an electric shock. The evil to come may sometimes be represented as sickness, disease, or death; and sometimes, again, the consequences of taboo-breaking are left to the excited imagination of the taboo-breaker. So acute is the fear aroused by even an involuntary transgression that cases are known of persons who perished of fright after discovering that they had eaten tabooed food. Taboo is the "dread tyrant" of many a primitive community.

Another extra-social sanction bears a religious character. When certain offenses come to be regarded, not simply as crimes against the social group, but also as sins against supernatural beings, their commission will be thought to kindle divine anger and to result in divine chastisements. All human ills, ranging from accidents to death itself, may thus be explained. As was said of the Maoris of New Zealand,

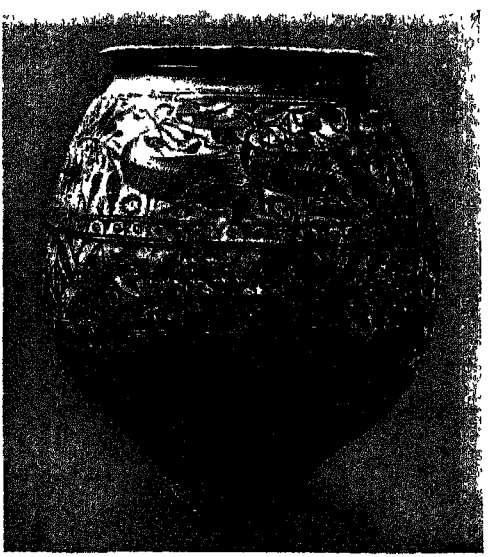
> Departed spirits were their dumb police,
> And ghosts enforced their lightest law.



Chinese Pagoda of the T'ang Dynasty, Kuan Ning, Manchuria. *Page 94.*

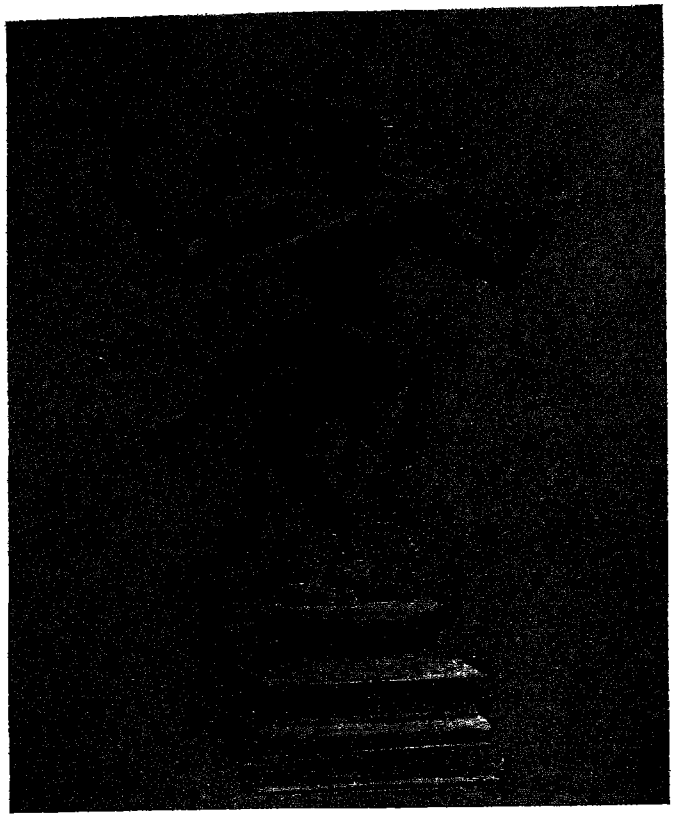


Chinese Wooden Carving of a Bodhisattva 12th Century A.D. *Pages 94, 114.*



Great Jar, Chanhudaro, India *c.* 3000 B.C. *Page 104.*

PLATE III



COPPER IMAGE OF SIVA THE DESTROYER, INDIA
15th Century A.D. *Pages 109, 117.*



BUDDHA AND THE EIGHT GREAT MIRACLES, INDIA
12th Century A.D. *Pages 111, 117.*

PLATE IV

With so many reasons for good behavior, it is scarcely surprising to learn that primitive peoples obey their customary laws more strictly than we, with all our elaborate legal machinery, obey our written laws.

Every system of law aims to secure the just dealing of men with one another. How imperfectly this aim is realized among even the most advanced societies is seen in our own civil law, which so often favors the rich and mighty to the detriment of the poor and lowly, and in our criminal law, with its many loopholes through which the guilty are able to escape. Among the less advanced societies the disparity between ideal justice and that which actually prevails is still more marked. In the first place, there is the reliance upon the principle of retaliation — "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth" — when a homicide has been committed or a bodily injury inflicted by one person upon another. Justice is thus identified with revenge, "getting even," paying the culprit in his own coin. The satisfaction of vengeful feelings often results in blood feuds between two groups, and their petty warfare may rage for years unless ended by payment of a blood-fine, that is, money or some other compensation given to the injured man or to his relatives. In the second place, there is the emphasis on the principle of collective responsibility for wrongdoing. The family or clan of the wrongdoer is held liable for what has happened; if the real culprit cannot be found, justice is satisfied when anyone of his group has been punished in his stead. The Second Commandment, directed against idolatry, affords an example of this principle; for Jehovah is there described as a jealous god, "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." In the third place, there is the frequent failure to distinguish between accident and design, between an intentional and a nonintentional injury. Primitive law may not recognize any extenuating circumstances, so that a man who kills another without meaning to do so will be punished as severely as if he did it with "malice prepense," as the lawyers say. Sometimes, however, he is allowed to get off by paying a blood-fine to the victim's kindred. Finally, instead of a formal trial, with the evidence carefully weighed by an impartial judge or jury, the whole issue is often laid on the laps of the gods, who are asked to indicate in some way whether the accused is innocent or guilty. Here comes in the widespread use of the ordeal, as when in Africa a person suspected of witchcraft must swallow a nauseous or poisonous drink, which, it is thought, only a guilty stomach can retain. Taking an oath is really a kind of ordeal, for he who swears falsely as to his own or another's innocence becomes thereby a perjurer and is supposed to call down upon himself divine vengeance. Still another device is a formal duel

between accuser and accused; if the latter wins he must be innocent, for supernatural power has strengthened his arm and made him irresistible.

All these features of primitive law are found embedded in the first written codes of law that have reached us from antiquity. When we find them in the Babylonian code of Hammurabi, the Hebrew or Mosaic code, the Twelve Tables of Rome, and the laws of the Germanic barbarians, we know that they are survivals from an earlier and ruder age. With the growth of the state the administration of justice is taken over as a public matter; private vengeance is discouraged; and legal procedures are provided to investigate and punish wrongdoers.

Morality

The standards of conduct which men observe are necessarily those of their own time and of their own community. Moral codes, always and everywhere, reflect group ideas of right and wrong. "It is our custom; therefore we follow it" is the universal reasoning of mankind. Thus morality implies obedience to custom, whether or not the customary rules have the force of laws, with a punishment for their infraction. Primitive peoples are most hidebound by custom; but how slowly and with how many setbacks have men anywhere secured some liberty to think, feel, and act for themselves, some freedom to question or reject particular beliefs and practices as incompatible with the dictates of conscience!

The customs of a community, besides reflecting group ideas, also respond to group needs or to what are supposed to be such needs. It is chiefly for this reason that standards of conduct are found to vary so much as one surveys human societies throughout the world. What seems good here may be thought bad there; the virtues of one group may be the vices of another. In a primitive community even such customs as female infanticide, killing the aged and infirm, cannibalism, head-hunting, and human sacrifice have the excuse of necessity or of assumed necessity. Let it be remembered also that in the clan, tribe, and other small groups not much room exists for altruism. A man knows and usually fulfills his duty to his neighbors: the lives, property, and welfare of his clanfolk and fellow tribesmen are respected by him; but outside these narrow limits other men are strangers and consequently rightless men. There is a useful word, "ethnocentrism," which means the regarding of one's own group as the only group that counts. Savage and barbarous peoples are ethnocentric in the highest degree, but among the most civilized peoples racial prejudices and national antipa-

thies combine to make the brotherhood of man no more than a pious aspiration.

Religion

The existence of an unseen world seems to have been recognized by man from a remote period, probably even from Palaeolithic times. No savage or barbarous tribe without some kind of religion is known, and written history records no irreligious people. Religion forms one of man's major interests, ranking in importance next after the food quest and sex love, and, among primitive peoples especially, affecting every aspect of life. Definitions of religion are innumerable; however defined, it always involves a belief in supernatural beings and an attempt to establish relations with them. Anthropologists use the convenient word "animism" (Latin, *anima*, "soul") to denote the lowest and most primitive forms of religion.

The inhabitants of the unseen world form a motley company: souls of the living, ghosts of the dead, spirits good and bad, and gods of high or low degree. Their number is legion, their activity is constant, they are always present, and in their several ways they are ever-powerful. All alike seem mysterious; all alike arouse emotions which run the gamut from "awful" to "awesome," from simple fear and avoidance to reverence and veneration. They are often supposed to be lodged in what for us are inanimate objects, such as a river, a cataract, a spring, a volcano, a high mountain, a great rock, sun, moon, stars, fire, the winds, some lucky charm or fetish — "a rag and a bone and a hank of hair." Trees, plants, animals, and men may also contain indwelling souls or spirits. How far the object itself is distinguished in thought from what possesses it we cannot tell, and primitive man does not tell. Very often supernatural beings have little or no connection with material things and lead a rather independent existence. Ghosts "walk"; the spirits which enter a person's body and cause illness and death roam about as freely as do microbes; and gods may hold sway over a wide domain. It is difficult to imagine a spirit or a god without emotions, desires, a certain amount of intelligence, and a bodily shape, in short, without human personality. The tendency toward humanization becomes stronger with advancing culture, reaching its height in the great polytheistic religions of antiquity. Man created the gods in his own image.

It does not suffice for man to believe that there are powers outside himself and capable of affecting him for good or for ill; he must also act on this belief in some way. Religion is Janus-faced: the one face is dogma and the other face is ritual. Primitive religion puts much more

emphasis on the latter than on the former. What a person thinks about supernatural beings seems comparatively unimportant, and there is little or no effort to enforce uniformity of thought. But participation in the ceremonies relating to them is expected from everyone; for of all customs the most stringent are religious customs. At first, the ceremonies are conducted by headmen, magicians, and other tribal leaders; later on, secret societies and priesthoods take them in charge. The welfare of the community is supposed to hinge upon their proper performance; hence they must be carried out in strict accordance with time-honored ways. It is well to emphasize their psychological value. They may not bend to puny man's will the mighty forces which move in the world, but they certainly contribute to social solidarity and develop a power of self-control at critical occasions when untoward events have occurred or are expected to occur. At the very least they satisfy the need for spectacular entertainment, thus providing an antidote against ennui. A Central Australian tribe whose ceremonies sometimes extend over four months at a time, not a day passing without one or more performances, would find life scarcely livable without them.

In general, ritual among primitive peoples has a severely practical character. Sometimes man attempts to coerce or compel supernatural beings to do his bidding; sometimes he takes a humble, petitionary attitude and seeks by prayer and sacrifice an abundance of good things in this life from the powers able and ready to grant blessings; always he tries to conciliate them when angered and to avoid entirely those other powers that are never thought of as benevolent but are feared as hostile and malignant. Primitive man agrees with the Psalmist that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

Religion is concerned with man's needs and desires; and, when these change, religion will also change. The notions entertained of supernatural beings and the demands made upon them by their worshipers vary greatly according as the social group is small or large and according as it consists of wandering hunters and fishers, of nomadic shepherds and herdsmen, or of settled farmers. To put the matter another way, the religion of a given society depends upon its cultural position quite as much as does its morality. If the religion of savage and barbarous peoples seems rude to us, that is because they themselves are rude; we look in vain for a combination of primitive manners and customs with lofty spiritual faith. The greatest factor in religious progress, as in the progress of civilization generally, has been the formation of states out of scattered, disunited tribes. With the rise of the state the old tribal gods become a part of it and grow in power and majesty as the state itself increases in size and population. The priest-

hood, devoted to the tendance of the gods, emerges as an influential hereditary class. Elaborate mythologies dealing with the gods are composed. Finally, some one god, perhaps that of the strongest tribe, takes the highest place, standing above the other gods just as the earthly ruler whom the tribes have united to obey surpasses the tribal chiefs in dignity and importance.

Supernaturalism and Magic

Within his own range of interests primitive man shows himself at least as observant and skillful as his more civilized brother. We think of him as an excellent hunter, trapper, fisher, and herdsman; as a practical botanist, able to distinguish useful from nonuseful plants and at length to cultivate the soil; as a dexterous worker in stone and metal; and as a potter, spinner, and weaver of no slight attainments. In short, he has a first-hand acquaintance with nature sufficient for his simple life in woods and fields. But what he knows is not systematized; it does not lead him to formulate any general principles or "laws" of nature; it is not science, properly so called. Without scientific knowledge, he can account for many physical phenomena which impress him only by referring them to the agency of some power or powers outside of and beyond nature. For him the existence of supernatural beings who intervene from time to time in human affairs is a necessary hypothesis. On this hypothesis his religious ceremonies are based.

Not only does supernaturalism bulk large in the thought of primitive peoples, but magic does also. Definitions of magic are almost as numerous as definitions of religion; as used here, the word refers to all those ways of dealing with the natural world which, however sensible they may seem to their practitioners, have been discarded by modern men as utterly futile. Much magic is "white" and good — for instance, the performance of rites to make rain, increase plants and animals, bring good luck in hunting and fishing, and cure disease. The magician who can do these things is a very important personage in a primitive community — so long as he is successful or deludes himself and his followers into believing that he is successful. On the other hand, magic is often "black" and bad: it is then sorcery or witchcraft. The former kind of magic enjoys the approval of society; the latter kind is always hated and repressed except when employed against public enemies. The magic art, to judge from Palaeolithic cave paintings, would seem to be at least as ancient as religion itself.

Primitive beliefs about supernatural beings and primitive practices of magic have survived among uneducated and partially educated people

in every civilized land. We call these beliefs and practices "superstitions," a word whose derivation points to their "standing over" from an earlier, ruder age. How numerous they are only the special student of the subject can appreciate. Notions of ghosts, fairies, goblins, and vampires; beliefs in witchcraft and the evil eye; reliance on omens and divination; recognition of lucky and unlucky days and numbers; use of talismans and amulets — on these and similar follies man still wastes his time. They have seldom come down unaltered through the centuries, and to the old ones new ones have often been added, as, for example, alchemy and astrology.

If it is true that the ancestors of the most civilized peoples of today once lived on a much lower cultural level, then the presence of these superstitions among ourselves becomes understandable. The ideas back of them are too deeply ingrained in the human mind for their removal during the few thousand years that separate us from barbarism and savagery. They disappear more rapidly now than ever before, partly because of the spread of popular education and partly because the regions where they lurk are being opened up with improved transportation and communication. Their great enemy is science, so that whatever makes for the extension of scientific knowledge among the masses contributes most effectively to their eradication.

Disappearance of Savagery and Barbarism

The Tasmanians have become extinct, and the Australians are in process of extinction. The Polynesians have been steadily decreasing in number for many years. They cannot stand contact with European civilization, which, if it brought Christianity and suppressed intertribal warfare, infanticide, and other heathen customs, was likewise responsible for the spread of such dread scourges as measles, smallpox, tuberculosis, influenza, and syphilis, and for the introduction of alcoholic liquors. Tribe after tribe of American Indians has melted away before the white man's resistless advance. Some primitive peoples, because of their numbers and inborn vigor, manage to survive, but their native culture rapidly disintegrates as traders, travelers, officials, and missionaries introduce the customs and beliefs of a superior civilization. Thus the curtain falls on savagery and barbarism, falls forever unless some world-wide catastrophe should blot out all the cultural acquisitions of humanity. When the living evidence of man's early history has disappeared, the evidence which anthropologists have gathered and recorded in books will still be available for the study of social origins.

PART TWO

Centers of Early Civilization

V

Ancient America

Antiquity of Man in America

THE discovery in Europe, Asia, and Africa of rude stone implements and human skulls of a very primitive type has placed beyond doubt the high antiquity of man in the Old World. On the other hand, there is no satisfactory evidence of man's presence in America during Pleistocene times. We are obliged to believe that man migrated to the New World long after he had inhabited the Old World, that is, long after he had reached substantially his present physical and mental development. According to the chronology formerly accepted, his arrival here was not more than four or five thousand years ago. It will probably be necessary to assign to it a greater antiquity (10,000 B.C.?) as the result of recent archaeological discoveries. At several sites in the southwestern part of the United States numerous bones of extinct species of bison, camel, ground sloth, mammoth, and other animals have been found in association with stone tools and weapons. The bones are broken, indicating that the animals were killed for food; some bones are charred, clear evidence of the use of fire for cooking. There is thus no doubt that man lived in the New World contemporaneously with many mammals now extinct. How long ago that was we can only guess, but certainly it was as far back as a time roughly corresponding to the close of the Palaeolithic period or to the opening of the Neolithic period in Europe.

It has been sometimes suggested that the first immigrants to America came from the Old World by way of an Atlantic bridge extending from the Scandinavian peninsula through Iceland to Greenland. This land connection between the two hemispheres had disappeared long before America must be presumed to have received its first inhabitants. America, however, is easily accessible from Asia. Bering Strait, at its narrowest point between Siberia and Alaska, is only fifty-four miles wide, and in clear weather the two land masses are intervisible. Man could have crossed the strait in skin boats or by foot on winter ice.

The immigrants must have been wandering hunters and fishers, ignorant of agriculture; for not one of the plants which the American Indians later cultivated for food was known in the Old World until after 1492, and not one of the domesticated animals of Europe and Asia, except the common dog, was known in the New World until after the Columbian discovery.

The American Indians

The natives of America, whom Columbus mistakenly called Indians, present many resemblances to Asiatics. Such physical traits as the skin color, ranging from yellowish white to dark brown; the hair of the head, uniformly coarse, black, and straight; the scanty beard and hairless body; the brown and often more or less slanting eyes; the high cheek-bones; the shovel-shaped upper incisor teeth; and the short stature of some tribes are Mongoloid characteristics. On the other hand, the large, straight or aquiline nose, bold features, and tall stature of many tribes are not Mongoloid characteristics. It is reasonable to conclude that the American Indian type developed gradually, as Asiatic peoples of different stocks, coming in several migratory waves, spread through the New World, multiplied, and blended with one another during centuries of isolation. It is possible that in pre-Columbian times the western coast of America was reached by sea on more than one occasion by small parties of Polynesians; for we know that Europeans (Northmen) reached the eastern coast in that way. But such visitors, whether Polynesians or Northmen, were too few in number to affect the mass of the aborigines, who remained one in physical type as before.

The racial unity of the American Indians did not imply their linguistic unity. Aboriginal America was a babel of stock languages, as irreducible to a single mother tongue as are the Semitic and Indo-European groups in the Old World. Fifty-five such stock languages (some now extinct) have been distinguished in Canada and the United States and at least a hundred more in Mexico, Central America, and South America. Some are now spoken by only small groups, while others extend from tribe to tribe over wide areas. Not one can be traced outside of America. In structure many are "polysynthetic." One word, often of prodigious length, is used to express ideas that in most languages would be indicated by the arrangement of independent words in a sentence. An example, by no means the longest, is the Eskimo word *takusareartorumagaluarnerpa* ("do you think he really intends to go to look after it?"). By means of such "portmanteau" terms the native can say a number of things in, as it were, one breath. This unique mode of expression, prevailing from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, testi-

fies to the long isolation of the aborigines from the rest of the world's peoples.

Because of their isolation the American Indians had to work out for themselves many practical arts and inventions. Their tools and weapons were of polished stone, copper, and, among the Aztecs and Incas, occasionally of bronze. The use of iron was unknown to them. They cultivated maize, or Indian corn, from Canada in the north to Patagonia in the south; its importance in their economy was comparable to that of rice among the Chinese or of wheat among Occidental peoples. They had the common dog, which they brought with them from Asia, the turkey, the guinea pig, and, in South America, the llama and the alpaca, but no other domesticated animals. The majority of them lived in clans and tribes, ruled by headmen and chiefs; some of them formed tribal confederations; and the Aztecs and Incas established real states. Their religion probably did not involve a belief in a "Great Spirit," as is so often said, but rather recognized in all nature the abode of spiritual powers, mysterious and wonderful, which man ought to conciliate by sacrifice and prayer. In short, the majority of the American Indians were not savages, but barbarians fairly well advanced in culture.

The Mayas

This culture attained perhaps its greatest height among peoples belonging to the Mayan linguistic stock, once widespread in southern Mexico, the peninsula of Yucatán, and Central America. Such knowledge as we possess of the Mayas rests mainly upon the accounts of Spanish writers and upon the monumental remains. There is also some historical material in the so-called *Books of Chilan Balam*, which were copied or compiled by the Indians after the Spanish conquest. These records are written in the Maya language, but in Latin characters.

The Mayas made their appearance several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. One of their monuments, recently discovered in the Mexican state of Vera Cruz, bears a date corresponding to 291 B.C. — the earliest authentic date in American history. The period to about 600 A.D. saw the rise of Palenque, Quiriguá, Copán, and other great cities in the southern part of the Maya territory. Sculpture reached its highest development at this time. For causes which have never been satisfactorily explained the southern cities sank into decay, if not into oblivion, and Maya settlements began to be made in Yucatán. Here about 1000 A.D. the cities of Chichén Itzá, Uxmal, and Mayapán formed a confederacy, each city having an equal share in the government of the country. Maya culture during this age was revealed par-



Ancient Maya Cities (After S. G. Morley)

ticularly in architecture. Extensive ruins, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula, together with paved highways, reservoirs, and underground cisterns, testify to the existence of a numerous, industrious, and peaceful people. Later, Yucatán split into warring sections under petty chiefs; population and culture declined; and when the Spaniards arrived they found the country in chaos and ripe for conquest.

Remains of the Maya cities — the Ninevehs and Babylons of the New World — now lie buried in the tropical jungle. Some of the cities of Yucatán were still inhabited at the time of the European discovery, though they were abandoned soon afterward. The surviving ruins include pyramids, temples, altars, and "palaces," the latter probably the residences of priests and nobles. The pyramids are of the stepped variety, built of rubble and earth with a facing of soft limestone, and usually furnished with a stairway on one or more sides. They are truncated near the top to provide the substructure for temples and altars. The

true arch with keystone was unknown to Maya builders. For structures with vaulted ceilings it was necessary to cast the vault in a solid mass of concrete or to use the so-called corbelled arch of overlapping stones. The Mayas lavished decorations on the walls of temples, on pillars and roofs, and even on the faces of pyramids supporting the temples. Their stucco reliefs, and especially their stucco designs, were often executed in a masterly manner. Animal, human, and divine figures are represented. Few statues completely in the round have been found. All this work in sculpture, as in architecture, was accomplished with stone and wooden tools, for the Mayas were unacquainted with the useful metals.

Still more remarkable were the scientific achievements of the Mayas. Their priests — the leaders and teachers of the people — knew enough astronomy to predict eclipses and to calculate the duration of the revolution of Venus and, perhaps, of other planets as well. They devised a solar calendar consisting of eighteen periods ("months") of twenty days each, with five supplementary days at the end. They were aware that their year of 365 days fell short of the true year by nearly six hours and they made the necessary correction, not by interpolating any leap-days, but by computing the error from time to time and altering the dates for their festivals and agricultural operations accordingly. They had a numeral system based on the number twenty, which was represented by a picture of the moon; they used a symbol for zero; and they were able to write down and handle numbers exceeding a million. Their writing was at least occasionally phonetic. Pictures which stood for objects or ideas were being displaced by signs representing the sounds of words and syllables. Maya glyphs were usually carved in stone or painted on fiber-paper books ("codices"). Modern scholars have been able to decipher the glyphs that indicate numbers and refer to the calendar system, thus gaining insight into the age of Maya civilization. While little progress has been made in reading the script as a whole, it is now clear that the Mayas were a literary people, who had begun to give permanent form to their history, philosophy, and poetry.

The Aztecs

American Indian tribes belonging to the Nahuatlan linguistic stock entered Mexico from the north in successive waves, as far back, apparently, as the eighth century of our era. The earliest immigrants seem to have been the more or less legendary Toltecs, who expanded over Anáhuac, the central plateau of Mexico, and absorbed some elements of Maya culture which had already reached that region. To the Toltecs

are ascribed the most imposing monumental remains still to be seen in Mexico, notably, the pyramids of Teotihuacán (near Mexico City) and the great pyramid of Cholula (near Puebla). The Toltec power flourished for several hundred years, only to collapse under the pressure of fighting tribes from the north. Of these the last were the Aztecs, who founded the lake settlement Tenochtitlán — now Mexico City — in 1325 or thereabouts. What has sometimes been called the Aztec "empire" was, in reality, a confederation of three tribes in which the Aztecs had the paramount power. The Aztec war chief ruled over a wide domain extending between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, and at Tenochtitlán the Aztec war god towered supreme above the idols of the conquered tribes. This "empire" had lasted less than a century when the Spanish invaders brought it crashing to the ground.

Our knowledge of the Aztecs, as of the Mayas, is derived partly from examination of their own scanty monumental remains and partly from the accounts — often fantastic — of early Spanish historians and Spanish-educated natives. Fortunately, additional information can be gleaned from Aztec picture writing, which was executed in bright colors on skins of animals or on maguey paper. The writing is often full of detail, indicating festivals, sacrifices, and other features in the life of the people, together with the dates of important events and the names of prominent persons. The majority of these priceless records disappeared after the Spanish conquest, but some have survived, either in the original state or as copies — among them the so-called codices now in Rome, Paris, and Oxford. Students of Aztec history are thus able to consult the actual documents on which that history is based.

Aztec society seems to have been organized somewhat on feudal lines. There was an aristocracy, paying no taxes but owing military service to their lords, a class of landed freemen and warriors, and a large body of serfs and slaves recruited from prisoners of war, persons enslaved as punishment, and children sold by their parents. Compared with the American Indians generally, the Aztecs had a highly organized government. Two elective chiefs held sway, a civil chief ("snake-woman") and a war chief ("chief of men"). As befitted so militant a people, the latter cut much the greater figure. The despotic power and the luxuriousness of the rulers may be inferred from the Aztec picture writing, which enumerates by hundreds and thousands the mantles, skins, bags of gold-dust, copper hatchets, and other objects regularly furnished by the towns as taxes or tribute.

When the Aztecs entered Mexico they were migratory hunters and fishers. Their new environment, with a genial climate and a soil adapted to the production of maize, favored agriculture and a sedentary mode

of life. In addition to maize, Aztec farmers raised the tomato (*tomatl*), the *chili* pepper, and the beans now called by the Spanish name *frijoles*. From the seeds of the cacao tree they prepared the beverage known as *chocolatl* (whence our *chocolate*) and from the sap of the maguey, or Mexican aloe, they made an intoxicating drink, *pulque*. Aztec artisans, though unacquainted with iron, worked in copper and sometimes in bronze. Metallic implements had not superseded those of obsidian and other hard stones. The Spanish, on their first entry into Mexico, saw barber shops in which men were being shaved with obsidian razors. Merchants formed an important and honorable class. Regular markets were held in each important town every fifth day, and a currency consisting of quills of gold-dust, with cacao seeds for small change, was used for trading purposes. The Aztecs made hand-formed pottery, spun and wove cotton cloth almost as fine as silk, excelled in feather work, using for this purpose the gorgeous plumage of tropical birds, built skillfully in stone, and carved in both wood and stone.

The Aztecs, as well as the Mayas, used a solar calendar, but without any correction for the six hours by which the year exceeds 365 days. The division of the year into eighteen periods of twenty days each, with five supplementary days, was the same as that of the Mayas. Both peoples considered the extra days added at the end of the year to be unlucky, and nothing of any importance was ever done at that time. Aztec numerals, like those of the Mayas, were based on the vigesimal system. Thus a flag stood for the figure 20, a feather for 400 (a score of scores), and a purse for 8000 (a score of scores of scores). For convenience such symbols might be halved and quartered. Aztec picture writing likewise resembled the Maya glyphs. It was on the way to becoming phonetic through the use of the rebus for names of persons and places. After the Spanish conquest the natives used the rebus for the Latin words of their new Christian religion and expressed *paternoster*, for instance, by the pictures of a flag (*pantli*), a stone (*tetl*), a prickly pear (*nochtli*), and another stone (*tetl*), the first syllables of these words being pronounced *pa-te-noch-te*. Writing and arithmetic were regularly taught, at least to the children of the upper classes, in schools attached to the temples. Aztec culture seems to have been much indebted to the Mayas, whose influence once extended far northward over the plateau of Anáhuac.

Aztec religious beliefs centered in the worship of natural objects and phenomena — the sun, the moon, the morning star, fire, and vegetation — which were regarded as divine beings and were represented by idols. Huitzilopochtli, the god of sun and war, stood at the head of the pantheon. Tezcatlipoca was a creator god, and as such both gave and

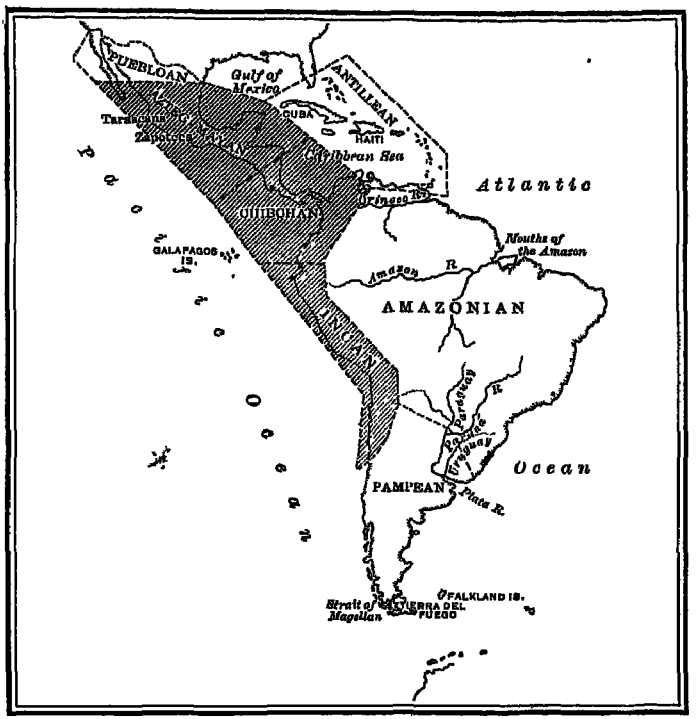
took away men's lives. Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds and the heavens,' came to stand for law, order, and enlightenment. The worship of these and other deities, save only the gentle Quetzalcoatl, was marked by human sacrifice on a more extensive scale than has been known elsewhere in the world. War captives and children were led to the summit of a pyramidal temple and stretched upon a stone, their breasts were slashed with an obsidian knife, and their still palpitating hearts were torn out as an offering to the bloodthirsty god. Spanish chroniclers tell of thousands of prisoners annually slaughtered at the various festivals. Back of these rites lay the belief that the gods needed to be sustained by food and drink; hence the Aztecs engaged in ceaseless hostilities with other tribes in order to obtain human victims. This feature of Aztec religion was naturally very repulsive to the Spaniards, who may have exaggerated its prevalence. At any rate, it existed side by side with such rites as baptism and confession, indicating a consciousness of sin. Many Aztec prayers, marked by spiritual feeling and expressed in refined language, have been preserved, as well as hymns in honor of divinities.

The Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, was built on islands in Lake Tezcoco and was traversed by canals in every direction. Three long causeways, protected by drawbridges, maintained connection with the mainland. A great plaza occupied the center of this Venice-like city and served as the market-place and as a place for public gatherings. Here the principal temples were situated. A stone viaduct, carrying pottery pipes, brought water to the city from Chapultepec. Tenochtitlán suffered almost complete destruction after its capture by Cortés in 1521. The Spaniards overthrew the temples and pyramids, blocked up the canals with debris, and raised over the leveled ruins their new City of Mexico.

The Chibchas and the Incas

The Chibchas of Colombia occupied the fertile plateau of Bogotá, east of the Magdalena River. Their culture resembled that of their neighbors, the Incas. It was less advanced, however, for they had no domesticated animals and did not work in copper or bronze. Nor do we find among them any evidence of writing and calendar systems comparable to those of the Mayas and Aztecs. Their architectural remains are of little significance.

The predecessors of the Incas seem to have been the people who left behind them the ruins of Tiahuanaco, at the southern end of Lake Titicaca. Here, on a plateau nearly thirteen thousand feet above sea level, are the remains of a great city, or, if not of a city, of sanctuaries,



Culture Areas of Latin America

fortresses, and palaces, scattered over the site for a distance of ten miles. The ruins consist of enormous and perfectly chiseled stone blocks. No such imposing architecture is found elsewhere in ancient America. The culture associated with Tiahuanaco seems to have arisen at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era, thus being more or less contemporaneous with early Maya culture. Some features of it survived among Indians belonging to the Quechuan linguistic stock. Several hundred years before the Spanish conquest they occupied the fertile valley of Cuzco in Peru. Their name, Incas ("children of the sun"), originally applied only to the ruling family of these Quechuan-speaking peoples.

Legend makes Manco Capac the founder of the Inca realm and the builder or rebuilder of the city of Cuzco. His successors, by prowess in war and judicious marriages, brought many Andean tribes under their sway. When the Spaniards came, early in the sixteenth century, the Inca "empire" stretched from northern Ecuador to central Chile and from the long Pacific coast across the Andes to the jungles of the

Amazon. Whereas the Aztecs merely exacted tribute and soldiers from their subject peoples, the Incas took pains to consolidate their extensive dominions. They built fortresses at strategic points in the conquered territory, established colonies of Quechuan-speaking peasants, and maintained stone-paved roads and trails with suspension bridges across gorges and rivers. By means of a relay system of trained runners a message from Cuzco could be delivered in a remarkably short time. These administrative measures seem to have been effective. One of the Spanish conquerors testifies that "the Incas were feared, obeyed, and respected by their subjects as men capable and versed in the arts of government."

All authority centered in the Inca ruler, who as the son of the sun god enjoyed reverence akin to worship. Politically he was an emperor and religiously, a god. The purity of the divine blood was preserved by his marriage with his sister. Through his officials he distributed the arable land and its produce among the people in accordance with their needs. There was no individual ownership of land; a peasant could neither sell nor bequeath his holding. The Inca's officials likewise saw to it that every person lived in a fixed district, followed a definite occupation, and did a proper share of the work. Those who refused to perform their allotted tasks were severely punished. Unemployment was nonexistent, for the idle population could always be kept busy on roads, aqueducts, fortifications, and other useful enterprises. An all-powerful state, in conjunction with a state church, thus constantly supervised and controlled the activities of its members. One result of this regimentation was social security. The aged and the infirm were cared for, want and misery were unknown. Another result was a habit of passive obedience and a lack of initiative which prevented any determined resistance to the Spanish invaders. Once the Spaniards got possession of the Inca ruler, the people found themselves helpless. "Utopia in operation" then collapsed like a house of cards.

The Incas were skillful farmers. In addition to the staple maize, they raised potatoes, beans, and other vegetables. They understood the use of fertilizers, built aqueducts and irrigation ditches, and carried stone terraces for cultivation high up the mountain sides. The Incas also excelled in the practical arts — stone-working, spinning and weaving, the manufacture of pottery, and the metallurgy of gold, silver, copper, and bronze. In some of these arts they certainly surpassed both the Mayas and the Aztecs. On the other hand, the Incas had no solar calendar and no writing system, either pictures or glyphs. The *quipu* (colored strings with knots) was used very ingeniously for enumeration according to the decimal system. Inca religion centered in

the adoration of the sun, a deity who but seldom required human sacrifice. The chief priest of the sun was an official of the highest rank, often a brother of the sovereign. Elaborate ceremonies, festivals, and pilgrimages characterized this solar worship. Early Spanish authorities declare that the people were very peaceful and orderly and that theft and crimes of violence were almost unknown among them. On the whole, their culture bears witness to the high intellectual and moral capacity of the American Indian.

The once sacred City of the Sun lies about one hundred and fifty miles northwest of Lake Titicaca, in a mountain valley more than eleven thousand feet above sea level. When Cuzco was captured by Pizarro in 1533, the size and magnificence of its palaces and temples filled the Spaniards with astonishment. These structures were all swept away by the conquerors or were incorporated in their own buildings. Above Cuzco is the hill of Sacsahuaman, crowned by the ruins of a pre-Inca fortress so extensive and so solidly built that it ranks as one of the most impressive monuments in the New World.

Cultural Progress in Ancient America

The Mayas, Aztecs, Chibchas, and Incas all developed an agricultural economy, with maize as the staple plant. While the Mayas lived on humid lowlands, the other Indians inhabited temperate uplands. All lacked iron, and the Mayas and Chibchas even lacked copper. Except for the feeble assistance of the llama and the alpaca in Peru, they were without the advantage of domesticated animals. They possessed neither plows nor wheeled vehicles. They had not invented the potter's wheel. They were ignorant of the principle of the true arch. None of them invented an alphabet or a syllabary, while the Chibchas and Incas knew nothing of picture writing. In arithmetic, astronomy, and the calendar only the Mayas and Aztecs seem to have made conspicuous advance. Such scientific knowledge as existed was not widely diffused; on the contrary, it was confined to an aristocratic and priestly class. The Spanish conquest resulted in the destruction of this class and, in consequence, the natives soon lost their intellectual culture. When we consider, however, the material obstacles in the way of progress and the further fact of isolation, preventing the contact and mixture of peoples who otherwise might have learned from one another, we may well wonder that the Indians of Mexico, Central America, and South America accomplished so much. It is one of the many tragedies of history that their civilization should have perished so completely at the hands of Europeans.

VI

China

The Far East

A PHYSICAL map of Asia shows how the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs, the Tien Shan, and the Altai ranges, with their extensions, form an almost continuous mountain wall stretching across the continent in a northeasterly direction from the Arabian Sea to Bering Sea. The region beyond this greatest of natural barriers — the Far East — contains somewhat more than half of the human race, but for all its enormous population much of it is sparsely settled. The mountain slopes and the elevated plateaus support comparatively few inhabitants. The bulk of the population is concentrated in the lowlands, where agriculture, rather than hunting or herding, forms the principal means of livelihood. The lowlands are particularly the river-made plains of the Yangtze and the Huang Ho in China and of the Indus and the Ganges in India. Both China and India developed an advanced culture at a remote epoch.

Physical China

On the east, China faces the Pacific, a sea which was once a barrier to intercourse instead of, as now, a highway of commerce. On the west, northwest, and southwest, China is separated from the great mass of continental Asia by lofty mountain ranges. There are very few passes into the country from Mongolia and Tibet or from Burma and Tonkin; such as exist were in former days made dangerous for trade and travel by the warlike tribes infesting them. On the narrow northeastern frontier the transition from the Manchurian tableland to China is not, indeed, abrupt, but before the building of railways Manchuria was itself an inaccessible region. The mountains bounding China are buttressed by vast plateaus, either semi-arid or completely barren, such as the Desert of Gobi. To these natural boundaries the Chinese added the Great Wall, which for more than fifteen hundred miles guards (or once guarded) the northern and western extremities of China.

In the widest sense, China comprises Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Tibet, and the Eighteen Provinces, the whole including over 4,000,000 square miles. China, so reckoned, is larger than the United States, Canada, or Brazil, and is surpassed in size only by European and Asiatic Russia. The Eighteen Provinces embrace only about one-third of the total area, but they possess more than nine-tenths of the population and have always formed the real, historic China. They are divided into three regions by the basins of the Huang Ho (the Yellow River, so called from its burden of yellow loess) in the north, the Yangtze in the center, and the Si in the extreme south. The Huang Ho has long been known as "China's Sorrow" because it changes its course frequently and inundates wide tracts of country. The current of the lower part of the river is too swift for navigation. The Yangtze and the Si are both navigable for long distances. These two great rivers, with their numerous tributaries, provide the easiest and least expensive means of communication. Few countries have been better endowed with waterways than China, and to them she owes in large measure her cultural unity. Connecting links between the rivers are supplied by the numerous canals, above all, by the Grand Canal. This reaches from Hangchow in the south to Tientsin in the north, a distance of about six hundred and fifty miles. At Tientsin it unites with the Pei River, thus extending practically to the neighborhood of Peiping (Peking). The Grand Canal is rightly named, for it ranks with the Great Wall among the mightiest engineering works of man.

The great extent of China accounts for the varieties of climate in its different areas. The northern zone (in which lies Peiping) has hot summers and cold winters. Rain is usually abundant during the summer monsoon. The central zone (in which Shanghai is situated) has a more temperate climate. The southern zone (including Canton) lies within the tropics, with their rainy and dry seasons. The climate grows steadily dryer toward the interior of the country and, as the elevation increases, colder also.

China is very fertile, especially the loesslands north of the Yangtze. These have largely been formed in the course of ages by very deep deposits of soil swept in by the winds from the steppes of central Asia. The loess requires little or no manuring and produces abundantly when watered by plentiful rains, while its lightness and friability reduce the labor of cultivation. In the northern provinces wheat, barley, millet, and other hardy grains form the staple crops. Farther south tea, cotton, sugar-cane, and, above all, rice become the principal cultivated plants. Fruit trees abound, together with the useful bamboo and the mulberry tree, the leaves of the latter serving as food for silk-

worms. The luxuriance of vegetation in China accounts for its popular name "Flowery Kingdom" (now officially "Central Flowery Republic"). The country contains copper, tin, lead, and zinc, and its iron and coal deposits, though little developed, are said to be very extensive.

The rich valleys, the great alluvial plains, loess soil, mineral resources, a generally favorable climate, and an adequate rainfall combine to make the Eighteen Provinces a natural seat for a highly civilized people. This is especially true of the vast Yangtze valley, which now supports half the population of China.

The Chinese People

The Chinese possess the distinctive physical traits of the Mongoloid race: a medium or short stature, a broad head, prominent cheek-bones, straight, black hair, and a complexion varying from light yellow to dark brown. They are also characterized by the oblique eye-slit, the so-called "almond" eye. The pure Mongoloid type is, however, uncommon, because for centuries Tatars, Tibetans, Burmans, Manchus, and other peoples have mingled with the original Chinese. The effects of racial intermixture appear most obviously in the western part of the Eighteen Provinces.

The earliest records of the Chinese contain no mention of any migration into the valley of the Wei River, which formed their first known seat and from which they spread gradually eastward along the valley of the Huang Ho and southward to the Yangtze. According to one theory, they originated in central Asia; according to another theory, they came from the south and southeast; a third and more probable theory regards them as descendants of Stone Age peoples, whose relics and remains are now being found in different parts of the country.

Whether newcomers or aboriginals, the Chinese, when we first learn anything about them, are discerned as an agricultural people with well-developed social institutions and a settled government. How much of their early civilization they owed to their own efforts and how much they borrowed from still earlier civilizations is another matter of speculation. It is certainly true that such cultivated plants as wheat and rice and such domesticated animals as cattle, sheep, and swine do not appear in China until long after these were known in Western lands. The art of metal-working and the use of the wheel in transportation also came late in China, by comparison with their appearance elsewhere. It seems reasonable to conclude that various basic elements of culture reached China from India, Babylonia, and possibly even Egypt. The

isolation of China was not absolute, as was the case with pre-Columbian America.

The census is an ancient institution in China, but it is taken so carelessly as to be quite unreliable. According to official figures the inhabitants of China proper number 400,000,000, approximately one-fifth of the human race. The population seems to have remained almost stationary for a long period. It is said that during the last sixty years war, famine, pestilence, and those natural calamities described in insurance policies as "acts of God" have taken the lives of as many Chinese as are living today. The Chinese marry early, often before the age of twenty; marriage is practically universal; and large families are usual. To have many children, especially male progeny, is with them a sacred duty. Thus the numbers swell up to and beyond the means of subsistence, condemning the great mass of the people to an existence of ceaseless toil and forcing upon them an abnormally low standard of life. Their "procreative recklessness," coupled with unsanitary conditions and an utter ignorance of scientific medicine and hygiene, accounts also for an enormous infant mortality; hardly a quarter of the children born reach adult years. Those who survive the weeding-out process are able to withstand foul air, bad food and water, and disease germs, and to transmit their greater vitality to their offspring. Congested China illustrates on a great scale nature's vigorous methods of eliminating the unfit or the less fit.

The Chinese have been a conquering and a colonizing people. Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet passed under their control centuries ago, although only southern Manchuria has been extensively settled by them. Chinese laborers, farmers, and merchants are numerous in Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Formosa, and the Philippines; they are establishing themselves in Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, and they are supplanting the Polynesians in Tahiti and other Pacific islands. In all these regions they intermarry freely with the native women. Their enterprising spirit is further shown by a considerable emigration to the West Indies, South America, the United States, and Canada. In 1882, however, a Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by the United States, an example subsequently followed by Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Language and Writing

The Chinese language belongs, with Tibetan, Burmese, and Siamese, to the group of isolating languages. These show grammatical relations, not by the use of prefixes, suffixes, or infixes, as does Turkish, for ex-

ample, or by conjugations and declensions, but chiefly by the order of the words. Thus the Chinese word *ta* means "great," "greatly," "greatness," according to its position in the sentence. Chinese is also monosyllabic. The spoken language does not contain many separate sounds, or vocables (four hundred and twenty in the vernacular of Peiping); consequently, one vocable has to do duty for a number of words. Their different meanings may sometimes be made clear by the context or by the use of gestures. Confusion is also avoided by giving different intonations to the same sound. Thus, *fu* pronounced in one tone means "not"; in another, "rich"; in another, "corrupt"; and in still another, "to store up." Some dialects have four tones, any one of which may be used in pronouncing a particular word; the vernacular of Canton has as many as nine. Natives learn them unconsciously and by the ear alone; to foreigners they offer the greatest difficulty in acquiring the spoken language. The most prevalent of the eight or more dialects of China is that called Mandarin by foreigners and spoken in the standard form at Peiping. Its wide use makes it a *lingua franca* throughout the country, thus obviating to some extent the diversity of mutually unintelligible dialects.

About twenty-five thousand written characters are now current, but those in ordinary use do not exceed three or four thousand. An average newspaper uses about seven thousand. A number of characters are quite obviously broken-down or conventionalized pictures, representing the celestial bodies, domestic animals, and common objects of everyday life. Thus the sign for the sun, originally a large circle with a dot in the center, became a crossed oblong, which the writer found easier to make with his brush pen. Similarly, the sign for a door or gate still shows the two leaves and posts of a door. Chinese is the only living language in which such pictures have survived and denote what they denoted in the beginning. A larger number of characters present abstract ideas, this being often done by combining what were once pictures: the sun and moon to indicate "bright," a woman and a child to indicate "good," a mouth and a bird to indicate "singing," and so on. But most characters — nine-tenths, in fact — are phonograms representing entire words. Because of the scarcity of vocables, most words have more than one meaning, so that it is usually necessary to add to the phonetic sign a "radical," or key sign, thus making a compound character. For example, to the phonogram *pa* (signifying "banana," "war-chariot," "scar," or "cry") there is joined a radical (for plants, iron, diseases, or mouth), according to the idea to be expressed. Two hundred and fourteen radicals are in present use. Even with their aid, the mastery of Chinese script is so laborious that

reading and writing have never been popularized in China. The difficult nature of the written language also explains why the Chinese, who invented printing, lagged behind Occidental peoples in the improvement of this art. On the other hand, this curious script has the advantage that it is understood throughout China, in spite of the many dialects, while books written in it many centuries ago can be read today by any literate Chinese.

The Economic System

The great majority of Chinese are farmers, or closely dependent on the land. Their holdings are very small, for custom requires that the sons shall inherit substantially equal shares of the father's estate. Since early marriage and large families prevail, there is a process of continual division and subdivision of lands and property. Patches of one-tenth or even one-twentieth of an acre are sometimes found as the possession of a landowner. With three acres a family is considered to be very comfortable, and with ten acres to be provided for luxuriously. The Chinese have long been familiar with intensive cultivation, fertilizing, and rotation of crops. Often two and sometimes three harvests are gathered yearly. Irrigation is a general practice, and extensive dikes are built to drain low-lying lands. In the more thickly populated districts terraces are carried up the sides and even to the summits of mountains. All this work goes on with incredible patience and very great expenditure of human effort.

China, until recently, knew nothing of machinery, of the use of steam and electricity in manufacturing, or of mills and factories. Human labor was cheap, and it was employed lavishly. The manufacture of porcelain, lacquer ware, silks, cotton goods, and other characteristic commodities went on in small shops and in households, the women and children working as well as the men. This simple handicraft system still prevails throughout the greater part of the country. Chinese artisans and merchants are frequently organized in guilds, somewhat like those of modern India, medieval Europe, and ancient Rome. The guilds are voluntary associations without governmental charter or license. They make their own rules and elect their own officers. Conditions of apprenticeship, prices, and wages are very largely regulated by them. Each guild endeavors to advance its own interests, keep its own members in order, and defend itself against outsiders. Each one, also, maintains a special shrine and worships a divine patron. The popularity of guilds testifies to the capacity of the Chinese for collective action.

Family and Clan

The family, with descent in the paternal line, and the enlarged family, or clan, are fundamental in Chinese society. The sons bring their wives into the paternal home, and remain there even after they have children of their own. Thus the family expands until, in some districts, entire villages consist of a single clan. The earnings of various members of the group go into a common fund, out of which expenses are paid. Everyone has a right to food and shelter; if some are out of work they are supported by the rest. The group cares for indigent, sick, and aged members, and often provides for the education of the more promising children. A person who disgraces himself, for example, by becoming an inveterate gambler or opium smoker, is liable to be formally expelled from the group and to have his name struck from the ancestral register. A body of elders, representing the different families and meeting in the village temple, conducts the affairs of the community and deals with the higher state officials. This system of local government functions effectively even during periods of political disorder when all other authority is relaxed. The state recognized the solidarity of family and clan, for, according to old law, punishment for wrongdoing was visited not only on the actual culprit, but on his relatives as well, with a severity proportionate to the degree of relationship.

The patriarchal system still prevails in China. The house-father rules almost supreme over his descendants, not even marriage withdrawing them from his control. Boys are preferred to girls, because boys carry on the family line and perform the worship of ancestors; girls, moreover, require dowries upon their marriage. It is a popular saying that there is "no thief like a family of five daughters." Every Chinese is consequently anxious to have male children, and no misfortune exceeds that of dying without leaving them behind him. A woman always remains subject to the men of her family — before marriage, to her father; after marriage, to her husband; and during widowhood, to her son. Divorce is permitted to the husband for a variety of reasons; the wife, until recently, could not obtain a legal separation on any account. Concubinage is tolerated, secondary and subordinate wives being sometimes provided by the wife when she grows old. As in other parts of the world, it is a luxury of the wealthy rather than a general practice among the poor. In spite of these conditions, women are usually accorded much respect. The home of a Chinese is often in reality ruled by his mother or by his wife, and, as Chinese history shows, women of high rank have sometimes exerted great influence in affairs of state.

The Social System

The traditional social system distinguished four classes: namely, scholars, farmers, artisans, and traders. Practically, however, only two classes, officials (mandarins) and non-officials, existed. The examinations for the civil service were open to high-born and low-born alike; hence the mandarin class was recruited from the most talented, or at least the most scholarly, members of the community. Like the French conscript of Napoleonic times, who carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack, an ambitious Chinese might look forward to winning the buttoned cap of a mandarin and to enjoying for life the emoluments of office. There was no hereditary nobility, except in the case of a few families (notably the descendants of Confucius) whose ancestors had done eminent service for the state, and even the possession of a hereditary title conferred no special privileges. Life in China has always had an equalitarian character. The philosopher Mencius recognized this fact when he placed the people first, the gods of the state second, and the sovereign third in the scale of national importance.

Absolute Monarchy

The government of China in antiquity and, indeed, until the twentieth century, was an absolute monarchy. The emperor though not himself worshiped as a deity, was called the "Son of Heaven," and as such he issued decrees which were the law of the land. All officials held their positions entirely at his pleasure. No council, cabinet, or parliament in any way interfered with his commands. At the same time the emperor might not rule for personal gratification; he was responsible for the welfare of the people generally as the house-father was responsible for that of the family. Should he turn out to be a tyrant, Heaven would withdraw its favor, and rebellion against him would be justified. Absolutism in China thus rested on a moral basis.

The first Chinese dynasty for which there is archaeological evidence was that of the Shangs, who reigned sometime during the second millennium before our era. They were finally overthrown by the Chous, an invading people from the west. The accession of the Chous came in 1122 B.C., according to the usual, though probably too early, dating. The Chous set up a loosely organized government of a feudal type. In the third century B.C. a great conqueror and administrator, Shih Huang Ti, king of the state of Ch'in, subdued the other Chinese states and united them into an empire, with himself as its absolute ruler — the most enduring political achievement, it has been said, ever wrought by one



The Chinese Empire under the T'ang Dynasty

China under the T'ang dynasty (618–907 A.D.) was the largest and most powerful state in the world. The frontiers of the empire reached as far as Persia and the Caspian Sea on the west, and to the Himalaya Mountains and Burma on the south.

man. The Ch'in Dynasty, thus established, was followed by seven other dynasties, the last being that of the Ch'ings or Manchus (1644–1911). The dynasties did not follow one another without a break in the succession, for often in her history China has relapsed into a condition of chronic disorder or disunion. Powerful feudal lords sometimes reduced the imperial authority to a mere shadow; ambitious military adventurers fought with one another and with the emperors for supremacy; and the country was repeatedly overrun by barbarous invaders from central Asia. Nevertheless, the venerable "Celestial Empire" always managed to outride the storms which descended upon it, and it survived to our own day.

Manual Arts and Scientific Knowledge

The Chinese are proficient in some branches of mechanics and engineering. One need only mention their remarkable arched bridges and gateways, their waterwheels and other appliances for irrigation, and the Great Wall and the Grand Canal. They have long excelled in the art of casting bronze and in the making of glazed, hard-fired pottery, or porcelain. They seem to have discovered that a needle, when rubbed with a lodestone, has the mysterious property of pointing to the north;

the magnetic needle was used by them in navigation at least as early as the eleventh century A.D. They made a kind of gunpowder for fireworks and hand grenades and eventually used it for the propulsion of weapons. They invented genuine paper, that is to say, paper made from pulp and from cloth scraps, and probably in the eighth century A.D. they began to print by taking impressions on paper from engraved wooden blocks. The earliest extant printed book, a Buddhist religious tract, dates from 868. Later, movable type, at first earthen, then wooden, and then metal, came into use. The earliest known book to be printed from movable metal type appeared in Korea in 1409, nearly half a century before Gutenberg set up his press in Germany. Long before Europeans, the Chinese were familiar with paper money, wall paper (introduced into Europe under the name of "pagoda paper"), coal and gas for use in heating, cold storage, fingerprinting for personal identification, and the taximeter. The Chinese anticipated some modern inventions and discoveries to which they did not give practical form. Flying cars and iron ships are referred to in ancient books, while the circulation of the blood and the application of anaesthetics to surgery are also mentioned by old writers. In these and other instances the Chinese seem to have been at once "so near and yet so far."

There are numerous Chinese treatises on mathematics, astronomy, medicine, agriculture, political economy, and other branches of pure and applied science. The investigation of such subjects has not been carried far. Medical knowledge and practice are today about what they were in Europe two centuries ago. Surgery worthy of the name does not exist, because the people object to any human interference with the bodies which nature has given them. Astronomy continues to be much mixed up with the pseudoscience of astrology. Popular almanacs classify all the days of the month as very lucky, neither lucky nor unlucky, unlucky, and very unlucky. No one ventures to live without an almanac, lest he run the grave risk of undertaking important business on blackballed days. Furthermore, the first, fifth, and ninth months are considered unfavorable by the Chinese, who will not marry or move from one place to another during these months. Until the Revolution of 1911 the calendar was lunar, not solar; twelve revolutions of the moon around the earth completed the year. An extra (thirteenth) month was inserted every three years. The Chinese do not divide the month into weeks, nor have they ever observed a regular rest day corresponding to the Hebrew Sabbath or the Christian Sunday. Their numerous holidays, including New Year's Day, the Feast of the First Full Moon, and the Feast of Lanterns, provide some relaxation from the monotonous round of labor.

The Fine Arts

The pre-eminent fine art of China has long been painting, in the form either of ink sketches or of water colors on woven silk. The painter represents chiefly natural scenes, since human personality does not appeal to him as a subject for his brush. To him a picture is a "voiceless poem"; hence he tries to suggest a poetic idea rather than reproduce exactly the objects depicted — in a word, he is impressionistic. This artistic purpose explains why Chinese landscapes avoid the appearance of material solidity by means of chiaroscuro, and explains also the neglect of perspective. Chinese painting thus differs widely from that of Europe, but in its own field it ranks with the best of any land. The Japanese have adopted it as an abiding model. In the carving of wood and ivory, in lacquer work, and bronze work the Chinese have long exhibited a refined sense of beauty scarcely equaled by that of any other people. In architecture, their genius has found only a limited expression. The arch, though known to them from early times, has been little employed, and the cupola has been undiscovered or ignored. The main feature of a Chinese building is the massive roof, often double or triple, decorated with the figures of dragons and other fantastic creatures and covered with brilliant glazed tiles. Characteristic structures are archways, sometimes commemorating distinguished persons, tall pagodas, and graceful bridges. The materials are generally wood and brick; stone, though plentiful in most parts of China, is rarely used for buildings.

Literature and Education

The cumbersomeness of their written language has not prevented the Chinese from producing a literature remarkable not only for its antiquity and unbroken development to the present day, but also for its extent and comprehensiveness. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and even later, China surpassed any Western country in the mass of literature produced. Histories, biographies, geographies, and philosophical treatises, together with essays, dramas, novels, and poetry, are all represented. The historical works are especially noteworthy, being unequaled in completeness by those of any other people, ancient or modern. They provide a continuous record from the time of Confucius. Many Chinese works are very extensive. A gigantic encyclopaedia, compiled by imperial order some five centuries ago, filled eleven thousand volumes; it was never printed because of the great cost of cutting such a work on blocks. Another encyclopaedia was printed,

for it had much more modest proportions — only sixteen hundred volumes. The unabridged Chinese dictionary contains over forty thousand words, both current and obsolete, these being accompanied by appropriate quotations from the writers of every age.

The standard literature of China is contained, first, in five works of pre-Confucian origin, edited or compiled by Confucius himself. These are the *Book of History* (*Shu Ching*), covering the period from the twenty-fourth to the eighth century B.C.; *the Book of Poetry* (*Shih Ching*), a collection of odes and ballads current among the people; the *Book of Changes* (*I Ching*), a manual of divination; the *Book of Rites* (*Li Chi*), a ceremonial code; and the *Spring and Autumn* (*Annals*), a brief history of the feudal state of Lu in which Confucius was born. Second, there are four works less authoritative in character, which present the philosophic doctrines and moral teachings of Confucius and of his follower Mencius. The nine books form collectively the "Classics" — the nearest Chinese equivalent of the Bible and the Koran.

Old China had no primary or elementary schools supported by the community. Well-to-do people engaged private tutors for their sons, and persons of limited means sometimes sent their sons to small schools organized on a voluntary basis. The curriculum, though not prescribed, was everywhere about the same. Boys practiced letter writing and easy composition and memorized the "Classics." Those whose talents marked them out for the service of the state then proceeded to the secondary schools maintained at public expense in various cities. Here they obtained a more or less thorough acquaintance with ancient Chinese history, Confucian morality, and the ceremonial institutions of three thousand years ago. Students were also expected to show aptitude for essay writing and verse composition. Their progress was tested by periodical examinations and marked by the conferring of degrees. The last degree (that of "entered scholar") was given to those who passed the final examination at Peiping, thus becoming eligible for the highest grades in the civil service. This kind of training put a premium on knowledge, but only on knowledge of the distant past, and it sacrificed independent thinking for mere memorization and the power of literary expression.

Ancestor Worship, Animism, and Nature Worship

"Honor thy father and thy mother" was, and is, as much a commandment with the Chinese as with the Hebrews. Confucius said, "There are three thousand offenses against which the five punishments

are directed, and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial." Other Chinese moralists agree with the Master that filial piety is the root out of which all other virtues grow, the great source of social happiness, and the bond of national strength and stability. Father and mother receive equal deference from their children in life, and after death the same ancestral worship.

The cult of ancestors must have arisen at a remote period, judging from the references to it in the most ancient Chinese literature. The rule of Confucius that "parents when dead should receive sacrifices according to propriety" merely codified an age-long practice. Every Chinese house contains an ancestral shrine, in which are placed wooden tablets inscribed with the names of the ancestors, their rank, and the dates of their birth and death. Incense is daily burned before these tablets and twice a month offerings of food and drink are spread before them. Thus honored and conciliated the dead bestow blessings upon their descendants. This ritual is not altogether a matter of cold calculation — giving so much in order to receive so much. The religious books declare that a good son ought to sacrifice to his parents without seeking anything from them in return. Not the costliness of an offering but the simple sincerity of the offerer makes it valuable. All important happenings and concerns of the family — a projected journey, a business venture, or a marriage engagement — are dutifully announced to the ancestors.

One outcome of ancestor worship is the great importance ascribed to funeral rites, especially in the case of the father. The first-born son, or, failing him, the oldest surviving son, burns incense to the dead man's soul and supplies it with paper money and paper imitations of clothes, servants, horses, and other things needed for the journey to the next world. Mourning lasts for twenty-seven months. Mourners wear white garments and abstain from meat, wine, and attendance at public gatherings. Custom requires that a man be buried where he was born; hence the bodies of those who have died abroad are brought back to China for interment.

The mass of the people retain many animistic conceptions that have come down to them from remote times. Spiritual beings, both good and bad, populate China as densely as do its human inhabitants. To the agency of evil spirits are ascribed diseases, mental disorders, accidents, and terrifying natural phenomena such as earthquakes and eclipses. Some houses are provided with a screen inside the front door, so that anyone entering must turn right or left. The screen keeps out the spirits, who, it seems, can move only in straight lines. The same superstition has inspired the beautiful arched bridges of China.

At the New Year festival, the chief Chinese holiday, everybody sets off firecrackers to scare away the devils that have accumulated during the preceding twelve months.

The ancient religion of China also included the worship of heaven and earth, the celestial bodies, the weather gods, mountains, rivers, and seas, and the deities presiding over the soil and the crops. T'ien (Heaven), also known as Shang Ti (Supreme Ruler), was an object of special devotion, and to this deity the emperor, as the "Son of Heaven," offered annual sacrifices. Nature worship persists to the present day in China, and to the pantheon many other divinities have been added, such as famous rulers of antiquity and Confucius himself.

Confucianism

Confucius (551?–478? B.C.), to give him his Latinized name, has been the most influential of Chinese philosophers. He was born in the feudal state of Lu, now included in the province of Shantung. His family, though old and distinguished, lived in straitened circumstances. Nevertheless, Confucius acquired so good an education that when twenty-two years of age he set up as a teacher, professing to expound the doctrines of antiquity. Pupils thronged about him and his reputation for wisdom grew apace. It was during this earlier period that he collected and edited the Chinese "Classics," with which his name has ever since been associated. In his fifty-second year Confucius entered public life by becoming chief magistrate of a city named Chungtu. A marvelous reformation, we are told, forthwith ensued in the manners and morals of the inhabitants, and Chungtu, under the paternal rule of the philosopher, formed a model community. He then became minister of justice in his native state of Lu, serving so efficiently that the laws against crime fell into disuse, because there were now no criminals. After a brief experience as a practical statesman, Confucius resigned office. The next thirteen years of his life were passed in travels from court to court throughout China. He offered his advice on matters of government to princes and ministers, but found no one who would employ him permanently as a reformer. Literary pursuits occupied his remaining years. Never fully appreciated in life, Confucius became, after death, the center of a religious cult. Temples were erected to him in all the principal cities, and during the second and eighth months of the year sacrifices are still offered to him.

Confucius himself had little to say about religion. He did not discuss the future life with his followers, considering that the main inducement to virtue should be well-being in the present life. His

attitude toward the spirit world is summed up in the utterance, "Respect the spirits, but keep them at a distance." He always used the vague, impersonal T'ien, not Shang Ti, as the name of God, evidently regarding this much venerated deity more as an abstraction than as a personal being with the attributes of a man. God, to Confucius, stood for the moral order, in both nature and human affairs. Confucianism, in its original form, is thus a system of morality rather than a religion. It emphasizes particularly the virtues of filial piety, devotion to ancestors, fraternal benevolence, propriety of conduct, and reverence for learning. Its highest expression is the negative form of the Golden Rule: "What you do not wish done to yourself do not do unto others." These teachings only reflected views current in China for ages before Confucius. This is perhaps the reason why Confucianism has not lost its hold upon the people. Cultivated Chinese still quote the classical books, and the uneducated masses still repeat the maxims which sum up the worldly wisdom of the Master.

Another eminent philosopher was Mencius (372–289? B.C.). An ardent admirer of Confucius, he devoted himself to the exposition and defense of the Confucian morality against opposing ethical systems. He also became the center of a large and flourishing school to which inquirers after knowledge resorted for advice on the conduct of life. His original teachings, as set forth in the book bearing his name, are mainly political and economic in character. Mencius tells us that since the state exists only for the benefit of the people, it must not exact forced labor from them or burden them with heavy taxation. On the contrary, it ought to assist the tillers of the soil, for national prosperity depends on agriculture. Mencius expressly asserts the right of rebellion against a tyrannical prince. And when he said that "there is no such thing as a righteous war; we can only assert that some wars are better than others," he expressed an opinion with which modern pacifists would probably agree.

Taoism

The philosophical views of Lao Tzŭ, an older contemporary of Confucius, are found in the *Tao Tê Ching* ("Canon of Reason and Virtue"), which may be, in part, of his own composition. The word *tao* means, literally, "way," "road"; to Lao Tzŭ it seems to have signified "God" or "Cosmic Spirit." However, he himself is said to have declared of the Tao: "Those who know do not tell; those who tell do not know." To this highly speculative thinker the phenomenal world was the manifestation of a spiritual power, with which man comes into

harmony by "not doing," inaction, quietism — by the same self-effacement and suppression of desire which philosophers in India found the path to salvation. Doctrines so obscure and mystical could never be understood by the multitude. Taoism consequently degenerated as it became popularized. Beginning as a system of abstract philosophy, it came to be a religion with many gods, among whom Lao Tzŭ has a prominent place; with countless saints and protecting spirits; with temples, priests, forms of public worship, monks and monasteries; and with a definite belief in the immortality, or at least prodigious longevity, of the soul. Various superstitions, such as magic, divination, and the exorcism of demons, have also found a place in the popular Taoism.

Foreign Religions in China

Buddhism became known to the Chinese as early as the third century B.C. In Taoism it long found a bitter opponent, but eventually the rival religious systems managed to exist peaceably side by side. Each one has borrowed so much from the other that now only an expert can distinguish them. The same person, in fact, may be a follower of both Buddha and Lao Tzŭ — and, in addition, of Confucius. Such was the position of the emperor, who belonged to all three of these state religions and took part in their various observances. Islam was introduced among the Chinese by Arabs and other foreign immigrants, who have long since become merged in the general population. Islam is not a proselyting faith in China, and its members there remain more or less isolated from the rest of the Moslem world. Roman Catholicism, first introduced by the Jesuits more than three hundred years ago, counts several million adherents and Protestantism has upwards of a million native followers.

Aspects of Chinese Civilization

Foreign observers of the Chinese have often called attention to their respect for the social order, their patience under wrongs and evils beyond cure, and their generally happy temperament. They are exceptionally industrious, honest, sober, and self-respecting. Their thriftiness is well expressed in the proverb: "With money you may move the gods; without it you cannot move men." They tend to emphasize the material side of life, being more interested in living comfortably, according to their standards, than in philosophical and religious speculation. Chinese ethics dwell more on man's duty to man than on man's duty to God. Nevertheless, the practical character of the Chinese does

not interfere with their genuine appreciation of the beautiful in nature, art, poetry, music, and the drama.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Chinese civilization is its long, unbroken development through so many centuries. This may be ascribed, in part, to the existence of a written language common to the entire country; in part, to the emphasis on the family tie and ancestor worship; and, in greater part, to Confucianism, whose moral code unites the whole people. There are, of course, many other stabilizing influences. China has always lived by agriculture, that most conservative of occupations; and the system of small holdings in vogue from time immemorial gives to the mass of the people a proprietary interest in the soil. The forms of government and methods of education have always subordinated the individual to some larger group — the family, the clan, the guild — thus making for social cohesion. The equalitarian character of Chinese society, the great personal freedom which prevails, and the absence of caste and rigid class distinctions have also contributed to make the Chinese well satisfied with their civilization. Finally, China is so big and populous that it has always been able to absorb foreign invaders, such as the Mongols in the thirteenth century of the Christian era and the Manchus four hundred years later. "China," as an old writer well said, "is a sea that salts all the rivers flowing into it."

VII

India

Physical India

RELATIVELY to the rest of Asia, India looks small, but it is larger than Europe without Russia. Its greatest length from north to south is nearly two thousand miles, and its greatest breadth from east to west is about the same distance. Besides water boundaries in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, India has a land boundary to the north in the stupendous, scimitar-shaped chain of the Himalayas. This name, which comes from two Sanskrit words meaning "abode of snow," is restricted by modern geographers to that part of the mountain region included within the arms of the Indus and Brahmaputra rivers. The Himalayas, thus considered, extend for about fifteen hundred miles. There are only three or four places in their entire length where passage from Tibet into India is practicable, and no place where an invasion in force is possible. The Himalayas not only wall in northern India, but at both their extremities they send out ranges to the south which reach the sea. Such are the boundaries of India as fixed by nature.

The red line, indicating the British Indian Empire, now includes Burma, a country that is geographically a part of China, and Baluchistan, another equally non-Indian land. Moreover, Kashmir, in the northwest angle of the Himalayas, is a "protected" native state under British sovereignty, and Nepal and Bhutan, though independent as respects their internal affairs, are in foreign relations controlled by Great Britain. These annexations, partial or complete, have been considered necessary to protect the real India against attack from the northwest or the northeast, where the extensions of the Himalayas are not continuous but contain open tracts and passes. All the invasions of India have followed the routes from Afghanistan and central Asia, and in former times large bodies of immigrants passed into India from China. Hence the anxiety of the rulers of India to safeguard its vulnerable approaches.

This great subcontinent includes in the north the Indo-Gangetic plain, watered by the Indus, the Ganges, and their numerous tributaries. At a remote geological epoch, before the elevation of the Himalayas, this plain was an inland sea. As the mountains rose, the rivers draining them flowed into the depression and filled it with sediment — a process which still goes on. The fertile level areas formed by these snow-fed streams have attracted settlers from time immemorial; they have always been the richest, most densely populated part of India and the seat of its principal empires. South of the Indo-Gangetic plain and separated from it by the barrier of the Vindhya Mountains and their almost impenetrable forests is the plateau of the Deccan. In general, it is a broken, rocky region, favorable to the creation of small and independent states. This part of India never came completely under one government until the period of British rule.

The great length of India, reaching from the equatorial regions to far within the temperate zone, results in much variety of climatic conditions. In the extreme south there is the perpetual summer of the tropics; in the extreme north, the icy desolation of the Himalayan region. As a whole, the climate is hot, humid, and enervating, so much so that Englishmen stationed in the more torrid districts of India find it necessary to take frequent long vacations in cooler regions, and their children, unless sent back to England at an early age, languish, often die, and still more often grow up to be nervous wrecks. The natives, by long residence, are less susceptible to the influence of steady heat; nevertheless, this has played a part in weakening their physique and in lowering their energy. The rainfall, brought by the monsoons swirling up from the southern ocean and condensing against the lofty wall of the Himalayas, is generally abundant and at the head of the Bay of Bengal it is enormous. But should the rains fail in amount or in timeliness, vast areas remain unsown or yield no harvest, masses of people entirely dependent on the cultivation of the soil are thrown out of employment, and a desolating famine results. In the famine of the years from 1876 to 1878 five million persons died of starvation or malnutrition; as recently as the period from 1899 to 1901 a million perished. Famine is really endemic in India because every year some part of the country suffers from insufficient moisture.

Peoples and Languages of India

The census of 1941 enumerated over 388,000,000 inhabitants of India, including Burma. The growth has been very rapid within recent decades, for under British rule wars have ceased and plagues and

famines have become less terribly destructive of human life. It is now estimated by competent authorities that within another quarter of a century the population will have reached, if not surpassed, the maximum productive capacity of the land. Unless voluntary restraint of the birth rate is practiced or unless new methods of agriculture, industry, and transportation provide food and other necessaries in vastly greater amounts, India, like China, must pay the penalty for congestion in ever-increasing poverty and misery.

The peoples of India are not fused into a single nationality nor are they divided into several distinct nations. The constant influx of invaders and immigrants, the friction between rival religions, and the barriers raised by the caste system have combined to prevent any intimate blending of the inhabitants. Three principal racial types may be distinguished. The Dravidian-speaking peoples extend from Ceylon to the Ganges River. These short, dark men have sometimes been regarded as the oldest inhabitants of the country, but more probably the aborigines are represented by jungle tribes of Australoid type in and near India. The Mongoloids live principally in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam, and Burma. The Indo-Aryans are met with chiefly in the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir; they are tall, loose-limbed men with complexions a light, transparent brown. In these physical characteristics they doubtless approach closely to the ancient Aryan colonists of India. The other racial types now found in the country seem to be chiefly the result of intermixture, in varying proportions, of Dravidian-speaking peoples, Mongoloids, and Indo-Aryans.

About seventy-five distinct languages are spoken in India proper (excluding Assam and Burma). These fall into a few groups, which roughly correspond to the racial elements of the population. The two most important groups are the Dravidian and the Aryan. Hindustani, or Urdu, one of the Aryan tongues, has become the literary language of India for both Hindus and Moslems. It also forms with English a means of general intercourse throughout nearly the entire country. Like Latin in the Roman world, English has become the official language. Laws and government decrees are issued in it and affairs of state are discussed in it. The educated classes read English newspapers and books, in this way gaining some acquaintance with modern science, philosophy, and history.

The Pre-Aryans in India

Archaeological discoveries of the utmost importance are being made in northwestern India. We now know that in the Indus valley, at a

remote period when it was more wooded and better watered than at present, there flourished a civilization scarcely surpassed in richness or in antiquity by anything which developed in the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile valleys. This newly found civilization seems to have extended over practically the whole Indus region, while traces of it have been unearthed in the foothills of the Himalayas and in much of eastern Baluchistan. Two large cities, Mohenjodaro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab, are already known through excavations conducted by the Government of India. Here have been found many-roomed dwellings, shops, public baths, and temples, all constructed of burnt brick. The cities were carefully laid out, with streets of uniform width, and were provided with an adequate drainage system. The absence of surrounding walls indicates a condition of relative peace and security.

These pre-Aryans had gone far in the practical arts, for they worked in copper and bronze, made pottery, spun and wove, had wheeled vehicles, raised barley, wheat, and cotton, and among their domesticated animals possessed both the buffalo and the elephant, as have the inhabitants of later days. Numerous seal carvings, sculptures in alabaster and marble, and gold and silver jewelry testify to their progress in the fine arts. A system of weights and a form of pictographic writing, so far undecipherable, were also in use. It is now clear that probably as early as 3000 B.C. the people of the Indus valley were leading what we should call civilized lives. Excavations now in progress will doubtless throw light on the cultural relationship between these pre-Aryans of five thousand years ago and the Aryans who came after them.

The Aryans in India

Sometime, probably during the second millennium B.C., a people who called themselves Aryans and who spoke an Indo-European language parted from their kinsmen on the plateau of Iran, entered India through the northwestern passes, and pushed gradually southward and eastward into the Indo-Gangetic plain. Their migrations must have continued for a long period. The dark-skinned natives were subjugated and enslaved or were driven into the fastnesses of the Deccan. No doubt the movement was also one of "peaceful penetration," the newcomers often settling beside the older inhabitants and intermarrying with them.

The great literary monument which tells us about the Indo-Aryans in the Indus valley, before they had penetrated into the Ganges region, is the *Rig-Veda*. They are there represented as a hardy, vigorous people, some of them nomads but most of them husbandmen living in un-

walled villages and small towns. Grains (but not rice), cattle, horses, chariots, wagons, the plow, the principal metals (even some iron), weaving, and boat-making are all mentioned. Unlike the modern Hindus they ate beef and used a fermented liquor made from the *soma* plant, which is not now found in India. Cattle formed their chief wealth. Cattle-stealing must often have led to petty warfare, for one of their words for battle means literally "seeking of cows." Chariot races, hunting, and gambling were popular amusements. The family had a patriarchal organization. Women held a high position, much higher than in later times. Neither the practice of child marriage nor the custom of "suttee," requiring a widow to immolate herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, was followed in the Vedic Age. An elected chief ruled each tribe and led it in war. There was a priesthood, but without the exclusive privileges afterward enjoyed by Brahmans. There were social classes, but no real castes. The religion was simple: a worship of the "bright gods" of nature, with prayer and hymn and offering. This early culture of the Indo-Aryans presents many resemblances to that of the Greeks as depicted in the Homeric epics; the picture presented is European rather than Asiatic, Occidental rather than Oriental. The picture changes in later times after the invaders occupied the fertile Ganges valley. Tribes give way to states, and tribal chiefs to kings. Village communities and guilds make their appearance. The caste system begins to take shape. The religion develops into Hinduism, with its Brahman priesthood. The culture of the post-Vedic Age is more or less reflected in two epic poems, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*.

The Village Community and the Guild

Agriculture is the chief occupation in India. Five-sixths of the population are country folk, dependent on the tillage of the soil. The village community, in which they generally live, consists of peasant landowners or tenants; landless men, working for wages; artisans, who receive for their labor a certain share of the harvest; and various public officials. This organization of country life in economically independent villages has begun to pass away with the advent of railways, good roads, and other agencies breaking down rural isolation. The guilds of India are very ancient. Like those of China they protect the interests of their members and preserve the traditional crafts. This industrial organization becomes less and less important as the competition of imported factory-made goods tends to destroy the market for the more expensive wares of native artisans. Nevertheless, the crafts survive in many

a city, with its silk-weavers, shawl-makers, carvers in wood and ivory, goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewelers, all carrying on their tasks at home or in small workshops and following the methods that have prevailed for thousands of years. Guild membership and caste membership often coincide, but, in the larger towns especially, guilds may include members of various castes.

Caste

The word "caste" comes from the Portuguese language (*casta*, "race"); the usual native names for the institution are *varna*, "color," and *jati*, "birth" or "descent." There are now over three thousand castes. The number is constantly growing as old castes divide and new ones arise from without. All castes are closely connected with the popular religion, and no Moslem or Christian may belong to them. A caste may be described as a collection of families bearing a common name, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, and, in general, following the same occupation. One who belongs to a caste must not marry outside it; must not do work of any sort unrecognized by it; and must not eat or drink with a person of a lower caste, or, as is often the case, with any person of another caste. It is also necessary for him to observe the ceremonies customary among his caste-fellows in connection with birth, marriage, or death in his family; to abstain from food regarded by his associates as impure; to avoid acts considered improper (for instance, the marriage of widows); and, finally, not to perform services for men of a lower caste. If polluted by the presence or the mere proximity of the latter, he is obliged to purify himself as from some evil influence. A person who breaks any of these rules must submit to various penances; otherwise he will be put out of the caste and be boycotted by its members. Thus the accident of birth determines irrevocably for a man the whole course of his life.

The caste system, by dividing the people into innumerable small groups, tends to prevent the development of any true national consciousness. It is uneconomic, for it fixes each person's occupation and restricts all his actions. To a Westerner it also seems utterly undemocratic. Nevertheless, the conservative native defends the caste system, because it gives to every man, however humble, a recognized place in society. Were caste to disappear, with it would disappear the strongest force working in India to maintain the traditional moral and social code.

A true caste system was unknown to the Aryan tribes which occu-

pied northern India in antiquity, although social classes were recognized by them: Brahmans (priests, teachers, and poets); Kshatriyas (nobles and warriors); and Vaisyas (herdsmen, farmers, and traders). To these were ultimately added the Sudras, hewers of wood and drawers of water, who included the less civilized native peoples reduced to serfdom by the Indo-Aryans. The four primary orders of society hardened into castes when, in process of time, they were taken up into the fabric of Hindu religion. The priests even declared that they represented actual divisions in Brahma, the Supreme Being; the Brahmans arose from his head, the Kshatriyas from his chest and arms, the Vaisyas from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet. Orthodox Hindus regard these castes as primary and suppose that all others have arisen from interbreeding, as the caste of fishermen is said to have descended from unions of Brahman men and Sudra women. It is quite certain, however, that most castes have other origins. A caste may be racial, having sprung from a border tribe which has adopted Hinduism; or sectarian, having descended from the adherents of a particular sect; or functional, being composed of all those with the same occupation, such as writers, blacksmiths, milkmen, and street-sweepers. But this enumeration does not exhaust the sources of the present bewildering array of castes.

It should be added that India includes a very large body of casteless men (more than one in six for the whole population). They are the descendants of former slaves, the children of unrecognized marriages, and all those unfortunates, such as scavengers and butchers, whose work is regarded as degrading by Brahmanical law. They form the miserable group of Pariahs, or Untouchables, who must always live apart from other people, who are so low in the social scale that even those of inferior castes will have nothing to do with them, who are beyond the pale. Some of the disabilities which have weighed upon the Untouchables for many centuries are now in process of removal.

Religions of India

The official classification of the religions of India divides them into Hindu, Moslem, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, Animist, and Christian. While Hinduism is the prevailing faith, a great many Dravidian-speaking peoples, especially in the southern area, are only nominal devotees of the great Hindu gods; their real worship is paid to countless local deities and demons. Islam enrolls more followers in India than in any other country. Moslems exceed Hindus in number only in northwestern India, which is in contact with Persia and Afghanistan, and in eastern Bengal and Assam, where the low-caste natives have been glad to win

social recognition by accepting Islam. Buddhism is now virtually extinct in India proper, but Ceylon and Burma are strongholds of this faith. Jainism, which has much in common with Buddhism, is accepted by a comparatively small sect. Parsiism, a form of the ancient religion of Persia, has its representatives among the descendants of Persian emigrants to the Bombay Presidency. Animism, which implies a confused belief in souls and spirits, is professed by some of the more primitive tribes still found in India. The few million converts to Christianity belong mostly to the lower classes, which are outside the Hindu social and religious system. Family influence and caste regulations offer serious obstacles to missionary work among the upper classes.

Hinduism: Religion and Philosophy

Hinduism (or Brahmanism) is a faith with very different aspects according as it is held by the ignorant many or by the educated few. At one end are beliefs and practices based on primitive animism and magic; at the other end are elevated philosophical doctrines from which even Western thinkers have perhaps much to learn. Between these extremes lies a vast mass of mythology and idolatry.

Our knowledge of Hinduism in its earliest form is derived from four sacred books, the Vedas, and especially from the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, or "Lore of the Verses." This work contains over a thousand hymns composed in Sanskrit by priestly poets or poetic priests for the worship of the Aryan tribes who conquered northern India. The hymns cannot be exactly dated, although the oldest may reach back as far as 1200 B.C. or even earlier. The deities to whom they are addressed represent in the main the great powers of nature more or less vaguely personified, such as Father Heaven, Mother Earth, the sun god, and the dawn goddess. Indra, who ruled the winds and sent the rains, developed into a warrior god, leading the tribes in battle and giving them the victory over the dark-skinned natives. Varuna, another important god, seems at first to have typified the open sky, but in time he came to be regarded as one who sees all and knows all, the punisher of sin, and the guardian of the moral law. Agni, the sacrificial fire, and Soma, the intoxicating juice of the "moon-plant" used for libations at sacrifices, were also accounted divine. There were also many minor powers, some of them demons capable of working much harm to man unless pacified or thwarted by appropriate ceremonies. One of the later Vedas — the *Atharva-Veda* — is a collection of magical formulas for recitation at such ceremonies.

This simple Vedic religion underwent a profound transformation as

the Aryan invaders spread their sway over India and as the class of priests gradually became the caste of Brahmans. The old nature gods lost importance and gave way to other deities, especially Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer, these three being sometimes grouped as a triad. Brahma is seldom worshiped exclusively, for the followers of Vishnu and Siva tend to identify their Lord outright with the Supreme Being. Vishnu, the god who preserved the world, has many incarnations (avatars) in animal or human form from age to age, in order to rescue mankind from some great calamity. The most popular are those of Vishnu as Rama, the hero-prince of the epic poem called the *Ramayana*, and as the warrior Krishna, who figures in the other great epic known as the *Mahabharata*. Few Hindus are ignorant of the legends concerning these romantic personages.

Hinduism in its developed form is characterized by innumerable temples and idols, the former often very beautiful, the latter often very hideous; by the worship of animals which are feared, like the snake, or are useful, like the cow; and by the doctrine of transmigration (that is, the survival of the same soul in the lives of successive human beings, animals, or plants). The Brahmanical lawbooks represent transmigration as a systematic retribution in another earthly life for the deeds (*karma*) committed in this life; the good will rise in the scale of existence and the bad will be abased. The worst criminals enter the bodies of plants; those not so wicked enter animal bodies — for instance, a greedy man may return as a pig and a stealer of grain as a rat, while in consequence of other sinful acts persons may be reborn in a low caste or as Untouchables. Thus the world becomes a huge reformatory where each one works out his own destiny. How these conceptions arose is not known. They do not appear in the Vedic religious literature. Another feature of Hinduism is the stress laid upon asceticism and withdrawal from the world in order to gain superhuman powers or to reach communion with deity. Several million holy men (yogis) wander about the country, supported entirely by the alms of the faithful. India is thickly studded with holy places. The most venerated of these is Benares, and every pious Hindu aspires to make at least one pilgrimage thither. The chief rivers are likewise holy. To bathe in them, especially in the Ganges at Benares, is accounted a work of superabundant religious merit. Enormous numbers of pilgrims visit the sacred sites.

Since Hinduism has no pope, church council, fixed creed, or other means of enforcing religious unity, it constantly divides into sects with new deities and new forms of worship. Some of these have arisen in the nineteenth century, especially under the influence of Islam and

Christianity. They are often attempts to replace the superstitions of the multitude with more spiritual conceptions.

The *Rig-Veda* contains a few hymns which, instead of celebrating one god after another, seek for some sort of unity behind the gods and behind the natural phenomena over which the gods preside. Theologians and philosophers of the post-Vedic age carried further this line of thought and at length arrived at the simplest of all beliefs — pantheism. It is the simplest of all beliefs because it declares that all objects of sense and thought are only aspects of an infinite Unity which is God.

Pantheistic ideas are elaborated in the Upanishads, a name meaning "secret or esoteric doctrine." Over a hundred of these works are extant, the oldest belonging to the seventh or sixth century B.C. They are far from consistent one with another, but they do agree in the recognition of an absolute, impersonal, self-existent, and eternal world-soul, which is often called Brahma. Souls of human beings emanate from Brahma, are destined to return to Brahma, and are really identical with Brahma, "as sparks issue from the fire." *Tat tvam asi*, "That art Thou," so runs the pregnant formula. The round of transmigration on the revolving wheel of birth and death must be endured until by intense self-contemplation and ascetic living a man has gained the knowledge which shall deliver him from the illusion of separate individuality and make him aware of his oneness with the Universal Spirit. "When all the passion is at rest that lurks within the heart of man, then is the mortal no more mortal, but here and now attaineth Brahma." Release from the bondage of mundane existence — such is the secret of salvation as found in the Upanishads and in all the orthodox systems of philosophy which Indian thinkers afterward produced. It need scarcely be added that their speculations, however elevated, appeal only to a limited circle of seekers after truth.

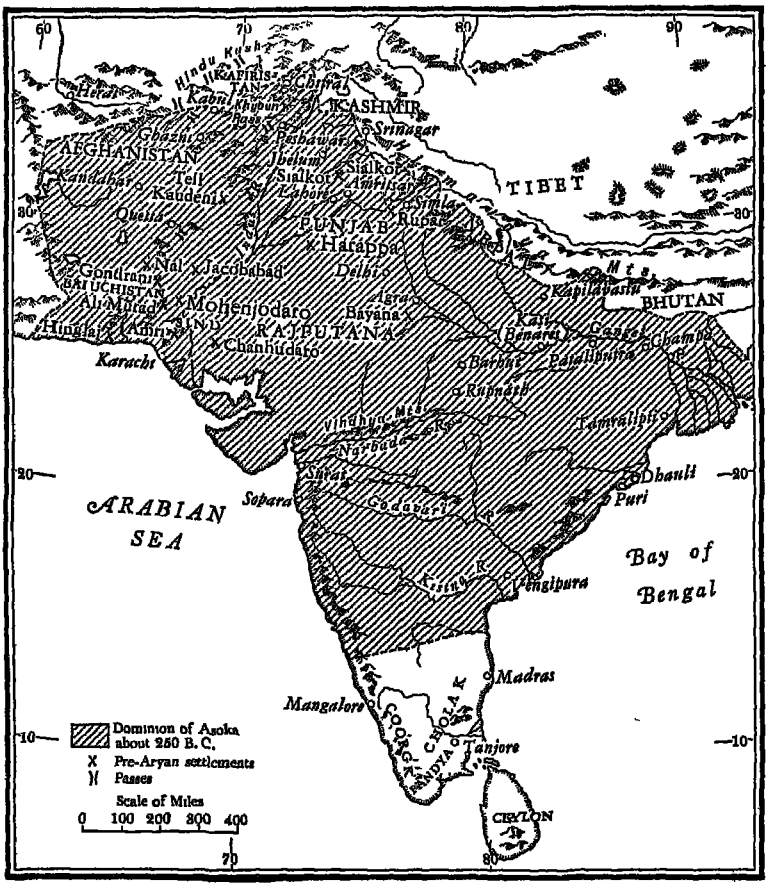
Buddha and Buddhism

Buddhism itself seems to have been profoundly influenced by the philosophy of the Upanishads. Its founder, Gautama (560–480? B.C.), to give him his family name, was the only son of a well-to-do landed proprietor of the Sakya clan, which occupied a part of the borderland between the Himalayas and the valley of the Ganges. His father's home was at Kapilavastu, the capital town of the clan, located about one hundred miles due north of Benares. As to Gautama's childhood and youth there are many legends and few facts; we know, however, that he married and had one son. At the age of twenty-nine, according to

the traditional account, he left home, wife, and child and went forth, as so many others in his day, in search of salvation. He learned everything that the Brahmans could teach but found no satisfaction in their doctrines. Equally fruitless were the severe austerities to which he subjected himself. After six years as a "Wanderer," as he sat one day in meditation beneath a tree, the hour of illumination came and he found the truth which neither study nor self-mortification had taught him. He was now the Buddha, "the Enlightened." For forty-five years thereafter he went from village to village in northern India, gathering disciples, instructing them, and sending them forth with his message to mankind.

The oldest extant documents of Buddhism are the *Pitakas*, transmitted orally for hundreds of years, but finally reduced to writing perhaps early in the first century B.C. They are in Pali, a language which died out in India proper but continues to be used in the Buddhist literature of Ceylon and Farther India. How far they preserve the actual doctrines of Buddha it is scarcely possible to say. A discourse delivered by him at Benares about 525 B.C., when he began his mission, is generally believed to contain his fundamental ideas, if not the actual words with which he addressed the five recluses who had been his companions.

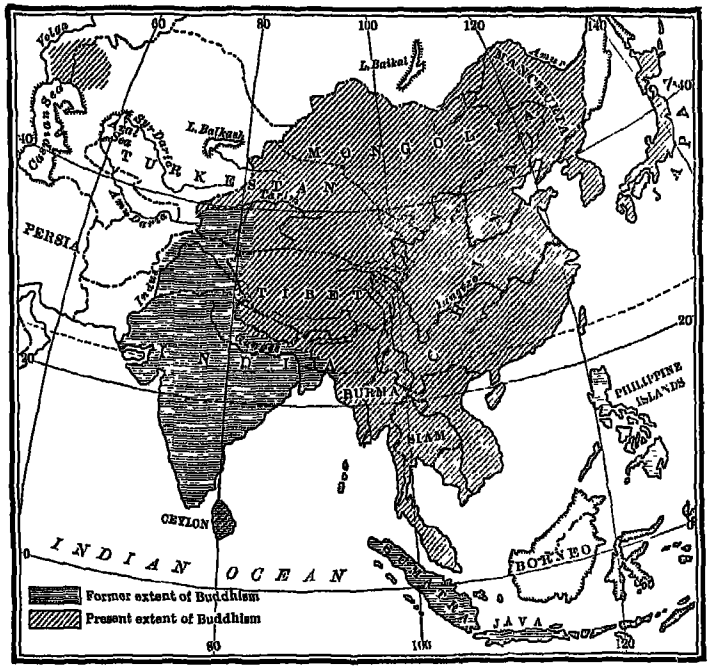
In this first sermon Buddha begins with the statement that the seeker after salvation should follow the "Middle Path," avoiding the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification, for both are unprofitable and "fit only for the worldly-minded." Then follows a summary of his teaching, the so-called "Four Noble Truths." These are, first, that all personal existence is bound up with suffering; second, that the cause of suffering is the desire for existence, which leads from rebirth to rebirth through endless ages; third, that suffering can be eliminated only when desire is eliminated; and fourth, that by following a wholesome regimen, by rigid self-control, meditation, and holiness of thought, word, and deed, deliverance from desire and suffering and consequently from the round of rebirths may at last be won. Many passages in the Buddhist books described the blessed state of the man made perfect, the saint (*arahat*) who has fought the good fight and has finished his course, who has reached the goal of Nirvana (literally, the "going out," as of a fire, or the "blowing out," as of a lamp). What is Nirvana? As imagined by Buddha and his immediate followers, it seems to have meant a peaceful end without either the fear or the desire of rebirth. Nirvana may also be attained during the saint's lifetime, as with Buddha himself, so that salvation is not something necessarily postponed to another world but something possible here and now.



Ancient India

Whether or not the saint continues to exist after death is a question which Buddha declined to answer or even to discuss. Neither the belief in a future life nor in a personal God entered into his teaching. Buddha seems to have taken over the Karma doctrine from Hinduism, but since he also denied the reality of the soul as an entity distinct from the body it is difficult for the non-Buddhist to understand how there can be future rebirths in the absence of a soul to migrate. And by Buddhists themselves this is acknowledged to be an incomprehensible mystery.

Early Buddhism was clearly not a religion, unless it be a religion for a man, by accomplishing his own deliverance from the pain and necessity of continuous rebirths, to become his own divinity. It was rather a method of moral discipline. Accordingly, Buddha organized a mo-



Expansion of Buddhism

nastic order, with a strict rule of life for those who were admitted, but without the cruel self-tortures practiced by holy men, or yogis. The monks and nuns kept Ten Commandments, the most important being the first five, which prohibited the taking of life, theft, unchastity, falsehood, and the use of intoxicating drinks. Observance of these negative rules was not enough: there must also be constant self-discipline, self-watchfulness, and mystic contemplation for those who had entered on the long, hard road to Nirvana. The lay adherents of Buddhism, those who had not renounced the world, followed a rule less strict, but even they could not fail to be influenced for good by an ethical system which laid such stress upon non-injury of others, forgiveness of enemies, toleration, and universal benevolence. "Not by hate is hate destroyed; by love alone is hate destroyed," said Buddha.

Buddhism has always encouraged what we now call "social service," imitating the example of its founder, who induced his followers to establish hospitals and asylums, to organize famine relief, and to engage in many other charitable activities. Anyone who reads the Buddhist Scriptures, especially the *Dhammapada,* which for more than two thousand years has been widely used as a manual of devotion and

meditation, must appreciate the contribution to human betterment made by "India's greatest son."

Buddhism spread gradually over northern India, then into the Deccan, and during the third century B.C. the conversion of the emperor Asoka, who had built up a wide dominion in India, led to its adoption as the state religion. Gradually, too, it became an organized religion, with sacred places thronged by pilgrims, with monasteries and churches excavated in rocks, with a paraphernalia of vestments, bells, and incense, and with a cult of saints and relics. The human personality of Buddha was lost to sight in the mists of legend surrounding him, and his image was everywhere venerated, if not worshiped. Doctrinal controversies also arose, and finally Buddhism split into the two great schools of Hinayana and Mahayana, the Little and Great Vehicles. The Hinayana, now found only in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, keeps closer to the doctrines of the founder; its ideal is still that of the saint who seeks salvation for himself alone by attaining Nirvana. The Mahayana has developed the ideal of the *bodhisattva*, one who has qualified himself for sainthood but postpones or casts aside the attainment of Nirvana in order to become a Buddha in some future existence and bring salvation to the world. For the Mahayana the historical Gautama was not the first Buddha; there were others before him and there will be others to come. Thus the way is opened for the conception of Buddha as a deity manifesting himself to men by incarnations such as those of Vishnu.

Buddhism flourished in India for more than a thousand years. It declined from the eighth century of our era and by the thirteenth or fourteenth century it survived only in Nepal on the north and in Ceylon on the south. The permanent conquests of Buddhism took place outside of India. During the early centuries of the Christian era it entered Burma, Siam, Indo-China, China, Korea, and Japan. It also spread to Bhutan and Tibet, found many adherents among the tribes of Turkestan, Mongolia, and Manchuria, and for a time even penetrated the Malay Archipelago. Its followers today must exceed 500,000,000 — at least a fourth of the human race. In this estimate the entire population of China and Japan is counted as Buddhist, owing to the difficulty of separating Buddhism in those countries from the national faiths.

Science and Learning

In India, as in Egypt, Babylonia, and many another ancient land, the priests formed the leisured and the learned class, and to them must be largely attributed what intellectual progress took place. For hun-

dreds of years their speculations and discoveries were handed down by word of mouth; for India had no highly developed system of writing until a late date, perhaps not until the fifth century B.C. During the third century B.C. inscriptions began to appear in the Brahmi alphabet, the parent of nearly all the modern alphabets of India. It was not a native invention, but can be traced back to the Phoenician script, which reached India probably as a result of commercial intercourse with South Arabia. Once an alphabet had been introduced, it was made over and improved. The letters were increased in number to thirty-eight, in order to provide a symbol for every sound in the Sanskrit language, and they were arranged on a phonetic basis according to the vocal organs chiefly used in their pronunciation. In its final form the Brahmi is more complete and consistent than any other of the world's alphabets. Grammar and philology received much attention, in order to interpret the sacred language of the Vedas, and for this purpose lexicons and other aids to linguistic study were compiled at an early date.

It is India that has given to us the so-called and miscalled Arabic numerals, which the Arabs brought into western Asia and Europe during the early Middle Ages. The Arabs were also intermediaries in the spread of the decimal system and the zero sign (Arabic, *sifr*), those most useful inventions which Indian mathematicians seem to have imported from Babylonia and then perfected. The astronomers of India distinguished twenty-seven or twenty-eight "lunar mansions," named after the conspicuous stars and constellations through which the moon pursues her apparent path in the heavens. This lunar zodiac may have been derived from Babylonia, as was certainly true of the solar zodiac, with which Indian astronomers were familiar. The Hindu calendar, like that of China, was a lunar calendar.

From the fifth century B.C. onward rules of law, based on the Vedas and the precepts of the Brahmans, began to take shape and finally to be committed to writing. Of the codes the most authoritative was and still is the *Institutes of Manu*, ascribed to a mythical sage Manu (Sanskrit, "man"). This work, which seems to have been composed between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D., became the basis of Indian jurisprudence and secured a degree of reverence second only to that accorded to the Vedic writings. It has been aptly described as the Magna Carta of Hinduism and the caste system; for in it the Brahmans are treated as the great central order of society around which all the other orders revolve like satellites. If law was carefully cultivated, history was not. Genealogical tables, family memoirs, and bare chronicles were produced, but serious historical composition found no favor with either Brahman

priests or Buddhist monks. Unlike China, India took little interest in her past.

Literature

Ancient India possessed two national epics, composed in Sanskrit and in modern translations still read, recited, or acted on the stage throughout the land. The *Mahabharata*, "the great poem of the Bharatas," is concerned with a war in which all the martial peoples of northern India took part, and whose episodes and incidents were sung by many generations of professional minstrels. So popular was the work that it continued to grow century after century, meanwhile incorporating a mass of legends, myths, passages from legal and moral codes, and other extraneous matter until it reached the prodigious length of over ninety thousand couplets, about seven times the size of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* combined. This most bulky of epics gives evidence of repeated revisions at the hands of the Brahmans, who made it a vehicle for inculcating the divine origin of their order and of the caste system. Much shorter and more to the taste of a Western reader is the *Ramayana*, which deals with the advance of the Indo-Aryans into southern India and has for its principal figures Prince Rama and his loyal wife, Sita. The poem seems to be, in the main, the production of a single poet, Valmiki, and to have reached substantially its present form several centuries before the Christian era.

The two epics provided the chief plots for the Sanskrit drama. This attained its highest development at the hands of Kalidasa, who lived in the fifth century of our era. Three of his plays have come down to us, the most celebrated being *Sakuntala*, which describes the love of a legendary prince for a forest-born maiden. When translated into English near the close of the eighteenth century, this exquisite production first drew the attention of Western scholars to the copiousness, variety, and charm of Sanskrit literature. Among later poets easily the most eminent is Tulsi Das, about contemporary with Shakespeare and famous for his translation, or rather adaptation, of the *Ramayana* into the vernacular of northern India. This devotional work, presenting Rama as the supreme and only god, an incarnation of Vishnu and the redeemer of mankind, still inspires religious reformers and sets forth an elevated monotheism by the side of the current idolatry and mythology. Popular instruction in ethics has long been provided by means of animal stories, and a collection of these, the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, is in modern versions perhaps the best-known book in India. Every tale has its appropriate moral, as in the fables familiar to Europe under the

name of the Greek Aesop; indeed, there is reason to believe that Europe was indebted to India for some, at least, of *Aesop's Fables.*

The Fine Arts

In India, as in Europe during the Middle Ages, the fine arts owed their development to religion, and enormous labor and enormous wealth were lavished on the service of the gods. India is still a land of temples and statues, although the wasting hand of time and the destruction wrought by war and idol-smashing Moslems have been responsible for the loss of many masterpieces. Nothing remains of the very ancient architecture, for the earlier structures seem to have been built chiefly of perishable wood. The general use of stone for architectural purposes came in as late as the third century B.C., and all the surviving monuments date from this time. Among these are the dome-shaped stupas, or memorial mounds, originally of earth but later carried out in solid masonry. They were built almost exclusively by Buddhists and Jains to house sacred relics. The temples of India are often magnificent, with their gateways, pillared porches, lofty towers, and profusion of statuary and reliefs – a veritable jungle of ornamental design. Over twelve hundred rock-hewn structures also remain out of the thousands once in existence, among them the remarkable temples of Karli and Elephanta near Bombay and the Buddhist assembly halls and monasteries of Ajanta in Hyderabad.

Indian sculpture, in spite of its technical excellence, is frequently marred by a luxuriance of imagination bordering on the fantastic and even the grotesque. The images of deities, sometimes provided with multiple heads, arms, legs, and breasts, all symbolizing their superhuman powers, depart widely from the canons of the beautiful accepted in Western lands. Much more attractive are the statues of Buddha represented standing erect or seated in contemplation on his lotus throne, his feet crossed beneath him and a halo behind his head. The expansion of Buddhism carried these calm, serene figures throughout the Far East. As for the art of painting, which employs such frail materials, our knowledge of it in India is almost entirely limited to some remarkable frescoes in the Ajanta caves. The subjects for the most part are taken from the life and legends of Buddha.

Commercial relations between India and the whole region of southeastern Asia and the adjacent islands were established before or about the beginning of the Christian era. In succeeding centuries numerous Indian kingdoms arose throughout this area, with Hinduism or Buddhism as the recognized religion and with a local art whose structural

and decorative elements were all derived from India. Some of the surviving monuments of these half-forgotten kingdoms are most imposing. Angkor Thom in Cambodia, the former capital of the Khmers, is a city of palaces, but the palaces are now deserted and all but lost in the wilderness. The neighboring temple of Angkor Wat is indisputably the greatest monument of Oriental architecture. It rises on a broad base, terrace after terrace, to the central shrine two hundred feet in height. Some of the superb relief sculptures adorning it represent battle scenes from the Indian epics and famous figures of Indian mythology. The present inhabitants of the country cannot account for these monuments, but look upon them as the work of giants and demons. The greatest of all Buddhist temples, that of Borobudur, is in far-away Java. Built of volcanic stone on a pedestal four hundred feet square, Borobudur is adorned with hundreds of statues of Buddha and with literally miles of bas-reliefs depicting scenes from the life of the Master. Like Angkor Wat this artistic masterpiece lay for centuries buried in the jungle. Notable examples of architecture and sculpture revealing the influence of India are also found in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Annam.

Aspects of Civilization in India

Both China and India afford the spectacle of a very congested population dwelling mostly in small communities, occupied chiefly as manual laborers on farms and in workshops, and leading a static, conservative, village life. In both lands all the fundamental social forms were elaborated thousands of years ago, and in both lands these have continued with little alteration until the present day. Yet the two countries present some marked contrasts in culture. While China has always stood for equality of opportunity, India has been aristocratic rather than equalitarian, with a caste system unlike anything that has ever existed elsewhere. While China has preserved political unity, even though of a loose sort, India, until the British conquest, never formed one state. While China has been able to assimilate foreign invaders and mold them to her own cultural pattern, not so India; for the Moslems remain after many centuries different in faith, feeling, and customs from the Hindus. Finally, there is the contrast between the secularism of China and the religiosity of India, between Confucianism with its rational temper and its emphasis on practical, everyday morality and Hinduism with its otherworldliness. Permeating every phase of Hinduism is the conviction that earthly things are transient and illusory; that material comfort and social betterment count for little in the scheme of existence; that the true life is the spiritual life; and that the acquisition of saintliness

is the highest ideal. This conviction finds its most complete expression in Hindu philosophy and early Buddhism, but to a large extent it also characterizes the thinking of the masses. It helps to account for their failure to regard man as anything but the sport and slave of nature and therefore for their resignation in the face of drought, floods, famine, plague, and other natural calamities which so sorely vex them. A simple explanation of their fatalism and pessimism has been offered in the influence of climatic conditions, especially the debilitating heat of the Ganges valley, where both Hinduism and Buddhism developed. No doubt climate has affected the character as well as the physique of the inhabitants of India, but for the psychology of an entire people there can be no simple explanation.

Cultural Progress in the Far East

Archaeologically considered, the Far East is almost virgin territory, but enough work has been done there to indicate the extreme antiquity of man in both China and India. Each of these countries had a Stone Age, subdivided into Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods, and passing gradually into an Age of Metals. When this transition had been accomplished, the peoples who lived in the Yangtze, Huang Ho, Indus, and Ganges valleys were in possession of all the primary discoveries and inventions on which man's higher culture rests. They domesticated animals, they cultivated plants, they made pottery, they smelted metals. On such foundations the Chinese and Indian peoples built up their characteristic civilizations, so old, so conservative, so little altered in the course of thousands of years. These civilizations have exerted and still exert wide influence in eastern and central Asia, but by reason of their comparative isolation they never in antiquity came into intimate, fertilizing contact with western Asia and the Mediterranean basin. It was not until recent centuries that the Far East began to be drawn into the current of modern "European" history.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (PART I)

B.C.	*Rulers and Dynasties*	*Political History*	*Cultural History*
		Before 3000 City-states in Babylonia and Egypt	Before 3000 Written records kept by Babylonians and Egyptians
3000			3251(?) Adoption of solar calendar in Egypt
			c. 2900–2800 Giza pyramids of Khufu (Cheops), Khafra, and Menkaura
	c. 2600 Sargon I, king of Sumer and Akkad		*c.* 2500 Indus valley civilization flourishing at Mohenjodaro and Harappa
2000	*c.* 2000 Hammurabi, king of Babylonia		*c.* 2000 Code of Hammurabi
	c. 2000–1800 Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt	*c.* 1800–1600 The Hyksos in Egypt	
		c. 1750 Kassites ruling in Babylonia	
			c. 1600–1100 Great age of Aegean civilization
	c. 1580–1350 Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt		
	Ahmose, *c.* 1580–1557		*c.* 1500 Aryans in India
	Thutmose III, *c.* 1501–1447 (including Thutmose II and Queen Hatshepsut)	*c.* 1400 Destruction of Cnossus	
			c. 1375–1358 Monotheistic revolution of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) in Egypt
	c. 1350–1205 Nineteenth Dynasty in Egypt		
	Seti I, *c.* 1313–1292		
	Ramses II, *c.* 1292–1225	1280(?) Treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites	
	Merneptah, *c.* 1225–1215		
		c. 1200 Collapse of Hittite Empire	*c.* 1200–1000 Hymns of the *Rig-Veda*
	1122(?)–249 Chou Dynasty in China		*c.* 1100–750 Homeric Age
	c. 1010–970 David, Hebrew king		
1000			*c.* 1000 Phoenicians the common carriers of the Mediterranean
	c. 970–935 Solomon, Hebrew king		
		933(?)–722 Kingdom of Israel	
		933(?)–586 Kingdom of Judah	
		c. 850 Carthage founded	
			776 First recorded celebration of Olympic games
		753 Traditional date of founding of Rome	
		753–509 Regal period of Rome	
			c. 750–500 Greek colonial expansion

B.C.			
	745–626 Assyrian kings Sargon II, 722–705 Sennacherib, 705–681 Esarhaddon, 681–669 Assurbanipal, 669–626		
		660 Traditional date of establishment of Japanese Empire by Jimmu Tenno	621 Draco's code at Athens
	604–561 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylonia	612 Destruction of Nineveh and end of Assyrian Empire	604(?)–514(?) Lao Tzŭ 600(?) The prophet Zoroaster
		586–538 Captivity of Hebrews in Babylonia	594–593 Reforms of Solon at Athens
	560–546 Croesus, king of Lydia	560–527 Tyranny of Pisistratus at Athens	560(?)–477(?) Gautama Buddha 551(?)–478(?) Confucius
	550–330 Persian kings Cyrus the Great, 550–529 Cambyses, 529–522 Darius I, the Great, 521–485 Xerxes I, 485–465	539 Capture of Babylon by Cyrus the Great 525 Persian conquest of Egypt by Cambyses 509(?) Roman Republic established	525–456 Aeschylus 508–507 Reforms of Clisthenes at Athens
500		492–479 The Persian wars 490 Battle of Marathon 480 Battle of Salamis 479 Battles of Plataea and Mycale	484(?)–425(?) Herodotus
		477 Confederacy of Delos	*c.* 475 Voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian 469–399 Socrates 461–429 Age of Pericles at Athens 451–449 Laws of the Twelve Tables 448(?)–385(?) Aristophanes 438 Parthenon completed
		431–404 Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta 404–362 Spartan and Theban supremacies 390(?) Rome captured by the Gauls	428(?)–348(?) Plato 384–322 Aristotle

VIII

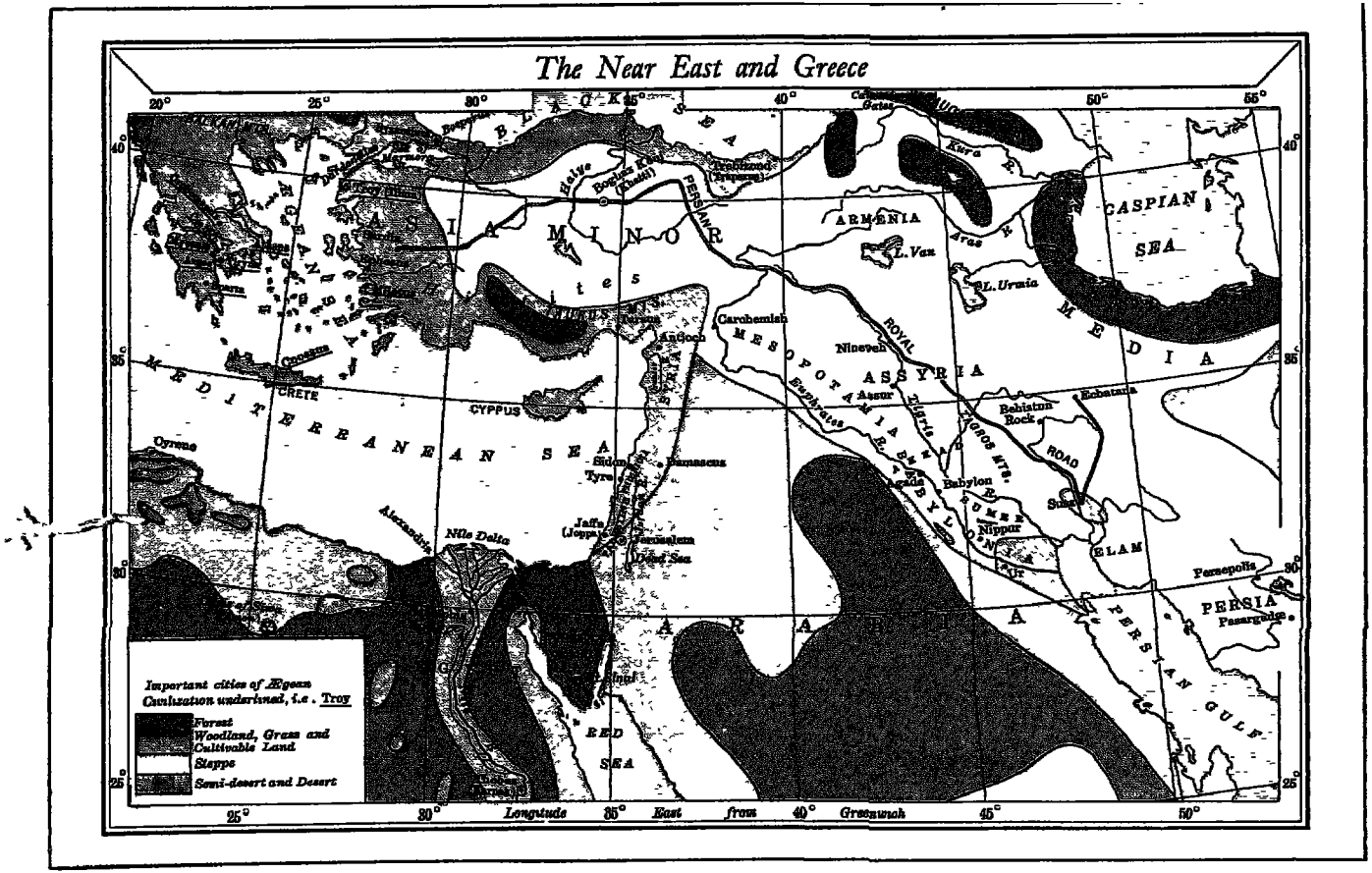
Babylonia and Assyria

The Near East

THE region between the Black and Caspian Seas on the north, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Sea on the south, the Indus River on the east, and the Mediterranean and the Nile on the west — the Near East, to use a convenient designation — must always have the utmost interest for Europeans and the descendants of Europeans, for it was the seed ground of our civilization. Many of the peoples within this region took a prominent part in the ancient Oriental world, and from antiquity to the present day their relations have been closer with Europe than with the rest of Asia. Here, as in the Far East, we find the earliest seats of a highly developed culture in river valleys, where the assurance of a constant water supply, an enduring sunlight, and a marvelously rich soil made it possible for men to adopt a settled agricultural life and to gather in populous communities. The river valleys were particularly those of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile.

The Tigris-Euphrates Valley; Babylonia

The two great rivers of western Asia, the Tigris and the Euphrates, rise not far from each other in the mountains of Armenia. Flowing south and then southeast, they gradually converge to form a common valley and at Bagdad are hardly twenty miles apart. From this point they branch out again, but finally effect a junction about eighty miles from the Persian Gulf. In antiquity, when the Persian Gulf extended much farther north than today, they had separate mouths. Because of cataracts in the north and sandbanks in the south the Euphrates has never been an important artery of commerce. The Tigris is navigable for most of its course, but owing to the swift current ancient traffic on it was exclusively downstream on rafts supported by inflated bags of goat or sheep skin. At the end of the journey the rafts were broken up and the deflated bags sent back by the land route. Both rivers rise


The Near East and Greece
BLACK SEA
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
CYPRUS
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
MEDIA
ROYAL ROAD
ELAM
PERSIA
ARABIA
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
Troy
Ephesus
Halys R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Nineveh
Assur
Babylon
Nippur
Susa
Ecbatana
Behistun Rock
Persepolis
Pasargadae
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Jaffa (Joppa)
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Nile Delta
Alexandria
Cyrene
Carchemish
Sardis
Lydia
Cilician Gates
Lake Van
Lake Urmia
Zagros Mts.
Kura R.
Aras R.
Important cities of Ægean Civilization underlined, i.e. Troy
Forest
Woodland, Grass and Cultivable Land
Steppe
Semi-desert and Desert
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
50°
55°
60°
65°
70°
75°
80°
85°
90°
95°
Longitude East from Greenwich

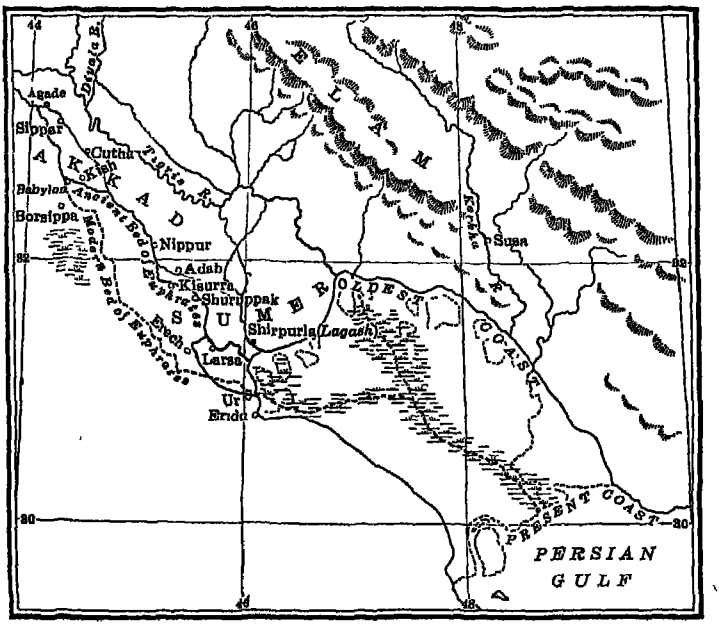
rapidly during the summer months, when the snow melts in the Armenian highlands, and bring down much coarse gravel and silt, which blocks the channels and often results in disastrous floods. Hence the problem of regulating their flow by dikes, dams, and canals has always been of vital importance to dwellers in this region.

The lower valley of the Tigris-Euphrates is known as Babylonia, after Babylon, which became its leading city and capital. Babylonia forms an unbroken, featureless, deltaic plain. This plain was much smaller five thousand years ago than now, partly because the Euphrates formerly approached nearer to the Tigris, thus reducing the alluvial area, and partly because there has been a constant accretion of soil, estimated to average two miles a century, at the head of the Persian Gulf. The sites of cities which, about 3000 B.C., were on or near the sea are now over a hundred miles inland. Babylonia has one of the hottest summer climates of the world, but the low humidity (except near the Persian Gulf) makes the heat less oppressive than the high temperatures recorded would indicate. Little rain falls, so that irrigation is absolutely necessary for the crops. The irrigation ditches and canals once formed a network of waterways covering all the area between the rivers. The soil was, and is, remarkably productive. "Of all the countries that we know," said the old traveler Herodotus, "there is no other so fruitful in grain." Two and even three crops of wheat a year were raised by the ancient inhabitants. Babylonia lacks forests, but the date palm is indigenous, flourishes with scarcely any cultivation, and supplies a staple article of diet, besides having many other uses. Although there is no good stone for building, clay is everywhere. Molded into brick and afterward dried in the sun, the clay becomes "adobe," the cheapest of building materials and also one of the best, for an adobe house is cool in summer and warm in winter.

Such is this rich delta, a land capable of supporting a large population once the marshes are drained, the floods restrained, and the fields irrigated at regular intervals to prevent the soil from hardening under the torrid sun. The men who redeemed it from the wilderness and cultivated it to the last inch of earth and the last drop of water are its real, though nameless and forgotten, heroes.

Sumerians

Babylonia is not isolated. It opens on extensive mountain, steppe, and desert regions from which at a remote time settlers entered the lower valley of the two rivers. Among them were the people who called the land they occupied Sumer and whom, in consequence, we call Sume-



Sumer and Akkad

rians. Whence they came and when they came cannot now be determined. Nor can they be certainly connected, by either race or language, with any other people; the origin of the Sumerians is an unsolved problem. Judging from the representations of them on the monuments, they were short, thick-set, and muscular, with prominent noses and sloping foreheads; that they were dark-haired is inferred from the fact that the texts describe them as "black-heads." Mounds marking the sites of their cities still dot the Babylonian plain. Some have been excavated and studied in detail, including Ur and Eridu near the ancient mouth of the Euphrates, Uruk (Erech), Larsa, and Lagash farther up the river, and still farther north Nippur and Kish. These were only a few of the once populous settlements clustered thickly along the Euphrates, while far to the north, on the Tigris, there were outlying Sumerian cities of equal or greater antiquity. One of these outlying cities, now represented by a mound known locally as Tepe Gawra (fifteen miles north of ancient Nineveh), has been uncovered by American archaeologists and shown to have been continuously inhabited, one settlement following another, from Neolithic times to about 1500 B.C. Twenty-six building levels have been found on this site, which furnishes the longest continuous record of human occupation at present known.

The Sumerian cities were built of sun-dried bricks, usually on an artificial mound, and were surrounded by an earthen or brick rampart, which kept out the flood waters and likewise human enemies. Each city lay in the midst of a tract of irrigated land, where grain and date palms were grown and where the flocks and herds were pastured. Each one had a divine ruler, patron, and protector, whose temple, with its dwellings for priests and officials, its granaries, workshops, library, and school, formed the center of community life. And each one had an earthly ruler, a priest-king. The Sumerian cities were already flourishing in the fourth millennium B.C.

The Sumerians, when we first learn anything about them, had reached a comparatively high level of culture, which must have been many centuries in the making. It was a metal culture. While Neolithic implements continued to be used, tools and weapons were regularly made of copper and afterward of bronze. Wheat, barley, and millet were cultivated. Cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys were domesticated. Both the traction plow and the wheel as a burden-bearing device had come into general use; the oldest known representation of a plow is on a seal found at Ur and the oldest known wheeled vehicle has been discovered at Kish. Painted pottery, vessels of alabaster, silver, and gold, engraved gems, bas-reliefs, and sculptures in the round afford evidence of the advance made in the arts and crafts. A lively trade went on between the Sumerian cities and the countries of western Asia and Egypt, and the discovery at Kish, Ur, and other sites of seals bearing hieroglyphs similar to those found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro makes it certain that trading relations extended as far as India. To the Sumerians was due the great invention of writing on clay. Their wedge-shaped (cuneiform) script came to be used throughout the Tigris-Euphrates valley and even more widely in the Near East. Their religion, art, literature, and science were in large measure adopted by the Semitic-speaking peoples of Babylonia, so that it is often difficult to determine how much the latter originated and how much they derived from the gifted Sumerians.

The most remarkable revelation of Sumerian culture we owe to the discoveries at Ur, the Biblical "Ur of the Chaldees" and the birthplace and early home of the Hebrew patriarch Abraham. Its site, a gigantic heap of ruins in the desert, was determined about the middle of the nineteenth century, and since 1922 excavations have been conducted there under the direction of Sir Leonard Woolley. The so-called Royal Tombs, which by their discoverer are dated about 3500 B.C., have yielded a great mass of furniture, jewelry, and other objects, in craftsmanship and artistry surpassing anything yet found in contem-

porary Egypt. The wealth of gold, silver, and semiprecious stones left with the dead as "accompanying gifts" is quite extraordinary. These ancient graves of the kings of Ur also bear witness to the existence among the Sumerians of funeral human sacrifice. With each of the rulers were buried their attendants and servants, who had been slain in order to follow their master into the shadowy underworld of the dead. The most important section of Ur, as of other Sumerian cities, was the temple enclosure, dominated by a lofty staged tower, or "ziggurat." This formed a solid mass of masonry, the core being of mud brick and the facing of burnt brick. The tower rose in three stages from a high platform. It was crowned by a small building, the shrine of Nannar (Sin), the moon god to whom the structure was dedicated. In front were three stairways rising nearly one hundred and fifty feet and converging before a monumental gateway. The ruins of several temples adjacent to the ziggurat attest the fact that Ur was one of the holy cities of Sumer.

Akkadians

More or less contemporary with the Sumerians were the Akkadians. They occupied the northern part of the Babylonian plain, a region which, from its principal city Agade, came to be known as Akkad. A Semitic-speaking people, they seem to have reached the Tigris-Euphrates valley either from Arabia or from the Syrian country to the northwest. On the monuments they are represented with elaborately curled hair and beard, in contrast to the Sumerians, who often shaved both head and face. That the Akkadians were originally desert nomads, like some Arabs of today, is probable; at any rate they settled down, adopted city life, took over much from the Sumerians, and grew strong in Akkad. Around 2600 B.C., though possibly a century earlier or a century later, so uncertain is the chronology, there arose among them a mighty man of war, Sargon of Agade. In a narrative which has been preserved the king recounts the story of his lowly birth and boyhood, his subsequent elevation to the throne, and his imperial rule. Under Sargon's leadership the Akkadians subdued the Sumerian cities and then carried their victorious arms into the adjoining lands. Sargon boasts that he "poured out his glory over the world" and that he ruled many peoples from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

Amorites

Toward the close of the third millennium B.C. the Amorites, another Semitic-speaking people from Syria, began to settle in the lower valley

of the two rivers, just as their predecessors, the Akkadians, had done so long before. They took possession of Babylon, on the western bank of the Euphrates and about seventy miles south of the modern Bagdad. The sixth Amorite ruler, the famous Hammurabi, reigned about 2000 B.C. Many of his inscriptions and official letters have been preserved, besides the code of civil and criminal law imperishably associated with his name. He delivered Sumer and Akkad from foreign invaders and made his native Babylon the capital of the whole land, henceforth properly called Babylonia. From Hammurabi's time little more is heard of the Sumerians as a distinct people. Their cities declined in importance before the greater Babylon, and they themselves were gradually absorbed in the Semitic-speaking population of the Tigris-Euphrates valley.

Kassites

The successors of Hammurabi continued to reign over Babylonia for several centuries, but their kingdom was more and more disturbed by invading peoples, especially by the Kassites, who came from the eastern mountains. By the middle of the eighteenth century B.C. these highlanders had established a supremacy in Babylonia, where they ruled for nearly six hundred years. Their triumph seems to have been due chiefly to the military use of the horse, the "ass of the mountains" as the Babylonians called it, and from now on cavalry and the chariot play an increasingly important part in warfare. Though rude and barbarous, the Kassites gradually took over the main features of Babylonian culture: here, as elsewhere, the conquered, because the more civilized, absorbs his conqueror. After the Kassite supremacy ended, Babylonia again had native rulers, but eventually the country became subject to Assyria.

Assyria and the Assyrians

The upper valley of the two rivers, in contrast to Babylonia, presents a rugged aspect, especially on the eastern side between the Tigris River and the Zagros Mountains. This highland territory to the east of the Tigris formed the ancient Assyria. It enjoyed a fairly cool climate and contained many fertile, well-watered valleys. Herding and farming were the chief occupations of its hardy inhabitants. The Assyrians took over the writing system of the Babylonians, and with it went much of Babylonian law, religion, and art. Culturally speaking, Assyria might be described with little exaggeration as an annex to Babylonia.

The capital city was at first Assur (hence the name Assyria), then Kalah, then Dur-Sharrukin, and lastly the larger and more splendid Nineveh.

We hear of Assyria even before the time of Hammurabi, but its history for more than a thousand years is veiled in much obscurity. At first a small state, struggling desperately for existence against its neighbors on both north and south, it became in time a great conquering state, organized for war and the profits of war. The rulers of Assyria, instead of depending on a militia levied for a single expedition, created a standing army of pikemen and archers, well equipped with iron weapons, and reinforced with war chariots and heavily armed cavalry. They are said to have invented both the battering ram and the siege tower; at any rate, both were used against fortified cities. Their military machine surpassed anything known before in the ancient Near East.

The most sweeping conquests by the Assyrians took place under four kings, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal, whose reigns cover almost exactly a century (722–626 B.C.). Their inscriptions set forth their deeds — the towns and cities without number given to the flames, the devastation of fertile lands, and the massacre, deportation, or enslavement of entire peoples. The gist of it all is summed up by Assurbanipal, conqueror of Elam. "In a month of days I subdued Elam in its whole extent. The voice of man, the steps of flocks and herds, the happy shouts of mirth — I put an end to them in the fields, which I left for the asses, the gazelles, and all manner of wild beasts to people." The Assyrians created an empire which included Babylonia, Elam, Syria, Palestine, and even Egypt, an empire stretching from the neighborhood of the Black and Caspian Seas to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Nile. Force and frightfulness built it up, but could not hold it together. When Assyria declined in strength, doubtless by reason of the continuous drain upon her man power, the subject countries rose in revolt, and in 612 B.C., only a few years after Assurbanipal's death, she collapsed before the joint attack of her enemies. The hatred of Assyria, inspired by centuries of her cruelty and rapine, found expression in the utter destruction of the capital city, and with that catastrophe was written the last chapter of Assyrian history.

Nineveh lay on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite the modern Mosul. Excavations on the site afford some indication of the magnificence of the capital on which the Assyrian monarchs lavished the wealth gained in their victorious wars. Immense walls, pierced by fifteen gates, protected it, and within their circuit were the houses and

shops of the inhabitants, tower-temples, palaces, parks, and other open spaces. The existing remains consist of two enormous mounds, one of which, Kuyunjik, was first excavated between 1846 and 1854 by Sir Austen Layard and his assistant, Hormuzd Rassam. Here, in the ruins of the palaces of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, were found hundreds of bas-reliefs illustrating the campaigns and hunting exploits of these rulers, and huge images of bulls and lions, with wings and human heads, which represented guardian spirits and stood at the entrances to the halls. Still more important was the discovery of the royal library of Nineveh, several rooms filled with thousands of clay tablets, these being partly official archives and partly copies of ancient Babylonian writings. Only a few years before the remarkable finds at Kuyunjik a Frenchman, Emile Botta, had unearthed at the Turkish village of Khorsabad the remains of the royal city of Dur-Sharrukin, with its great palace of Sargon II, and Layard had found and excavated at Nimrud the site of Kalah. The discoveries in Assyria aroused the interest of the learned world and initiated the archaeological resurrection of the ancient Near East.

Chaldaeans

After the downfall of the Assyrian Empire Babylonia obtained the western half of its possessions, including the Euphrates valley and the Syrian coast. Babylonia at this time had come under the sway of the Chaldaeans, still another Semitic-speaking people who managed to establish themselves in that land of many peoples. The Chaldaean ruler, Nebuchadnezzar (604–561 B.C.), extended his realm to the borders of Egypt and took the Phoenician city of Tyre after a siege of thirteen years, a siege so bitter that, according to a Biblical writer, "every head was made bald and every shoulder was peeled." To punish the Hebrews for repeated revolts he carried away their king, nobles, and richer citizens into exile. But in 539 B.C. Babylon itself fell to the Persians and the short-lived Chaldaean power came to an end.

Old Babylon, the capital of Hammurabi and his successors, was destroyed with the utmost thoroughness by the Assyrians under Sennacherib, who even turned the waters of the Euphrates over the site. The later city, as rebuilt and enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar, we know from that monarch's inscriptions, from the accounts of classical writers, and from modern excavations, particularly those of the German Orient Society. Babylon lay on both banks of the Euphrates, which were lined with quays and connected by a bridge. The ruined piers of this bridge, the oldest known to us, still stand in the now dry bed of the

river. Through the city from north to south ran the Procession Street, or Sacred Way, with a limestone pavement laid down by Nebuchadnezzar and exposed by the excavations. It was crossed by a massive double portal adorned with figures of dragons and bulls in brilliantly colored glazed tiles. This Gate of Ishtar, so called because it was dedicated to the goddess, is the most imposing relic now remaining of Babylon's former splendor. All the other monuments are heaps of tumbled brickwork, but it is possible to identify among the ruins the site of the vast temple of Marduk, with a lofty, eight-staged ziggurat, probably the Tower of Babel of Hebrew story, and Nebuchadnezzar's royal residence. Identification of the famous Hanging Gardens (roof gardens), which the Greeks considered one of the Seven Wonders of the world, is uncertain. Babylon continued to be an important city during the period of Persian rule, and Alexander the Great, the conqueror of Persia, who died there prematurely in 323 B.C., intended to make it the capital of his empire. But other cities arose to dispute its supremacy, and only half a century after Alexander's death the inhabitants were removed to Seleucia on the Tigris. Such was the end of Babylon, "the glory of the kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency."

Cuneiform Writing

The monuments disinterred from the shapeless mounds which once were Nineveh, Babylon, and other famous centers illustrate many features of the ancient civilization in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, but our intimate knowledge of it is due to our ability to read the cuneiform writing. The characters were impressed on a clay tablet or cylinder with an instrument, usually a reed stylus, which left a wedge-shaped mark. The tablet was then baked hard in a kiln, to form an almost indestructible brick "book." As a protection against defacement or forgery, it might be placed in a shallow clay case, or envelope. Most tablets were of small size, because large ones often cracked in the process of baking. When a long text had to be compressed into a limited space, the cuneiform signs became very minute, so that a magnifying lens was necessary to read them properly. Such a lens was actually discovered in the ruins of Nineveh. The Sumerians invented (there is no evidence that they borrowed) this script, and from them it passed to the Babylonians and Assyrians.

Cuneiform writing began as pictography, and the earliest known characters resembled the original pictures as closely as these could be reproduced on soft, wet clay. By degrees the characters became simplified and conventionalized, as with the Chinese script; finally, they

appear as wedges, written at first in vertical columns and later in horizontal lines read from left to right. Some of the Sumerian signs stood for the sounds of the separate syllables in a word, and when the Babylonians and Assyrians took over cuneiform writing and adapted it for the expression of their Semitic language, all the signs acquired a phonetic value and represented syllables or words of one syllable. Three hundred signs made up the syllabary in common use. The script spread to Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Armenia, and Persia. Its wide diffusion was remarkable, considering that it never reached the final stage in the development of writing — the creation of an alphabet. It continued to be used in Babylonia almost to the beginning of the Christian era.

The key to cuneiform writing was found in a long historical record which the Persian king, Darius the Great, caused to be carved high up on the limestone face of the Behistun Rock in the mountains of ancient Media. There are three cuneiform inscriptions; the first is in Old Persian, and the other two are translations of the Persian text into Elamite (the language of Elam) and Babylonian. This remarkable document, chiseled in enduring stone, gives the titles of Darius, the extent of his empire, the circumstances of his accession to the throne, and the revolts against his rule. It was first made known by an English soldier and scholar, Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, who at the risk of his life scaled the almost perpendicular cliff, copied the inscriptions and also, for greater accuracy, took a paper cast, or "squeeze," of them. Since the Persian text had already been partly deciphered by the German, G. F. Grotefend, and other scholars, it could be used as a means of deciphering, first the proper names in the Babylonian columns, and finally the entire Babylonian version. Rawlinson did so with remarkable accuracy, and his translation of the Behistun record, published in 1851, laid the foundation for all subsequent cuneiform studies.

Political Organization

Cuneiform documents whose age can be determined with reasonable accuracy begin to appear at least as early as 3000 B.C., and this date, "when the past broke its silence," may be taken as marking the dawn of written history in the lower valley of the Tigris-Euphrates. By 3000 B.C. the transition from tribe to state had been already accomplished. Sumer and Akkad then included many little, independent communities, most accurately described as city-states. Their annals, for hundreds and hundreds of years, are mainly a record of their wars, the outcome being the more or less permanent supremacy of one city-state

over its neighbors. Babylon finally gained a lasting pre-eminence under Hammurabi, and Sumer and Akkad were merged into Babylonia. A similar development took place in Assyria, where Assur early became the dominant power. The final stage in political evolution was marked by the formation of empires, bringing many alien peoples under one government. Sargon of Agade, by his sweeping conquests, created the first historic empire. He was followed by the Assyrian monarchs and still later by Nebuchadnezzar. These rulers sometimes fought to secure their trade routes and to repel barbarian invaders, but mostly they fought to secure more territory, slaves, and booty. Mankind by this time had passed from the petty robbery, murder, and border feuds characteristic of primitive society to organized warfare, in which state was ranged against state. Peace seems to have formed the rare exception in Babylonia and Assyria throughout their entire history.

No doubt one outcome of the constant fighting was a certain measure of unity and the breakdown of petty localisms and provincialisms; another outcome was the concentration of wealth in the capital cities, which became so famous for art and luxurious living. But the historian may well wonder what might have been the result of a peaceful unification of the Near East, with a friendly rivalry in cultural growth between the different cities and kingdoms, instead of the pillage, impoverishment, and destruction which followed in the wake of their interminable wars.

The transition from chiefship to kingship had also been accomplished in the Tigris-Euphrates valley by 3000 B.C. Every city-state was ruled by a king, the agent or vicar (*patesi*) of the patron god and the interpreter of the god's will to men. This kind of government, which goes back to a remote age in Sumer and Akkad, continued to prevail ever afterward. Sargon of Agade tells how the goddess Ishtar loved him and chose him to rule her people while yet he was a humble gardener; Hammurabi declares that the gods of Babylon intrusted their scepter to his hands; Assyrian monarchs ascribe all their power to the deities who watched over and guided them. Government and religion being thus inseparable, it followed naturally that the king, the favorite of the gods, was a despot. Sometimes he was a benevolent despot, "a real father to his people," as Hammurabi describes himself; sometimes he had a quite different character. Selfish or sluggish rulers were accepted as part of the order of nature, equally with those who entertained higher ideals of their office. Some special act of tyranny or long-continued oppression might occasionally lead to the deposition of a sovereign or even of a dynasty, but nothing like a revolution with the avowed purpose of giving the people a share in the government ever

occurred. No one, indeed, could imagine any political system other than that which had come down from immemorial antiquity.

Domestic Relations

Hammurabi's code contains many sections dealing with marriage, divorce, the adoption and care of children, and domestic relations generally. The paternal form of the family prevailed, and descent was always traced through the father. The code assumes that a man will have but one wife; however, if a " sickness has seized " her, he may take another, but the first one must still be supported. The husband is permitted to have slave concubines. Marriages are arranged by negotiations between the fathers of the bride and groom, without, apparently, any special consideration being given to the wishes of either party. There does not seem to have been a religious service. In order to be legally binding, every marriage has to be accompanied by a contract drawn up in due form and properly witnessed. The bridegroom pays a certain sum (a survival of the primitive marriage by purchase) to both the bride and her father; on the other hand, she brings with her a dowry, usually in the form of house furniture. The dowry remains her own property, to be inherited by her children, or, in case of divorce, to be returned to the wife or to her family. Men may repudiate their wives at will, but must provide for them if their conduct has been blameless. A wife also may claim a divorce (or a separation) " if she has been economical and has no vice, and her husband has gone out and greatly belittled her." Adultery was a statutory offense, punishable with death unless the king pardoned the man and the husband pardoned the wife. If not caught *in flagrante delicto*, the wife might prove her innocence on oath; if she were simply accused by common rumor she had recourse to an ordeal.

It is a remarkable fact that Hammurabi's code and later Babylonian regulations gave to married women more rights than they have enjoyed in many civilized countries almost until our own time. Wives were allowed to engage in business, to appear as witnesses, and, in certain cases, to hold and dispose of property. They were still subordinate to their fathers and husbands, but the old patriarchal authority was on the wane. The same seems to have been true of the father's power over his children, for he could not disown them at his discretion. The judges had first to inquire into the matter and give their approval of the action proposed. The adoption of children, because of the desire to carry on the family name and traditions, was very common, and many contracts of that sort have come down to us.

Social Organization; Slavery

Already in Hammurabi's day Babylonian society exhibits a well-marked stratification. There was an upper class of priests and nobles, who, with the king, absorbed most of the wealth, enjoyed the most privileges, had most of the leisure, and led the most comfortable lives. This aristocracy also included rich merchants, bankers, and royal officials. The lower class was made up of shopkeepers, wage-earners, artisans, tenant farmers, and a few professional men, such as physicians and scribes. Though free, they exerted no political influence and seldom rose in the world to the class above them. Last of all, occupying the broad base of the social pyramid, were the slaves. Much the same arrangement of society from top to bottom prevailed in Assyria.

The institution of slavery was found in the Tigris-Euphrates valley from the earliest times. It grew with the growth of militancy. The Babylonians and Assyrians undertook expeditions for the express purpose of gathering slaves — "as the sand," says a Hebrew writer. War captives, their descendants, and bondmen purchased abroad comprised most of the slaves; indeed, the old Sumerian ideograph for slave means "male of foreign land." Hammurabi's code recognized the right of a man in debt to bind his wife and children out to service or sell them as slaves, though not for a longer period than three years. In Assyria, where the slaves of a wealthy master were often better off than poor freemen, the latter not uncommonly sold themselves or their children into slavery. As to the numerical proportion between slaves and freemen we are quite ignorant, but we know that unskilled slaves became so numerous that their price occasionally fell below that of sheep. Bought and sold like cattle, they were branded like cattle to distinguish them, and if they ran away and were apprehended, they often wore fetters. Hammurabi's code imposed the death penalty upon anyone who aided or concealed fugitives from bondage. The condition of domestic slaves was probably not one of excessive hardship, for they were allowed to marry and bring up families, to carry on trades and businesses, and to accumulate a fund out of which they might buy back their liberty. But the lot of the war captives must have been far less tolerable.

Economic Organization

The fertile Babylonian plain supported a dense population and also supplied food for neighboring peoples: it was a granary of the Near East. Today, after centuries of neglect and the destruction of the dikes

and canals, it is being once more redeemed from the desert by the construction of new irrigation works, replacing those upon which the rulers of Babylonia prided themselves. Hammurabi dug out a canal and named it after himself. "Both the banks thereof I changed to fields for cultivation, and I garnered piles of grain, and I procured unfailing water for Sumer and Akkad." Wheat, barley, and dates formed the principal products. For farm work oxen were used. Some evidence exists of a gradual improvement in the methods of cultivation, and a seal impression, which dates from the Kassite period, shows an appliance for plowing the land and sowing the seed in one operation — the earliest known device of the sort. The importance of agriculture in the Babylonian economy is indicated by the fact that in very ancient calendars the names of several months are taken from the farmers' operations, such as the "month of the opening of the irrigation pipes," the "plowing month," the "month of the wheat harvest," and the like.

The agricultural land was privately owned; if ever a stage of collective ownership existed, that stage had long since been passed. The proprietors were the king and the members of the upper class, so that the possession of land formed a social distinction, as in modern England. Even the royal officials received grants of land in lieu of services. A boundary stone recording the gift or sale of landed property was often set up as a permanent memorial of the transaction. The removal or injury of such a stone was considered a very great wrong, and the kings pronounced solemn curses against those who thus set at naught the rights of property in real estate. Most farmers, the actual tillers of the soil, were tenants, who paid to their landlord what seems an exorbitant rent of one-third or one-half of the crop.

Carpenters, masons, weavers, and metal-workers are referred to in documents of Hammurabi's time, and later records add to this list such craftsmen as spinners, potters, dyers, jewelers, and wood-carvers. Some were slaves, systematically hired out by their master, who kept the proceeds of their labor; others were freemen working for wages. What they received could have afforded no more than a bare subsistence, to judge from Hammurabi's code, which fixes minimum wages for every kind of laborer in his kingdom. Women, as well as men, worked; and we have an early record which refers to one hundred and ninety-one women engaged in the "weaving house" on the supplies of wool belonging to a temple. By the seventh century B.C., and doubtless long before that time, artisans usually congregated in a special street or quarter of the city; probably they formed guilds for mutual economic and social benefits, as did artisans in ancient China and India. There is evidence of an apprenticeship system. One of Hammurabi's laws pro-

vides that if an artisan adopts a son and then does not teach him a handicraft, "that son may return to his father's house."

The industrial products included tapestries, carpets, and rugs, which enjoyed a high reputation for beauty of design and coloring. The manufacture of tiles and glazed pottery was carried on extensively. Brick-making likewise formed an important industry, and one month in early summer came to be known as the "month of bricks," because then the clay was soft and the sun just hot enough to make good adobe.

The development of the crafts made it profitable for merchants to collect manufactured goods where these could be readily bought and sold. There were thriving markets, or bazaars, in every Babylonian city. Partnerships between tradesmen seem to have been common. A document belonging to the age of Hammurabi tells how two partners went to the temple of the sun god in Babylon and rendered an account. "The currency, male and female slaves, everything outstanding without and within the city, they divided equally." The "currency" here referred to was probably copper or silver, made into rings or bars of convenient size and stamped with the weight and fineness of the metal. The Assyrians also used lead and occasionally gold as money. The use of clay letters of credit to some extent provided a substitute for coinage.

A banking system existed from very early times. The temples, which drew large revenues from their lands, priests' fees, and the donations of the pious, loaned out their own money, or money deposited with them, at the customary rates of interest (often as high as twenty per cent). One great firm in Babylon carried on operations for several centuries, lending money to the government as well as to private individuals, and became the Rothschilds or Morgans of the ancient Near East. The legal documents in general use included promissory notes, leases, deeds of sale, and mortgages; these were deposited in the temples, which thus served as record offices as well as banks.

Commercial relations seem to have been widely extended. Donkey caravans took the wool, woolen cloth, grain, leather, and metal wares of Babylonia to Syria, Egypt, and other Near Eastern lands. There was also some commerce with India, chiefly by the water route down the Persian Gulf and along the southern coast of Iran. The land routes which ran southeast into India and east into China were also used, but only to a limited extent, for they traversed long stretches of desert and mountain country and, like the overland trails of the American West, must often have been lined with the skeletons of men and animals who perished on the way. As a commercial center Babylonia was always much more important than Assyria, although the latter state, under

its conquering kings, also became for a time the seat of an extensive foreign trade.

Code of Hammurabi

A recent discovery has provided us with the laws which Hammurabi ordered to be engraved on stone pillars and set up in the chief cities of his realm. In 1901–1902 the French archaeologist, Jacques de Morgan, while excavating on the site of Susa, the capital of ancient Elam, found one of these pillars, probably carried away as a trophy by some Elamite invader. The code, in nearly three hundred titles, formed essentially a reissue of old Sumerian laws, no doubt with considerable revision and enlargement. In general, it displays a keen sense of justice. A man who tries to bribe a witness or a judge is to be severely punished. One who makes use of trust funds for his own purposes must restore the full amount plus one-fifth of the value as a fine. A farmer who is careless with his dikes and allows the water to flood his neighbor's land must pay for the grain thus spoiled. The owner of a vicious ox which has gored a man is heavily fined, provided he knew the disposition of the animal and had not tied it up or blunted its horns. A builder who erects a shaky house that collapses and kills the tenant is himself put to death. The code does not lack rude features, especially the primitive law of retaliation in the punishment for injuries. A son who strikes his father is to have his fingers cut off; one who destroys the eye of another loses an eye himself; "if one break a man's bone, they shall break his bone." In some cases there are two scales of punishment, one for "gentlemen" and one for humble folk, so that an injury to a poor man is not dealt with by retaliation but may be offset by a money payment. Similarly, an injury to a slave may be redressed by paying damages to his master. Social distinctions thus find clear expression in the code. The death penalty by burning, drowning, or impalement was inflicted for as many as fifty offenses, such as theft from a temple or a palace, brigandage, kidnaping, harboring or aiding fugitive slaves, and casting a spell on a person. Quite possibly the judges often fixed lighter penalties than those presented by the laws; it is hard to believe, for instance, that the tenant of a tavern who sold drinks above the legal price was always or even usually put to death. Indicative of the advanced character of the code in other respects is the little reliance placed on oaths and ordeals, as well as the distinction drawn between intentional and nonintentional injuries and between those arising from negligence and those due to accident. This code, the earliest in the history of mankind, presents a vivid picture of highly organized society in Babylonia four thousand years ago.

Religion and Magic

The ancient inhabitants of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, though advanced in practical affairs, always remained rather primitive in religious conceptions. Their deities appear as essentially magnified human beings, subject to all mortal passions and appetites but possessed of more than mortal power. Like men they lived and loved, and sometimes, like men, they died. They had created mankind solely in order to have servants to take care of them, and the divine favor depended upon that care being fully and freely bestowed. The deities seem to have been mainly personifications of the forces and aspects of nature. The vault of heaven, earth and ocean, sun, moon, and stars, air and fire were all made gods and each one was provided with a consort.

In Sumerian times every city or district had its own divinity — at Erech a sky god, at Nippur an earth god, and at Eridu a water god. When Babylon rose to greatness, Marduk, hitherto the insignificant god of that city, rose with it, took over many attributes of the older deities, and became the head of the pantheon. In the same way Assur, divine lord of the city named after him, became the chief divinity of the Assyrians, a divinity as cruel and ruthless as his worshipers. Other important deities in both Babylonia and Assyria were the moon god Nannar (Sin), particularly associated with Ur, and the sun god Shamash, whose local seat was Sippar. Tammuz was a vegetation deity, one who annually died and rose again from the dead, even as the plant life dies at the end of summer to revive in the spring. When he died the whole land was plunged into mourning, but his resurrection was celebrated in festive rites marked by sexual license. Ishtar, the consort of Tammuz, symbolized the reproductive energies of nature, and as the goddess of love and beauty she probably had some connection with the Greek Aphrodite and the Roman Venus. In both Babylonia and Assyria the temples were very rich, the priesthoods very powerful, and the ritual — the sacrifices, prayers, and festivals — of great elaboration.

The underworld of the dead the Babylonians called Aralu. A vivid description of this abode is given in a poem which tells how Ishtar, seeking her lost lover, Tammuz, went down into "the house of darkness whence they that enter go out no more; the house whose inhabitants are deprived of light; where dust is their sustenance, their food clay; light they see not, they sit in darkness." Aralu was thus a "Land of No Return," in which both saint and sinner passed a cheerless existence after death. To this fate the Babylonians apparently resigned themselves. Of a final judgment, of a hell for the wicked and a heaven for the good, there is no suggestion in the literature that has survived.

Evil spirits held a prominent place in the popular religion. They were given such names as "pestilence," "storm," the "destroyer," the "seizer," and they were often represented under the terrifying shapes of dragons and serpents. The gods created them: "Bitter poison of the gods are they." Insanity, sickness, disease, and all the other ills that afflict mankind found a ready explanation in their activity. The "devils" differed in power and malignancy, and no one Devil of exceeding might and wickedness presided over the infernal crew, as in Persian and later Hebrew thought. They punished sinners only, so that if a man fell into the power of one of them he knew that he had done wrong and that for relief he must go to the priests, whose incantations could avert their onset or expel them from the body of their victim. The belief in demons and the practice of demon riddance are universal among primitive peoples; the Babylonians and Assyrians perpetuated the belief and the practice.

Omens, prodigies, and portents received much attention, for any trivial occurrence or accident might be construed as a revelation of the divine will. The priests interpreted dreams; they cast lots; they inspected the entrails of sacrificed animals, particularly a sheep's liver, for indications of prosperity or misfortune. The choice of the liver seems to have been due to the fact that this organ contains a great deal of blood and hence came to be regarded as the seat of life and of the soul. It was examined with the utmost care for fissures, markings, and protuberances, all supposed to have mystic significance. Clay models of livers, with lines and holes to help in interpreting the signs, were studied in the temple schools, and some have been preserved. Liver divination is traceable as far back as the age of Sargon of Agade. It spread in time to Europe, where both Greeks and Romans made much use of it.

Babylonia, in whose cloudless skies the stars shine with surpassing brilliancy, also became the motherland of astrology, that great delusion which is with us yet. The stars and all celestial phenomena, including comets and eclipses, were believed to exert a potent influence on human destiny through the gods who controlled them. As practiced by the Babylonians, astrology had to do almost exclusively with the welfare of the state and its rulers, and the kings maintained observatories for reading the heavens. A whole group of pseudosciences and pseudoarts thus developed: they were follies, but it is not foolish to study them. The aberrations of the human intellect, no less than its positive achievements, concern the philosophic historian.

Many peoples have attached to certain numbers a mystical significance, and no people more than the Babylonians. With them it was

the number seven, so that in their writings we find frequent reference to the seven names of the goddess Ishtar, the seven gates of the underworld, the seven evil spirits, and the like. A Babylonian calendar that has come down to us also sets apart every seventh day of the month as an "evil," or unlucky, day, when the king shall not hold court, the priest shall not consult the gods, and the physician shall not lay hands on a patient. This has sometimes been understood as a kind of Babylonian Sabbath and as the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath, which likewise fell on the seventh day. But no certain evidence exists that the former, unlike the latter, was ever observed by the people at large as a period of rest and abstention from worldly activities. Nevertheless, some connection between the two must be assumed, for the Hebrews, as well as the Babylonians, had a cult of seven.

Literature

Religion inspired most of the literature produced in Babylonia and Assyria, unless one reckons as literature the crude historical annals and the boastful inscriptions reciting the triumphs of the kings. Many hymns and litanies addressed by the priests to their gods have been preserved. We also have several mythological poems of considerable length. One of these, the so-called *Creation Epic*, was found on seven tablets among the cuneiform documents disinterred from Assurbanipal's library at Nineveh. The tablets are Assyrian copies of Babylonian originals going back as far as the twentieth century B.C. The poem tells how the god Marduk slew the she-dragon Tiamat, a symbol of watery chaos, together with the host of monsters that formed her cohorts, and thus established order in the universe. Having split the body of the dead dragon into halves, "like a flat fish," he made of one half a covering (firmament) for the heaven and above the heaven he set the stars as stations of the gods. He then placed the moon in the sky to rule the night and divide the month with her phases. His last work was the making of man, so that the service and worship of the gods might be established forever. The tablets do not explain what was done with the other half of the dragon's body, but according to a much later version Marduk economically used it to make the earth. The account of creation in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, as well as passages elsewhere in the Old Testament, indicates that the Hebrews were familiar with this Babylonian myth.

Another very ancient epic deals with the adventures and exploits of the hero Gilgamesh, a sort of Babylonian Samson or Hercules. Like the *Creation Epic* it was recovered, though not in its entirety, from

Assurbanipal's library. The poem contains an account of a great flood sent by the gods to punish sinful men. While now inserted in the Gilgamesh story, there is no doubt that the episode once formed an independent myth, going back to Sumerian times and preserving the memory of some specially disastrous inundation in the lower valley of the Tigris-Euphrates. We are told that the rain fell for six days and nights "until the waters covered the mountains" and that "all mankind was turned to clay" — all except Utnapishtim, the divine favorite, who, with his family, some craftsmen, cattle, and beasts of the field, rode out the tempest in a ship. The rain ceased on the seventh day; the flood began to subside; and at length the ship grounded on a mountain. On the seventh day thereafter Utnapishtim sent forth a dove, which found no resting place and returned; a swallow did the same, but finally a raven flew away and came not back. Then Utnapishtim knew that the waters had abated and, disembarking, he sacrificed to the gods on the summit of the mountain. "The gods smelt the sweet savor; the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer." The narrative of the flood in Genesis has a monotheistic character, but otherwise agrees closely with the Babylonian story and must have been derived from it. How and when the Hebrews learned it we do not know.

Architecture and Sculpture

The distinctive structures in a Babylonian or Assyrian city were always the residences of its divine and earthly rulers — the temples and the palaces. In Babylonia sun-dried brick formed the ordinary building material; burnt brick, because of the scarcity and consequent costliness of fuel, was used only as a veneer. Stone, which had to be imported, was used chiefly for pavements and facings; even in Assyria, where limestone and alabaster could be easily procured, these were merely accessory materials. Bitumen, a mineral pitch found in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, generally served to bind the courses of brick together. A description of the methods of construction is found in the Bible. "Come, let us make brick and burn them thoroughly," said the builders of the Tower of Babel. And the writer adds: "And they had brick for stone and slime had they for mortar." Columns and colonnades were never erected, but the round arch, being easier to build in brick than in stone, was often employed as a device for roofing doors and tunnels.

The temples of the Sumerians and of their Babylonian successors were huge square masses of brick surrounded by equally massive walls. The monotonous aspect of these buildings was somewhat relieved by

gateways and turrets. Colored glazed tiles and painted stucco were lavishly used to decorate both exterior and interior walls. Attached to the temples were staged towers — antecedents of the "setback" skyscrapers of contemporary America. The ziggurat of Ur, the best-preserved structure of the sort, affords some idea of what they were like. The Assyrians gave less attention to temples, but erected enormous palaces. The palace of Sargon II at Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) covered twenty-three acres and included over two hundred halls, corridors, and apartments, all of one story. Raised on a high platform and surrounded by thick walls, it was a fortress and castle as well as a palace.

Adobe buildings have great solidity provided they are kept in repair, but when neglected and exposed to the elements they speedily disintegrate into shapeless mounds. Such mounds, often of vast size, are all that remains of the temples and the palaces. They look like natural hills, for vegetation covers them, and their sides are scarred by the rains of many centuries.

Few Babylonian or Assyrian statues have survived, and those we possess appear rigid and out of proportion. The bas-reliefs show a higher development of the artistic sense; even when the execution is crude it is vigorous and lifelike. A Sumerian king leads forth a phalanx of helmeted warriors who trample over the bodies of the enemy. An Akkadian ruler, followed by his soldiers with standards and spears, storms a mountain fortress in Elam. Hammurabi stands reverently before the seated sun god, who hands to him the great code of laws. In later times the Assyrians made extensive use of bas-reliefs for the interior walls of palaces. Side by side with pictures of massacre and torture — prisoners being flayed alive or having their eyes gouged out — are others of less tragic interest: men swimming a river by means of inflated skins; a camp with camels, mules, and horses; a royal hunt, the king on horseback or in his chariot; slaves dragging a colossal human-headed bull; a Phoenician ship with armed men on the upper deck and oarsmen below; two demons confronting each other angrily; Gilgamesh strangling a young lion; King Assurbanipal and his wife at a banquet in a shady garden. These sculptures tell their story in so graphic a way as to make up for the absence of written records.

Still more valuable for the information they convey are the engraved seals. Everyone who owned property carried a seal for the authentication of contracts, wills, letters, and other documents. The seals took the form of cylinders, which were rolled on the soft clay of a tablet, thus leaving an indelible impression. The scenes depicted on these small relics of the past illustrate almost every aspect of Babylonian and Assyrian society.

Scientific Knowledge

Conspicuous progress took place in the exact sciences. Standards of length, weight, and capacity had come into general use at least as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. The elements of arithmetic were known, and squares and cubes were correctly calculated from 1 to 60. A duodecimal system existed together with the decimal system, special importance being assigned to the number 60 as a combination of the two systems and the greatest multiple number. How duodecimal counting originated is uncertain, but its superiority to decimal counting for the calculation of most fractions is obvious. It survives in our division of the circle into degrees, minutes, and seconds (360°, 60′, 60″) and likewise in the hours of the full day, which the Babylonians divided into twelve double hours. We still have only twelve numerals on our watch dials. Elementary geometry was studied, at least far enough to make possible the surveying of fields. Elementary algebra, including the solution of quadratic equations, was also known. Cartography received much attention, to judge from numerous maps and plans of buildings, landed estates, canals, and cities. One map even represents the world — a round world with Babylon near its center and the ocean, the "bitter river," encircling it.

The Babylonians had the same awkward lunar calendar as the Chinese and Hindus. The month always remained a lunar month, or lunation (about twenty-nine and one-half days). It could be conveniently calendarized only by taking periods of twenty-nine and thirty days in alternation, thus giving a lunar year of twelve months and approximately three hundred and fifty-four days. In order to harmonize such a year with the course of the sun and the round of the seasons, an extra month had to be inserted from time to time. The Babylonians seem never to have been familiar with the seven-day week as a recognized calendrical unit, although, as we have learned, the seventh day bore for them an unlucky character.

The pseudoscience of astrology gave birth to astronomy. The priests, who night by night sought signs in the heavens, became careful observers; they kept records of their observations, and these gradually took a truly scientific form. The separation of the planets from the so-called fixed stars must have required centuries of close and accurate study of celestial phenomena. Jupiter and Venus were probably the first planets to be identified, the one because of his brilliant light, the other because of her two appearances when she precedes the rising, and follows the setting, sun. Then came the more difficult identification of Mercury, Mars, and Saturn, making five planets altogether. Because

of the significance ascribed to the number seven, these were connected with the sun and moon to form a group of seven planetary luminaries. The astrologers and astronomers — they cannot be distinguished — traced the apparent path of the sun across the sky, in this way forming the zodiac with its twelve constellations to correspond with the twelve months, and all named from some mythical deity or animal. At least seven of the zodiacal signs found in our almanacs — lion, ram, scorpion, crab, fishes, archer, and twins — are of Babylonian origin. The successful prediction of eclipses, both lunar and solar, and the calculation in advance of the relative positions of the sun, moon, and planets represent extraordinary achievements. All this work in the noblest of the sciences was taken over and carried much further by the Greeks.

Just as astronomy was never separated from astrology, so the healing art continued to be confused with the art of magic. A doctor needed to be something of a magician, familiar with incantations and other means of expelling the evil spirits which plagued an invalid. Yet the Babylonians did not rely altogether on hocus-pocus and mumbo-jumbo for the cure of disease; scientific medicine made some progress among them, as is evidenced by the medical texts that have been preserved. Ailments of every sort are dealt with in these texts, and many drugs, derived from plants and minerals, are prescribed by way of treatment. Some sort of surgery must have been practiced from time immemorial, for Hammurabi's code sets forth a surgeon's fees for certain operations, as well as the fines to which he was liable if he injured the patient unnecessarily. In fact, the surgeon worked at his own risk; if with a copper lancet he operated for a severe wound or opened an abscess in the eye, and the patient died, "they shall cut off his fingers." The Assyrian kings kept court physicians and surgeons, some of whose letters, throwing not a little light on their professional skill, have come down to us.

The schools, in both Babylonia and Assyria, were attached to the temples and were conducted by the priests. Writing formed the chief subject of instruction; it took years of patient study to master the cumbrous cuneiform symbols. So few did so that even kings boasted of their ability to write. Reading, likewise, was not easily learned, and dictionaries and grammars were prepared to aid the beginner. The elementary curriculum included some practice in counting and measuring. Pupils intended for a priestly career went on to more advanced studies — the liturgies, the incantations, the arts of divination, the myths, and the legends. This educational system was confined to the children of parents able to pay the fees which the priests demanded. In a community where nearly everyone was illiterate the scribes natu-

rally held an important place, as they still do in Near Eastern lands. Women, as well as men, entered this honorable profession, which enjoyed the special protection of Nabu, the god of writing and wisdom, the "carrier of the stylus of fate." The temples also served as libraries. Every city seems to have had at least one library; at Lagash a collection of thirty-two thousand books was found, all carefully catalogued and arranged on shelves. Since legal documents of every sort were deposited for safekeeping in the temple libraries, these were probably open to the public.

Morals

That the Babylonians and Assyrians entertained relatively advanced conceptions of right and wrong is evident from their literature. We have penitential psalms breathing the desire of the repentant sinner for reconciliation with his god. We have texts enumerating the sins, such as falsehood, theft, fraud, and adultery, which arouse the anger and call down the vengeance of a deity or a demon. We have hymns, particularly those to Shamash, who, as the all-seeing sun, is addressed as the source of right and justice in the world. Finally, we have the laws and the legal decisions, all so noteworthy for the sense of equity which pervades them. The moral code cannot be described as purely secular in character, for the sanctions supporting it were both human and divine. On the other hand, it found no support in any hope of reward or any fear of punishment in a future life; nothing that a man did in the earthly life affected his lot when he had gone down to the gloomy underworld. Whatever were the drawbacks of this code, it met the needs of a highly organized and orderly society for more than thirty centuries.

The Legacy of Babylonia and Assyria

Cultural streams, whose source lay in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, penetrated into all the adjoining lands and even entered Europe. Cuneiform writing, which spread so far in the Near East; Babylonian laws, business usages, and weights and measures, which came to be so widely adopted; Babylonian and Assyrian art, which profoundly affected that of Persia and Asia Minor; the mythological literature, of which traces are found in Old Testament narratives; the astrology and the astronomy, both taken over by the Greeks; the demonology and magic, surviving in many popular superstitions of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages — all these go back, in part, to the peoples who lived in the Land of the Two Rivers and who made it one of the most prosperous and civilized regions of the ancient world.

IX

Egypt

The Valley of the Nile

THE Nile is the longest of the great African rivers. Flowing due north from the outlet at Lake Victoria, it enters and leaves Lake Albert, whose waters swell its volume, and at the modern town of Khartum is joined by the Blue Nile from Abyssinia (Ethiopia). The course of the river is broken from this point by a series of six rapids, misnamed cataracts, which at high water are navigable for small boats. The cataracts cease at Aswan (ancient Syene), and the Nile flows for more than five hundred miles through the valley of Upper Egypt, an almost level valley in a limestone plateau. Upper Egypt, though long, is narrow; south of Luxor (ancient Thebes) it rarely exceeds two miles across, and between Luxor and Cairo the cultivable area averages only ten miles in width. Lower Egypt, or the Delta, a fan-shaped plain spreading out from Cairo as a center, extends about one hundred miles from south to north, with a sea front of about one hundred and fifty miles. In the Delta the Nile separates into two channels, the Rosetta and the Damietta, which make their sluggish way to the Mediterranean.

Egypt is almost rainless except along the Mediterranean coast, so that cultivation would be impossible without the supply of water furnished by the Nile and its annual inundation. Every June, when the heavy rains start in the Abyssinian highlands, the river begins to rise; by late July it swells to a mighty tide; and by the end of September it has reached high-water mark, which at Aswan averages twenty-six feet and at Cairo twenty-three feet. Too slight a rise means a "bad Nile," with not enough water for the crops; too great a rise may produce a flood, or, rather, used to do so before the construction of the Aswan Dam. From the remotest times the maximum level has been recorded annually by Nilometers, as the chief event of the year. When the inundation is at its height, Egypt presents the appearance of a lake of turbid water, dotted here and there with islandlike villages and crossed in every

direction by dikes which serve as highways. Late in October the river begins to subside and by December or January has returned to the normal level. As the water recedes, it deposits a dressing of the finest black mud, free from all coarse gravel. This alluvium is estimated to increase at the rate of about four inches a century; it now reaches a depth of from fifty-five to seventy feet, indicating that the deposition has been regular for at least fifteen thousand years.

The ancient Egyptians recognized their debt to the great river, whose bounty seemed the more marvelous because its source and the real cause of its inundation were unknown. For them the Nile was a beneficent deity, often represented with a woman's breasts as a sign of fertility. And in an ancient hymn the gods, no less than mankind, are imagined as dependent on the Nile, "who cometh to give life to Egypt."

Men could live and men could thrive in Egypt. The soil produced after irrigation three crops of grain, flax, and vegetables a year. The most useful date palm grew in every part of the country; so also the vine, which in ancient times was largely cultivated. Abundant clay and easily quarried limestone and sandstone from the hills which border the Nile provided building materials. The river, with its gentle current, formed a moving road for the conveyance of goods through the length of the land. The mild climate reduced to a minimum the requirements for shelter and clothing. The climate also fostered human energies; during half the year the weather is ideal for work, and even the extreme heat of summer is not enervating because of the dry air of the neighboring desert. Finally, the situation of Egypt gave to the country a remarkable degree of protection against marauding tribes. On the north was the sea, which men only slowly learned to cross. On the south the highway of the river was impeded by the rapids, some of them a hundred miles in length. And on either side lay the boundless waste of the Sahara.

If in Egypt, as in Babylonia, nature had done much for man, she had not done too much — there was need for man's co-operation with her. The Delta, left to itself, is an expanse of marsh, mud flat, and shifting sand. All this region, though naturally very productive, had first to be reclaimed with enormous labor and made fit for human habitation. Even Upper Egypt needed a network of canals, dikes, and reservoirs before it could become the "green floor" which it is now and has been for more than fifty centuries. The making and maintenance of an irrigation system taught men the value of teamwork, developed a sense of their common interests, and induced them to submit to some directive authority. Thus Egypt, like Babylonia, demanded of its in-

habitants an ordered life of effort, the only kind of life, it has been wisely said, capable of creating a high civilization.

The Ancient Egyptians

The Egyptians were Caucasoids. That is about all that can be said with certainty of their physical type, for before the dawn of recorded history many different peoples had met and mingled in Egypt. They spoke a Hamitic language as did their neighbors the Libyans, who occupied northern Africa from the Mediterranean to the Sahara, and the Nubians, whose home was the Nile valley southward from the First Cataract. In grammatical structure, however, the Egyptian language shows close affinities to the Semitic tongues of western Asia, a fact which can be most simply explained as due to an original relationship between Hamitic and Semitic. If there were foreign strains in the blood of the ancient Egyptians, these became thoroughly assimilated; the Egyptians, as we know them in antiquity, formed one people.

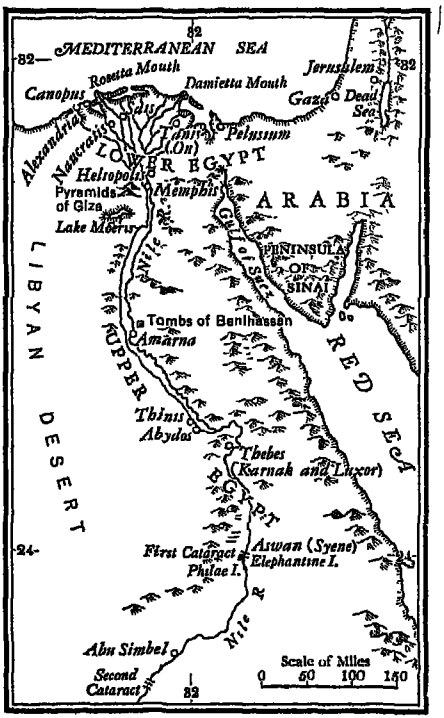
Diodorus, a Greek visitor to Egypt during the last century B.C., states that it was "formerly more populous than any other country in the world" and that it once counted 7,000,000 inhabitants. This figure does not appear exaggerated. Modern Egypt supports a population more than twice as great on a cultivable area of only 12,000 square miles.

Archaic Egypt

Human occupancy of Egypt goes back to a remote era, for discoveries of stone implements have been made along the course of the Nile and upon the crest of the cliffs lining its course. How far the men who hunted the abundant game in the jungles and swamps of the valley were contemporary with the Stone Age hunters of Europe we cannot tell; they must have lived the same hard, dangerous, wandering life. Nevertheless, they multiplied; in time they settled down, and their mud huts and reed booths rose upon the palm-crowned mounds which overtopped the highest inundation. Their cemeteries have been found in many places, and the objects buried with the dead, after the manner of primitive folk the world over, afford evidence of their slow but steady progress in culture. They chipped and polished flint most accurately; fashioned pottery, though not with the wheel; possessed such useful animals as cattle, sheep, and donkeys; and cultivated barley, millet, wheat, and flax, the last of which was raised for linen cloth. Although the Egyptians long continued to use stone implements, by or before 4000 B.C. they were smelting copper, at first chiefly for beads,

bracelets, and other ornaments but later for tools and weapons. The introduction of metal quickened the cultural pace, and at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. the Egyptians had mastered the most important practical arts on which man's higher civilization rests.

These earliest Nile dwellers, like the contemporary Sumerians, had learned to live in city-states, each one with its belt of tillage within reach of the river and its pasture land on higher ground. They formed the original political units, and even after Egypt came under one government they survived as administrative divisions called "nomes," normally forty-two in number. The city-states at length combined into two kingdoms, one in the upper valley and the other in the Delta, corresponding to the natural divisions of the country. The process of unification ended when a ruler of Upper Egypt, traditionally known as Mena (Menes), conquered Lower Egypt and assumed the double crown worn henceforth by all the Pharaohs — the tall white crown of the one kingdom and the red spiral-shaped crown of the other. The capital was established at Memphis, near the head of the Delta. When Mena thus founded the first of the many dynasties which held sway over Egypt until the sixth century B.C. is not precisely known; the date cannot have been later than 3000 B.C. and may have been several hundred years earlier. Written records made their appearance about this time, so that the unification of Egypt almost coincides with the dawn of recorded history in the Nile valley.



Ancient Egypt

Some scholars now believe that long before the rather mythical Mena there had been an earlier unification of the two kingdoms as the result of the conquest of Upper Egypt by a ruler of Lower Egypt whose name is still unknown. According to this view what Mena did was to reverse the former political supremacy of the North over the South. The

capital of this older united Egypt — if united it was — seems to have been Heliopolis (or Sun City), one of the most ancient and always the most sacred of Egyptian cities. No traces of it remain save some crumbling walls and a solitary obelisk marking the site of the great temple of the sun god.

Egypt under the Pharaohs

The oldest known annals of Egypt, and of any country, are found on a small slab of black diorite now preserved in the museum at Palermo, Sicily. The Palermo Stone seems to be only a fragment, broken off from a larger block on which had been transcribed the names of the early kings and the chief events of their reigns. Unfortunately, the record does not become at all detailed until the period of the Third Dynasty. By this time the kings had begun to build on the desert plateau above the Nile valley their "eternal homes," the pyramids. The most famous are the three pyramids of Giza near ancient Memphis and close to modern Cairo. The Pharaohs who raised them — Khufu (the Cheops of the Greeks), Khafra, and Menkaura — belonged to the Fourth Dynasty and reigned sometime after 3000 B.C. No other rulers have stamped their memory more indelibly on the pages of history. Antiquity counted the Giza pyramids among the Seven Wonders of the world, and they are the only surviving wonder of the seven. One marvels at the engineering skill which they display and at the craftsmanship of the masons working with only stone and copper tools, but most of all one marvels at the immense resources controlled, directed, and wasted by one man in the creation of monuments so useless and unprofitable. The pyramids of the Pharaohs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties stand at Abusir and Sakkara, south of Giza. The term Pyramid Age is commonly restricted to the period of these four dynasties, but pyramids continued to be built for a long time thereafter; more than seventy are known altogether.

The monarchy of the Pyramid Age declined in strength, and with its decline the nomes, which had once been city-states, regained a large measure of self-government. Beginning with the Seventh Dynasty, Egypt split up into a number of small and almost independent principalities with only a nominal allegiance to the Pharoah. Egypt thus affords the first example of a feudalized society such as afterward developed in ancient China and medieval Europe. Feudalism spelled disorder and civil warfare, which continued for hundreds of years. Peace, prosperity, and good government were restored under the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, who occupied the throne for over

two centuries (from about 2000 B.C.). They resided in Thebes, and that city of Upper Egypt now became and long remained the capital of the entire land. The rulers of this dynasty made military expeditions into Nubia, and ultimately all that region, as far south as the Fourth Cataract, formed a dependency of Egypt.

The energetic Theban Pharaohs had succeeded in compelling obedience on the part of their vassals, the governors of the nomes, but feudal conditions returned and another time of trouble and confusion intervened. In its divided state Egypt fell an easy prey to foreign invaders, probably of Semitic speech, who came from Palestine and Arabia. They entered by the peninsula of Sinai, which borders the Delta on the east; though barren and waterless, it is narrow and hence readily crossed by nomads familiar with the deserts. The invaders are generally called Hyksos. Their occupation of Egypt took place around 1800 B.C., just about the time that the Kassites overran Babylonia, and their success, like that of the Kassites, seems to have been chiefly due to the use of the horse and chariot in warfare. Tradition declares that the Hyksos ruled harshly, plundering the people and enslaving the inhabitants. In course of time, however, they took on at least a veneer of Egyptian culture, and their kings reigned like native Pharaohs. After a century or two a national uprising drove them out, at first from Upper Egypt and then from the Delta.

The final liberation of Egypt from alien rule was accomplished by a Theban prince, Ahmose, who founded the Eighteenth Dynasty, the greatest of the dynasties if conquest be the test of greatness. For now the Pharaohs, who had learned from the Hyksos the new methods of fighting, entered upon a series of foreign wars which won for them an Asiatic empire reaching from the peninsula of Sinai to the Euphrates River. Thutmose III (*c.* 1501–1447 B.C.), the "Napoleon of Egypt," waged no less than seventeen victorious campaigns in Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria. A full description of them, far more graphic and interesting than any Assyrian military record, is carved on the walls of a temple at Thebes. Under this Pharaoh and his immediate successors Egypt reached the height of material prosperity. The subject territories paid a heavy tribute of the precious metals and merchandise, while the forced labor of war captives enabled the Pharaohs to build temples and palaces in every part of their realm. Much light on the later years of this dynasty was shed by the discovery in 1887–1888 at Amarna (an Egyptian village) of several hundred clay tablets, all in cuneiform writing. Most of these are letters and dispatches addressed to the Pharaohs by the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, and other countries of western Asia.

The Nineteenth Dynasty also produced a succession of strong rulers. One of them, Ramses II (*c.* 1292–1225 B.C.), is the best-known of all the Pharaohs, less for his own merits than for his ability as a self-advertiser. Many were the temples which he built or restored, these always bearing his name and a tribute to his eminence, while his colossal statues were set up everywhere. In Egypt it is impossible to get away for long from Ramses II. The campaigns of this monarch were mainly against the Hittites, a conquering people who had pressed southward from their seat in Asia Minor and had stripped Egypt of its Asiatic provinces. Ramses II defeated them in a pitched battle at Kadesh in Syria; the prodigies of valor which the youthful Pharaoh performed there were fully set forth on the monuments and in a poem celebrating the victory. But the war continued long afterward, until the exhausted combatants agreed to a treaty (1280 B.C.?) by which the Egyptians recovered Phoenicia and Palestine and the Hittites kept Syria. The treaty provided for a defensive alliance between the two peoples and for the extradition of political fugitives from the one country to the other. This is the oldest international document now extant. It may be read today engraved on the walls of Theban temples, while parts of the original draft, in cuneiform on a clay tablet, have been found in the Hittite capital, Hattushash, in Asia Minor. The "good treaty of peace and of brotherhood" thus made remained unbroken throughout the reigns of the signatory monarchs.

The period of the later dynasties, from the twelfth century B.C. onward, witnessed the gradual decline of Egypt as a great power in the Near East. The Asiatic provinces fell away, never to be recovered; foreign invaders, Libyans from the northwest and Nubians from the south, established their own kings on the throne of the Pharaohs; in the seventh century B.C. the Assyrians swept down and for a time made Egypt a vassal, tribute-paying state; finally, in 525 B.C. the Persians conquered and annexed the country. That was the last of Egyptian independence, and the words of the old Hebrew prophecy, "There shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt," have been literally fulfilled until our own day.

The site of Memphis, the early capital of Egypt and once a large and splendid city, is marked by only a few heaps of rubbish scattered here and there among the palm trees. Its ruins served as a quarry for Cairo, which lies some twenty miles away, and what man failed to carry off the Nile floods have covered with an ever increasing layer of mud. The site of Thebes is now partially occupied by the villages of Karnak and Luxor on the east bank of the Nile, but in antiquity the

city extended for miles along both banks. It had no walls, though Homer sings of it as a city with a hundred gates, "wherefrom sally forth through each two hundred warriors with horses and cars." The palaces of the Pharaohs and the humbler dwellings of their subjects have disappeared; the temples, mostly erected or completed under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, remain. They form the greatest assemblage of monumental ruins in the world. Hollowed out in the western cliffs are the tombs of over forty Theban kings (from the Eighteenth to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty), a labyrinth of corridors and chambers once containing a wealth of funeral offerings and the mummies of the Pharaohs. These rock sepulchers, though cleverly hidden, were rifled in ancient times by the Egyptians themselves. The only one found undisturbed is that of the youthful Tutankhamen, who died about 1350 B.C. after a reign of little more than six years. The Theban high priests concealed the mummies of some of the most famous Pharaohs, including Seti I and his son Ramses II, in an old tomb near the temple of Der el-Bahri, and there in 1881, nearly three thousand years later, a sensational discovery brought them to light again. They now repose in a royal tomb at Cairo.

Hieroglyphic Writing

The Egyptians covered the walls of temples and tombs with their beautiful hieroglyphs, which had the merit of being both informative and decorative. Hieroglyphic writing shows all the stages in the development of an alphabet, for it is a medley of object-pictures, symbols of ideas, and signs for the sounds of entire words, syllables, and letters. The first experiment in phonetics took the form of a rebus, or "pictorial pun." Thus the word for "to become" sounded like the word for "beetle" and so was indicated by a picture of that insect; similarly, its three syllables, being pronounced like the words for "sieve," "mat," and "mouth" respectively, were indicated by pictures of those objects. From this it was only a step — but how momentous a step — to use a picture, rebus-fashion, as a letter; thus the picture of a mouth, the word for which was *ro*, could always be used for *r*. The alphabet, as finally developed, contained twenty-four letters, all consonants. While the Egyptians pronounced their words with vowels, these were never written, a fact which makes it now impossible to determine the exact spelling of many words, especially the proper names. The Egyptians had made the great invention of the alphabet; they used it; but with characteristic conservatism they also kept on using all the earlier signs, more than six hundred

in number. Hieroglyphic writing appears fully developed by the end of the fourth millennium B.C., and even the simpler running hand known as "hieratic," which was employed for documents and books, goes back to the First Dynasty. The two systems were not distinct, however; they were as nearly identical as our printed and written characters.

The fibers of the papyrus reed provided the Egyptians with an excellent substitute for paper. Its stem was split into thin strips, which were laid at right angles, pasted together, pressed, and dried, thus forming small sheets. These were not bound in book form, but were pasted one below another, so that a long manuscript looked like a roll of wallpaper. Writing was done with a pointed reed in black or red ink. One of the hieroglyphs shows the scribe's outfit of pens, a small pot of water, and a palette with two circular holes in which the inks were placed.

The scribes formed an influential group, really a civil service, since many administrative posts were open only to those who could read and write the difficult hieroglyphs. In the schools for the training of scribes pupils were initiated in all the mysteries of the sacred characters, the "divine words" of the god Thoth, to whom the invention of writing was ascribed. They also learned how to draw up legal documents and how to compose petitions and official letters. Many examples of their copybooks have been preserved. With this practical training was combined some instruction in morals and good manners. Boys from the middle class as well as sons of the wealthy attended these schools, which provided a trained personnel to carry on the affairs of a highly centralized government.

The written language of old Egypt fell into disuse with the spread of Greek in the Near East and disappeared altogether during the early centuries of the Christian era. But for the discovery of the Rosetta Stone the pictured hieroglyphs might have remained a mystery even to our day. This famous monument, now one of the treasures of the British Museum, was found in 1799 near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile by a French officer attached to Napoleon's expeditionary force in Egypt. It is a block of black basalt, with a bilingual inscription recording the divine honors paid to the Greek king of Egypt, Ptolemy V, by the priests assembled at Memphis in 196 B.C. The hieroglyphic text has the place of honor at the top; beneath it is a copy in demotic (a simplified form of hieratic); at the bottom is a Greek translation. Several European scholars worked at the task of decipherment. As early as 1814 an Englishman, Thomas Young, succeeded in identifying the name of Ptolemy in the hieroglyphic text. A few years later J. F. Champollion, a Frenchman, proved that Egyp-

tian was the ancestor of Coptic, and his knowledge of the latter language enabled him to identify the common words in hieroglyphs with their Greek equivalents. The Rosetta Stone then gave up its message and this, once understood, served as a key to other inscriptions.

The Governmental System

The government of Egypt centered in the Pharaoh, who demanded and generally received obedience in the double character of a king and a god. Only rarely did the Babylonian rulers claim a divine origin, whereas the Pharaoh always regarded himself and was regarded by his subjects as an incarnation of divinity, most commonly as the son, by an earthly mother, of Ra, the sun god. Later, when Amen, the Theban deity, rose to eminence, the Pharaoh became the son of Amen-Ra. So great was his sanctity that even his name might not be uttered, and a circumlocution, such as the Great House (i.e., Pharaoh), referring to his palace, was used instead. No worship seems to have been paid to him during his lifetime, but after death he was provided with a mortuary temple, where a richly endowed priesthood kept up an elaborate ritual in his memory.

This "good god" the Egyptians called him, had many duties. As commander he led his army in war and faced the perils of the battle. As supreme judge and administrative head of the state he held frequent audiences, hearing complaints, settling disputes, and issuing orders; finally, as high priest and head of the state religion he was occupied with a constant round of sacrifices, prayers, and festivals on which the welfare of his people depended. A ruler who took his duties seriously must have been a busy man.

The Social System

Egypt had no caste system such as developed in India and no such sharply marked social divisions between freemen as were found in Babylonia. Moreover, the number of slaves seems never to have been great, and the role of slavery as an industrial system was comparatively insignificant at all periods of Egyptian history. In secular affairs the king was assisted by numerous officials forming a graded bureaucracy. The higher officials usually belonged to the Pharaoh's family. They received grants of land from him and owed allegiance to him, but those who ruled over the nomes tended to become practically independent in times of royal weakness. In religious matters the king was assisted by the priests. They grew ever more powerful as the Pharaohs

lavished treasures on the temples and endowed the priestly corporations with landed estates exempt from taxation. During the reign of Ramses III, a ruler of the Twentieth Dynasty, fully one-seventh of the tillable land of Egypt belonged to the priesthood. The Pharaoh's relations with them were not always friendly, and the Twentieth Dynasty was finally overthrown by the chief priest of Amen at Thebes, who himself ascended the throne. In addition to these two groups there were merchants, artisans, and a sprinkling of professional men such as scribes, artists, and physicians, while beneath them came farmers and herdsmen, who comprised the bulk of the population. But the people of Egypt, from the biggest bureaucrat to the lowliest peasant, were all equally subjects of the Pharaoh, who disposed as he thought fit of their persons, their labor, and their property. A close parallel to this regime is afforded by that of the Incas in ancient Peru.

Marriage and the Family

Herodotus, who traveled in Egypt during the fifth century B.C., reports that each man had only one wife, "like the Greeks." Polygyny was allowable, however, and rich men and nobles often kept concubines. The Pharaohs usually had several "royal consorts," besides the many concubines of their harem. Ramses II is said to have fathered at least seventy-nine sons and fifty-nine daughters; their descendants formed for centuries a body of princely parasites. The Pharaohs, who claimed the honor of divine descent, also frequently married their sisters or half-sisters, but there is little evidence for this form of marriage among commoners until the Graeco-Roman period of Egyptian history. The maternal form of the family prevailed; for children took the mother's name, and property passed in the female line. Thus, ordinarily, a man's next heir was the eldest son of his eldest daughter. Those in high station, above all, the kings, favored paternal descent and inheritance, and the occasions were few when a deceased Pharaoh was not succeeded by his own son. We have records of only two queens who ruled in their own right. One of them was the famous Hatshepsut, probably the half-sister and also the wife of Thutmose II. After her husband's death she assumed full regal power and upon state occasions masqueraded as a man. And in order to preserve the fiction that the sovereign was the bodily son of the sun god, she was represented on the walls of her mortuary temple at Der el-Bahri as having been born a boy. Queen Hatshepsut thus became a king — at least to her subjects.

The status of women was even higher in Egypt than in Babylonia.

They had full rights of ownership and bequest, could engage in business on their own account, and in sexual matters enjoyed much liberty. The many surviving love songs indicate that women wooed men as often as men wooed women; in these songs, indeed, the "sister" speaks out more frequently than the "brother." The story of Potiphar's wife in Genesis shows that their freedom might degenerate into license; it also made possible an honest, equal love between the sexes scarcely paralleled until recent days. Divorce depended on the will of the husband, but at least in late times the husband bound himself by contract to indemnify his wife if he repudiated her without a valid reason. Marital relations seem to have been exceptionally happy and affectionate. In the precepts of worldly wisdom ascribed to a certain Ptahhotep, who lived under the Fifth Dynasty, it is said: "If thou art well-to-do, found a house, and love thy wife studiously. Fill her stomach and clothe her back; oil is the medicine of her body. Gladden her heart thy lifetime long. She is a field that is profitable unto its lord."

The cheap food and mild climate of Egypt made it possible for even the poor to raise large families. As in China, death took an early toll of the children, and an enormous proportion of the population died young. And as among all peoples in a similar stage of social development, pestilence, plague, famine, and war maintained a rough balance between numbers and subsistence.

Occupations

Already during predynastic times the Egyptians had passed from food gathering to food production. In the warm Nile valley the seeds of the nobler grasses needed only to be spread over the fertile mud deposited by the annual inundation to sprout and grow with scarcely any cultivation. No other river basin where men learned to support themselves by tillage offered so rich a reward for so little labor, once men mastered the art of irrigation. In ancient times, as now, the irrigation season began in early August with the cutting of the dikes in order to release the pent-up waters and allow them to spread over the fields. All the methods of farming are pictured on the monuments. We mark the peasant as he breaks up the earth with a hoe or plows a shallow furrow with a sharp-pointed stick. We see the sheep being driven across sown ground to trample the seed into the moist soil. We watch the patient laborers as with sickles they gather in the harvest and with heavy flails separate the grain from the chaff. While their methods were crude, these ancient farmers raised

large crops, and though poor harvests sometimes occurred, there was usually "corn in Egypt."

Many industrial arts flourished and reached a high degree of excellence as early as the Pyramid Age. Pottery was now no longer fashioned by hand but on the wheel. A beautiful kind of unblown glass with waving lines of different hues was manufactured. Linen goods were so wonderfully fine and transparent as to merit the name of "woven air." For both implements and weapons stone finally gave way to copper, and before 2000 B.C. that metal had been largely displaced by bronze. Iron appears several hundred years later, but for a long time it was so rare as to be reserved for royalty. The precious metals were used for personal ornaments. Wall paintings show the goldsmiths and silversmiths at work with blowpipe and forceps, making bracelets, rings, and diadems, inlaying objects of stone and wood, or covering their surfaces with gold leaf. Howard Carter's discovery in 1922 of Tutankhamen's unrifled tomb, crammed with furniture and jewelry, now filling a whole gallery in the Cairo Museum, was a revelation of the extraordinary skill and artistic sense of the Egyptian craftsman. If a boy king, who died after a brief reign, lay surrounded by such beautiful objects, one wonders what treasures were left with the mummies of Thutmose III and Ramses II.

The Egyptians built boats and sailed on the Nile even in predynastic times, as we know from pictures of their many-oared vessels on pottery jars of the period. At least as early as the Third Dynasty they had begun to cross the eastern Mediterranean in large sea-going ships and to trade with the islands of Cyprus and Crete, which lie almost opposite the mouths of the Nile, and with Byblus and other cities on the Syrian coast. Byblus exported so much Egyptian papyrus that the name *biblos* (whence our "Bible") came to be applied by the Greeks to any book. The ships of the Pharaohs also sailed up and down the Red Sea; by the time of the Eleventh Dynasty they were going as far southward as Somaliland, which the Egyptians called Punt. From Syria came the "cedar of Lebanon" that was used so extensively; from the mines of the peninsula of Sinai came copper; while Somaliland sent gold, ebony, ivory, spices, and other luxuries. There was also a considerable commerce overland with Nubia, Libya, Syria, and the Tigris-Euphrates countries. The story of Joseph and his brethren in Genesis tells how "a caravan of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt"; to this caravan Joseph was sold as a slave. Trade, both domestic and foreign, was mostly carried on by barter. By the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty the Egyptians also used gold and silver

rings as money. It was necessary to weigh the metal whenever a purchase took place, and a common picture on the monuments is that of the weigher with his balance and scales.

Life of the People

During the earlier period of Egyptian history the peasants were practically serfs, and when the Pharaoh, as the owner of all the land of Egypt, gave away an estate to his relatives, favorites, or officials, they went with it. They were also liable to impressed labor during the period of inundation, a slack season when many of them could be spared for work on the palaces and tombs of the kings and great nobles. They worked under overseers who carried sticks and used these freely. "Man has a back," says an Egyptian proverb, "and only obeys when it is beaten." In later times, especially from the Twelfth Dynasty onward, the condition of the peasants showed some improvement; many rose to be free tenants; but what was left to them, after the Pharaoh and the landlord had taken their shares, could have been scarcely more than a pittance. The artisans, though technically "free," were not much better off. There is a papyrus manuscript, copied from an original at least as old as the Twelfth Dynasty, which enumerates the disadvantages attaching to the several crafts: the metal-worker, "his fingers as rugged as the crocodile and stinking more than fish spawn," the stone-cutter, exposed to all the winds and exhausted with dragging heavy blocks; the squatting weaver, his knees against his chest, "he does not breathe"; the dyer, cobbler, bleacher, and baker — how hard their lot in contrast to the scribe's easy life! The author of this description seems to have been a scribe who wanted his son to follow the same calling. Though highly colored, it remains an invaluable account of the inarticulate masses, whose activities are so often represented on wall paintings in tombs.

But for the upper classes, especially in later days when the wealth of the Near East poured into Egypt, life was pleasant enough by the banks of the Nile. Rich people had cool, one-storied houses built of sun-dried brick and wood, surrounded by gardens and provided with elegant furniture. In place of the kilt once worn by men and the sleeveless chemise worn by women, both sexes put on long, flowing robes and sandals with curved tips. Men and women adorned themselves with much jewelry — necklaces, bangles, and earrings. They also wore the elaborate wigs represented on their statues. Cleanliness of both the person and the clothing was carefully observed, and the houses of the wealthy seldom lacked a bathroom. Unlike the Greeks

and Romans, the Egyptians sat on chairs and never reclined on couches at meals. A gay, light-hearted people, they delighted in flowers and music. Many of their musical instruments have been recovered from the tombs, including the characteristic sistrum, with its small disks shaken on wires, and the harp with a sounding-board. At private entertainments performances by professional dancers, acrobats, and jugglers accompanied the music. Herodotus tells us that when the banquet ended a coffin containing a mummy was carried round by a servant, who showed it to each guest in turn and said, "Gaze here, and drink and be merry; for when you die, such you will be."

Death and the Dead

The Egyptians shared the well-nigh universal belief of primitive peoples in the continuing life of the dead, a life bound up in some manner with the body. If the body could be preserved as a home for the soul, the dead were not actually dead at all, but lived on in the grave with the same needs as in the earthly existence. Preservation of the body seemed quite practicable in the moistureless climate of Egypt, and the art of embalming gradually reached perfection, especially from the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The privilege of mummification was long enjoyed only by the Pharaohs and the upper classes, but at length even the common people attained it in the great democracy of death. Egypt is a land of mummies.

More secure and permanent habitations than the sand pits of the predynastic period were also provided for the dead. By the time of the Third Dynasty the kings had pyramids, while nobles and high officials had brick or stone tombs containing a number of rooms above ground, sometimes twenty or more, in addition to the hidden burial chamber at the bottom of a deep shaft. The superstructure of such a tomb forms a flat, sloping-sided mound of rectangular shape; from its resemblance to an Arab bench it is called a "mastaba." The royal pyramids at Giza and elsewhere are surrounded by regular streets of mastabas, for in death the Pharaoh's courtiers desired to rest near their lord and master. Under the Sixth Dynasty burial chambers began to be hollowed out in the limestone cliffs bordering the Nile valley. Egypt is a land of tombs, and these were used over and over again. They contained everything which it was imagined the dead would require — vessels for food and drink, furniture, jewelry, the soldier's weapons, the workman's tools, the toilet articles of the lady, the playthings of the child — together with statuettes and small models of various objects as magical (and economical) substitutes for real

things. The paintings and sculptures in the tomb were never intended for the contemplation of future ages; they, too, had the motive of making comfortable, by magical means, the life of the dead.

There were other conceptions of the hereafter in which the sun plays a prominent role. The sun seemed to die each night in the west, and so the other world was placed there and the dead were called "Westerners." The underworld, whence the revived sun arose in the morning, was also imagined as the abode of the departed. Still another conception of the hereafter came to be associated with the god Osiris, whose special seat was Abydos in Upper Egypt. His original nature is uncertain, for he has been variously interpreted as a sun god, as a personification of the Nile, and as a vegetation deity like the Babylonian Tammuz, dying each year when the crops had been gathered and reviving when the seed had been again deposited in the ground. A very ancient myth made him a wise and good king who reclaimed the Egyptians from savagery, gave them laws, and taught them the cultivation of grain and the vine. His brother Set put him to death out of jealousy and tore his body into fragments, scattering them far and wide. His sister and wife, Isis, searched for them and found them and gave them fitting burial. And afterward his son Horus, having grown to manhood, took vengeance on the guilty Set. Restored to life by divine intervention, Osiris reigned thenceforth as king over the realms of the dead. In this myth of a god who died yet lived again the Egyptians found the hope of a life everlasting, if only the proper funeral rites were performed for them as they were performed for Osiris. By the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, if not earlier, every dead Egyptian was identified with Osiris and was addressed as "Osiris so-and-so." No other religious system of antiquity ever approached that of Egypt in its insistence on the idea of personal immortality.

It became customary with the Egyptians to deposit with the mummy a roll of papyrus inscribed with mortuary texts for recitation by the deceased on his perilous journey to the other world. These religious, or rather magical, writings are known collectively as the *Book of the Dead*. One of the chapters in the work both describes and pictures the judgment of the dead. The deceased is conducted into the Hall of the Two Truths, where Osiris and forty-two associate gods (these probably corresponding to the number of the nomes) sit as judges. Before them he makes a solemn declaration of his innocence of various offenses, such as murder, theft, adultery, and falsehood. To determine whether what he says is true or not, his heart, witness of all his words and deeds, is weighed in a balance against an ostrich feather, the symbol of truth. The god Thoth, acting as clerk of the court,

records with tablet and stylus the issue of the case. If the heart is lighter than the feather, Osiris awards him eternal life in the Fields of the Blessed (Aalu). As to the fate of him who failed to sustain the ordeal successfully we are not informed; the Egyptian seems to have entertained the comforting belief that the judges would always give their verdict in his favor. What is noteworthy in all this is the extension of the divine sanction of morals over the future life. Instead of the primitive conception, found even among the Babylonians, that all the dead, good and bad, pass the same cheerless existence in the other world, there is here a theory of rewards and punishments. As a man had lived on earth, so would be his lot after death.

Religion

The number of deities was legion, largely because of the survival of early local cults after the unification of Egypt. The gods of the original city-states continued to be the gods of the nomes, to have their own temples and priesthoods, and to bestow all earthly blessings upon their local worshipers. Nevertheless, great gods, known to all the people, arose. The greatest of them was the sun god Ra, an appropriate deity for Egypt, where the sun shines so steadily and so brilliantly. From the Fifth Dynasty onward his worship, centering at Heliopolis, formed the worship of the state. Identified under the Eighteenth Dynasty with Amen, the deity of Thebes, he became Amen-Ra, the "king of the gods." The obelisk, that unique monumental pillar which Egypt has given to the world, was his emblem. The Egyptians thought of him as daily traversing the sky in a boat and gaining each day a fresh victory over the demon of darkness. The moon god likewise crossed the sky in a boat, whence his name Khonsu, "the sailor." Thoth, the patron of letters and god of wisdom, was also associated with the moon. Ptah, the chief divinity of Memphis, had a name meaning "the opener," perhaps because he, more than any other god, was regarded as a creator. A very ancient myth describes Ptah as bringing the world — the Nile valley — into existence by his command, "through the thought of the heart that came forth from the tongue." So in the first chapter of Genesis God created the heaven and the earth by his divine fiat.

The high place occupied by Ra in the pantheon made it natural for the other gods to be identified with him and for their titles and attributes to be added to his. This was not monotheism, but it prepared the way for monotheism. Finally, a reforming king, Amenhotep IV (*c.* 1375–1358 B.C.), great-grandson of Thutmose III, undertook to

sweep away all the old gods, including Ra himself, and to replace them by a single god, Aten, "the great living disk of the sun." The Pharaoh closed the temples, ousted the priesthoods, and had the names of the old gods chiseled from the monuments. He particularly hated Amen, the chief Theban deity, and even changed his name, which meant "Amen is gracious," to Akhenaten, "pleasing to Aten." Thebes, full of desecrated temples and sullen priests, was no place for this religious fanatic; he deserted it and built a new capital at Amarna, three hundred miles to the north. There Aten was worshiped without idolatry. A disk, with rays reaching earthward and terminating in human hands, made a fit symbol of the sun as the source of light and heat, of power and energy, for every living creature. A *Hymn to Aten*, perhaps composed by the king himself, is remarkable for its universalism, Aten being addressed as the creator, orderer, and governor, not of Egypt only, but of the whole world. The resemblance of this hymn to the Hundred and Fourth Psalm has been often pointed out. But even an all-powerful Pharaoh could not impose so abstract and impersonal, nay, so scientific a theism on his subjects. Akhenaten's reform lasted only during the life of the reformer. After his death his son-in-law, Tutankhamen, brought the capital back to Thebes, and the Egyptians soon returned joyfully to the polytheism of their ancestors.

The worship of animals is found among many primitive peoples; among the Egyptians, so conservative in religious matters, it lasted until their conversion to Christianity. On the monuments a few deities are represented in completely animal form, while others are given animal heads; for example, the ibis-headed Thoth. Many deities had an association with animals, as Ra with the hawk and Amen with the ram. What determined the selection of the particular species of animal can seldom be made out. For educated persons the animals were doubtless only symbols of the divine; for the mass of the people they were gods. The reverence accorded to them reached the height of absurdity during the later centuries of Egyptian history. Not only were all the animals of the sacred species protected while alive (Herodotus tells us that at a fire the spectators took more pains to save the cats than to quench the flames), but when dead they were embalmed and carefully buried. Whole cemeteries of cats, crocodiles, and ibises have been found. Finally, some deities were believed to be visibly incarnate in a particular animal. The most renowned was the Apis bull of Memphis, which could be distinguished by a black skin, a white spot on the forehead, and by other markings. When one died, all Egypt mourned until its successor had been picked by the priests. For these divine beasts Ramses II had a common burial place excavated in the desert near

Sakkara, and there their huge granite coffins may be seen today. The Serapeum, as the Greeks called it, is a monument to superstition.

Magic

As has just been seen, magic entered largely into the fabric of Egyptian religion, especially in the mortuary ritual. But magic was as essential to the living as to the dead. Spells containing the names of gods warded off accidents and the attacks of noxious animals such as serpents and scorpions. Amulets covered with symbols of Horus and other deities served the same useful purpose. Talismans to bring luck were in common use, the most familiar being scarabs, or images of the dung-beetle. The latter was sacred to the sun god, because it rolled its ball of dung around as the sun's globe is rolled across the sky. The beetle, or rather the ball of dung containing its eggs, also became a symbol of birth and resurrection; hence a scarab was often placed in the mummy as an artificial heart. Dream divination flourished, and the Book of Genesis tells how Joseph won great honor by successfully interpreting a dream of the Pharaoh which none of the royal diviners could explain. Belief in lucky and unlucky days is shown by a papyrus calendar written during the Nineteenth Dynasty. It contains injunctions against quitting the house, traveling, sailing, or undertaking any kind of work at inauspicious times. The prohibitions are often accompanied by a summary of the reasons for them, these being usually legendary episodes in the lives of the gods. For example, the prohibition for the twenty-sixth day of the month Thoth — "do absolutely nothing" — is explained by reference to the terrific combat between Horus and his uncle Set, which occurred on this ill-omened day. All such magical ideas and practices are world-wide, but in Egypt they assumed perhaps greater importance than in any other ancient land save Babylonia.

Literature

The oldest body of literature that has come down to us in any language consists of the Pyramid Texts, these being the inscriptions in the pyramids erected at Sakkara by kings of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Their purpose seems to have been entirely magical; they made the king such a ruler in heaven as he had been on earth. "Men fall, and their name ceases to be," says one of them, but the Pharaoh ascends to the sky and lives forever. No trace appears in these most ancient writings of any idea, such as developed afterward, that the blissful immortality of the Pharaoh may also be enjoyed by his subjects. Next in

importance to the Pyramid Texts are the prayers and spells forming the so-called *Book of the Dead*, which made its appearance under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

Many hymns to the gods are known, quite the noblest being the *Hymn to Aten* already mentioned. Secular literature took many forms. The *Poem of Pentaur*, named from the scribe who copied it, describes the exploits of Ramses II at the battle of Kadesh; it is the nearest approach to epic poetry made by the Egyptians. More interesting, because more human, are the collections of proverbial wisdom, such as the *Precepts of Ptahhotep*, in which a sage sums up the experience of a long life. Ptahhotep advises his readers to obey their superiors in rank, to treat wives and children kindly, to show good manners at table, and to avoid tale-bearing. Sometimes he rises to higher things. "If thou art a wise man," he says, "train up a son who will be pleasing to God." The many short stories, folk songs, and love songs which have been preserved also help us in picturing the life and thought of old Egypt.

Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting

Our knowledge of Egyptian architecture is derived almost entirely from the monuments which served as dwellings for the dead and for the gods — from the tombs and the temples. These are the only structures that have survived, with the exception of some remains of palaces and private houses at Amarna, Akhenaten's capital. The tombs and temples were built to last forever; hence their colossal proportions, massiveness, simplicity, and grandeur. Some of the monumental work is rock-hewn, but most of it consists of enormous blocks of limestone and granite, each great block resting evenly on the one below or on stout piers and shapely columns. The Egyptians were familiar with the arch, but it was never used except in brick and then only in minor structures such as the mastabas. In brickwork they discovered, or at any rate they employed, the bonded course, that is, the device of placing each brick over the junction of two bricks beneath it, so as to bind the whole mass together and make a firm wall. Stone was also laid in the bonded way. The art of stone masonry arose in Egypt earlier than anywhere else in the world. The Egyptians were the first people who raised buildings with vast halls, the roofs of which were supported by long rows of columns (colonnades). An upper story, or clerestory, containing windows, made it possible to light the interior of these halls. The column, the colonnade, and the clerestory, as architectural devices, all originated in Egypt and doubtless influenced Greek and Roman

builders and, through them, the builders of medieval Europe. It should be added that Egyptian masonry, especially the earlier work, was often very fine. Stones were accurately cut, set with the utmost care, little mortar being used, and given the smoothest possible surface. Thanks to the skill of the masons and to the dryness of the climate, many tombs and temples are remarkably well preserved.

The oldest surviving example of stonemasonry in Egypt and in the world is the so-called First Pyramid (really a stepped or terraced building) erected in the thirtieth century B.C. by Zoser, a king of the Third Dynasty, for his tomb at Sakkara. Another stepped structure was raised by Snefru, the last king of the dynasty, at Medum, about forty miles south of Cairo; in this case the sides are so steep and high that they nearly resemble walls. It is probable that both buildings remained unfinished and that the steps or terraces represent underconstruction. The true pyramids, such as those of the Fourth Dynasty at Giza, were finished with a smooth limestone casing, but this has since been largely removed by the Arab builders of Cairo.

What was the origin of these extraordinary monuments? They present only a superficial resemblance to the truncated pyramids of Mexico and Central America; moreover, the latter were temples, not tombs. The staged towers of Babylonia and Assyria likewise had a religious purpose. The most plausible theory derives the pyramid from the mastaba. The stepped buildings at Sakkara and Medum seem to be merely a series of huge mastabas piled one upon another; when the steps were filled up with masonry to form a continuous slope from base to apex, the true pyramid came into being.

In addition to tombs the Egyptians sometimes cut temples out of the natural rock. The greatest examples are the two temples of Abu Simbel on the Nile in Nubia, both works of that mighty builder, Ramses II, and Queen Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Der el-Bahri. Of the free-standing temples the most celebrated are those of Karnak and Luxor, but the best preserved are those erected during Graeco-Roman times, especially at Edfu, Dendera, and Philae.

An Egyptian temple was approached through an avenue of sphinxes, facing inward. These led to the outer portal, or propylon, which consisted of two immense towers connected by a smaller gateway. Behind the propylon came a forecourt open to the sky and surrounded by a colonnade; this was a public place accessible to all. Then came a hypostyle hall, that is, a hall with a flat roof resting upon columns; here religious ceremonies were held. Sometimes a second pylon stood between the forecourt and the hypostyle hall, but in the simpler structures an ordinary doorway led from the one to the other. Imbedded in

lower rooms at the rear was the sanctuary, accessible only to the king and priests. Viewed from the outside, such a temple was scarcely impressive, for one saw only a long, nearly blank wall, broken by pylons. But when one entered the temple between the great battering masses of the pylons, passed through a sunlit court into the dimly lighted hypostyle hall with its forest of columns, and finally reached the dark "holy of holies," the impression of mystery and religious awe must have been profound.

Innumerable statues have come down to us, statues in stone, bronze, ivory, wood, and terra cotta. Some of the larger ones show a remarkable appreciation of the principles of monumental sculpture. The Great Sphinx, which rises in front of Khafra's pyramid at Giza and probably represents that monarch, is hewn from the natural rock. By combining the figure of a couchant lion with a human head, both of huge size, the sculptor has conveyed an indelible impression of the might and majesty of a Pharaoh. Scarcely less impressive are the four seated statues of Ramses II along the façade of his temple at Abu Simbel; gigantic and imperturbable, they seem to partake of the nature of the everlasting hills from which they were hewn. The two statues of Amenhotep III at Thebes, famous since the days of the Greeks as the "Colossi of Memnon," possess the same monumental quality. Many smaller statues and busts are masterpieces of portraiture. The uncompromising realism of the portrait statues is explained by the fact that they were placed in the tomb, not as memorials, but as images in which the soul might have an imperishable habitation even if the mummy disappeared. Besides statues in the round, mention should be made of the bas-reliefs and incised carvings, often of exquisite delicacy, with which the Egyptians decorated their buildings.

Egyptian sculpture had its limitations. Thus the statues follow the convention of "frontality," which means that almost always they face the spectator squarely and look straight ahead; any inclination to right or left was forbidden. Again, while ordinary persons are shown in various attitudes, gods and kings are represented in stiff and almost immobile positions. The truth is that the sculptor never learned how to pose his figures easily or how to group them into an artistic whole. These achievements were reserved for the Greeks.

Painting was an adjunct to sculpture. Statues and bas-reliefs were often vividly colored, while every available surface of tombs and temples was covered with animated pictures representing deities, myths, ceremonies, the occupations of everyday life, and the battles of the Pharaohs. Different colors came to be used conventionally to represent different objects, the sea being suggested by blue, grass and foli-

age by green, and sand by yellow, while men were painted brown and women white. The artist had no knowledge of perspective and drew all his figures in profile without any distinction of light and shade. In spite of such technical defects, the colored bas-reliefs and mural paintings often show great skill in delineation and much imaginative power. It is largely to them that we owe our intimate knowledge of ancient Egyptian life. The names of the painters and sculptors are unknown, for they did not sign their works. Probably they ranked as artisans rather than as artists meriting a claim to present or future recognition. On the other hand, the names of many architects have survived, beginning with Imhotep, the builder of King Zoser's stepped "pyramid."

Scientific Knowledge

The prosperity – the very life – of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile, and at an early date the Egyptians had mastered the art or science of hydraulics, devising an irrigation system by means of which water was conveyed to land above the level of the river and any excess of the precious fluid was stored up to supply the wants of a dry year. Herodotus declares, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, that Mena, "the first who ever ruled over Egypt," raised a huge dike in the Delta, turning the Nile into a new channel and thus protecting Memphis from inundation. Another instance of hydraulic engineering on a large scale was the reclamation, under the Twelfth Dynasty, of a large area of fertile soil, the present Fayum, on the banks of ancient Lake Moeris. The Pharaohs of this dynasty also dug a canal from the north end of the Red Sea to a branch of the Nile in the eastern Delta, thus enabling ships to sail from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. In time the canal became silted up with sand; it was cleared out repeatedly, but at length the desert claimed it.

The transport and placement of enormous masses of stone presented a problem in mechanical engineering: how successfully the Egyptians solved it the pyramids, temples, obelisks, and colossal statues bear witness. Rollers, levers, and perhaps a rude form of the crane aided in moving and setting up these monuments. The chief reliance was on human traction, hundreds and thousands of men being drilled to pull the great stones by ropes up an earthen or brick ramp with a long, easy gradient. The amount of labor involved passes comprehension. The Great Pyramid alone contains no less than 2,300,000 blocks of limestone, averaging two and a half tons in weight – thirteen acres of solid stonework. Yet the incredible structure so exactly faces the points of the compass that the deviation of the four sides of the base from a perfect

square is only six-tenths of an inch and that of the right angles but twelve seconds of a degree. This is almost watch-making precision.

The accuracy of construction revealed by the pyramids affords evidence that at least from the time of the Third Dynasty the Egyptians had some knowledge of elementary mathematics. Several of their mathematical works have been preserved. One of these, the Rhind Papyrus now in the British Museum, is the most ancient compendium of rules for counting and measuring that has come down to us. A decimal system was in use, with special symbols for tens, twenties, and so on up to a million. The writing of most large numbers with hieroglyphs was naturally a cumbersome business; for instance, to write 999 no fewer than twenty-seven signs were needed. The Egyptians never discovered that in a decimal system ten figures could be used for all numbers by giving them positional value. Nevertheless, the scribes could add, subtract, multiply, and divide, and even fractions held no terrors for them. The conceptions of squaring and square root were also known, and problems were set in arithmetical and geometrical progression. In a country where the boundaries between cultivated fields were liable to be effaced by the annual inundation, some knowledge of surveying and plane geometry was a necessity, and these early mathematicians could compute correctly the area of rectangles and triangles. The area of a circle was obtained by squaring eight-ninths of its diameter, the value thus reached for π (3.1604...) coming remarkably close to the correct value (3.1415...). In solid geometry we find problems dealing with the slope and volume of pyramids, as well as rules for estimating the cubical contents of granaries and storage vessels. The papyri contain nothing of the theory of mathematics. They are simply collections of examples and tables or, as the Rhind Papyrus has it, "directions for obtaining the knowledge of all dark matters."

The Egyptians showed no marked intellectual curiosity or desire to probe into the causes of things. What knowledge of nature and of nature's ways they possessed grew out of daily needs and experiences; it never developed along speculative or philosophical lines. The practical nature of their science is exemplified by their work in astronomy. The priests, using the summit of a temple for observations, noted the positions of the stars and arranged some of these in constellations, which were identified with various deities. Study of the heavens made possible an exact orientation of pyramids and temples by the four points of the compass. This seems to have been achieved by taking a bearing on the North Star, whose immobility had been noticed. The circumpolar stars, which always shine in the northern sky, the Egyptians called "those which are never quenched."

To preserve regularity in the celebration of religious festivals something more accurate than a lunar calendar was required. At a very early date the priests noticed that Sirius, the brightest of all the stars, rose to view just before sunrise about the time of the summer solstice. The heliacal rising of Sirius, or Sothis, as the Egyptians called this splendid star, coincided very nearly with the beginning of the annual inundation, so that it was natural for the priests to choose the first appearance of the star for the first day of the year and to take the period between two such observed appearances as the duration of the year. The Egyptians now had a calendar of 365 days. According to a recent and probable calculation the date was 3251 B.C., but some students place it about a thousand years earlier and other students about five hundred years later.

The Egyptians either overlooked or ignored the fact that the star year, which is virtually identical with the solar year, measures about 365¼ days; thus each of their years was shorter than the solar year by about a quarter of a day. In four years the deficiency amounted to one whole day; and after 1460 years it amounted to 365 days, or a whole Egyptian year. This meant, of course, that the dates of festivals steadily shifted; it was as it would be with us if Christmas, celebrated on the twenty-fifth of December, should be celebrated four years later on the twenty-sixth of that month and so on through the years until it came back to the original date. While the Egyptian calendar thus marked true time only once in about a millennium and a half, it was a vast improvement over that of the Babylonians; indeed, its only rival in all the world was the Maya-Mexican calendar.

The Egyptian year of 365 days consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, with five days added at the end of the twelfth month. As in ancient America, these supplementary days bore a distinctly ominous or unlucky character. The thirty-day month was divided into three decades, or weeks, making thirty-six weeks in all, besides a half-week. The whole arrangement was most convenient, and its adoption has sometimes been urged by those who would reform our own awkward calendar. The Egyptians were familiar with a division of the cycle of night and day into twenty-four hours. They also had simple instruments for measuring short time intervals, including the shadow clock (sundial) and the water clock.

A number of papyri dealing with medicine have been discovered and deciphered. In all but one of them magic looms large, for much less importance is attached to the remedies prescribed than to the accompanying incantations. However, the recent translation of the Edwin Smith Papyrus, now in New York, provides evidence that at least in

surgery a more rational and scientific procedure was adopted. The manuscript follows a systematic order, beginning with the head and working downward to the trunk and limbs. Symptoms are diagnosed and a nonmagical method of treatment for wounds, dislocations, fractures, and other injuries is described. This papyrus, which dates from the seventeenth century B.C., is the oldest known scientific treatise. The medical and surgical lore of Egypt must have been still more ancient, for tradition made Imhotep, the builder of the first stepped "pyramid," the father not only of architecture but also of medicine. He is the first physician, mythical or real, whose name has come down to us.

Law and Morality

No great discovery has revealed the legal code of Egypt. We have nothing comparable to Hammurabi's code in Babylonia. Yet we know that a large body of written law, based no doubt on royal enactment, grew up during the centuries; that it was enforced by the Pharaoh's vizier, or chief minister, and by lesser judges; and that under the Eighteenth Dynasty there were two great courts, one at Thebes and the other at Heliopolis, and local courts in other cities. Legal documents existed from a very early period. Some have been preserved, such as the will of a certain Uah, made about 1800 B.C., in which he disposes of his lands and slaves, provides a home for his wife and a guardian for his son, and stipulates where he and his wife shall be buried. This document, to which are appended the names of three witnesses, is the oldest example of a testamentary settlement that has come down from antiquity. The civil law of the Egyptians, regulating property, contracts, inheritance, marriage, and the family, was worthy of a highly civilized people. Their criminal law shows less development. The torture of witnesses to make them tell the truth was sometimes practiced, while magic was used in determining the innocence or guilt of an accused person. The penalties inflicted included death by beheading, nose-cutting, banishment to the mines, and the bastinado. Only a few crimes were visited with death, however; among them were murder and stealing from temples. Egyptian criminal law was far less severe than that of Babylonia or Assyria.

Human activities in Egypt seem to have gone on in orderly fashion much of the time. Life was safe, property was secure, and the people were protected in their occupations. The inference is that there were not only good laws but also good morals; for a legal code, to be enforceable, must have the support of public opinion. If we did not know this from the abundant literary remains, we should know it from the per-

sistence of the characteristic Egyptian institutions through so many centuries. No society can long endure without the fundamental social virtues. The Egyptians had them. Of the forty-two sins repudiated by the deceased at the judgment seat of Osiris, only seven deal with religion; all the others are concerned with the relations of man to man: "I have not robbed"; "I have not murdered"; "I have not done crookedness"; "I have not spoken falsehood"; "I have not committed adultery"; "I have not harmed the doer of evil." Following these negations comes an affirmation at the end: "I have done what men commend and that wherewithal the gods are pleased." This so-called Negative Confession, but better-called Declaration of Innocence, was already ancient in 2000 B.C.; it now forms the 125th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*. Other presentations of Egyptian morality are found in collections of proverbial wisdom such as the *Precepts of Ptahhotep*. We also have many mortuary autographies, these being the inscriptions on the tombs of nobles and royal officials, who prided themselves upon their good works for the common people. Such statements possess no doubt the general unreliability of epitaphs, but at least they afford an idea of the virtues which the Egyptians approved and of the vices which they condemned.

The Legacy of Egypt

In the secluded, well-protected Nile valley a rich civilization flowered early and long preserved its essential features with little change. The Egyptians had the time and the opportunity, as well as the genius, to make many inventions and discoveries. They erected the first structures in cut stone, carved the first portrait statues, built the first seagoing ships, devised the first stellar or solar calendar, formed the first alphabet, and made the first "paper" and ink. Many fundamental arts and crafts, if not actually invented or discovered by the Egyptians, were carried by them to a pitch of excellence seldom, if ever, equaled by other peoples of antiquity: irrigation, agriculture, metallurgy, engineering, spinning and weaving, the manufacture of pottery, furniture, and jewelry. And in spite of many primitive features that always characterized Egyptian thought, such as the animal worship, the magic, and the tendance of the dead, we look to Egypt for the earliest monotheism, the earliest conceptions of human immortality, the earliest moral reflections, and some of the earliest scientific observations. Through the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, the Cretans, the Greeks, and the Romans the civilization that was already highly developed when the pyramids first rose white and gleaming in the sunshine has become a part of the cultural heritage of mankind.

X

Western Asia in Antiquity

Asia Minor

THE peninsula of Asia Minor (Anatolia) is made up of a high plateau, largely barren or better suited for pasture than for tillage and marked by great extremes of temperature, together with a fringe of fertile, well-watered coastlands enjoying an equable climate. In these physical features it is indeed a "Little Asia." On the east no natural barrier separates the peninsula from the still higher region of Armenia. On the south and southeast, however, it is cut off from Syria and the Tigris-Euphrates valley by the ranges of Taurus and Anti-Taurus, which for many centuries served as a mighty rampart against invasion. On the north the coast is separated from Europe only by narrow straits, while westward numerous islands provide "stepping stones" across the Aegean. The peninsula thus forms a connecting link between Asia and Europe and in its cultural development it has been influenced by both continents.

Hittites

Asia Minor was already occupied in the first half of the third millennium B.C. by Stone Age peoples conveniently described as early Anatolians. Several centuries later, probably in the second half of the same millennium, these were overrun by the Hittites, who seem to have come through the passes of the Caucasus or possibly by way of the Bosporus. On their monuments and also on the Egyptian reliefs representing them the Hittites are shown with round skulls, big hooked noses, and backward-sloping foreheads; these physical characteristics may have been the result of intermixture with the early Anatolians. The Hittites built up a powerful state in central Asia Minor; their capital was Hattushash (near the modern village of Boghazkeui).

The Hittites have long been a mysterious people. Babylonian records contain references to their destructive forays into the Tigris-

Euphrates valley after the time of Hammurabi, while the annals of Egypt, during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, tell of their conquest of northern Syria. The Hittite problem is in process of solution as the result of the discovery in 1906–1907 of the royal archives at Hattushash. These contained thousands of clay tablets written in the Babylonian script but mostly in the Hittite language. Scholars are deciphering the language, which is now found to belong to the Indo-European family. The Hittites also had their own system of hieroglyphs, used chiefly on monuments and seals. It is to this people, apparently, that we owe the first working and smelting of iron; at any rate, they obtained that most useful of metals from the mountains south of the Black Sea and fabricated implements and weapons long before the other peoples of the Near East had passed from the Bronze Age to the Age of Iron. The documents from Hattushash have many references to iron, implying that it was a common metal with the Hittites. In government, law, art, and other respects of civilization the Hittites reached a comparatively high level. Warlike in character, they ruled over a large part of Asia Minor and Syria during the second millennium B.C. The Hittite empire was loosely constructed, however, being little more than a federation of diverse peoples who owed allegiance to the ruler of Hattushash. About 1200 B.C. all records of the Hittites suddenly cease. Some great catastrophe, probably the inroads of barbarous tribes from the west and north, blotted out their empire from the face of the ancient world and from the annals of history.

Lydians

Several independent states arose in Asia Minor after the downfall of the Hittite power, among them the kingdom of Lydia. This centered about Sardis in western Asia Minor, but its rulers gradually extended their sway over nearly all the peninsula as far as the Kizil Irmak River (the ancient Halys). Tribute paid by the conquered countries, profitable trade with the Greek cities lining the coast, and rich deposits of the precious metals in Lydia proper endowed the kings with great wealth; indeed the name of Croesus, the last Lydian monarch, is still a synonym for riches. The Lydians are credited, and probably rightly, with the introduction of coined money. In spite of the fact that pieces of metal had long been used in the Near East as the medium of exchange, these were not real coins, since they bore no government stamp guaranteeing the weight and fineness of the metal. For every transaction it was necessary to weigh the metal and perhaps to determine its purity as well; thus in the Biblical narrative, when Abraham bought

a burial place from "Ephron the Hittite," he weighed out four hundred shekels of silver as payment. All this inconvenience was avoided by the great invention of coinage. Early in the eighth century B.C. the Lydian monarchs began to strike coins of electrum, a natural mixture of silver and gold. Croesus, who lost his throne to the Persians in 546 B.C., issued a bimetallic currency of pure silver and gold, the ratio between them being about thirteen to one. The Greek neighbors of Lydia quickly took over the art of coinage and so introduced it into Europe. The Persians also adopted it, and the gold coins of Darius the Great, known as "darics" (so called from a Persian word meaning "gold"), became the standard gold currency of the ancient Near East.

Syria

The whole region between the Nile valley, the desert of northern Arabia, the Tigris-Euphrates valley, and the highlands of eastern Asia Minor may be conveniently described as Syria, although this name, in a more restricted sense, applies only to the country northward from the sources of the Jordan River, thus excluding Palestine. Syria formed a great "bridge" connecting Egypt with Babylonia and Assyria. From Egypt it is separated by only a narrow belt of arid land east of the Delta; from Babylonia and Assyria it is not separated at all, for the fertile plain of northern Syria merges into the yet wider and still more fertile plain of the Two Rivers. Nature broke up Syria into several small territories isolated by mountains and rivers, and therefore unable to come together into one strong united state. When the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hittites grew powerful they conquered parts of it; in later centuries it was annexed by the Assyrians and then by the Persians. While Syria never played a great part in the political history of the Near East, four of its Semitic-speaking peoples — the Aramaeans, Phoenicians, Canaanites, and Hebrews — made notable contributions to civilization.

Aramaeans

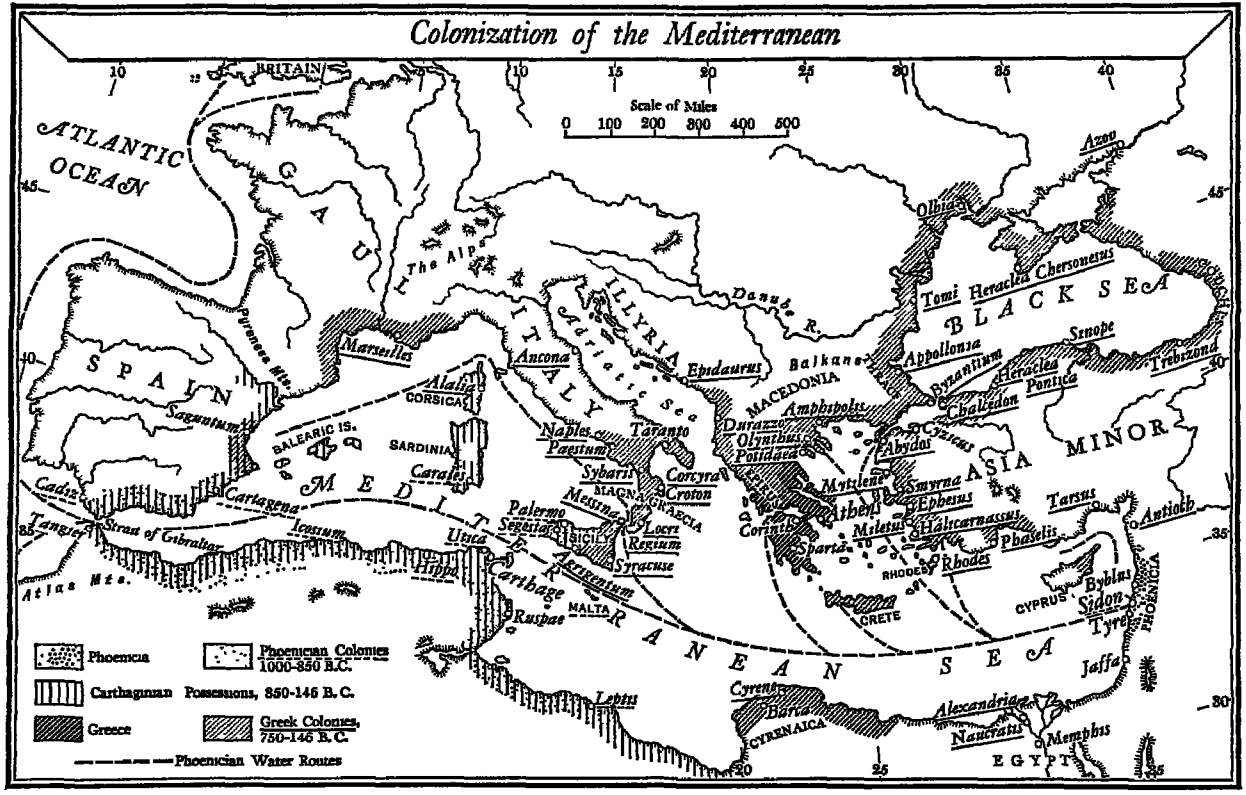
The people called Aramaeans, from their kingdom of Aram, seem to have come out of Arabia toward the close of the second millennium B.C. After the fall of the Hittite power in North Syria they spread everywhere in that region. The kingdom of Aram centered about Damascus, which lies on the edge of the desert but amid gardens and orchards watered by perennial streams. One of the oldest cities in the world, Damascus is the only great city of the ancient Near East which remains great today. The location of the Aramaeans on the main

caravan routes between Egypt and the Tigris-Euphrates valley enabled them to control much of the overland trade of western Asia. These keen businessmen borrowed the alphabet from their Phoenician neighbors and spread it among the peoples with whom they had commercial dealings, so that their script came to be widely used and displaced the cumbrous cuneiform. With Aramaic writing went Aramaic speech in Babylonia, Assyria, Palestine, and other parts of the Near East. Some parts of the Old Testament are written not in Hebrew but in Aramaic; it was the language of the Jews at the time of Christ; and it still survives among the Syrian Christians.

Phoenicians

The people whom the Greeks called Phoenicians ("red men"), probably because of their sunburnt skin, occupied a coastal belt between the Mediterranean and the Lebanon Mountains, extending from the northern extremity of that range to Mount Carmel on the south. Though about one hundred and fifty miles long, Phoenicia is seldom more than twelve miles wide. Spurs of the Lebanon descend precipitously to the sea and form numerous promontories separating the country into little districts between which in ancient times intercourse was difficult except by water. Formerly there were many harbors, but these are now nearly all silted up. The soil is rich and once supported a large population. The Phoenicians themselves believed that they had migrated from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean. Our earliest notices of them are found in Egyptian records from about 1600 B.C. onward. By this time Phoenicia contained a number of flourishing cities, including Sidon and Tyre, all independent and all ruled by the merchant class. They never combined into anything more than a loose confederation. Their political weakness, coupled with their wealth, tempted the cupidity of foreign invaders, and Phoenicia bowed in turn to the power of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia.

Living in a narrow stretch of territory and with powerful neighbors on both the north and the south, the Phoenicians, as their numbers increased, found in maritime trade the means of growth which their homeland denied them. Like the Greeks, the Northmen, and the English they took to the sea; from an early period they were fishers and sailors; and after 1000 B.C. they became and long remained the common carriers of the Mediterranean. The forests of Lebanon, whose ancient groves are even now not quite destroyed, supplied them with timber for shipbuilding, as well as with resin, while in the Egyptian vessels which entered their harbors they found a model for their own


Colonization of the Mediterranean
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITAIN
GAUL
The Alps
Pyrenees Mts.
SPAIN
ITALY
ILLYRIA
Adriatic Sea
Danube R.
Balkans
MACEDONIA
BLACK SEA
ASIA MINOR
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Marseilles
Ancona
Epidaurus
Alalia
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Saguntum
Naples
Paestum
Taranto
Sybaris
Corcyra
Croton
MAGNA GRAECIA
Palermo
Segesta
Messina
Locri
Rhegium
Syracuse
SICILY
Cadiz
Cartagena
Carales
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Atlas Mts.
Iesdum
Utica
Hippo
Carthage
Ruspae
MALTA
Acragantum
Lepdis
Cyrene
Barca
CYRENAICA
Alexandria
Naucratis
Memphis
EGYPT
Jaffa
Tyre
Sidon
Byblus
PHOENICIA
CYPRUS
CRETE
RHODES
Sparta
Athens
Corinth
Mitylene
Smyrna
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Rhodes
Phaselis
Tarsus
Antioch
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Abydos
Troas
Amphipolis
Olynthus
Potidaea
Durazzo
Appollonia
Tomi
Heraclea Chersonesus
Olbia
Azov
Heraclea Pontica
Sinope
Trebizond
Phoenicia
Phoenician Colonies 1000-550 B.C.
Carthaginian Possessions, 550-146 B.C.
Greece
Greek Colonies, 750-146 B.C.
Phoenician Water Routes

craft. They also learned how to steer by the stars at night; the North Star was called by the Greeks the "Phoenician Star." Phoenician water routes soon extended to Cyprus, only a short distance away; then to Crete; then to the islands of the Aegean; and, at least occasionally, to the shores of the Black Sea. When the Phoenicians were finally driven from their regions by the rising power of the Greek states, they sailed to the westward, establishing settlements in Sicily, Sardinia, Malta (where a Phoenician language is still spoken by the native inhabitants), the Balearics, Spain, and North Africa. Finally, they passed through the Strait of Gibraltar (the Pillars of Hercules) into the Atlantic and visited the coasts of western Africa and Europe.

Cyprus provided the Phoenicians with copper and timber. From Syrian and Greek waters came the murex, a species of shellfish producing a secretion from which was obtained the famous "Tyrian purple," a dye much used in antiquity. The mines of Spain yielded silver in abundance, as well as tin. The latter metal, so valuable from its use in making bronze, was also obtained from the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands. These are usually identified with the British Isles, particularly with Cornwall, which is still a tin-producing district. But it is hard to believe that the Phoenicians regularly sailed so far northward through the stormy seas of the Bay of Biscay to procure Cornish tin. From Africa came ivory, ostrich feathers, and gold; from South Arabia, which the Phoenicians also visited, came incense, perfumes, and spices. Many commodities from abroad were taken directly to Phoenicia as raw materials for manufacture. The fine carpets and glassware, the artistic works in silver and bronze, and the beautiful purple fabrics produced in the factories of Sidon and Tyre were exported to every part of the known world. The commerce of the Phoenicians seems to have had in it a large element of piracy, and the kidnaping and sale of slaves formed one of their most profitable operations.

The Phoenicians made every effort to shut out competitors and to enjoy a monopoly of their very profitable trade. They kept their voyages secret. No one in antiquity knew where they got tin. Only by chance did a Greek ship discover Spain, with which the Phoenicians had traded for centuries. It is said that the sailors of Carthage, a Phoenician colony, drowned all foreign merchants found intruding upon their domains. The Phoenicians long dominated the Mediterranean, and their ships composed the navies of both Assyria and Persia. "What city is like Tyre?" asks the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel. "When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many peoples; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise."

Fearless navigators, the Phoenicians ventured into regions where no one else dared to go. About 600 B.C. a Phoenician fleet is said to have circumnavigated Africa from east to west, by direction of the Pharaoh Necho. The ships sailed from the Red Sea and reached the familiar waters of the Mediterranean in the third year after starting. In each of the two autumn seasons the sailors landed on the coast, sowed grain, and waited for it to ripen before resuming their voyage. Herodotus, who tells this story, presumably on the basis of information received by him in Egypt, does not believe it true ("but perhaps others may"). Modern historians, or some of them, are inclined to accept it, since his statement that the sailors had the sun upon their right hand as they returned seems a strong argument in favor of their having rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The expedition is not mentioned in any Egyptian records now extant. Possibly it excited no particular interest at the time, because the Egyptians had always supposed their country to be surrounded by the sea, with which, they thought, the Nile connected in the south. Another long voyage, the evidence for which is unimpeachable, was that of the Carthaginian admiral Hanno. About 475 B.C. he took a fleet of sixty ships along the coast of western Africa, for the purpose of establishing colonies at suitable places. Hanno sailed as far south as Sierra Leone or possibly Liberia. Among the trophies brought back to Carthage were the skins of three apes (chimpanzees), which were believed to be human beings.

Many Phoenician settlements were merely trading posts, with warehouses for the storage of goods. Here the natives came to barter their raw materials for the finished products — clothes, tools and weapons, wine, and oil — which the strangers from the East brought with them. Colored beads and trinkets formed no small part of their stock in trade, and Homer speaks of the Phoenicians as fetching in their black ships "countless gauds" to dazzle the eyes of our barbarous ancestors. In Europe there was a very important station at the mouth of the Rhône, where Phoenician vessels received the products (including Cornish tin) brought overland through Gaul. Another depot was located at the head of the Adriatic Sea, the end of a route extending over the Alps into Germany; here the Phoenicians got the highly prized Baltic amber. Some settlements became great cities. Gades, in southern Spain, which was the most distant Phoenician colony, survives as Cadiz, the oldest city in Europe keeping a continuity of life and name from its foundation. Utica and Hippo were important colonies in North Africa, and Carthage, settled by emigrants from Tyre, was destined to eclipse the glories of the mother city. There were also many Phoenician settlements in Cyprus.

The Phoenician Alphabet

The Greeks always believed that their alphabet, the source of all later European alphabets, was derived from Phoenicia. A myth ascribed its introduction to Cadmus, son of a Phoenician king, who came to Greece, bringing with him the "Cadmean letters," and founded the city of Thebes. Proofs of the transmission of the alphabet from Phoenicia to Greece are, first, the close resemblance between the forms of the archaic Greek letters and those of the Phoenician letters; second, the order of the letters; and, lastly, the names of the letters, which in Phoenician, as well as in Aramaic and Hebrew, are much the same as those in Greek. But Alpha and Beta are meaningless in Greek, whereas in the Semitic languages they denote, respectively, "ox" and "house." The Phoenicians were using an alphabet of twenty-two consonantal signs certainly as early as the thirteenth century B.C. and perhaps several hundred years earlier. The old theory that it was derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphs still seems plausible; it is easy to believe that the Phoenicians got their letters where they got papyrus, pens, and ink. However, some recent students of the problem argue that the alphabet owed nothing to any system of writing (Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite, etc.) in use at the time; it was rather a purely arbitrary selection of conventional signs to represent the Phoenician consonants. What is undisputed is that the Phoenicians, needing for their contracts and accounts a simple script, had the practical sense to do what the Egyptians never did, namely, to write all their words with a few selected symbols used as letters.

The Phoenician alphabet reached the Greeks of Asia Minor probably about 1000 B.C. and later spread to European Greece. The Greeks, in matters alphabetical, were not simple copyists. By transforming into vowels the Semitic system of signs for breaths and stops, they developed for the first time a script with a letter for every sound. By the Greeks the alphabet was introduced into Italy, where the Romans received it, modified some of the letters, and passed it on to the peoples of central and western Europe. The peoples of eastern Europe, in the main, derived their alphabet from the Greek forms during the early Middle Ages.

Canaanites

We enter Palestine by the Jordan River. The name signifies "the descender," an appropriate name, for after passing through the Sea of Galilee the Jordan becomes a series of swift rapids and at length mingles

with the salty waters of the Dead Sea, almost thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The region east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, now known as Trans-Jordan, is a rocky tableland extending into the great desert of northern Arabia. In antiquity, as today, it was the home of roving pastoral tribes, whose relations with their neighbors were generally anything but amicable. The region west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, at first called Canaan and later Palestine, is divided naturally into two longitudinal strips, these being the maritime plain, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from the Lebanon Mountains to the peninsula of Sinai, and the central hill districts of Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea. Palestine is a very small country, with a total area of less than ten thousand square miles. Aside from the maritime plain, it is also a very poor country and better suited for pasturage than for tillage.

Human occupancy of Palestine must go back to the remotest times, for skulls and skeletons of Neandertal and pre-Neandertal type have been recently unearthed in Galilee and at Mount Carmel. Palaeolithic implements have also been found at various sites. The Neolithic period in Palestine is represented by many huge dolmens, circles, and other rude stone monuments similar to those of western Europe; to the Hebrews, ignorant of their origin, they appeared the work of giants. Around 3000 B.C. Semitic-speaking peoples, the Canaanites, came from the south and southwest into Palestine, settled down, and gradually passed from the life of wandering shepherds to that of tillers of the soil. Their written records on perishable papyrus have mostly perished, but archaeologists are excavating the sites of their cities such as Gezer, near Jerusalem, and Jericho in the Jordan valley. The Canaanites owed much to the neighboring Babylonians. Egyptian influence also affected them strongly, for Egypt was long the dominant power in Palestine. We now know that Palestine had been a highly civilized land for many centuries before the Hebrews entered it and that Canaanitic culture left a deep and abiding influence on Hebrew religion, literature, and social life.

Hebrews

The traditions of the Hebrews concerning their origin and early history are found in the Old Testament, especially in Genesis and Exodus. How Abraham journeyed from "Ur of the Chaldees," that ancient Babylonian city, and took up his abode in Palestine; how his grandson Jacob (or Israel), when a sore famine troubled the land, went down into Egypt with all his family and settled on the rich plains of the

Delta; how there his descendants dwelt in peace for many generations, gaining great possessions and multiplying exceedingly; how, when the Egyptians began to vex them with grievous burdens, the Hebrews (or Israelites) united under the leadership of Moses and escaped to the peninsula of Sinai; how they wandered in the "Wilderness" for forty years until ready to enter the "Promised Land" which their god Jehovah had allotted to Abraham and his seed forever — all this is a familiar tale.

The traditions accord to a certain extent with what is known from Egyptian sources. Desert tribes, seeking pasturage for their cattle, sometimes entered Egypt; the Hyksos, we know, made an armed invasion of that country. Many details in Genesis and Exodus show a considerable knowledge of Egypt, for instance, the story of Jacob's son Joseph, who married an Egyptian wife. On the other hand, the records of Egypt contain no reference to the Hebrews as living in the Delta or to their subsequent flight to the peninsula of Sinai. It seems likely that the historical kernel of the whole narrative is the sojourn and exodus of a comparatively small body of Hebrews, the greater number having remained in Palestine. The first reference to them there occurs in an inscription of Merneptah (son and successor of Ramses II), who about 1230 B.C. records the subjugation of the people called "Israel." By that date, and presumably much earlier, Hebrews were already settled in the "Promised Land."

The Biblical narrative also describes a rapid conquest of Palestine by twelve Hebrew tribes, which moved up from the peninsula of Sinai, crossed the Jordan under their leader Joshua, and captured Jericho and other Canaanitic cities. It is fairly certain, however, that these tribes entered Palestine at different times and by different routes and that their conquest of the country took several centuries to achieve. The strongholds of the Canaanites were not easily reduced by invaders who lacked siege machinery; moreover, the Hebrews had to encounter the Philistines, a warlike people occupying much of the maritime plain of Palestine.

The Hebrew tribes formed at first only a weak confederacy without a common head. "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes." The sole authority was that exercised by valiant fighters and lawgivers such as Samson and Samuel. They served as judges between the tribes and led them in battle. Pressure from their foes at length brought about a union of the tribes under the leadership of Saul, who was acclaimed king (about 1000 B.C.). After a brief reign Saul fell in battle with the Philistines. He was followed by David, a warrior king, who not only drove back the

Philistines but also extended his sway over a wide area from northern Syria to the peninsula of Sinai. David seized Jerusalem, which until that time had been a Canaanitic fortress, and made it his capital. Here he built himself a palace and here he placed the Ark, an ancient chest which formed the special seat and sanctuary of Jehovah. Jerusalem thus became the religious as well as the political center of the new state.

The reign of Solomon, David's son and successor, was the most splendid period in Hebrew history. Solomon made no attempt to conquer additional territory, preferring, rather, to secure his position by alliances with neighboring states. He married an Egyptian princess, a daughter of the reigning Pharaoh; as a dowry she brought to Solomon the Canaanitic city of Gezer, then subject to Egypt. He joined with Hiram, king of Tyre, in trading expeditions to Mediterranean and Arabian ports. The same Phoenician ruler supplied him with skilled workmen, who erected at Jerusalem a temple for the worship of Jehovah. A great builder, luxurious, pleasure-loving, sensual (he had a well-stocked harem), Solomon takes his place as a typical Oriental despot.

But the Hebrews were not ready to support a despotic government which deprived them of their local privileges and laid upon them heavy taxes. Shortly after Solomon's death the ten northern tribes in Samaria and Galilee seceded and established the independent kingdom of Israel. The two southern tribes formed the kingdom of Judah (in Judaea) and remained loyal to the successors of Solomon. The two little Hebrew states led a chequered existence for several centuries. In 722 B.C. the Assyrians under Sargon II overran the kingdom of Israel and deported many of its inhabitants to Assyria. The Ten Tribes intermingled with the population of that region and henceforth disappeared from the pages of history. The kingdom of Judah fell in 586 B.C. before the attack of Nebuchadnezzar, who took away the leading citizens into exile at Babylon. When in 539 B.C. Babylon was itself captured by the Persians under Cyrus the Great, that tolerant monarch allowed the exiles to return to their native land. Palestine was now incorporated in the widespread Persian Empire.

Hebraic Religion

The Hebrews never achieved very much in war or politics, in industry or commerce, in science or art; their achievement was their religion. From the earliest known period this centered in the worship of Yahweh, whom we call Jehovah. Originally, it seems, a nature god, dwelling on mountain tops whence come the storms, he was especially

a "god of battles," who led his "Chosen People" against their Canaanitic and Philistine foes. He was also a "jealous" god, who demanded exclusive worship. The First Commandment requires that the Hebrews shall have no other gods "before me" (or "beside me"). And he was a god who took the greatest interest in the welfare of his followers, punishing the violators of his commands but rewarding his obedient servants with many children and a long and prosperous life. According to one strand of the Old Testament narrative, the Hebrews were first introduced to Jehovah by Moses, who persuaded them to enter into a solemn covenant whereby he became their god as they became his people; according to another strand, Jehovah had always been their god from the days of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The Biblical accounts agree, however, in representing Moses as the man who welded the different tribes into one people, gave them their laws, and started them on their career. Some modern scholars deny the historic reality of Moses, regarding him rather as a mere mythical personage invented to explain the origin of Israel and of Israel's religion. Such skepticism does not seem to be justified. The multitude always needs a leader, and great national and religious movements are most often initiated by great men.

The Hebrews naturally shared many religious ideas and customs of their neighbors, to whom they were related by both speech and blood. The Old Testament contains references to their belief in sacred stones, in sacred trees, in sacred wells, and in sacred mountains, for instance, Mount Sinai, where Moses was said to have received the Ten Commandments from Jehovah. The nomadic Arabs still worship such objects. When the Hebrews finally settled down in Palestine and learned agriculture from the Canaanites, they adopted the local Canaanitic deities (Baals) presiding over vegetation, and Jehovah himself became an agricultural god, the Baal, or "Lord," of the soil. The agricultural festivals, sanctuaries, sacrifices, and idolatrous rites of the Canaanites were also taken over by the Hebrews. The Old Testament likewise makes it clear that contact with the Babylonians resulted in the introduction among the Hebrews of the Creation and Flood stories, together with the demonology and divination which flourished in the Tigris-Euphrates valley.

The time came when to some men polytheism, idolatry, magic, and all the other superstitions in which the environing world of the Hebrews was steeped appeared inconsistent with the worship of Jehovah. These men were the prophets, who stood outside the official religion and in opposition to the priestly class. Among them were Elijah in the ninth century B.C., Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah in the eighth century,

Jeremiah in the seventh century, and the great unknown prophet, usually called the Second Isaiah, at the close of the Babylonian exile. The prophets did indeed profess to forecast future events, but they were also religious reformers and preachers of righteousness. The sufferings and humiliations experienced by the Hebrews at the hands of the Assyrians and Babylonians were explained by the prophets as Jehovah's punishment for their disobedience to his commands, their hankering after strange gods, and their acceptance of the idolatrous and licentious worship of foreign peoples.

The prophets also set forth a new conception of Jehovah, who was represented no longer as a jealous warrior god leading his followers to victory over the gods of their enemies, but as a ruler to whom right conduct was more important than sacrifices, festivals, and priestly ritual. "What doth the Lord require of thee," says Micah, "but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" The earlier prophets, while exalting Jehovah as a deity who required of the Hebrews an exclusive devotion, never doubted that the deities of other peoples were real and powerful. Some of the later prophets, however, took the great step from national to universal monotheism when they declared that the God of Israel was the God of the whole earth and that Israel was the divinely appointed means of bringing all mankind to worship before him. In the utterances which the Second Isaiah puts in the mouth of Jehovah we have for the first time since the days of Egypt's heretic king a proclamation of the unity of God: "I am the first and I am the last; and besides me there is no god"; "I am God and there is none else, I am God and there is none like me." This lofty universalism deeply affected Hebrew thought, culminating in the monotheistic teaching of Jesus, the last of the prophets.

Judaism; the Old Testament

The Jews (men of Judah, Judaeans), as they may now be called, who returned from exile at Babylon, settled in or near Jerusalem and built there a second temple to replace Solomon's temple destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. They continued to be subjects of Persia, but in local affairs enjoyed freedom from interference. As a substitute for the old monarchy, they set up a government by priests, with the High Priest at Jerusalem as the virtual ruler of the Jewish community. Under this theocratic system the state was now the church and the church was the state.

Judaism, the religion of the Jews during the postexilic period, differed in many respects from the religion which had prevailed until the exile.

Priests and theologians carried on the work of the prophets in spiritualizing the conception of Jehovah, who more and more became for all Jews the one God worshiped in the new temple at Jerusalem and in the local synagogues, or meeting houses. The Jews also began to moralize their conception of the future life. Previously they believed in Sheol, a gloomy underworld similar to the Babylonian Aralu, a "land of darkness and the shadow of death," where king and slave, oppressor and oppressed, good and bad alike, lay buried in profound sleep. Before the dawn of the Christian era, however, many Jews had come to believe in a resurrection of the dead and a last judgment. The Messianic hope also assumed much importance at this time. Subject to Persia and later to other foreign powers, the Jews now looked forward to the coming of a Messiah (the "Anointed One"), a triumphant king of Davidic lineage, who would free them from their heathen overlords and restore their national greatness. Others thought of the Messiah as a supernatural being, the "Son of Man," pre-existent in heaven, whose advent would purify rather than exalt Israel and would form the prelude to the establishment of the divine kingdom upon earth. At the time of Jesus many pious folk were thus "waiting for the redemption of Israel." Jewish monotheism, Jewish conceptions of personal immortality, and Jewish Messianism entered largely into the fabric of Christianity, which began as a sect of Judaism.

Another feature of Jewish religious life after the exile was its legalism. The customs and ceremonial institutions, many doubtless of high antiquity, which the Jews observed, now received final form in the series of laws attributed to Moses under the inspiration of Jehovah. Until the discovery of Hammurabi's code, this so-called "Mosaic" code formed the oldest body of legislation that had come down from the ancient world. It covered a wide range of subjects, providing for elaborate sacrifices and rites of purification, which could be performed only by the priests at Jerusalem; requiring the observance every seventh day of the Sabbath; fixing at definite dates the old agricultural festivals adopted from the Canaanites (Passover in memory of the escape from Egypt, Pentecost to celebrate the reception of the Ten Commandments, Tabernacles to recall the sojourn in the "Wilderness"); emphasizing the importance of the practice of circumcision; and even indicating what foods must be avoided as "unclean." Orthodox Jews delighted in the observance of the Law, which set them apart from the heathen or Gentile world and enabled them, though a little and feeble people, to preserve their sense of nationality under the severest persecution. But not all the Law had a ritual character. It regulated domestic relations, determined property rights, fixed the penalties for wrongs and injuries,

and in its provisions relating to the poor, the debtor, the slave, and the stranger within the gates showed a humanitarian spirit unequaled by any other ancient legislation.

Finally, in the postexilic period Judaism became a book religion and the Jews the "People of the Book," the Old Testament. What is the Old Testament? It is that part of an extensive Jewish literature accepted officially as canonical, as a rule for the worship, belief, and moral life of the Jews, whether in or outside Palestine. It is not one work but thirty-nine works, which circulated for centuries as separate writings and in the early Christian era were brought together within the compass of a single volume. It is theology, prophecy, philosophy, law, history, and poetry, both religious and secular, produced by many authors over a very long period of time.

The present arrangement of the Old Testament does not represent its real literary development. Critical students have very generally reached the conclusion that the earlier prophetic books, including Isaiah and Jeremiah, come first in chronological order; that the law books Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers (but not Deuteronomy) did not reach their present form until the time of the exile and afterward; that Genesis and the historical books, while embodying various ancient pieces, were still later in composition; and that among the latest books are Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and other poetical and philosophical works. The so-called "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament, by showing that its several divisions belong to successive stages in the spiritual and moral life of Israel, makes clear how the Jews came in time to possess a religion which was the chief preparation for Christianity.

Christianity took over the Old Testament and treated it as a divine revelation, so that during the Middle Ages and to some extent thereafter its religious influence on European thought was deep and lasting. Its ethical and social influence was, and still is, equally profound. Many features of the Mosaic laws became a part of Christian jurisprudence; the Ten Commandments are still recited in churches; the Sabbath, as transformed into the Sunday rest day, is still observed; and the writings of the prophets, those "first socialists," rebuking the selfishness of the rich and the oppression of the poor, still supply weapons for the champions of social justice. Considered simply as a historical work, the Old Testament formed the chief source of information about the Hebrews and their neighbors until the rediscovery of the Near East by archaeologists; even now it has much to tell about the great civilizations which flourished there during the last millennium B.C. And as a work of pure literature the Old Testament remains unique. The Book of Job, the Psalms, and the prophetical works contain some of the most

magnificent passages ever penned by man. To read them in that monument of English prose, the Authorized Version, is to be delighted, elevated, and consoled, to be led into green pastures and beside still waters.

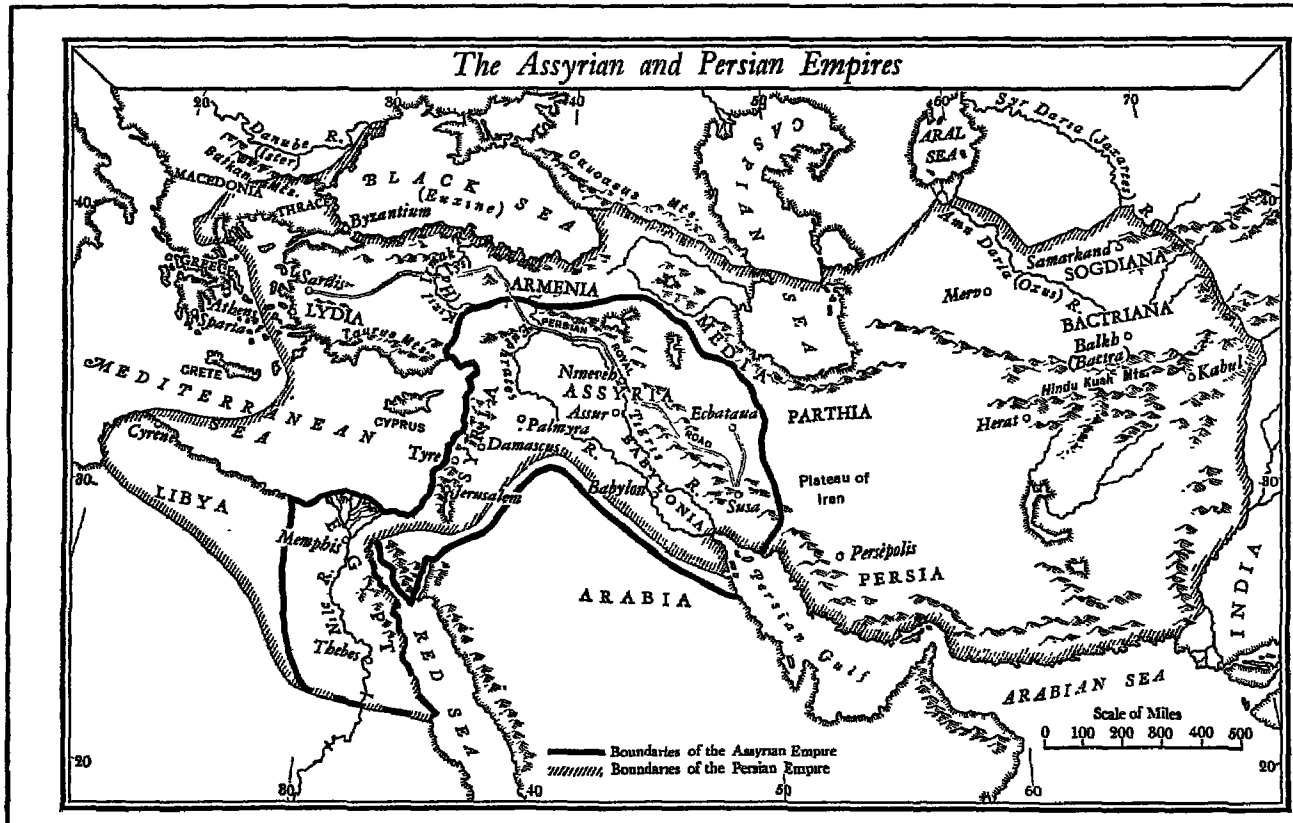
Iran

The extensive plateau raised aloft between the valleys of the Indus and the Tigris-Euphrates and now occupied by Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Persia, is generally known as Iran, a name derived from the classical Ariana, the "country of the Aryans." High ranges bound it on every side; lower ranges cross the interior; and from the northwest to the southeast extend continuous salt steppes and saline swamps, unfit for human habitation. Taken as a whole, Iran is an arid and unproductive land, a link in the great chain of deserts, and of deserts tempered by oases, stretching diagonally across the Old World from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific. Yet there are many fertile districts, particularly in western Iran, where the Zagros Mountains and their continuations include a considerable area well adapted to both herding and farming. In the valleys and on the uplands of this region were Media, Elam, and Persia (the classical Persis).

Medes and Persians

By the middle of the second millennium B.C. we find the greater part of Iran occupied by peoples of Indo-European speech, calling themselves Aryans — the same name used by the tribes which about this time invaded India. It is fairly certain that these Aryans once formed a single group and lived side by side "somewhere" in the great belt of grasslands which reaches from central Europe to central Asia. Thence they moved into Iran and there separated, the Indo-Aryans pushing southeastward through the mountains into the Indus valley and the Iranians spreading westward to the highlands which border the Tigris-Euphrates valley and the Persian Gulf. We may assume that the invaders sometimes dispossessed the aboriginal inhabitants of Iran but more often lived peaceably side by side with them and intermarried with them. Like the Hittites, the Iranians seem to have formed an upper military class controlling a large body of subjects.

The Medes and Persians, the two most important Iranian peoples at this time, were closely related, being alike in religion and customs and very near akin in language. The Greek Herodotus, our principal source of information about them when they first appear on the historical scene, tells numerous stories pointing the contrast between the

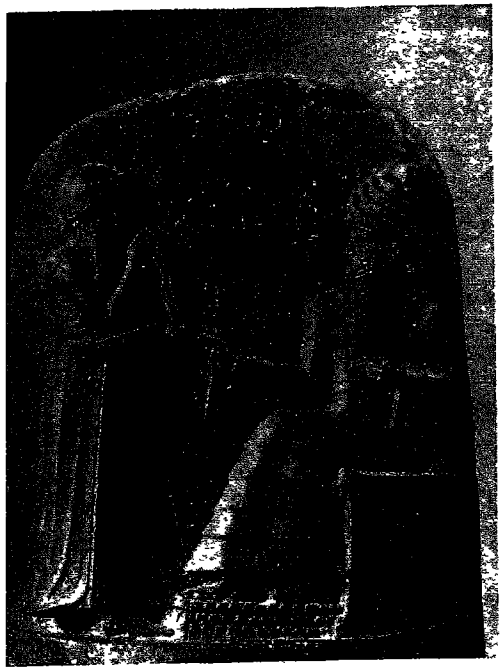

The Assyrian and Persian Empires
BLACK SEA (Euxine)
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
Danube R. (Ister)
Balkan Mts.
MACEDONIA
THRACE
Byzantium
Olympus Mts.
Sar Dario (Jaxartes) R.
Amu Daria (Oxus) R.
Samarkand
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
Balkh (Bactra)
Hindu Kush Mts.
Kabul
Merv
Herat
GREECE
Athens
Sparta
Sardis
LYDIA
Taurus Mts.
ARMENIA
PERSIAN EMPIRE
MEDIA
Nineveh
ASSYRIA
Assur
Ecbatana
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
PARTHIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
CYPRUS
Cyrene
Palmyra
Damascus
Tyre
SYRIA
Jerusalem
Babylon
BABYLONIA
R. Susa
Plateau of Iran
LIBYA
Memphis
Nile R.
Thebes
EGYPT
ARABIA
Persepolis
PERSIA
Persian Gulf
RED SEA
INDIA
ARABIAN SEA
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Boundaries of the Assyrian Empire
Boundaries of the Persian Empire
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90

simplicity and manliness of their lives and the effeminate customs of their neighbors. Persian boys, he says, were carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year in three things only: "to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth." Enjoying a healthy climate, used to hardship, sturdy and brave, these shepherds and husbandmen made excellent material for the armies which were to sweep irresistibly over the Near East.

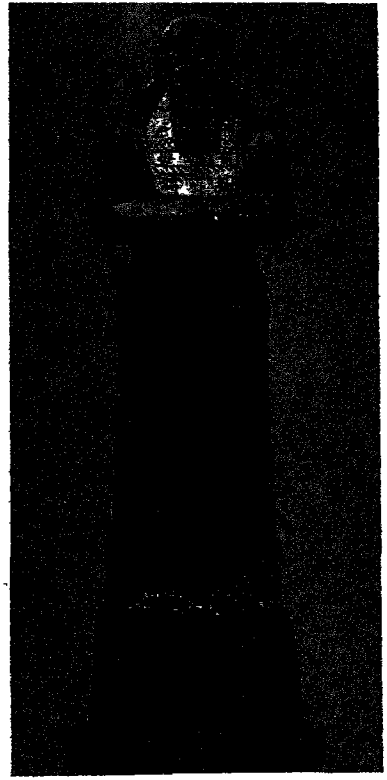
The Persian Empire

Long subject to Assyria, the Medes gained independence in the second half of the seventh century B.C.; before the end of that century, in conjunction with their allies the Babylonians, they stormed and destroyed Nineveh and brought the Assyrian Empire to an unlamented end; within a few years thereafter their rule extended all the way from the Halys River in Asia Minor through Armenia and Assyria, and far over Iran to the Persian Gulf. The empire of Media did not last long. In 553 B.C. a vassal prince, the Persian Cyrus, led a successful revolt against the Median monarch and three years later became king in his stead. In the Persian Empire the Medes kept, however, a prominent position, for their nobles served as generals and governors and their capital, Ecbatana, formed the summer residence of the Persian monarchs. The two peoples henceforth appear as one, a fact which was recognized by the Greeks, who used the terms Mede and Persian interchangeably.

Soon after the conquest of the Median Empire Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt formed a coalition against the Persian power which had risen so rapidly and so ominously on their borders. Forewarned and forearmed, Cyrus struck first. Marching quickly into Asia Minor, he defeated the Lydian king Croesus, captured Sardis in 546 B.C., and at a bound extended the realm of Persia to the Mediterranean. The downfall of Lydia prepared the way for the overthrow of Babylonia, and in 539 B.C. the Persians entered the great city of Babylon, apparently without resistance. The Babylonian provinces in Syria and Palestine also fell to the Persian monarch, who now ruled all western Asia. His son and successor, Cambyses, conquered Egypt in 525 B.C., thus bringing the long sway of the Pharaohs to an end. The reign of Darius the Great (521–485 B.C.) witnessed a further extension of the frontiers. An expedition eastward added to the empire the rich Indus valley. Another expedition against the nomadic tribes along the Danube led to conquests in Europe and brought the Persian dominions to the very doors of Greece. With justice Darius describes himself in the Behistun inscrip-



HAMMURABI RECEIVING THE LAWS FROM THE SUN GOD, BABYLONIA
c. 2000 B.C. *Pages 129, 139, 144.*

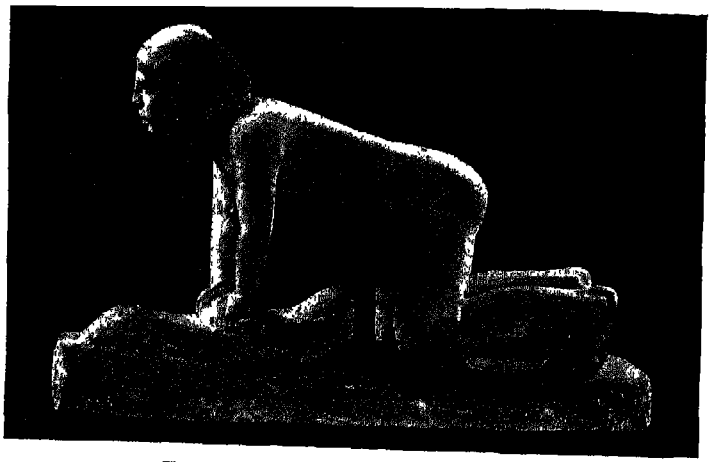


AMBER STATUETTE OF ASSURNASIRPAL, ASSYRIA
9th Century B.C. *Page 144.*



ASSYRIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION AND RELIEF
9th Century B.C. *Pages 132, 144.*

PLATE V



EGYPTIAN LABORER OF THE PYRAMID AGE
c. 2500 B.C. *Page 161.*



PORTRAIT BUST OF QUEEN NEFERTITI
14th Century B.C. *Page 169.*



tion as "the great king, the king of kings, the king in Persia, the king of countries."

These astonishing successes, which in so brief a time raised a previously obscure and insignificant people to the mastery of nearly all the Near East, find at least a partial explanation in the methods of warfare employed by the Persians. Their victories were won, not by heavy-armed soldiers fighting with spear and sword, man against man, but chiefly by archers, who overwhelmed the enemy under a deadly storm of arrows and never allowed him to come to close quarters. A smashing charge by the Persian cavalry then completed his discomfiture. Such tactics proved successful against Lydians, Babylonians, and Egyptians; they failed, later, when the Persians faced the Greeks.

The Persian Empire, in the days of Darius the Great, comprised an enormous territory. Its eastern and western frontiers were nearly three thousand miles apart. Its northern and southern frontiers were almost as remote. With the exception of Arabia, which the Persians never tried to conquer, the ancient world, from the Indus to the Danube and from the Asiatic steppes to the African Sahara, yielded allegiance to the Great King. It was the work of Darius to provide for his dominions a stable organization, which should preserve what the sword had won. The empire formed a motley collection of tribes and nations widely different in language, religion, and customs. Darius did not attempt forcibly to unify them or to make Persians of them. As long as his subjects kept the peace, paid tribute, and provided contingents for the army, they were left largely to themselves. The successors of Darius followed the same policy.

The entire empire, excluding Persia proper, was divided into twenty-one provinces, or satrapies, each with a civil governor. The satraps were generally drawn from great Persian or Median families. They enforced the royal decrees, dispensed justice, and collected the tribute annually levied in either money or produce on each province. In most of the provinces there were also military governors, who commanded the provincial troops and reported directly to the king. This device of intrusting the civil and military functions to separate officials lessened the danger of revolts against the government. As an additional precaution, there were special agents who went on annual circuits through the empire, investigating the conduct of the officials and hearing complaints against them. It became a proverb that "the king has many eyes and many ears." Darius also established a system of military roads connecting important provinces and an imperial post system which did much to make communication easy between them. The Royal Road from Susa to Sardis was provided with ferries, bridges, milestones, and

inns. It was about fifteen hundred miles long, a three months' journey for a pedestrian, but couriers, using relays of fresh horses, could cover the distance within a week. "There is nothing mortal more swift than these messengers," says Herodotus. The introduction of a uniform coinage, the Persian "darics," formed another measure designed to link all parts of the empire in an indivisible whole. Susa in Elam was its administrative center, although Persepolis, a city built by Darius, continued to be the formal capital and place of coronation of the kings. The provincial system marked a real advance over previous methods of dealing with conquered peoples. It lasted for nearly two hundred years after the accession of Darius and doubtless would have lasted much longer, but for the shock of the Macedonian invasion under Alexander the Great.

Herodotus declared that the Persians were "of all mankind the readiest to adopt foreign customs." Rude and barbarous at first, without writing, without art, and with only a simple tribal society, they quickly absorbed many features of the civilization that had arisen in the Near East. A cuneiform alphabet of thirty-nine letters, probably invented by the Medes, came to be used for inscriptions such as those on the Behistun Rock. This alphabet, derived from the cuneiform script, was clumsy enough when compared with the Phoenician alphabet, some of the letters requiring as many as four or even five "wedges" for their expression. Since the cuneiform signs could be written only on stone or clay, the Persians for most records used parchment, writing on it in alphabetic Aramaic characters. Aramaic, in fact, enjoyed wide currency in the western half of the empire, side by side with the Persian language.

The influence of foreign styles in Persian architecture and sculpture is shown by the palaces at Susa and Persepolis, which were raised on enormous platforms and approached by stairways like those of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The bas-reliefs and enameled bricks lining the interior walls of the palaces were likewise derived from the art of the Tigris-Euphrates peoples. The Persians did not adopt the Babylonian arch, but preferred to support the roofs of their structures on long rows of columns after the Egyptian manner.

The Great King, as he surpassed all former monarchs in power, also surpassed them in luxury and magnificence. He lived far removed from the common eye in the recesses of his palace. When he traveled, even on military expeditions, he carried with him costly furniture, gold and silver dishes, and gorgeous robes. Hundreds of servants, bodyguards, and officials surrounded him. All who approached his person prostrated themselves in the dust. As a Hebrew writer said, "Whatsoever he com-

mandeth them they do. If he bid them make war the one against the other, they do it; if he send them out against his enemies, they go, and break down mountains, walls, and towers. They slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandment." Alexander the Great, who conquered Persia, took over both the substance and the trappings of absolute monarchy from the last Persian king; from Alexander absolutism descended to the Graeco-Macedonian kings who reigned after him; and from them it passed on to the later Roman emperors and to the rulers of medieval and modern Europe.

Zoroastrianism; the Avesta

The Persian kings — none more so than Darius — were devotees of the religion founded by the prophet Zarathustra, or Zoroaster as the Greeks and Romans called him. A shadowy figure, there is no agreement as to the age in which he lived, his date being variously placed between 1000 and 600 B.C.; or as to his birthplace (probably Media); or as to the scene of his ministry, which may have been eastern Iran. Zoroastrianism was substantially a reformation of the nature worship which the Iranians had in common with their Aryan kinsmen in India. The reformer rejected the old gods and taught what may be described as a dualism of the powers of Good and Evil. On the one side stands the spirit of all that is good in the world. His name is Mazda (Wisdom), with the title of Ahura (Lord). On the other side stands the spirit of all that is evil in the world, whom Zoroaster named simply Falsehood, or the Lie, but later known as Ahriman (Enemy Spirit). These rival powers, with their cohorts of angels and devils, wage ceaseless war against each other; now the Good and now the Evil triumphs; but in the end Ahura Mazda will overcome Ahriman and reign alone and supreme over a righteous world. Thus the dualism of Zoroastrianism becomes an ultimate monotheism, or at least a close approach to monotheism. The problem of the origin of evil has been in all ages the greatest difficulty which religious thinkers have had to face. Zoroaster's solution of it influenced Judaism, and thereby Christianity, for the idea of a universal principle of evil reappeared in the Jewish Satan and the Christian Devil.

Zoroastrianism formed an ethical system, as well as a religion. Man is endowed with moral freedom, and in the great struggle between the forces of Good and Evil he must take sides. If he chooses the former, he hastens the final triumph of Ahura Mazda; if he chooses the latter, he impedes and delays it. And for all men there is a judgment after death, when the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked punished.

Zoroaster himself did not describe the future life with precision, but according to later speculation the disembodied soul had to cross the bridge of Chinvat, which spans the infernal regions; for the good it is broad and leads to paradise, but for the bad it is "narrow as a razor's edge so that he falls into hell."

In setting for man as his chief moral task a strenuous warfare against evil, Zoroastrian ethics tended to foster a sturdy, virile character such as the Persians showed in the days of Cyrus and Darius. No place existed in this ethical system for asceticism — for the celibacy, fasting, and self-mortification which conferred sainthood in India. Man was not to flee the world and its temptations, but to overcome evil by "good thoughts, good words, good deeds." Among the virtues on which Zoroastrianism laid special stress veracity has the foremost place: Ahura Mazda is the embodiment of truth, as Ahriman is a liar and the father of lies. Another cardinal virtue is industry: Ahura Mazda works to make the world better, and man must work with him; "he who sows grain sows righteousness." Zoroaster swept away the bloody animal sacrifices, which formed a feature of the Iranian nature religion, but kept the ancient cult of fire. In time, too, earth and water came to be regarded as holy. As the religion developed under the influence of the priestly class (the Magi), more and more attention was devoted to the observance of numerous rules of clean and unclean, to prevent any defilement of the sacred elements. For instance, nothing could be more impure than a corpse, as, indeed, primitive peoples the world over have believed; consequently, it might neither be burned nor buried nor thrown into a stream but must be exposed on mountain tops or on towers to be devoured by birds of prey. In Zoroastrianism, as in so many other religions, formalism tended to replace fervor, and ritual correctness to have the same value as moral uprightness.

The Mohammedan conquest of Persia in the seventh century A.D. almost blotted out Zoroastrianism. Few adherents of it remain in Persia, but the Parsis — that is, "Persians" — in and around Bombay, who fled to India with their sacred books rather than embrace Islam, preserve many features of the old religion. Their doctrine is, however, a pure monotheism. Zoroastrianism thus survives as a living faith, and Ahura Mazda still receives worship when Marduk and Assur, Ra and Osiris, have all been forgotten for many centuries.

The canonical writings of Zoroastrianism are known collectively as the Avesta. It is only a small remnant of the priestly literature said to have been written on twelve thousand ox hides and destroyed during the foreign invasions of Persia. In its present form the work dates mainly from the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. The

oldest and most sacred texts are the Gathas ("hymns"), these being the utterances attributed to Zoroaster himself and the revelations of Ahura Mazda to the prophet. The Gathas have been compared, not inaptly, with the Hebrew Psalms. As the most ancient memorial of the language and religion of the Iranians, the Avesta has much importance; as literature it is inferior to the Vedas and very inferior to the Old Testament.

Cultural Progress in the Near East

It is now clear — archaeologists have made it clear — that while Babylonia and Egypt formed the earliest and always the most important centers of culture in the Near East, they did not develop on entirely independent lines but enjoyed fertilizing cultural contacts even before the dawn of recorded history about 3000 B.C. To the inventions and discoveries of the Babylonians and Egyptians were added those of their neighbors, and during the next twenty-five centuries all were spread by trade and travel, by peaceful migration and armed invasion, over wider and wider areas. By 500 B.C. the whole of western Asia and the adjacent corner of Africa had a more or less unified culture, as well as a unified government.

This culture rested, first, upon stock-raising and agriculture. The revolution by which man ceased to be purely parasitic on nature — a hunter, a fisher, and a food-collector — had been accomplished with the domestication of animals and of plants. Second, it rested upon the use of the metals, copper, then bronze, and at length iron, for both tools and weapons. Third, it rested upon the acquisition of certain practical arts, among which the most notable were pottery-making by means of the potter's wheel, weaving by means of the loom, the manufacture of sun-dried and burnt brick, and stone-masonry. And when all this had been accomplished man turned to other tasks. He invented the plow and the wheeled carriage; devised phonetic writing and an alphabet, together with the clay tablet, parchment, and papyrus as writing materials; formed a calendar; introduced weights and measures, metallic money, coinage, and business usages; practiced many crafts and professions; learned navigation, built seagoing ships, and engaged in an extensive commerce; laid the foundations of engineering, mathematics, astronomy, and scientific medicine; developed the fine arts of sculpture and painting; brought forth an extensive literature in both poetry and prose; established kingdoms and empires with despotic rulers, written laws, a taxation system, courts, and police protection for life and property; formulated moral codes regulating domestic and social rela-

tions; and, lastly, organized a system of religious rites with temples and priesthoods on an elaborate scale. Here, then, was civilization itself, in the sense of a highly developed culture, which by 500 B.C. had become diffused over the greater part of the Near East.

The Near East and Europe

But long before this date various features of civilization had passed from the Near East to Europe. The Cretans, a maritime people about whom we shall soon learn, carried the products and arts of both Babylonia and Egypt to the islands of the Aegean and the Greek mainland, and even farther west to Italy and Sicily. They were followed by another maritime people, the Phoenicians, those "colossal peddlers," who for many centuries traded with the barbarian folk living around the shores of the Mediterranean. Cultural elements, which originated in Babylonia, Egypt, and the neighboring regions, were also spread by the Hittites and Lydians along the land routes of Asia Minor to the Greek cities on the coast of that peninsula and thence to Greece itself. Through these peoples and by such channels the civilization of the ancient Near East began peacefully to penetrate European lands.

PART THREE

Classical Civilization

XI

Greece and the Greek World

The Mediterranean Basin

A SUGGESTIVE contrast has been drawn between "civilizations of ease of existence" and "civilizations of intercourse." Those due to ease of existence originate in regions of exceptional fertility such as the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile, where the soil rewards abundantly the labor bestowed upon it and where, when tillage becomes general, human needs for food, shelter, and clothing are amply supplied. It is in the midst of large and prosperous agricultural communities that the first cities arise, that the handicrafts and practical arts begin to flourish, and that men at length possess the means, as well as the leisure, to multiply the refinements of life. Civilizations due to intercourse arise with the development of the art of navigation, enabling peoples to exchange their products and communicate their ideas by water routes. Such peoples in antiquity were the Cretans, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, and still later the Romans, who all lived on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean.

This Middle Sea, "Our Sea" (*Mare Nostrum*) as the Romans proudly called it, forms an area of marked individuality, whether regarded from the point of view of history or of geography. Measuring about twenty-two hundred miles in length and five hundred to six hundred miles in greatest breadth, it is the most extensive inland sea in the world. Though it washes the shores of three continents its basin is relatively isolated, being confined within a mountain wall on the north and the almost impassable Sahara, "the real boundary of Europe," on the south. It has but one natural entrance and outlet — that formed by the Strait of Gibraltar; the other access by water — the Suez Canal — is an achievement of modern engineering. As regards climate the Mediterranean basin falls halfway between tropical conditions and the temperate conditions of central and northern Europe. The sea exercises a moderating influence, however, raising the temperature in the rainy season (win-

ter) and lowering it in the dry season (summer). Rainfall, on the whole, is scanty; consequently the most important products of the soil are the olive and the vine, which offer considerable resistance to drought.

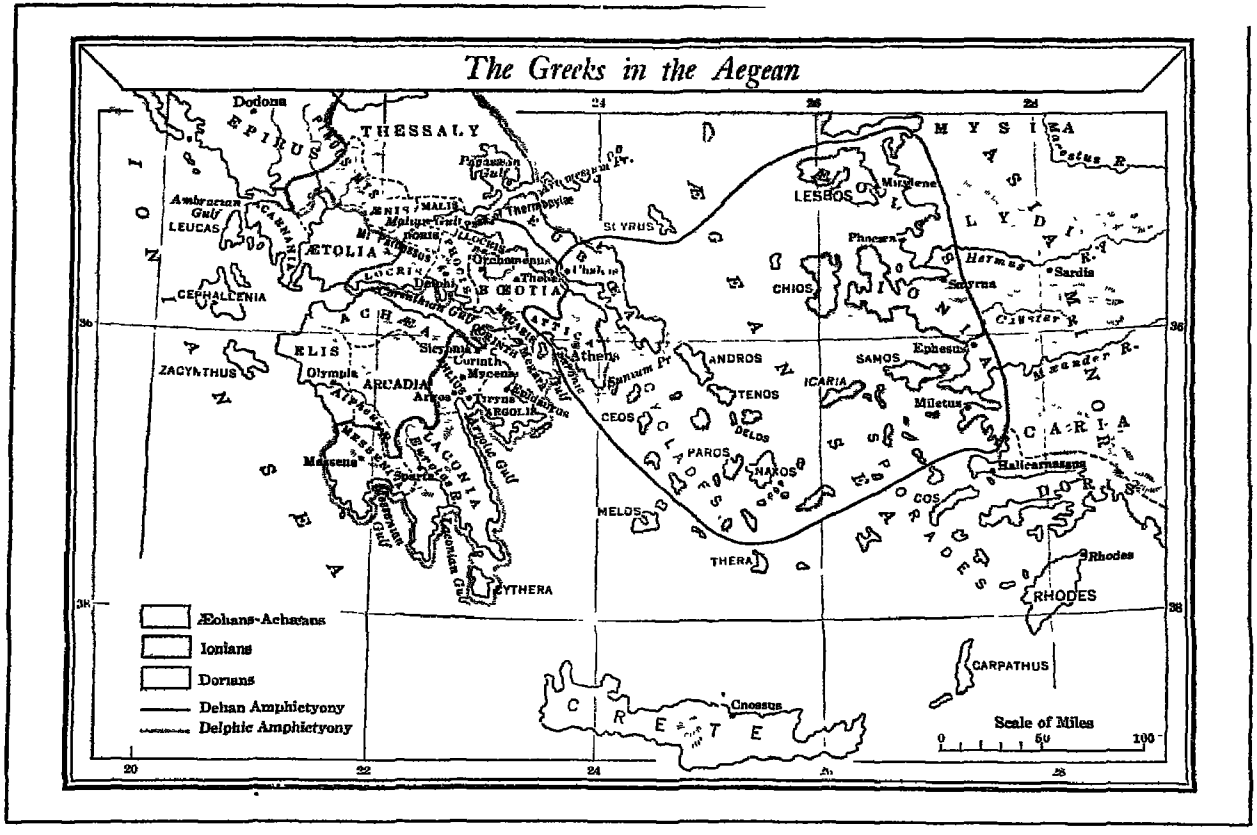
The Mediterranean was well suited for early commercial enterprise because of its long and contracted shape, its deeply indented northern shore, and its numerous islands. Sailors seldom had to proceed far from the sight of land or at a long distance from good harbors. Though its storms are often fierce, they are of home production and usually brief; the Strait of Gibraltar shuts out the high waves of the Atlantic. Freedom from big ocean tides, swift tidal currents, dense fogs, and winter sleet and snow were other advantages offered by the Mediterranean in the infancy of navigation.

The Aegean Lands

Of all the divisions of the Mediterranean none could be better for a civilization of intercourse than the Aegean, which is almost completely enclosed, a lake rather than a sea. The Balkan peninsula, narrowing into the smaller peninsula of Greece, confines it on the west and north; on the south stretches a chain of islands, including the long ridge of Crete; while on the east lies Asia Minor. Hundreds of islands dot its surface, so many and so close together that for the ancient seafarer, who lacked sextant, compass, and chart, they provided a series of landmarks and tempted him to venture farther and farther away from home. Both its Greek and Asiatic shores contain numberless coves and bays well adapted to small vessels; both possess at the mouths of the rivers alluvial plains where wheat and barley, olives and grapes, can be cultivated without irrigation; and both are favored by a mild and sunny, though not enervating, climate. "Balmy and clement," said an ancient Greek poet, "is our atmosphere. The cold of winter has no extremes for us, and the shafts of the sun do not wound." Here on the threshold of the civilized Near East, on the highway of migration and traffic between two continents, European men first emerged from barbarism.

Discoveries in Aegean Lands

When the Greeks began to keep written records, about 750 B.C., they had already lived for centuries on the islands and coasts of the Aegean. Of their forerunners there they knew almost nothing. Only some myths and legends, particularly those preserved in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, dimly recalled to them the memory of an earlier age, when


The Greeks in the Aegean
Dodona
EPIRUS
THESSALY
Pagasæan Gulf
Ambracian Gulf
LEUCAS
CARNIAN
ÆNIANS
MALIS
Malian Gulf
ÆTOLIA
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Œta
Thermopylæ
Orchomenus
Thebes
Delphi
LOCRIS
BŒOTIA
Corinthian Gulf
CEPHALLENIA
ACHÆA
ELIS
ZACYNTHUS
Olympia
Sicyonia
Corinth
Mycenæ
ARCADIA
Argos
Tiryns
ARGOLIS
Argolic Gulf
Messenian Gulf
Messene
LACONIA
Eurotas R.
Sparta
Laconian Gulf
CYTHERA
Æolians-Achæans
Ionians
Dorians
Delian Amphictyony
Delphic Amphictyony
Scyros
Peræan
Athens
Sunium Pr.
ANDROS
TENOS
CEOS
DELOS
PAROS
NAXOS
MELOS
THERA
CRETE
Cnossus
LESBOS
Mitylene
Phocæa
CHIOS
Hermus R.
Smyrna
Sardis
Caicus R.
SAMOS
Ephesus
ICARIA
Miletus
Meander R.
CARIA
Halicarnassus
COS
Rhodes
RHODES
CARPATHUS
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
20
22
24
26
28
36
38

a great civilization flourished throughout the Aegean, flourished and then passed away. The revelation of it to an astonished world began with the work of a German, Heinrich Schliemann. As a child his imagination had been stirred by the poems of Homer; he taught himself Greek; and after amassing wealth in business he set out to prove, by means of the spade, the reality of the Trojan War as told in the *Iliad*. Schliemann started excavations in 1870 at a mound called Hissarlik in northwestern Asia Minor, where tradition had always fixed the site of Homeric Troy. His discoveries and those of later explorers showed that on this site there had been no less than nine ancient settlements from Neolithic to Roman times; of these the second in order from the bottom, where Schliemann uncovered some massive walls and a great treasure of vessels and ornaments in gold and silver, was believed by him to be the Troy of which Homer sang. The most recent excavations, still in progress, now identify it with the seventh city.

Encouraged by his success, Schliemann was soon exploring other ancient sites. At Mycenae in Greece, a city which Homer describes as "rich in gold" and as the residence of Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks against Troy, Schliemann in 1876 laid bare a number of rock-hewn graves containing the skeletons of men, women, and children. The faces of the dead had been covered with thin golden masks and their breasts with golden plates. The other funeral offerings included jewelry, toilet articles, goblets, and vases of gold, silver, alabaster, and ivory, together with many bronze vessels and weapons. The contents of this royal cemetery form the greatest archaeological treasure ever discovered in Greece. Schliemann at once announced that he had found the actual tomb of Agamemnon, even as at Troy he believed that he had brought to light the palace of King Priam. And at Tiryns, near Mycenae, he unearthed the ruins of an extensive structure, with gateways, open courts, and closed apartments, which might well have been the residence of a Homeric chieftain. Imagination readily peoples it with the heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Still more remarkable discoveries have been made since 1900 in Crete. According to a Greek myth that island was the birthplace of Zeus, who there wedded Europa, the daughter of man. Minos, their son, received from his divine father a code of laws and enjoyed so great a reputation for wisdom that after death he became a judge in the underworld. Still another myth represented Minos as a sea king, who ruled from Cnossus in Crete over all the Aegean. Homer also knows Crete and describes it as lying "in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair land and rich, begirt with water, and therein are men innumerable and ninety cities."

On the site of Cnossus an Englishman, Sir Arthur Evans, has found the remains of an enormous palace with many courts, passages, and rooms. Here is the royal council chamber, with a stone chair — "the oldest throne in Europe" — on which the king once sat. Here are the royal magazines, still containing huge earthenware jars for the storage of provisions. A great number of brilliant pictures — hunting scenes, landscapes, portraits — cover the palace walls. At one of the main entrances the visitor sees a row of cupbearers painted life-size. Another wall bears a representation of men and women thickly crowded together, as if witnessing some performance. This may have been the Cretan sport of bull-leaping, in which a youth faced the charging animal, caught hold of its horns, and, if he was adroit enough, somersaulted over to land on its back. The large halls, fine stairways, windows, folding and sliding doors, separate sleeping apartments, bathrooms with terracotta baths, and excellent arrangements for the supply of water and for drainage all indicate that the upper classes led a comfortable and even a luxurious existence.

The Aegean Age

The extinct civilization thus brought to light by modern explorations in the region of the eastern Mediterranean is most conveniently and comprehensively described as Aegean, but the terms Minoan and Mycenaean are also used to refer to its special phases, the one in Crete and the other on the Greek mainland. Crete seems to have been its place of origin and of its highest development, and thence it spread, by commerce and colonization, possibly also by conquest, to the adjacent islands, the coast of Asia Minor, and the shores of Greece. At least as early as 3000 B.C. the primitive inhabitants of Crete were giving up the use of Neolithic tools and weapons for those of copper and later of bronze. They were also beginning to lead settled lives, as we know from the town sites with paved streets and houses several stories high which have been discovered. For more than a thousand years Crete prospered, a rich and powerful state under the kings who ruled from unwalled Cnossus. Yet about 1400 B.C. the city was plundered and burnt, and the same fate befell many another flourishing settlement on the island. The very completeness of the destruction wrought implies that foreign invaders were responsible, though whence they came no one can tell. The center of Aegean civilization now shifted to southern Greece, particularly to Mycenae and Tiryns. Homeric Troy, the Troy of the *Iliad*, also rose to importance at this time.

The cultural progress made by the Cretans and other Aegean peoples

is most clearly revealed in their art. Architects raised imposing palaces of hewn and squared stone. Painters and sculptors produced frescoes, plaster reliefs, and stone carvings which excite our admiration for their gracefulness and liveliness, as well as for their technical excellence. Skilled craftsmen made pottery of many shapes and decorated it with plant and animal forms; they engraved gems, and inlaid the precious metals. But there are no traces of pyramids, obelisks, sphinxes, rock-hewn temples, towers of Babel, and other characteristic features of the art of the ancient Near East; the artistic spirit displayed is European rather than Oriental in character.

The Cretans were the first known of European peoples to use phonetic writing. Out of pictographic signs they developed a linear script, in which each picture had been simplified and conventionalized into a few strokes. In appearance it is quite unlike either the Babylonian cuneiform or the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Less than a hundred characters, some probably representing syllables, seem to have been commonly employed. The palace of Cnossus contained thousands of clay tablets inscribed with this linear writing. Apparently, most of these are inventories of the contents of the royal storerooms, though some may be letters, dispatches, and other records. Their decipherment should throw much light upon a civilization that is still "prehistoric," but the riddle of Cretan writing remains unsolved.

There was much commercial intercourse throughout the Mediterranean during Aegean times. Products of Cretan art or imitations of them are found as far east as Cyprus, Syria, and inner Asia Minor, and as far west as southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and the coast of Spain. Trading relations with Egypt, which lies only a few days' sail from Crete, were especially close. Some of the clay jars and stone vases unearthed on Cretan sites are so like those made in Egypt as to suggest that at one time craftsmen from the Nile valley may have actually settled on the island and instructed its inhabitants in their methods of working. During much of the Aegean Age Crete was mistress of the seas, or at least of the eastern Mediterranean, and Cretan merchants preceded the Phoenicians as carriers between the Near East and Europe.

Who were these gifted Cretans and other Aegean peoples? From an examination of skulls and skeletons found in tombs the conclusion is reached that they belonged mainly to a long-headed and short-statured branch of the Caucasoid race, appropriately described as Mediterranean in physical type, because of its wide distribution, both past and present, around the shores of that great inland sea. Their language remains unknown. According to one view it was a member of the Indo-European family of languages and was the earliest form of Greek;

according to another view it was certainly not Greek, though perhaps Indo-European in character. Until the Cretan writing has been read, the archaeologist and the historian must suspend judgment on this matter.

The civilization of the Aegean Age never penetrated deeply into Greece. The interior districts continued to be occupied by barbarous folk, who had not yet learned to build cities, to create beautiful objects of art, to write, or to traffic on the seas. Their ancestors seem to have entered Greece through the many passes of the Balkans late in the second millennium B.C. The only migration of which tradition preserved any memory was that of the Dorians, whose rude tribes moved down from Macedonia and Thessaly into southern Greece and destroyed both Mycenae and Tiryns about 1100 B.C. The iron weapons which the Dorians possessed must have given them a great advantage in conflicts with the bronze-using Aegeans. The Dorians and other barbarians who preceded them sometimes expelled or exterminated the earlier inhabitants; more often, doubtless, conquerors and conquered slowly intermingled, thus producing the one Greek or Hellenic people found at the dawn of recorded history. The Dorian migration and other movements of population did not stop at the Greek mainland. Asia Minor, either at this time or still earlier, received many emigrants from Greece. Aeolians settled on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands; Ionians planted colonies on its central coast and gave the land their name — Ionia; while Dorians passed over from southern Greece to Crete and Rhodes and thence to the southwestern shores of Asia Minor. As the outcome of these movements, the entire basin of the Aegean became the Greek world, or Hellas.

The Homeric Age

Several hundred years elapsed between the end of the Aegean Age and the beginning of recorded history in Greece, about the middle of the eighth century B.C. This period is usually known as the Homeric Age, because various aspects of it are reflected in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Greeks themselves always believed that these poems were composed by a blind bard, Homer, who lived in Ionia. Some modern scholars have doubted and some still doubt his historical existence, arguing, rather, that the epics were really the edited songs of many successive generations of minstrels. Their date, as well as their authorship, is a matter of dispute, but they can hardly be earlier than 1100 B.C. or later than 700 B.C. Since the discoveries at Troy, Mycenae, and Cnossus it has become easier to believe in the high antiquity of the

two poems. The references in them to the architecture and decoration of palaces, to the art of the goldsmith, and to bronze tools and weapons all correspond with objects revealed by the excavations in Crete and in the Greek mainland. On the other hand, many customs referred to by the poet or poets are not those of the Aegean Age. The Aegeans buried their dead and fought lightly clad, trusting for protection to a shield large enough to cover the whole body; Homer's Greeks (whom he calls Achaeans) burn their dead, placing the bones in lofty mounds of earth, and go to battle encased in suits of heavy armor. The dress of an Aegean lady consisted of a tight bodice cut extremely décolleté and of a flounced, bell-shaped skirt, but the Homeric woman wears a long flowing robe which reaches from shoulders to feet. The chief deity of the Aegean world was a nature goddess, a Great Mother of all life, sometimes represented by a female figure crowned with snakes. In the Homeric world the principal object of adoration is a male deity, the heaven god Zeus. All these are striking differences between the archaeological and the literary evidence, differences not easily reconciled.

If we assume that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed not very long after the migrations and invasions which brought the Aegean Age to an end, then we can understand why so many memories of it should be preserved in the poems. However, as a whole, they must picture a life which was familiar to their author or authors. The references in them to industry and government, to law, morality, and religion, thus afford some idea of the culture which the historic Greeks received as their inheritance. It seems to have been rude, indeed, as compared with the brilliant civilization which it displaced.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* describe a simple economy, with stock-raising and farming as the principal occupations. Wealth consisted largely of flocks and herds, but nearly every freeman owned a plot of land on which he cultivated grain and cared for his vines and olive trees. The landless man, who worked for wages on another's fields, had an almost servile status. Slavery existed, and prisoners of war or foreigners purchased from Phoenician traders made a part of every wealthy household. The number of slaves was far less than in later times, and they seem to have been well treated. There were few skilled artisans, for most things were made at home: every man had to be something of a jack-of-all-trades. Commerce was little followed. People depended upon the Phoenicians for purple-dyed stuffs and other articles of luxury which they could not produce themselves. Exchange was by barter, values being reckoned in oxen or in lumps of gold and silver. While iron had now come into some use for weapons and farm implements,

bronze continued to be the commoner and cheaper metal. Achilles speaks of the "fair-girdled women and gray iron" in his possession and he offers a prize of unwrought iron in the games at the funeral of his friend Patroclus. Social life was likewise of a simple character. Princes tended flocks and did manual labor; princesses carried water from the fountains and washed clothes. Agamemnon is not ashamed to be his own butcher and cook, Odysseus boasts of his skill as plowman and shipwright, and his wife Penelope weaves every day in the palace with her maidens. Hunting and fighting were the chief outdoor amusements of the heroes, as of the feudal lords of medieval Europe; we also see them at the feast where, with no such refinements as plates or forks, they eat their fill of roast meat and then listen to the songs and music of minstrels. A few professions are mentioned, chiefly those of priests, soothsayers, and physicians. There were no architects who could raise magnificent palaces and no artists who could paint and carve with the skill of their Aegean predecessors. Writing is referred to only once by Homer and doubtless was little used.

The legal and moral standards in force reveal a society still at the barbarian level. Though monogamy prevailed, concubinage was allowable and adultery was hardly censured. Deceit and trickery, if successful, were rather admired than condemned. Petty wars were numerous, with death or enslavement as the lot of the vanquished. Piracy, flourishing on the unprotected seas, did not rank as dishonorable. It was no insult to inquire of a seafaring stranger whether he was pirate or merchant. Homicide was common, though the blood feuds to which it gave rise might be settled by the payment of a fine to the relatives of the deceased. Doubtless many of the brutalities of the age have been eliminated from the poems as these have come down to us, but even "godlike" Achilles is represented mutilating the corpse of Hector and sacrificing twelve Trojan youths upon the grave of Patroclus.

On the other hand, Homeric society has its attractive side. The sanctity of oaths was highly regarded, especially in the form of an appeal to Zeus the all-seeing, the infallible spy of both gods and men. As among many primitive peoples, hospitality to the stranger who takes refuge at the hearth was a stringent duty; Zeus, the god of strangers, lays a bitter penalty on him who does evil to a suppliant or a guest. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* contain many charming descriptions of family life, of the reverence and affection accorded to parents, and of the tender treatment of children. Married women held a dignified position, and they were far from being kept in seclusion, as was the case later in Athens and some other Greek cities

Andromache, Hector's much loved and much loving wife, is one of Homer's finest characters. In general, the Homeric Greeks resembled the Indo-Aryans as described in the *Rig-Veda;* the two peoples were evidently on much the same cultural plane.

Religion

The *Rig-Veda* is a collection of hymns composed by priests for divine worship; the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, on the contrary, are purely secular poetry, dealing with the exploits of the heroes of old and recited for the entertainment of their supposed descendants, the kings and the nobles. Gods and goddesses play only a subordinate part in the epics. But in time the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became popular literature. They were recited to assembled multitudes in every village and city; children memorized them at school, actors presented them on the stage, and artists found in them the most attractive subjects for chisel and brush. As the result of this wide influence, Greek religion came to center about the great divinities whom Homer localizes on Mount Olympus in Thessaly.

At the head of the select Olympian circle stands Zeus, "father of gods and men," with Apollo and Athena next in rank and honor. Hera, the wife and sister of Zeus, and his brother Poseidon, ruler of the sea, are subordinate deities. Below them come Ares, a war god; Aphrodite, goddess of love and beauty; Artemis, a goddess of wild nature and patroness of the chase; Hephaestus, god of fire and the patron of all mechanic arts; and Hermes, the wing-footed messenger of the gods. Stronger, wiser, more beautiful than mortals, ever living and ever young, are these Olympians, but nevertheless they are completely humanized. They have human form, need sleep and food, can feel intense physical pain, marry and procreate, and intervene constantly in mundane affairs on behalf of their favorites. Homer does not scruple to reveal their vanity, selfishness, lusts, and quarrels: Ares and Aphrodite, an adulterous pair, surprised by Hephaestus in the role of the outraged husband; jealous Hera boxing the ears of Artemis with the latter's own bow and quiver; and "cloud-gathering" Zeus trying vainly to keep order in his celestial family. The Olympians, indeed, were no better than their worshipers. Yet there are passages in the epics where they are represented as the upholders of morality; thus Priam, praying Achilles for the body of Hector, admonishes him to show reverence for the gods. "Verily the blessed gods love not froward deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men."

The Homeric Greeks shared the beliefs of all mankind in the human soul and its continued existence after death. Like the Babylonians and the early Hebrews they placed the abode of the dead in a dark and cheerless underworld. There, in Hades, the shade of Achilles exclaims sorrowfully, "Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death. Rather would I live on earth as the hireling of another, even with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead." In addition to Hades, Homer refers to the Elysian Plain at the western extremity of the earth, reserved for semidivine heroes who had never tasted death; he knows, likewise, of a place called Tartarus, far below Hades, where those who rebelled against the will of Zeus were confined. Later poets described the Isles of the Blest out in the western ocean as a paradise for the souls of all virtuous men, and Tartarus as a hell in which the souls of the wicked endured endless punishment.

Religious Institutions

In common with many primitive peoples, the Greeks believed that the gods showed their purposes toward men by signs and portents, in thunder and lightning, in the flight of birds, and in the appearance of the entrails of animals offered for sacrifice. Communications from the gods were also received from certain inspired persons at places called oracles. The most celebrated of the oracles was that of Apollo at Delphi in Phocis. Here Apollo was supposed to speak through a prophetess, at first only once a year, on the god's birthday, but later on the seventh day of each month, which was sacred to him. The words which the prophetess uttered when "possessed" or inspired by Apollo were interpreted by the attendant priests, written out in verse, and delivered to inquirers. The fame of the oracle spread throughout Greece and reached foreign lands. Every year Delphi was thronged with visitors. Statesmen wished to learn the outcome of their political schemes; ambassadors sent by kings and cities asked for guidance on weighty matters of war and peace; and intending colonists sought directions as to the best country in which to settle. Some of the noblest cities in the Greek world, Byzantium and Cyrene, for instance, had their sites fixed by Apollo's guidance. The priests who managed the oracle and its responses were usually able to give good advice to their inquirers because news of every sort streamed into Delphi. When the priests were doubtful what answer to make, the prophecy of the god was sometimes expressed so ambiguously that, whatever the outcome, neither Apollo nor his servants could be charged with deceit. The oracle was still consulted at the close of the fourth century after Christ,

when a Roman emperor, upon the adoption of Christianity, silenced it forever.

The athletic contests of the Greeks were closely connected with religion, being held in connection with the funeral or memorial rites of heroes and as a part of the worship of the gods. The oldest and most famous contests were those dedicated to Zeus at Olympia in Elis. The Olympic games took place every fourth year, in midsummer. A sacred truce was proclaimed for a month at this time, so that the spectators from every part of the Greek world might arrive and depart in safety. No one not of Greek blood and no one convicted of crime could be a competitor. The games occupied five days, beginning with the contests in running. There was a short-distance dash through the length of the stadium (about two hundred and ten yards), a quarter-mile race, and also a longer race, probably for two or three miles. Then followed a contest consisting of five events: the long jump, hurling the discus, throwing the javelin, running, and wrestling. It is not known how victory in these five events taken together was decided. In the long jump weights like dumbbells were held in the hands, the swing of the weights being used to assist the spring. The discus, which weighed about twelve pounds, was sometimes hurled more than one hundred feet. The javelin was thrown either by the hand alone or with the help of a thong wound about the shaft and held in the fingers. In wrestling three falls were necessary for a victory. Boxing was a favorite competition. There were also numerous horse races, with the jockeys riding their steeds bareback, and the very popular chariot races, in which even kings took part. A winning athlete received only a wreath of wild olive at Olympia, but at home he enjoyed the gifts and adulation of his fellow citizens.

The crowds that gathered before and after the festival turned Olympia into a great fair, at which merchants set up their shops and money-changers their tables. Artists held exhibitions for prospective purchasers; authors recited before admiring audiences; orators spoke on subjects of general interest; and heralds read treaties recently made between Greek states in order to have them widely known. The Olympic games thus did much to preserve a sense of fellowship among Greek communities. Their first recorded celebration occurred in 776 B.C., and they continued to take place until their abolition, along with the Delphic oracle, as inimical to Christianity. The four-year interval between them, called an Olympiad, became the Greek unit for determining dates.

Many Greeks took part in secret religious rites known as "mysteries," especially in those which developed at Eleusis, a little Attic town near Athens. The Eleusinian mysteries were connected with the worship

of a vegetation goddess, Demeter, and her daughter, Persephone, whom Hades, the grim lord of the underworld, carried off to be his wife and queen during the four winter months of the year. This myth was one of the many stories by which early peoples have sought to explain the changes of the seasons and the dying of vegetation in the winter to revive again in the spring. The Greeks found in it a deeper meaning: to them it seemed an allegory of the death and resurrection of all human life. The celebration of the mysteries came in September and lasted nine days. When the candidates for admission had been worked up to a state of religious excitement, they entered a brilliantly lighted hall and witnessed a play representing the myth of Demeter and Persephone which held out to the initiates the hope of a blessed lot in another world. As an Athenian orator said, "Those who have shared this initiation have brighter hopes concerning the end of life and the eternity beyond." In time the mysteries were opened to all Greeks, women as well as men, slaves as well as freemen; finally, the privilege of membership was extended to Romans and even to Orientals. Their importance increased, as faith in the Olympian divinities declined, and they formed one of the last strongholds of paganism.

The influence of religion was sometimes enough to bring about local unions, called amphictyonies, for the celebration in common of religious festivals. One of these "leagues of neighbors" included principally the Ionian Greeks and centered in the little island of Delos, the reputed birthplace of Apollo. Another amphictyony comprised the principal tribes and city-states from Thessaly to the Peloponnesus. It established a council which took the temple of Apollo at Delphi under its protection and superintended the athletic contests held there in honor of the god. This organization served in some measure as a peace agency. Regulations were made to secure a cessation of hostilities between members at the time of the festival, and occasionally the council was called upon to arbitrate disputes which threatened to lead to war. But the Delphic Amphictyony never acquired a recognized authority over all Greece.

The City-State

Aegean civilization was essentially city-bred. The decline of that civilization involved the decline of the urban centers in Crete and on the Greek mainland, with their intense commercial and industrial activity, and a reversion to a simpler form of life appropriate for herdsmen and farmers. The Greeks of the Homeric Age seem to have lived at first only in small, unwalled villages such as were always found in the more backward parts of their country. Even before the end of

the Homeric Age, however, the city (*polis*) began to emerge and to become more and more the characteristic feature of Greek political society. Sometimes a village conquered its less powerful neighbors and compelled them to unite with it. Sometimes a number of villages lying close together combined for the possession of a hill of refuge, or acropolis. Fortresses and temples occupied the summit of the hill; at its foot lay the market place or public square; and about its rocky sides the inhabitants built their houses. Such a settlement might in time expand into a walled city, beyond which lay pastures and tillable lands belonging to the inhabitants. Being independent, self-governing, and with power to declare war, conclude treaties, and make alliances, it is properly described as a city-state. The Greek world contained many communities of this sort, some of them only a few square miles in area.

Judged by modern standards a city-state was not densely populated. A Greek philosopher once declared that "a city could not consist of ten men nor again of one hundred thousand." He meant that a city ought not to be so small that no community life was possible in it, nor yet so large that a man could not know many of its inhabitants. As a matter of fact, the total citizen body rarely numbered ten thousand free males of voting age except in such places as Athens, Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and Sparta. The citizens were very closely associated, for they believed themselves to be descended from a common ancestor and they shared a common worship of the patron god or demigod who had them under his protection. Citizenship was consequently a privilege which a man enjoyed only by birth and which he lost by removal to another community. Elsewhere he was a foreigner lacking legal rights — a man without a country. Resident aliens, as well as slaves, were thus excluded from any share in the political life of the city-state.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which afford the first view of the city-state, also contain the most ancient account of its government. Every city-state had its heaven-descended king, the "shepherd of the people," as Homer calls him. He was the commander in chief and led the army to battle. A king who shirked fighting, who could not hold his own with spear and sword, would not have been tolerated. He was the high priest, and on behalf of the people offered sacrifices of cattle to the immortal gods. He was the judge, and sat in the market place deciding disputes and punishing offenders against time-honored customs. Such authority as this "king" had was narrowly limited by a council of nobles, including the heads of old and distinguished families and the great landowners. They helped him in judgment and sacrifice, filled the principal offices, and followed him to war. These "tamers of horses" fight from chariots and challenge each other to single combats,

by which battles are often decided; in the *Iliad* only the duels of chieftains are thought worthy of mention. In spite of the aristocratic nature of society, the common people were by no means powerless, for king and nobles had to consult them on matters of signal importance such as making war or declaring peace. The freemen would then be summoned to meet in the market place, where they shouted assent to the proposals laid before them or showed disapproval by silence. The popular assembly had only a minor place in Homeric times, but later it became the center of Greek democracy.

Many city-states, after the opening of recorded history in Greece, changed their form of government. In some of them, Thebes and Corinth for instance, the nobles became strong enough to abolish the kingship altogether, so that monarchy, the rule of one, gave way to oligarchy, the rule of the few. In Sparta and Argos the kings were not driven out, but their power was much lessened. Many city-states, especially during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., came under the control of "tyrants," or dictators, who gained supreme power by force or guile and governed without regard to the laws. Though often able and enlightened men, such as were Periander of Corinth and Pisistratus of Athens, their rule deeply offended the Greek love of freedom, and it was always short-lived in any single city. Still other city-states, of which Athens formed the most conspicuous example, went through an entire cycle of changes from kingship to oligarchy, thence to tyranny, and finally to popular rule, or democracy.

Growth of Sparta

Sparta had been founded at a remote period by Dorian tribes which occupied the district of Laconia in southern Greece (the Peloponnesus). It was a collection of five unwalled villages, "low-lying among the caverned hills," as Homer describes it, in the valley of the Eurotas River. An atmosphere of lazy ease and pleasantness pervades this warm, almost tropical valley, rich in grain and olives, well watered, and crowned by snow-capped mountains, the haunt of nightingales. Nature seems to have designed it as the home of a people devoted to the arts of peace; actually, it nourished the Spartans, the most vigorous and warlike of all the Greeks. They conquered some of the neighboring communities and organized others into a military confederacy known as the Peloponnesian League. The members of the league paid no tribute, but furnished troops to serve under Spartan leaders and looked to Sparta for guidance and protection. By the close of the sixth century B.C. that city ranked as the foremost power in Greece and as

the acknowledged leader of the Greeks in the great struggle, then near at hand, with the invading Persians.

The Spartans formed a warrior class, ruling over a much larger body of subjects. They had no industries of importance, cared nothing for commerce, and lived upon the produce of their farms, which were tilled by serfs called Helots. Their government was a monarchy in form, but since there were always two kings reigning at once, neither could become powerful. The real management of affairs lay in the hands of five ephors, or overseers, who were chosen annually by the citizens. The ephors accompanied the kings in war and directed their actions; guided the deliberations of the council of nobles and the popular assembly; superintended the education of children; and exercised a paternal control over everybody.

Placed among a sullen and hostile population, which greatly outnumbered them, the Spartans could maintain their superiority only by transforming themselves into a standing army and their city into an armed camp. War and preparation for war engaged them almost from the cradle to the grave. A sound body was the first essential for a warrior, and to secure it the Spartans dared to carry out with the utmost rigor the precepts of modern eugenics. A father was required to submit his son, soon after birth, to an inspection by the elders of his tribe. If they found the child puny or ill-shaped, they ordered it to be exposed on the mountain side. At the age of seven a boy was taken from his parents' home and placed in a school, to be trained in marching, sham fighting, and gymnastics. He learned to sing warlike songs and in conversation to express himself in the fewest possible words. Spartan brevity of speech became proverbial. Above all, he learned to endure hardship without complaint, going barefoot and wearing only a single garment winter and summer, sleeping on a bed of rushes in the open air, and for his food depending on what he could beg or steal. Every year he and his comrades had to submit to a flogging before the altar of the goddess Artemis, and the hero was the lad who could bear the torture longest without giving a sign of pain. The youth became a warrior when twenty years of age. He did not live at home but passed his time in barracks, as a member of a mess, or club, to which he contributed his proper share of food, wine, and money. The money consisted of iron bars so bulky that no one was tempted to accumulate much of it; the food was a thick soup, "black broth"; the wine was mixed with much water.

On reaching the age of thirty a Spartan became a full citizen and a member of the popular assembly. He was then compelled to marry in order to raise children for the state. Marriage did not free him,

however, from attendance at the public meals, the drill ground, and the gymnasium. A Spartan, in fact, enjoyed little domesticity until he reached the age of sixty, when he retired from active service and, if of noble birth, became eligible for a seat in the council. All the period of manhood was thus claimed by the strict, harsh discipline of a soldier's career. As a sarcastic Athenian once remarked, "A Spartan's life is so unpleasant that it is no wonder he throws it away lightly in battle." This exclusive devotion to warlike pursuits accomplished its object. The soldiers of Sparta kept the Helots in subjection, maintained for centuries the supremacy of their city in the Peloponnesus, and in the Persian wars bore the brunt of the land fighting against the foreign invader. Such were the fruits of militarism.

The Spartans always believed that their laws were the work of a certain Lycurgus, who was supposed to have lived in the ninth century B.C. Nothing is really known about him, and some modern scholars even question his historical existence. Whether Lycurgus ever lived or not is unimportant, for there can be no doubt that the peculiar institutions and customs of Sparta were the outcome of a long development.

Growth of Athens

Attica, in central Greece, seems at first to have been filled with a number of independent city-states, but long before the dawn of recorded history the kings of Athens, the largest and strongest state, had come to rule over the entire district. All the inhabitants of Attica henceforth were Athenian citizens, even though they continued to live in their own villages and towns. In time the kings disappeared, and a small privileged class of nobles took over the control of the government. Their sway bore harshly on the common people, the peasants and artisans of Attica. There now arose in succession three lawgivers, historical personages (which is more than can be certainly said of the Spartan Lycurgus), whose work it was to lay the foundations of Athenian democracy.

Draco (621 B.C.) provided the Athenians with a code of laws to replace the unwritten customs which the judges — all nobles — interpreted so as to favor their own class. The code seems to have been very severe. It contained, however, truly enlightened provisions which abolished the old blood feuds, distinguished between accidental and intentional homicide, and set up a regular procedure for murder trials.

While the introduction of written laws doubtless secured a more even justice for all the citizens, it did nothing to remedy the economic ills from which they suffered. At this time the condition of Attic

peasants was deplorable. Many of them had been unable to pay their rent to the landowners, had fallen heavily into debt, and according to custom were being sold into slavery. In the crisis Solon received full power to make needed reforms (594–593 B.C.). He canceled the outstanding obligations of the peasants, restored to freedom those who had been enslaved, and prohibited the lending of money on the security of the person. He reconstructed the constitution by grouping the citizens into property classes according to their income from land and by admitting even the poorest citizens to the popular assembly. Solon also drew up a new and more liberal set of laws as a substitute for the Draconian code.

In spite of these measures, the strife between the nobility and the commons continued and at length led to the creation of the tyranny of Pisistratus and his two sons. It lasted for fifty years. After its downfall the legislation of Clisthenes in 508–507 B.C. gave to the Athenians a stable government, popular in form, under which they lived for nearly two centuries. For voting on the basis of the old kinship groups he substituted a geographic division of the population, thus breaking the political power of the noble families and putting an end to the chronic factional struggles. One of his most important measures extended the citizenship to many aliens and emancipated slaves then resident in Attica. He is said, also, to have established the practice known as ostracism. Every year, if necessary, the citizens met in assembly and voted against any persons whom they considered dangerous to the state. If as many as six thousand votes were cast, the man who received the highest number of votes had to go into honorable exile for ten years. Ostracism was intended as a precaution against tyrants, but before long it came to be used to get rid of unpopular politicians and deteriorated into a party weapon.

The city-state of Athens thus stood in marked contrast to that of Sparta. Athens, by the close of the sixth century B.C., had dispensed with kings and tyrants, had greatly weakened the influence of the nobles, and had begun to function as a democracy,—the first in antiquity. The time was now rapidly approaching when Athens would show forth her worth before the eyes of all Greece.

Colonial Expansion

The Greeks, with the sea at their doors, naturally became fishers, sailors, merchants, and colonizers. After the middle of the eighth century B.C. the city-states began to plant numerous settlements along the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, thus initiating a

period of colonial expansion which covered about two hundred and fifty years. Trade was one motive for colonization. The Greeks, like the Phoenicians, were able to realize large profits by exchanging their manufactured goods for the food and raw materials of other countries. Land hunger was another motive. The poor soil of Greece could not support many inhabitants and, as population increased, emigration offered the only means of relieving the pressure of numbers. A third motive was political and social unrest. The city-states at this period contained many men of adventurous disposition, who sought in foreign lands a refuge from the oppression of nobles or tyrants. They hoped to find abroad more freedom than they had at home. A Greek colony ordinarily remained independent, but the colonists, who called themselves "men away from home," always felt a strong attachment to the land from which they sprang. Mother-city and daughter-colony traded with each other and in time of danger sometimes helped each other. The sacred fire, carried from the public hearth of the old community to the new settlement, formed a symbol of the close ties binding them together.

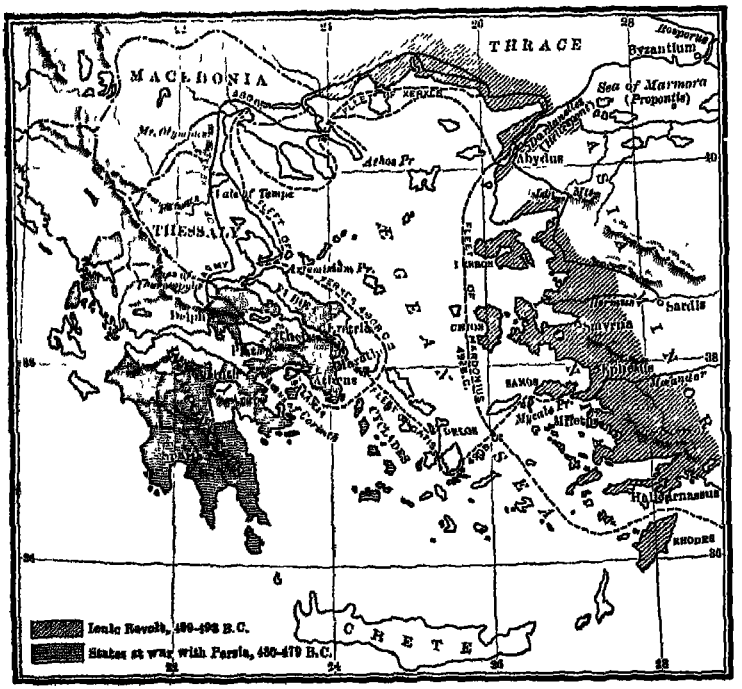
The Greeks established many colonies along the coast of the northern Aegean and on both sides of the passages leading into the Black Sea. Their most important settlement here was Byzantium, upon the site where Constantinople (Istanbul) now stands. The colonies which bordered the Black Sea were centers for the supply of fish, wool, grain, timber, metals, and slaves. The wealth to be gained by exploiting these natural resources made the Greeks willing to live in what was then a wild and inhospitable region. They felt more at home in southern Italy, where the genial climate, clear air, and sparkling sea recalled their native land. So many were the settlements in this region that it came to be known as Great Greece (*Magna Graecia*). One of them was Cumae, on the coast just north of the Bay of Naples. Emigrants from Cumae, in turn, built the city of Naples (Neapolis), which in Roman times formed a center of Greek culture and even today has a large Greek population. To secure the approaches from Greece to these remote colonies, two strongholds were established on the Strait of Messina: Reggio (Regium) on the Italian side and Messina (Messana) on that of Sicily. The most important colony in Sicily was Syracuse, founded by Corinth. The Greeks could not expand over the entire island, owing to the opposition of the Carthaginians, who had numerous possessions at its western extremity. The Greeks were also prevented by the Carthaginians from gaining much of a foothold in Corsica, Sardinia, and on the coasts of Gaul and Spain. Marseilles (Massilia), at the mouth of the Rhône, was the chief Greek settlement

in this part of the Mediterranean. Two colonies in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean were Cyrene and Naucratis, the latter in the Delta of the Nile. Colonies were also established in Cyprus and along the southern coast of Asia Minor. "All the Greek colonies," said an ancient writer, "are washed by the waves of the sea, and, so to speak, a fringe of Greek earth is woven on to 'barbarian' lands."

The city-states which arose at an early period on the great plains of Babylonia and Egypt at length were combined into kingdoms and empires under one government. Unification was a more difficult process on the Greek mainland, where mountain ranges and deep inlets of the sea divide the country into numberless compartments, and it was almost impossible on the islands and remote coasts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The Greeks, indeed, never achieved political unity, but continued until Macedonian and Roman times to form hundreds and hundreds of independent communities. Wherever rose a Greek city, there was a scene of Greek history. Nevertheless, the Greeks were not without a real sentiment of cultural unity, which set them apart from the foreigners, or "barbarians," about them. The strongest bond of union was their common language, and, next to that, their literature, especially the Homeric epics. Their common religion also made for cultural unity. Everywhere the Greeks worshiped the same Olympian divinities, visited the same oracles, participated in the same athletic contests, and were initiated into the same mysteries.

The Persian Wars

The creation of the Persian Empire reacted at once on the Greek world. Cyrus the Great carried his victorious arms throughout Asia Minor, thus becoming overlord of the Ionian and other Greek communities on the eastern side of the Aegean. His son, Cambyses, annexed those in Cyprus and North Africa. Darius the Great conquered those around the Black Sea, as well as the wild tribes of Thrace and Macedonia. Darius also sent an expedition against the Athenians to punish them for helping their kinsmen, the Ionians of Asia Minor, against Persia, but on the plain of Marathon, only a few miles from Athens, its brave defenders drove back the enemy in confusion and with heavy loss to their ships. The battle of Marathon (490 B.C.) checked the westward advance of Persia and inspired the Greeks, above all, the Athenians, with the hope of maintaining their freedom against an Asiatic power hitherto deemed to be invincible. "Until this time," says Herodotus, "the very name of the Medes (Persians) had been a terror to the Greeks to hear."



The Persian Invasions of Greece

Ten years after Marathon the Persians returned to the attack under the son of Darius, Xerxes, who brought together a large army from every part of his realm and a fleet made up of Phoenician, Egyptian, and other contingents. Confronted by this formidable armament, many Greek states surrendered without fighting when heralds came to them demanding "earth and water," the customary symbols of submission. Other states, such as Thebes, which was jealous of Athens, and Argos, equally jealous of Sparta, did nothing to help the patriotic Greeks throughout the struggle. The campaigns of the war (480–479 B.C.) have been described, once for all, in the glowing pages of Herodotus. The world will not soon forget the story — how at Thermopylae a few thousand Greeks held for three days that narrow pass and died there almost to a man; how the Greek fleet, consisting chiefly of Athenian vessels, engaged that of Persia at Salamis and well-nigh destroyed it under the very eyes of the Great King himself, seated on a golden throne upon the hillside; how after the flight of the crestfallen monarch to Asia a Spartan army, supported by the Athenians and other allies, overwhelmed the land forces of the Persians near the little town of Plataea in Boeotia; and how, finally, at about the same

time as this battle, the remainder of the Persian fleet suffered defeat at Mycale, off the Ionian coast, thus virtually ending the contest.

The success of the Greeks does not appear so remarkable when the opposing forces are contrasted. The Persian infantry, without defensive armor and provided, for the most part, with only bows and arrows, could make little impression in close fighting against the heavy-armed Greek soldiers, with their long spears, huge shields, and sharp swords. The excellent Persian cavalry, so effective on Asiatic plains, was of little service in the narrow valleys and mountain passes of Greece. Even the Persian fleet, though it surpassed that of the Greeks in the number of ships, contained few vessels as large and well equipped as the Athenian triremes. No doubt, also, the difficulties of transport and commissariat were keenly felt by the Persians, operating far from their base of supplies in the rough, poor land of Greece. Lastly, it is clear that in discipline, resolution, and leadership the advantage lay with the Greeks. Their higher morale helped to offset the big battalions of Persia.

What might have been the outcome of a Persian victory is a matter for speculation, and when the historian speculates he ceases to be a historian. Yet it seems certain that had Persia effected a thorough conquest of Greece, the distinctively Western civilization then being developed by Athens and other states must have been submerged, perhaps for centuries, under the influx of Eastern ideas and customs.

Athens after the Persian Wars

The repulse of Persia gave to the Greeks half a century of comparative repose, when they were able to devote their energies to the works of peace. During this period Athens became the largest and most powerful state of Greece. Her location made her a natural center for the Greek communities widely scattered about the Aegean; her citizens were energetic and progressive; her government was a democracy. And in the eyes of patriotic Greeks she had suffered most in the Persian wars and had gained most glory from their outcome. Herodotus well expresses this feeling when he calls the Athenians the saviors of Greece. "Next to the gods," he says, "*they* repulsed the invader."

In order to remove the danger of another attack from Persia, the Athenians and their Greek kindred in Asia Minor and on the Aegean islands formed a defensive alliance, which ultimately included over two hundred city-states. Some of the larger and wealthier members agreed to provide ships and crews for the allied fleet. All the other members made their contributions in money, allowing Athens to build and equip the ships. Athenian officials collected the revenues, which were placed

for protection in the temple of Apollo on the sacred island of Delos. This Delian League formed the most promising step which the Greeks had yet taken in the direction of federal government, but it soon became an instrument for the aggrandizement of Athens. The Athenians used the naval force that had been formed by the contributions of the allies to coerce any city that failed to pay the assessments upon it or that tried to withdraw from the league. The Delian communities were compelled to accept governments after the Athenian model, to endure the presence of Athenian garrisons, and to furnish soldiers for the Athenian army. Even the common treasury of the League was transferred in 454 B.C. from Delos to Athens. What had started out as a voluntary association of free and independent states thus ended by becoming, to all intents and purposes, an Athenian naval empire.

The Athenians ruled imperially, but they belonged to a democratic state in which every citizen, whether rich or poor, whether a noble or a commoner, had an opportunity to hold office, to serve in the courts, and to take part in law-making. The offices were made very numerous — fourteen hundred altogether — so that they might be distributed as widely as possible. Most of them were annual, and some could not be held twice by the same person. Election to office was usually by lot, an arrangement which gave one man as good a chance as another in the political game. The pay of officeholders, though small, was enough to enable people of even modest means to assume civic responsibilities. As the statesman Pericles declared, "An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household, and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who shows no interest in public affairs not as a harmless, but as a useless, character."

The center of the Athenian democracy was the popular assembly, which included all men who had reached twenty years of age. The number present at a meeting rarely exceeded five thousand, because so many citizens lived in the country districts of Attica. Forty regular meetings were held every year, on the slopes of a hill called the Pnyx. Having seated themselves, the people first listened to a herald, who solemnly cursed all who might speak with treasonable or corrupt motives. If there was no thunderstorm, eclipse, or any other bad omen, the business of the Assembly began with the consideration of measures laid before it by the Council of Five Hundred, this being a body whose members were chosen every year by lot from the whole body of citizens over thirty years of age. No proposal could be submitted to the Assembly which had not been previously discussed by the Council. A speaker before the Assembly faced a difficult audience. It was

ready to yell its disapproval of his advice, to mock him if he mispronounced a word, or to drown his voice with shouts and whistles. On the other hand, an eloquent man might win fame and power as a popular leader, becoming "the master of the stone on the Pnyx." At the conclusion of the debate, the Assembly voted to accept without change the proposal of the Council, or to amend or reject it. Voting was by show of hands, except in cases, such as ostracism, affecting individuals, when the ballot was used. Whatever the decision of the Assembly, it was final. This great popular gathering settled questions of war and peace, sent out military and naval expeditions, authorized expenditures, and exercised general control over the affairs of Athens and her dependencies.

The deliberations of the Assembly were guided and its orders were executed by Ten Generals, who formed a sort of cabinet. Since their duties required special knowledge, they were not chosen by lot but by election from the entire body of citizens. As a safeguard against abuse of power, they held office for only one year, but were eligible for reelection. The Athenians showed their appreciation of Pericles by choosing him as one of the Generals sixteen years in succession.

The Athenians also had law courts, the members drawn from the whole body of citizens over thirty years of age and chosen by lot from the candidates presenting themselves. As many as a thousand citizens might serve on an important case. They were both judges and jurors; they decided by majority vote; and from their decicisions lay no appeal. Before these courts public officers accused of wrongdoing were tried; important cases, such as disputes between cities of the Delian League, were settled; and all ordinary legal business affecting the Athenians themselves was transacted.

This "pure" or direct democracy worked fairly well in the government of a city-state. It proved to be less successful in the government of an empire. The subject communities of the Delian League were unrepresented at Athens. They had no one to speak for them in the popular assembly or before the law courts; consequently their interests were always subordinated to those of the Athenians. We shall notice the same absence of a representative system in republican Rome, after that city had become mistress of the Mediterranean basin.

Athenian Society

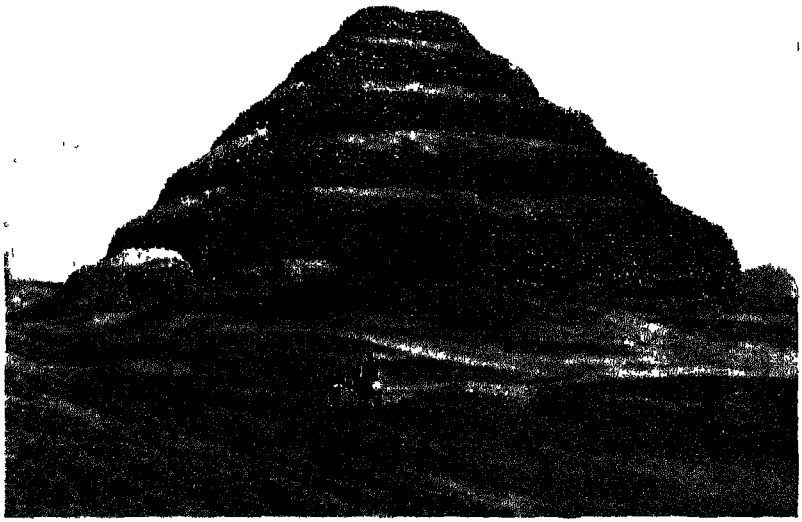
In fifth-century Athens the great majority of the citizens, those who gave to the city its particular tone and character, were neither rich nor poor, but of moderate means — small farmers, shopkeepers,

workingmen, and professional men. As members of the popular assembly and law courts, their duties often brought them together; they met constantly in the Agora, or market place, where even those who had nothing to buy or sell came to see and be seen; and when the day's work was done they usually joined in the physical exercises carried on in a gymnasium. Here were grounds for running, wrestling, and discus throwing, as well as rooms for bathing and anointing. While the younger men occupied themselves with active sports, those of maturer years might be content with talk — infinite talk — on political or philosophical themes. The Athenians were both gregarious and garrulous. A New Testament author well describes them as spending their lives in nothing else "but either to tell or to hear some new thing." Still other opportunities for intercourse were afforded by the theatrical performances and the religious festivals. To the average Athenian his house was no more than a place in which to eat and sleep: he lived out of doors: his city was at once his country and his church, his club and his home.

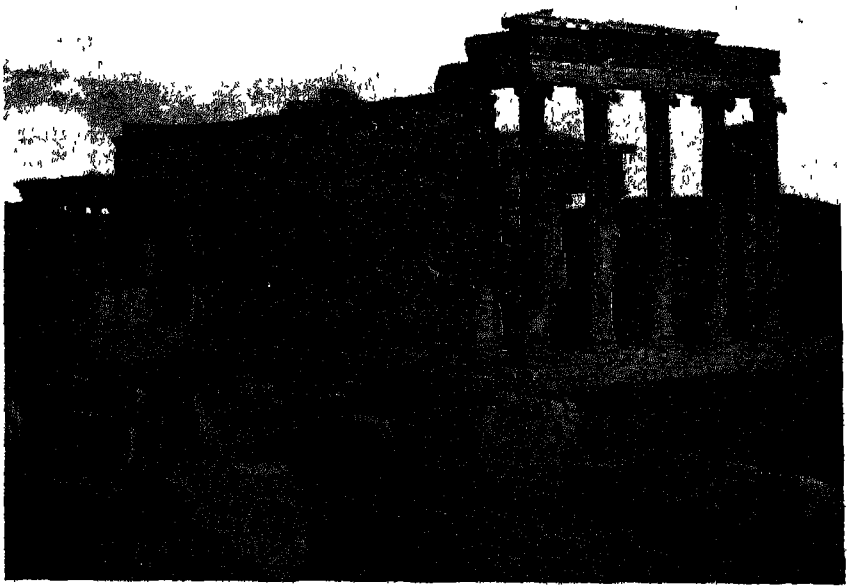
Women did not share in this social life. Until her marriage, usually at an early age, an Athenian girl lived a virtual prisoner. When, on rare occasions, she went outside the house, she was always attended by an older woman as a chaperon. It sometimes happened that an Athenian youth never saw the girl whom his father had chosen for him until the wedding day. The married woman, at least during her earlier years, also spent her time confined in that part of the house assigned to women for their special abode. She seldom met any men except her own near relatives and took no part in her husband's recreations, not even in the feasts and entertainments which he gave. Women had few legal rights, for their divorces, as well as marriages, were arranged by their male relatives, and they could not in their own persons inherit property. Their education was neglected, usually including nothing more than instruction in household management. This inferior position of women at Athens affords a marked contrast to the refinement of life and manners among the men.

Courtesans (*hetaerae*) were numerous and some of them, for instance the beautiful and talented Aspasia, with whom Pericles consorted, exercised considerable influence. Concubinage was a general practice and in no way censured; it alleviated "the ennui of monogamic marriage."

"Male children," said a Greek poet, "are the pillars of the house." Ordinarily they were very welcome, though the law allowed, public opinion sanctioned, and philosophers approved the exposure of deformed, sickly, or illegitimate children. There was no system of free

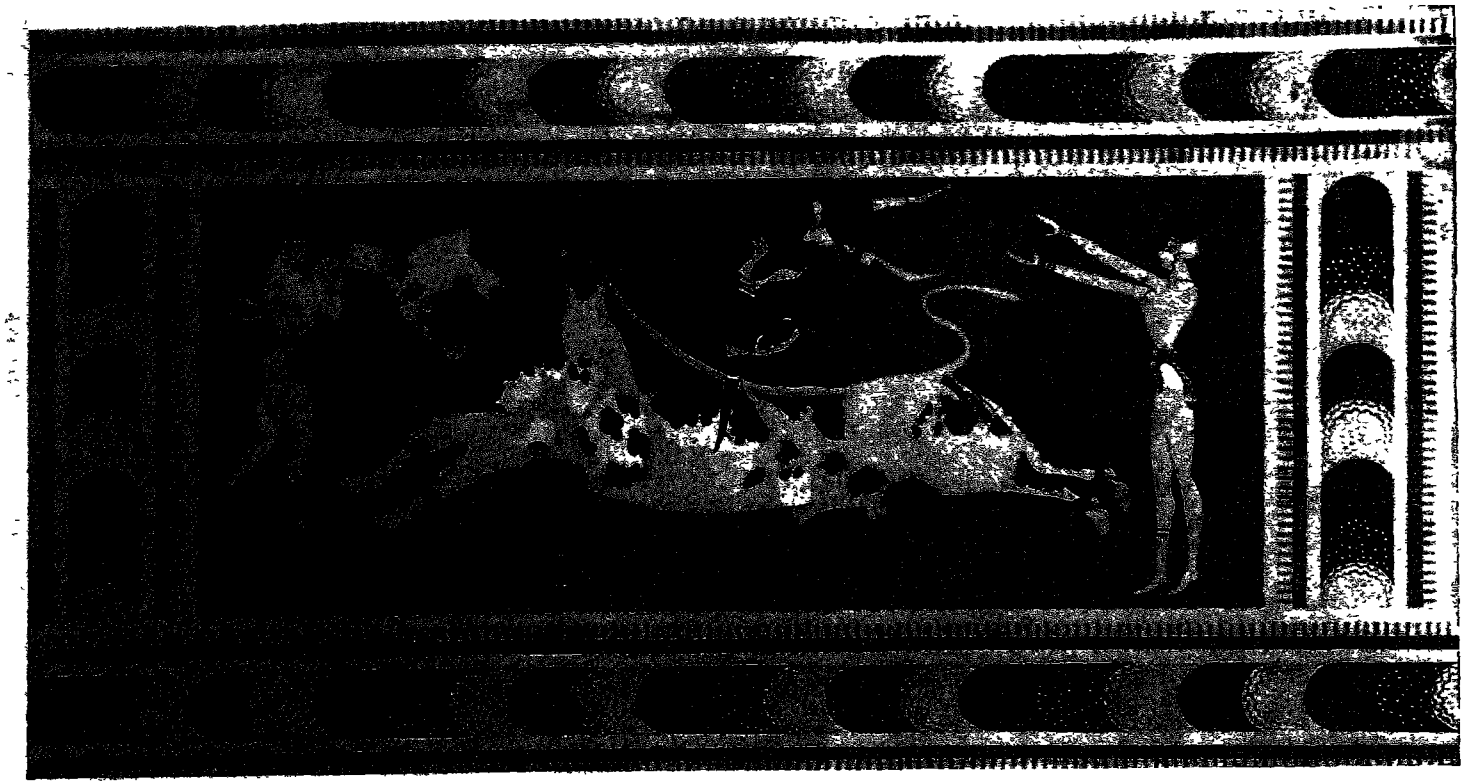


STEPPED PYRAMID OF ZOSER: OLDEST OF THE PYRAMIDS, SAKKARA, EGYPT
c. 3000 B.C. *Pages 152, 168.*



THE ERECHTHEUM, THE ACROPOLIS, ATHENS
5th Century B.C. *Pages 226, 254.*

PLATE VII



Wall Painting of Bull-leaping, from the Palace at Cnossus, Crete
c. 1400 B.C. *Page 204.*

PLATE VIII

or common schools, but Athens, as well as other Greek cities, contained many private schools open to boys of all classes on the payment of small fees.

Athenian education consisted of three main branches, known as gymnastics, music, and grammar. Gymnastic training took place in the palestra, an open stretch of ground on the outskirts of the city. Here a private teacher gave instruction in the various athletic sports. The training in music was intended to improve the moral nature of young men and to fit them for pleasant social intercourse. They learned to play a seven-stringed instrument, the lyre, and to sing to their own accompaniment. Grammar included instruction in writing and reading. After a boy had learned his letters, the schoolmaster took up with him the works of the epic and lyric poets, besides Aesop's *Fables* and other popular compositions. He learned by heart much of the poetry and at so early an age that he never forgot it. Not a few Athenians, we are told, could recite the entire *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The Greeks cared little for book learning or even for manual training. They thought of education as a means to self-cultivation and worthy citizenship. Their educational system was therefore intended to develop all sides of man's nature, physical, mental, and moral — to produce the sound mind in the sound body. We must remember that the system of slavery relieved many citizens from the necessity of working with their hands or of engaging in trade and industry. To spend all of one's time and energy in money-making was felt to be unworthy of a free-born Greek. The typical citizen, especially at Athens, valued knowledge for its own sake, appreciated intelligent and witty conversation, and found much pleasure in the drama, music, poetry, and the fine arts. Thus there developed the ideal of the culture befitting a freeman, of a truly "liberal" education. This ideal became a part of our European tradition and has persisted among us to the present day.

Athens in the fifth century B.C. had a total free population estimated at two hundred thousand, this figure including the resident aliens without rights of citizenship. There were many artisans, for the city was now an important manufacturing center. Money wages were very low; food, however, was cheap and the mild climate made unnecessary a large expenditure for clothing and shelter. While most of the industries of Athens were carried on by free labor, the city contained a large body of slaves. They worked on large estates owned by wealthy men, toiled in mines and quarries, served as oarsmen on ships, and were employed also in household tasks and handicrafts. Most of them were non-Greeks, recruited from the barbarous tribes of Asia Minor, Thrace, and the lands about the Black Sea. In general, they seem to have been

fairly well treated; at any rate, there were no slave revolts. The orator Demosthenes could assert that Athenian slaves enjoyed greater freedom than citizens in many another land.

Athens had now become the chief commercial city of Greece. Wine, olive oil, pottery, metal wares, and objects of art were sent out from its harbor of Piraeus to every region of the Mediterranean. The imports consisted mainly of such commodities as salt, dried fish, wool, timber, and, above all, large quantities of wheat. As is the case with modern England, Athens could feed all her people only by bringing in food from abroad.

The wealth which the Athenians accumulated by industry and commerce, together with the revenues received from the Delian League, enabled them to adorn their city with statues and temples. The finest monuments arose on the Acropolis. Access to this steep rock was gained by a superb entrance gate, or Propylaea, constructed to resemble the front of a temple with columns and pediment. A huge bronze statue of Athena, made from the spoils of Marathon, stood just beyond the Propylaea. On the crest of the Acropolis were two temples, the smaller one, the Erechtheum, was named after Erechtheus, a legendary Athenian king; the larger one, the world-famous Parthenon, was dedicated to the virgin goddess (Athena Parthenos), who had Athens under her protection. Even in its ruined state the Acropolis is a museum of art.

Athens at this time was also the heart of Greek intellectual life, for the greatest poets, historians, orators, and philosophers of fifth-century Greece were Athenians. Pericles well described the city as the "school of Hellas," and the historian Thucydides, himself an Athenian of Pericles's time, when contrasting Athens and Sparta, could say with justice: "Let both places be destroyed, and the mere debris of the monuments and temples of Athens will reveal a glorious city; the ruins of Sparta will be only those of a large village."

Decline of the City-State

During the period which followed the Persian wars Greece came to be split up into two great alliances, the one a naval league ruled by Athens, the other a confederacy of Peloponnesian cities under the leadership of Sparta. These two states had long been rivals for supremacy, and at length the smoldering fires of distrust and jealousy flamed forth into open conflict between them. In 431 B.C. began the Peloponnesian War. After ten years of fighting without a decisive result, the contestants made peace. Athens, instead of husbanding her

resources, then tried to conquer Syracuse, the chief Greek city in Sicily. The failure of the rash enterprise so weakened Athens that the Spartans felt encouraged to renew the struggle, this time with the financial help of Persia, which was always ready to subsidize the Greeks in their contests with one another. The war ended in 404 B.C., when Athens, having lost both fleet and naval empire, was obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Sparta. That city played the imperial role for a few years, until her harsh rule goaded Thebes into revolt. By defeating Sparta, Thebes became the chief power in Greece. Athens and Sparta then joined forces to make headway against Theban dominion, and this, too, soon went down on the field of battle. It had become evident by the middle of the fourth century B.C. that no single city-state was strong enough or wise enough to rule Greece.

Supremacy of Macedonia

A new influence now began to be felt in the political life of Greece — the influence of Macedonia. The Macedonians were akin to the Greeks in both blood and language. They seem to have been an offshoot of those northern invaders who had entered the Balkan peninsula in the second millennium B.C. A rude but vigorous people, they gradually acquired a veneer of Greek culture under the patronage of their kings, who claimed descent from the Dorian princes of Argos. Philip II, who mounted the throne in 359 B.C., made them into a military people by organizing a highly trained and well-equipped army of professional soldiers. Hitherto the battles of the Greeks had been mainly between bodies of infantry, forming a dense column, or phalanx. Philip retained the phalanx, only he deepened it and gave to the rear men longer spears. The business of the phalanx was to keep the front of the opposing army engaged, while cavalry rode into the flanks. Philip also provided artillery in the shape of catapults able to throw darts and stones, and battering rams with force enough to hurl down the walls of cities. The Macedonian king first used this war machine for extensive conquests in Thrace and Thessaly, and on the trident-shaped peninsula of Chalcidice, which was fringed with Greek colonies. Then he invaded central Greece, and in 338 B.C., at Chaeronea in Boeotia, his seasoned troops won a decisive victory over the hastily gathered levies from Athens and Thebes. The victory assured Macedonian supremacy over the city-states.

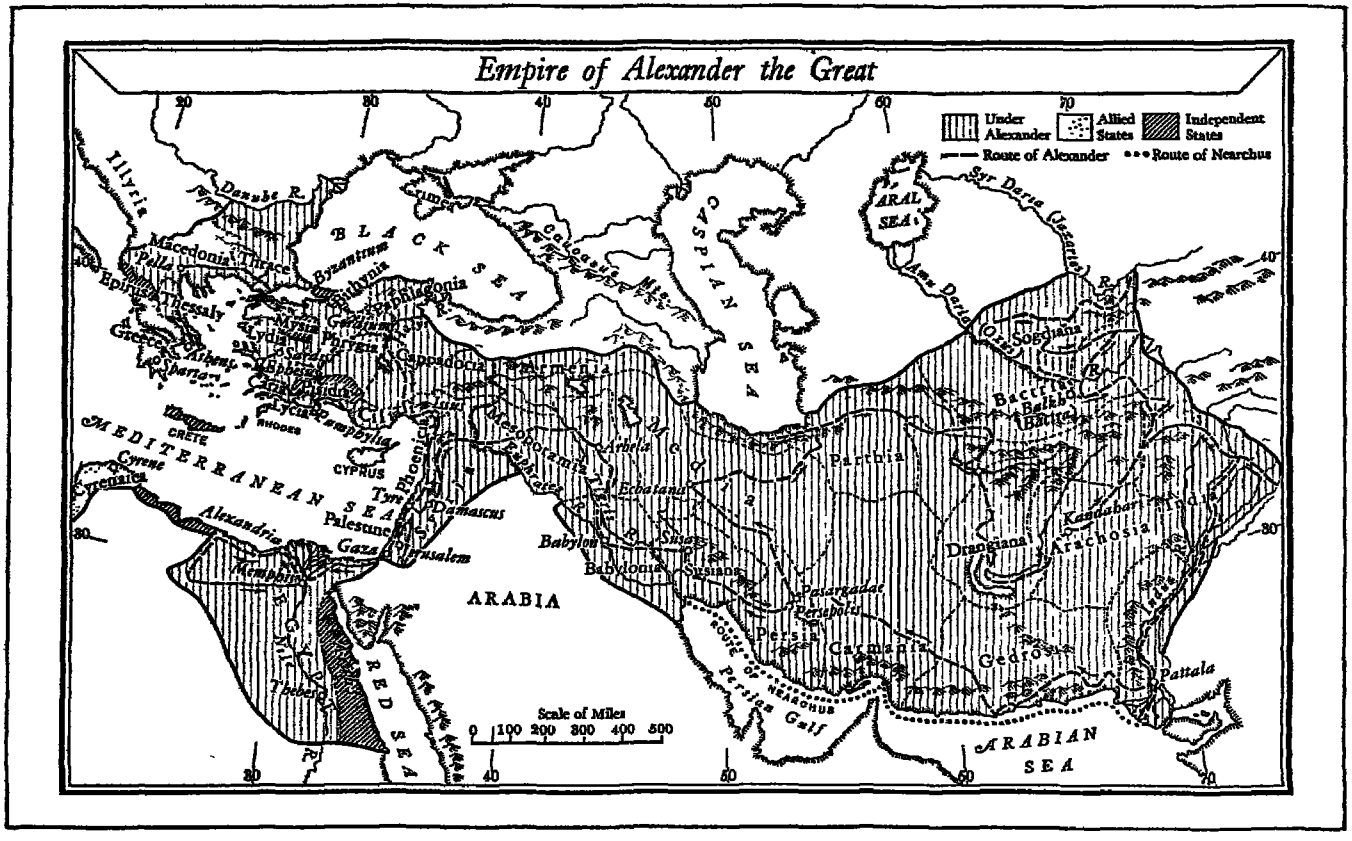
To some historians Philip's triumph seems a just judgment on the Greeks for their disunion and the suicidal warfare between them; to other historians, believers in democracy, the substitution of the rule of

a despot for that of free, self-governing commonwealths seems an irreparable loss. The Greek city-states had had their day. Never again did they become first-rate powers in the ancient world.

Alexander the Great and the Conquest of Persia

Once master of Greece, Philip determined to carry out the plans, long cherished by the Greeks, for the conquest of Persia. Fate had destined, however, that this task should be accomplished by another and even abler man. Two years after the battle of Chaeronea Philip perished at the hands of an assassin, and the scepter passed to his son Alexander. After quelling revolts in Thrace and Greece, Alexander was ready to begin his meteoric career as a world conqueror. At the head of an army of less than fifty thousand men, both Macedonians and Greeks, he invaded Asia Minor in 334 B.C. and quickly went from one amazing triumph to another. The forces of the Great King were completely defeated and dispersed in the battles of Issus (333 B.C.) and Arbela (331 B.C.); Tyre, the headquarters of Persia's naval power, was taken by storm; and the Persian cities of Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis were captured. The subjugation of the northeastern provinces of the Persian Empire, together with the Indus valley, rounded out Alexander's dominions, which were almost coterminous with those of Darius the Great. The task of compassing and conquering the old Persian realm had been achieved after almost a decade of incessant warfare. The greater task, that of its internal reorganization, now began to occupy the victor's mind, but at Babylon in 323 B.C. he suddenly sickened and died, being not quite thirty-three years of age.

Alexander ranks as one of the foremost, perhaps the first, of the great captains of antiquity, though his success must be largely ascribed to the army and generals trained by Philip — the finest military force then in the world. The internal weakness of the Persian Empire, a huge, loosely knit collection of many different peoples, also facilitated its conquest. As to Alexander's statesmanship little can be said with certainty because of his premature death. There is reason to believe that he intended to build up an empire in which the distinction between the European and the Asiatic should gradually disappear. Hence he welcomed Persian nobles to his court and placed them in positions of trust and honor, organized a provincial system modeled on that of Darius the Great, trained thousands of Persian soldiers to replace his worn-out veterans, and by liberal dowries encouraged mixed marriages between Macedonians and Orientals. He himself wedded a daughter of the last Persian monarch. To hold his dominions together and provide

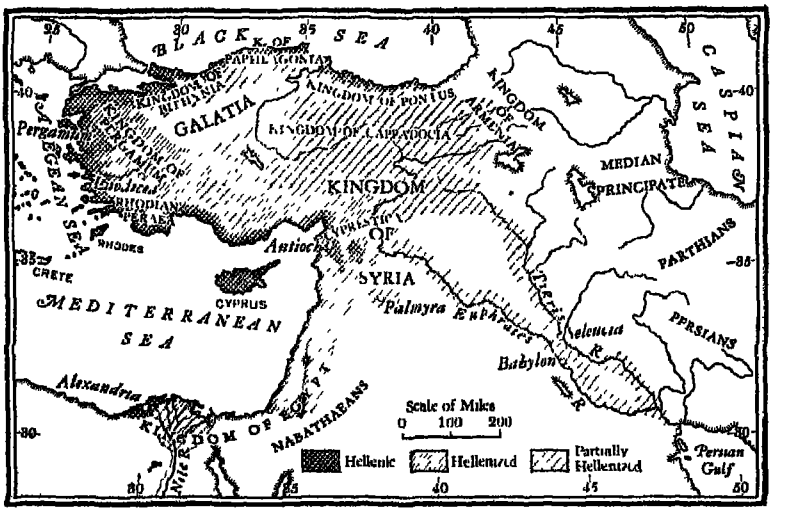

Empire of Alexander the Great
Under Alexander
Allied States
Independent States
Route of Alexander
Route of Nearchus
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
Illyria
Macedonia
Thrace
Byzantium
Thessaly
Greece
Athens
Sparta
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Cyrene
Cyrenaica
Alexandria
Memphis
Egypt
Nile R.
Tyre
Damascus
Palestine
Gaza
Jerusalem
Babylon
Babylonia
Susa
Susiana
Persepolis
Persia
Carmania
Gedrosia
Pattala
Media
Ecbatana
Parthia
Bactria
Balkh
Sogdiana
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
Sir Darya (Jaxartes) R.
Amu Darya (Oxus) R.
Arbela
Arachosia
Kandahar
Drangiana
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500

a meeting place for both classes of his subjects, he founded no less than seventy cities, the great majority in lands where city life had been almost unknown. This policy of fusing Graeco-Macedonians and Orientals is regarded by some modern scholars as a betrayal of those Greek ideals which Alexander professed to hold so dear; to others it seems the indispensable condition for the creation of a universal empire that should be enduring. So variously can be judged a great man's work.

The Graeco-Oriental World

Alexander left no legitimate son — no one with an undisputed title to the throne. He is said to have declared on his deathbed that his possessions should go "to the strongest." The strongest were his generals, who soon quarreled and fought with one another until at length the unwieldy empire broke in pieces. Out of the fragments arose the three great kingdoms of Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria. Each had its royal dynasty — the Antigonids in Macedonia and Greece, the Ptolemies in Egypt, the Seleucids in Syria — all reigning, as Alexander and the Persian kings before him had done, as absolute monarchs and by divine right. Each kingdom remained independent, though with shifting boundaries, until the era of Roman expansion in the Near East. Several smaller states, including Pergamum in Asia Minor, Rhodes, and Epirus, also arose from the break-up of Alexander's empire. His conquests, instead of forming a world power under a single ruler, thus destroyed the unity of government which Persia had given to the Near East.

The efforts of the Macedonian kings to preserve their authority over Greece were opposed by two Greek federations which rose to prominence during the third century B.C. One was the Aetolian League in central Greece; the other and more important was the Achaean League in the Peloponnesus. The latter had an assembly, or congress, where each city, whether large or small, possessed one vote, and a council representing the cities according to their population. The assembly, meeting twice a year, chose a general, or president; levied taxes; controlled weights, measures, and coinage; raised armies; and conducted all foreign affairs. In local matters each member city continued to enjoy independence, but was required to contribute troops and to support them at its own expense. This constitution shows that the Achaean League was more than a mere alliance of city-states. It formed the first genuine federation that the world had ever known, and its example was repeatedly cited by the men who framed the Constitution of the United States. But the attempt to unify Greece came too late. Sparta



Hellenism in Asia about 150 B.C.
(After D. G. Hogarth)

refused to enter the Achaean League, and Athens to enter the Aetolian League. Without these two powerful states neither association could achieve a lasting success.

Alexander's conquests, so widespread, so thorough, broke down the barriers between Greece and the Near East. In the wake of his armies followed peaceful colonists, who settled in the cities founded by Alexander and his successors. Some of the cities were only garrison towns in the heart of remote provinces; many others, such as Alexandria in Egypt, Seleucia in Babylonia, and Antioch in Syria, were thriving centers of commerce and industry and the real seats of Greek influence in the Near East. Unlike the cities of old Greece, they were not independent but formed a part of the kingdom in which they were situated and paid tribute or taxes to its ruler. The inhabitants included Macedonians and Greeks, who formed the governing class, together with native artisans and merchants. The cities had broad streets, sometimes well paved, good water supplies and drainage systems, and public halls, courts of justice, libraries, theaters, and gymnasiums, often of an imposing character.

Easily the greatest of these new foundations was Alexandria, which the Macedonian king had himself established to replace ruined Tyre as the emporium of the Near East. The Ptolemies made it their capital. It contained a very mixed population, predominantly Egyptians, Greeks, and Macedonians but including numerous Jews, Syrians, Babylonians,

and other Orientals. Alexandria grew rapidly and by the time of Christ ranked in size next to Rome among the cities of the ancient world.

Economically, the period after Alexander shows some resemblances to our own. There was a general increase in wealth and luxurious living. The old Greeks and Macedonians had been content as a rule to live plainly. Now kings, nobles, and men of wealth began to build palaces and to cram them with objects of art. They kept up households with lords in waiting, ladies of honor, lackeys, guards, and servants. Many new luxuries became accessible to them. The markets of Alexandria contained ivory from central Africa, perfumes from Arabia, gold dust, jewels, and fine fabrics from India, spices from the East Indies, and silk from China — all the rare and precious products for which there was now a demand. With the increase of commercial contacts, industry expanded, large workshops appeared in the cities, and mass production began. The economic parallels with the world of today must not be pushed too far, however; the Graeco-Oriental world was empty of machines and full of slaves and serfs.

The Greeks who settled in Egypt and Western Asia gave up citizenship at home and became subjects of the Ptolemies or of the Seleucids. They also surrendered local attachments and jealousies, which had so long divided them, and lost their old feeling of antagonism toward non-Greeks — toward those whom they had called "barbarians." Henceforth Greek ideas and customs began to spread throughout the Near East and in turn to be affected by those of the Oriental peoples. This new civilization, Greek or Hellenic in general character but pervading peoples largely non-Greek in blood, has been called "Hellenistic," a designation introduced by a German historian, J. G. Droysen. The Hellenistic Age is usually reckoned as about three hundred years in length, reaching from the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. to the Roman conquest of Egypt in 30 B.C. During this period the Graeco-Oriental world of city-states, federations, and kingdoms about the eastern Mediterranean came into contact with the great power — Rome — which had arisen in the western Mediterranean, and the contact led to their annexation and incorporation into the Roman Empire. Politically, the Hellenistic Age then comes to an end; culturally, it does not. The spirit of Hellenism lived on and for many centuries continued to permeate much of the ancient world.

XII

Hellenism

Nature and Diffusion of Hellenism

THE people whom we call Greeks, as did the Romans (Latin, *Graeci*), called themselves Hellenes because of their supposed descent from a mythical Hellen. The term Hellenism, in the broadest sense, thus denotes the whole of ancient Greek culture during the fifteen centuries and more that saw its rise, culmination, and decline. In spite of borrowings from the Near East, such as various industrial arts, the alphabet, and the rudiments of mathematics and astronomy, the culture of the Greeks makes an impression of independence and originality; they seem to have created it largely by themselves, giving much but taking little throughout their history. As we have learned, this culture was deeply rooted in the soil of the city-state. The Greek world of little islands and of diminutive, mountain-ringed plains encouraged the formation of small communities, where the daily intercourse of the citizens in the assemblies and the market place made possible constant discussion and the free play of mind with mind. At the same time, thanks to easy communication by sea between all parts of the Greek world, the cultural accomplishments of one community, Athens, for example, could become rapidly a common possession of Greeks everywhere. While these environing conditions go far to explain the particular features which Hellenism assumed, they do not account for Hellenism itself. The "miracle" of Greece, meaning by this the sudden appearance among a people politically weak and economically poor of a culture finer and nobler than man had ever before achieved, remains miraculous; we can only conclude, tamely enough, that the Greeks were great because it was in them to be great.

The diffusion of Hellenism from its Aegean center over so much of the ancient world is one of the most significant movements in all history. Already by 500 B.C. Greek cities dotted the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus and from southern Russia to northern Africa. After 300 B.C. they

were found throughout the Near East – in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Babylonia and Assyria, Iran, and as far as India – some of them new foundations and others old Oriental cities recolonized and transformed by Greeks. When the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily came under Roman rule, the stream of Hellenism began to enter Rome, becoming in time so pervasive there that the poet Horace could declare with truth that "captive Greece captured her conqueror rude." And even later, when Greece formed only a small part of the Roman Empire, Hellenism continued to be dominant in its richest, most populous, and most civilized provinces.

Hellenism spread because of its inherent charm and power, because of its superiority to the less developed cultures with which it came into contact. The Greeks were not supermen; they had an ample share of faults and frailties; but in intellectual and artistic endowment no other ancient people equaled them and no modern people has surpassed them. They were marked off from their predecessors in the Orient by a love of speculation and discussion, by an eager curiosity which led them to search out the natural causes of things, by a desire to live their lives in accordance with reason, and by their simple and refined tastes. What they accomplished in literature, philosophy, science, and art has ever since been the norm or standard by which we judge the true and the beautiful.

The Greek Language

Of the great things which the Greeks created, their language, so precise, so flexible, so perfect a medium for the expression of the most subtle shades of thought, was perhaps the greatest. Greek is a member of the Indo-European family of languages, and as such it is closely related to the extinct Sanskrit of India and the ancient Italic languages (including Latin). Because of the isolated lives of the early Greeks, it divided into a number of dialects; of these the Attic dialect was the most elegant. All the important works of Greek literature during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were composed in Attic Greek. Alexander's conquests took it over the whole of the Near East, where every educated man, whether Greek or Oriental, used it as the language of polite intercourse, of government, of diplomacy, and of business. During the Roman period it penetrated Rome, being as freely spoken on the streets of that city as at Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem. In its extension to distant regions Attic Greek lost something of its purity and developed into *Koine* (Common Greek), in which, for instance, the New Testament is written. The universal language which arose

in this way did not die out during the Middle Ages, and it still lives, with comparatively little change from the ancient forms, on the lips of several million people in continental Greece and on the adjacent islands. Greek has thus had an unbroken history for upwards of thirty centuries.

Literature

The literature of Greece is the fountainhead of all European literature. The Greeks had no models before them for imitation or rivalry, but by the time of Alexander the Great they had elaborated and carried far toward perfection many types of literary art, including epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry, history, and oratory. A simple, clear, and beautiful style and faithfulness to the facts of life characterize their work to an eminent degree, and the man who would nurture himself on the best that has been written in the world must return, again and again, to the old Greek masterpieces.

Greek literature begins with epic poetry, and that began with music and song. Professional bards sang at feasts in the palaces of kings, accompanying their words with the music of the clear-toned lyre. Out of their simple lays, it is believed, there developed in time the longer poems known as epics, which were not sung but recited and were composed in unrhymed hexameter verse. The oldest epics that have come down to us — many others may have perished — are Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the one a story of battles on the plains of "windy Troy," with Achilles as its real hero; the other a geographical romance describing the adventures of Odysseus by sea and land for many years after the fall of Troy. Alike in subject matter and in form, they reign supreme over the epic poetry of the world.

Next to Homer among the epic poets the Greeks placed Hesiod, who lived in Boeotia probably about the middle of the eighth century B.C. Homer had celebrated the deeds of aristocratic heroes; Hesiod, in much soberer verse, describes the life of the peasantry in one of the inland districts of Greece. His chief poem is known as the *Works and Days*, because it treats of the farmer's tasks and of the times which, according to popular superstition, were lucky or unlucky for doing them. "Sometimes a day is a mother, sometimes a stepmother," says Hesiod, pithily. The poem supplements the Homeric epics in giving a picture of the age which followed on the downfall of Aegean culture. The ancients also attributed to Hesiod a poem called the *Theogony*. As the title indicates, it deals with the pedigrees of the Olympian divinities and their predecessors. Much more detailed and systematic than

anything in Homer, it came to be the standard authority on Greek mythology.

After Homer and Hesiod the Greeks began to find in short poems sung to the music of the lyre or the flute a medium for the expression of personal feelings not afforded by the long and involved epic. The love poems of Sappho (born about 600 B.C.), who lived on the island of Lesbos, were celebrated in antiquity. She wrote in the Aeolic dialect and achieved a distinction which the Greeks never granted to any other woman. "Violet-weaving, pure, softly smiling Sappho," so another poet calls her. Only one of her compositions, a hymn to Aphrodite, has reached us intact; the rest survive in fragments and sometimes in single words. Of the works of Pindar, a Boeotian poet (born 521 B.C.), we still possess forty-four odes composed in honor of the winning athletes at the Olympic and other national games. Our ignorance of the music to which they were sung and of the dances by which they were accompanied makes it impossible for us to appreciate their full worth. The glory of Pindar's poetry has passed away with the glory of the beautiful cities by the Aegean and Sicilian seas which gave it birth.

Fifth-century Athens produced the drama, which arose in connection with the midwinter and spring festivals in honor of Dionysus, a vegetation deity and, as lord of the vine, the giver of physical joy and excitement. Attic tragedy, the first division of the drama to attain an artistic character, began as a performance something like a modern oratorio in which the songs, dances, and music of a chorus were occasionally interrupted by the recitation of a single actor or by a dialogue between him and the leader of the chorus. The addition of a second and finally of a third actor emphasized the dramatic quality of the performance at the expense of the lyrical; the three actors, by varying their parts, could now present an entire story, which was almost always taken from old myths and legends familiar to the Greeks. When at length great poets began to compose the odes sung by the chorus and the words of the dialogue recited by the actors, the materials of the tragic drama were complete.

Greek plays were performed in open-air theaters, where the spectators sat on wooden or stone benches placed against a convenient hillside. The chorus held forth in a circular dancing place, or orchestra, behind which a low platform served as a stage. The actors indulged in few lively movements and from a distance must have looked like majestic statues. All wore masks symbolic of the parts enacted, and tragic actors, in addition, were made to appear larger than human with high headdresses, padding, and thick-soled boots (buskins). The

scenery was extremely simple, such illusory scene paintings as we are familiar with were not attempted, and the close proximity of the chorus to the actors prevented the use of a stage curtain. The performances occupied the three days of the Dionysiac festivals, beginning early in the morning and lasting till nightfall. All Athens attended them, women as well as men. The Theater of Dionysus, which was built against a side of the Acropolis, accommodated seventeen thousand persons. People had to pay for their seats, but needy citizens were provided with "theater-money" by the city government. A prize was also awarded to the poet whose work was adjudged of highest excellence. The drama held an important place in the life of Athens and, indeed, of most Greek cities. It formed a partial substitute for our pulpit and press, since the tragedies dealt with moral and religious themes and the comedies with questions and personalities of the day.

The three masters of the tragic drama, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, lived and wrote in Athens during the splendid half-century between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars. They are said to have produced nearly three hundred plays, but only thirty-two have reached us. Aeschylus was distinguished for force and range of imagination, Sophocles for artistry, and Euripides for romantic quality and human interest. To realize their pre-eminence as dramatists one must see a play of theirs performed out of doors in the original language, and with the costumes of the chorus and actors historically correct. Even so it is difficult enough for a modern man, accustomed to thinking of the theater as simply a place of amusement, to enter into the religious spirit of Greek tragedy.

Greek comedy during the fifth century B.C. is represented by the eleven plays of Aristophanes. In one play he attacks a demagogue who was prominent in Athenian politics after the death of Pericles; in another he ridicules philosophers and their newfangled ideas; and in another he makes fun of the average citizen's delight in sitting in law courts and trying cases. Several other plays defend the peace party at Athens during the time of the Peloponnesian War and criticize those responsible for the unfortunate expedition against Syracuse. All these comedies mingle a spirit of rollicking fun with a brilliant and delicate fancy in the more serious passages. Aristophanes was a great poet, as well as a great satirist. After him the only important writer of comedy was the fourth-century Menander, whose works, except for fragments, have not been preserved.

The "father of history," Herodotus, was born about 484 B.C. at Halicarnassus, a Dorian colony in Asia Minor. He passed several years in Athens, mingling in its brilliant society and coming under the influ-

ences, both literary and artistic, which that city then afforded. An unwearied traveler, he visited Egypt, Babylonia, Syria, the Greek colonies on the shore of the Black Sea, and those in southern Italy and Sicily and acquired a fund of information and misinformation about many regions hitherto very imperfectly known. The materials thus gathered by personal observation, together with those acquired by earlier Greek "tale-makers," were worked up by him into what was the first real history, an account of the great war between Persia and Greece and of the countries and peoples involved in that momentous conflict. It is no dull, juiceless chronicle, such as the Babylonians and Egyptians had produced, but a history of ancient civilization, with numerous excursions into geography, anthropology, and the social sciences. Herodotus took an interest in all things human. He is generally reliable when he writes from personal knowledge and observation, and he is always entertaining.

An Athenian, Thucydides, wrote a history of the Peloponnesian War. This work relates only the obscure and mostly unimportant details of a struggle for supremacy between two Greek states and tells us little about the social and intellectual life of fifth-century Greece. But its cool, objective spirit, impartiality, and accuracy have made it a model for modern historians, and it remains, in the words of Thucydides himself, "a possession for ever." Xenophon, another Athenian historian, is best remembered by his *Anabasis*, which describes the "going-up" through Asia Minor, as far as the Euphrates, of an army of Greek mercenaries hired to fight against the Persian king. Xenophon took part in the disastrous expedition and became the leader of the Greeks during their retreat to friendly settlements on the Black Sea. This many-sided man was also an essayist of merit and the composer of a historical romance in which Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire, appears as the central figure. One of the episodes in the book contains the first love story in European literature.

Even Homer's Greeks must have been natural orators, to judge from the effective speeches recorded in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Later on it was principally by their oratory that Pericles and other statesmen swayed the assembled citizens. A man had to be a "speaker of words" as well as a "doer of deeds" for success in politics. Demosthenes, who ranks as the greatest of Attic orators, perhaps of all orators ancient or modern, has left many speeches, including those directed against Philip of Macedonia and known, therefore, as *Philippics*. In the speech *On the Crown*, delivered after the battle of Chaeronea, Demosthenes rose to the full height of his eloquence. It was better, he urged, to have fought and lost on that fatal field than never to have dared a blow for the liberty of Greece. And if the outcome of the struggle had been

known to the whole world beforehand, he said, " not even then ought Athens to have forsaken this course, if Athens had any regard for her glory, or for her past, or for the ages to come." In this speech free Greece spoke her dying words.

After Alexander's conquests Greek literature took on a cosmopolitan character, for now authors found their public in all lands where Greek was spoken and read. Theocritus (third century B.C.), a native of Syracuse but long a resident of Alexandria, deserves mention as the last Greek poet of real genius; his poems, called *Idylls*, are little pictures of society and manners drawn from the life. The scenes are often placed in Sicily. Among later Greek historians Polybius (third century B.C.) takes high rank. He lived a long time at Rome, enjoying the friendship of many distinguished Romans, and became inspired to write the book, known simply as *Histories*, in which he traced the expansion of the little city by the Tiber into the great power ruling the Mediterranean world. Much of this work, unfortunately, has been lost. Biography is best represented by the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch, who lived at Chaeronea in Boeotia (first century after Christ). No other writer gives us so vivid and intimate an account of the famous men of old Greece and Rome. Lucian (second century after Christ), another important author, was a native of Syria. Just as Aristophanes had sent shafts of mirth and irony at the weak points in Athenian society, so Lucian satirizes the superstitions and foolish customs of his contemporaries. Some of his works, such as the *Dialogues of the Gods*, are leveled at the Olympian divinities, who are presented as anything but divine. When Lucian wrote, classical paganism was already in decay. Greek literature, or rather such parts of it as escaped destruction, continued to be cherished during the Middle Ages in Greece and in much of the Near East, and as the result of the humanist movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it became familiar to the peoples of western Europe.

Philosophy

Philosophy, the " love of wisdom," is a Greek word, and the Greeks, or some of them, were marked off from other ancient peoples by a desire to investigate first causes and principles, by an endeavor to understand the world and man. Deep thinkers, they were also bold thinkers, who refused to set any bounds to the range of speculation and criticism. They had no sacred books with binding authority over men's minds and no powerful priestly class to serve as a final court of appeal in theology and morals. It was possible, therefore, for the Greeks to liberate philosophy from entanglement with popular religious beliefs;

in doing so they began an intellectual movement that has continued to our own day.

For the Greeks, philosophy comprised the entire range of knowledge, in distinction only from the practical arts. The earliest philosophers were, in fact, scientists, because they studied nature and tried to explain her operations in a natural way. Instead of supposing, as the myth-makers had done, that the universe, or cosmos, began in primeval chaos, they conjectured that the various sorts of matter commonly recognized are modifications of a single uncreated and imperishable element. Thales of Miletus, who lived in the first half of the sixth century B.C., found it in water; others found it in air or in earth or in fire. However erroneous their particular theories, the cosmologists had clearly attained the conception of an orderly universe evolving from one form to another by immutable law. One of them, Heraclitus of Ephesus, believed that the universe had no beginning and would have no end: it ever was and will be. He also realized that the appearance of stability and permanence which it presents to our senses is a false appearance, for all the panoply of heaven and all the furniture of earth are in a state of ceaseless change or flux. You cannot, he said, step into the same stream twice. Democritus of Abdera (in Thrace) taught that matter consists of indestructible particles, or atoms, so minute that they are physically indivisible; falling in every direction through empty space they overtake and strike against each other and thus form innumerable worlds, of which our own world is one. According to this theory, the universe had no creator or designer, being simply the result of the chance movements and combinations — the "fortuitous concourse" — of atoms. These new and startling ideas were often accompanied by a frankly skeptical attitude toward orthodox beliefs; for instance, Xenophanes of Colophon (in Ionia) ridiculed the Olympian deities as being man-made and in the image of man. If oxen and horses and lions had gods, they would take the shape of their worshipers. Such skepticism influenced only the serious-minded and educated minority. The masses, as in all ages, remained attached to the time-honored religion.

The speculations of the cosmologists were so many, so contradictory, and so unprovable that in time some thinking men turned from the study of the natural world to that of human nature. "Man," they declared, "is the measure of all things," meaning by "man" his reason or intellect. These sophists (professors of wisdom) began to appear after the middle of the fifth century B.C. They traveled throughout Greece, gathering the youth about them and lecturing for pay on a great variety of subjects, especially the rhetoric and oratory so essential for success in a

public career. Sometimes they only pretended to be wise and were not; indeed, the name of sophist came to mean one who instructs his pupils how to deceive others by arguments which they do not themselves believe, making the worse appear the better cause. Many sophists, however, were really eminent educators, who did much to release the Greek mind from bondage to the past and thus to further the movement toward intellectual freedom.

The greatest teacher of the age, the Athenian Socrates (469–399 B.C.), whose motto was "Know thyself," went beyond the sophists in his emphasis on problems of everyday morality. His mission, as he conceived it, was to examine into men's standards of conduct, the things which they most desired and worked for, the ideals, if ideals they had, which moved them. For Socrates an unexamined life was not worth living. Thus he asked wherein is the difference between justice and injustice, between virtue and vice; what is the beautiful, what the ugly; what is noble, what base; who is the good citizen and who the bad? He never preached, he only discussed; he taught, not by formal lectures, but by that "Socratic method" of question and answer, which pares away the unessential features of an argument and reduces it to the simplest terms. This sort of cross-examination was practiced in Athenian trials as in our own; Socrates first used it extensively as a means of discriminating between falsehood and truth in philosophical inquiries. His criticism of popular beliefs and his exposure of shams raised up many enemies for him, even in liberal-minded Athens. Late in life he was accused of impiety and of corrupting young men with his doctrines. As a matter of fact, Socrates was deeply religious. If he objected to the crude mythology of the epic poets, he often spoke of one God, who ruled the world, and of a "divine thing," or conscience, within his own breast. A law court found him guilty, however, and the old philosopher was condemned to death. He refused to defend himself in ordinary fashion, would not escape from prison when opportunity offered, and passed his last days in eager conversation on the immortality of the soul. When the hour of departure arrived, he bade his disciples farewell and calmly drained the cup of hemlock, a poison that caused a painless death.

One of the members of the Socratic circle was Plato, a rich Athenian of good family, who abandoned a public career for the attractions of philosophy. After the death of his master, he traveled widely in Greek lands, visited Egypt and, on returning to Athens, began to teach in the garden and gymnasium called the Academy. Plato's writings, known as Dialogues, retain the conversational form that Socrates had used, and in most of them Socrates appears as the principal disputant. Con-

sidered simply as literature they rank as masterpieces, unexcelled in the whole range of Greek prose for ease, grace, and imaginative power. Plato's most extensive and important works are the *Republic* and the *Laws*, the one describing an ideal commonwealth and the other an improved legal code. We read Plato less for knowledge than for inspiration, for the revelation of a very powerful and subtle intellect grappling with the deepest problems of human life. His influence on the thought of the Western world has been profound, because Christian theology took over his arguments for the perfect goodness of God and for the immortality of the soul. About all that has ever been said of value on these subjects is contained, explicitly or implicitly, in Plato's Dialogues.

The philosophic school, or Academy, established by Plato, was a union of teachers and students, who possessed in common a chapel, a library, and lecture rooms. Membership in the school was not confined to Athenian citizens, and students flocked there from all parts of the Greek world. It served as a model for similar institutions in Athens, Alexandria, and other cities. The Academy continued to be the central home of Platonic teaching for over nine hundred years, until closed by an edict of the Roman emperor Justinian in 529. By this time, however, much of Platonism had been absorbed by Christianity, and the work of the Academy was done.

Aristotle, though not an Athenian by birth, passed many years in Athens, first as a pupil of Plato, who called him the "mind" of the Academy, and later as the head of his own school in the garden and gymnasium known as the Lyceum. His works, at least those that have come down to us, are formal treatises and destitute of literary charm, being, in fact, mostly dry lecture notes with additions and comments by later teachers. Aristotle seems to have taken nearly all knowledge, as it then was, for his province. He investigated the ideas underlying the arts of rhetoric and poetry; he collected the constitutions of many Greek city-states and drew from them some general principles of politics; he examined the acts and beliefs of men in order to compose books on ethics; and he dealt with the general problems of philosophy. Perhaps his supreme achievement was the creation of logic, an analysis of the processes of reasoning. His strictly scientific studies, to be mentioned later, were likewise of much importance. In contrast to Plato, ever soaring on the wings of fancy to a world beyond the reach of the senses, Aristotle kept his feet firmly on the earth, and his investigations always started from a basis of observed facts. He was the greatest collector and systematizer of learning whom antiquity produced.

Philosophy as it developed after Plato and Aristotle became less speculative and more practical in character, less the search for truth than

the search for a way of life that would bring true happiness to its followers. Epicurus, who taught at Athens during the early third century B.C., held that pleasure is the supreme good (*summum bonum*), as pain is the supreme evil. He meant by pleasure not so much the momentary gratification of the senses as the more durable satisfactions which come from intellectual pursuits, social intercourse, and peace and quiet of mind. Believing that the chief obstacles to happiness are found in human ignorance and superstition, Epicurus set himself to extirpate what he regarded as twin delusions: namely, fear of the gods and that fear of death which is, at bottom, fear of something after death. As for the gods, they exist, but they have nothing to do with men, neither rewarding the good nor punishing the bad. As for death, that is not to be feared, because there is no hereafter. Both soul and body dissolve at death into the atoms which for Epicurus, as for Democritus before him, compose the universe. Epicureanism never attracted many followers, doubtless because of its clean break with the traditional religion.

A much more popular philosophy was set forth by a contemporary of Epicurus, the Phoenician Zeno, who lectured in a stoa, or colonnade, of the market place at Athens. For Zeno, happiness comes from seeking, not pleasure, but virtue. To be virtuous means to live "according to nature," that is, in obedience to the Universal Reason or Divine Providence which pervades the world. The Stoics tried, therefore, to ignore the feelings and to exalt the reason as a guide to conduct. They held that nothing external to a man really counts in the scheme of things. The slave or peasant who trains himself to rise above such emotions as grief, joy, fear, hope, who bears with equanimity all the ills of life, may be more virtuous and therefore happier than a king. Self-reliance, self-denial, self-control — such were the watchwords of Stoicism. These bracing doctrines carried with them as a corollary a conception of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man unknown before to pagan thought. Life is one and the universe is one, said the Stoics; we are all citizens by birth of that heavenly city where is neither Greek nor Barbarian, bond nor free. Under the Roman Empire Stoicism became a guiding force among the upper classes and, through the influence of St. Paul, it deeply affected Christianity.

Science

The pre-eminence of the Greeks in science is not less marked than in philosophy. The Babylonians and Egyptians made worthwhile contributions to knowledge, especially in mathematics, astronomy, and

medicine, but their work (so far as we know it) pales into insignificance when compared with what the Greeks did in these subjects and many others. The Greeks accomplished so much because they had the scientific habit of mind. There grew up in Greece, as nowhere else in the ancient world, a spirit of disinterested inquiry, a love of truth for truth's own sake, a "noble madness" for seeing things as they are and not as they might be or ought to be, which enabled the Greeks to become pioneers in many branches of exact learning. It is a familiar fact, witnessing our indebtedness to them, that the terminology of most of the sciences is derived from the Greek language, either directly or through Latin. And the scientist still goes back to Greek when he needs a name for a new compound or a new element.

To the Greeks, also, we owe the idea of the organization of science in research institutes supported either by private endowment or by state bounty. Of the first sort were the Academy and Lyceum at Athens, where strictly scientific studies flourished, as well as philosophy. Of the second sort the shining example was the Museum, or "Temple of the Muses," founded at Alexandria by the first Macedonian king of Egypt. It contained galleries of art, an astronomical observatory, laboratories, and even zoological and botanical gardens. Distinguished scholars were provided with dwellings close by and with a hall for meals, which were taken at public expense. These favored persons received yearly pensions and enjoyed freedom from all civic duties. Some gave occasional lectures, but teaching was not obligatory for them. The Museum formed a resort for men of learning, and after its establishment nearly every important scientist was a professor there or at one time had studied in its schools. In addition to the Museum there were two great libraries, one of which contained several hundred thousand papyrus rolls, or volumes — almost everything that had been written in antiquity. Not a trace of these collections remains.

The Greeks, in science, seem to have gone about as far as it was possible to go without the aid of elaborate apparatus. They had no real telescopes or microscopes, no thermometer or barometer, no mechanical timepiece, no very delicate balances, and nothing comparable to our splendidly equipped laboratories. Modern scientists are doubtless not better thinkers than were those of antiquity, but they have far better instruments for research and can make careful experiments where the ancients had to rely on shrewd guesses. It should be noticed, also, that the Greeks did little toward linking up their pure science with its applications to the practical arts. The classical world does not show much advance over the Oriental world in the use of power-producing machinery and labor-saving devices. There was no attempt to transform

industry on the basis of such scientific discoveries as were made. The higher branches of science did not aim at usefulness; the intellectual class despised the practical arts and left them to slaves and base-born men. The social atmosphere was not conducive to mechanical invention in classical antiquity.

In arithmetic the Greeks never got very far, because their way of writing numbers by the letters of the alphabet was even clumsier than the Roman notation with which we are familiar. They excelled in geometry, a deductive science which appealed to their logical minds. According to the traditional account, it began with Thales, who visited Egypt and learned there the geometrical methods used for computing areas and the contents of vessels. With him and his successors, however, geometry became something more than the practical art of "earth measuring"; it became an attempt to grasp the nature of space relations in general. Thus Thales is said to have discovered that the diameter of a circle subtends a right angle at any point of its circumference. Pythagoras is said to have proved that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides. This is the famous "Pythagorean theorem." Around 300 B.C. Euclid of Alexandria composed a treatise on plane geometry known as the *Elements*. Its theorems and demonstrations are still the basis of modern books on the subject. Other students dealt with the geometry of conic sections, invented trigonometry, and developed a simple system of algebra. Archimedes of Syracuse, who lived in the third century B.C., was the most eminent mathematician of antiquity. He investigated many subjects, particularly the properties of the sphere, the cone, the cylinder, and other figures. One of his achievements was the close calculation of the value of π (pi), the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter.

Archimedes also did pioneer work in physics and mechanics, where he discovered the law of floating bodies and established the theoretical principles of the lever and the pulley. "Give me a place to stand," he said, "and I will move the earth." He was famous in antiquity for many ingenious contrivances, one of which, a tubular screw for pumping water, is still in use. Hero of Alexandria, another accomplished mathematician, physicist, and engineer, is chiefly remembered for such inventions as the syphon, the air pump, a fire engine, "penny in the slot" machines, and the earliest form of the steam engine. But these were little more than scientific toys.

The achievement of the Greeks in astronomy was impressive. They seem to have owed not a little to the long series of observations made in Babylonia, but whereas the Babylonian priests were only interested

in astronomy as a means of regulating the calendar and of foretelling, for astrological purposes, eclipses and planetary movements, Greek students made their science an investigation of the whole heavens. As far back as the time of the early cosmologists, it was known that the earth is a sphere, swinging freely in space. The true theory of lunar and solar eclipses was also understood; indeed, Thales is said to have predicted a solar eclipse, or at least the year when it occurred (585 B.C.). Heraclides of Pontus, an astronomer of the fourth century B.C., discovered that the planets Mercury and Venus revolve about the sun as a center and that the earth daily rotates about its axis. Somewhat later Aristarchus of Samos found out that the sun is many times larger than the moon and that the latter shines by the reflected light of the sun. He also tried to estimate the distance of the sun from the earth, but reached, however, very erroneous results. Hipparchus, who made his observations in Rhodes and later in Alexandria during the second century B.C., worked at the task of counting and grouping the stars in constellations. More than a thousand were included in his catalogue, the first ever made. It is an interesting fact that of the eighty-eight constellations now recognized by astronomers forty-eight have come down to us from the Greeks and their Babylonian predecessors. Hipparchus is usually considered to have discovered the precession of the equinoxes. He measured very closely the diameter of the moon, its distance from the earth, and the length of the lunar month (the lunation). He also determined the length of the solar year within a few minutes of the correct time. To him, also, was due the method of fixing the location of places by means of their latitude and longitude. Greek astronomy was put into final shape by Ptolemy of Alexandria, who lived in the second century after Christ. His *Almagest* ("The Greatest Work"), a name given it by the Arabs, formed the standard astronomical treatise during the Middle Ages.

Both Hipparchus and Ptolemy believed that the earth is the center of the universe. Outside of the earth are spheres of air and fire, and outside of these are the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, all moving in great circles, and finally the stars of the firmament. The earth is at rest, and the rising and setting of the moon, sun, and stars are due to the revolution of the whole heavens around the earth once every twenty-four hours. This Ptolemaic System, though erroneous in its fundamental assumptions, did successfully represent the apparent movements of the heavenly bodies. It was not overthrown until the grand discovery of Copernicus in the sixteenth century of our era. At least one Greek astronomer, however, had more correct ideas as to the place of the earth in the universe. Aristarchus believed,

not only that it rotates on its axis, thus causing the alternation of day and night, but that it also makes a yearly revolution around the sun, this being the cause of the cycle of the seasons. His theories did not secure acceptance, and he was even charged with impiety for "putting in motion the hearth of the universe." Men preferred to accept what seemed the common-sense view; a fixed earth and wheeling heavens. We know that Copernicus was familiar with the work of Aristarchus, which thus helped to bring about the downfall of the time-honored Ptolemaic System.

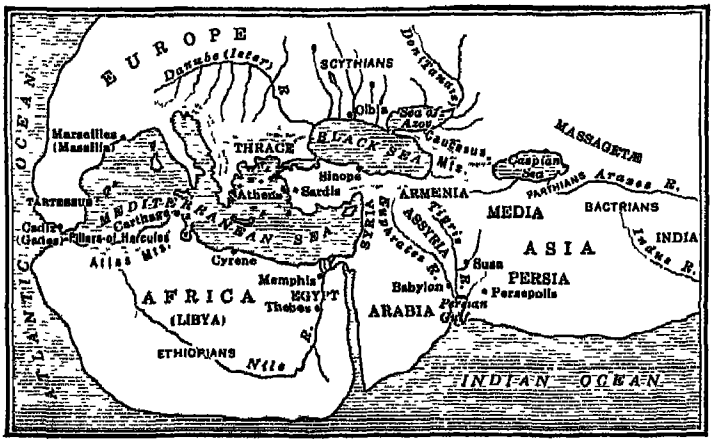
The Greeks seem to have been the first people to account, in a naturalistic way, for the origin and evolution of living things. Anaximander, the successor of Thales at Miletus, had some notion of the transformation of aquatic species into terrestrial and even of man's descent from the lower animals. The young of most animals, Anaximander pointed out, quickly find food for themselves, while man alone requires a long period of suckling. If, then, man had been originally such as he is now, he would never have survived. Another thinker introduced the idea of spontaneous generation, the idea, namely, that plants and animals arose out of a primordial slime, quickened into life by the sun's heat. Empedocles, a Sicilian philosopher of the fifth century B.C., not only believed in spontaneous generation but also represented the development of life as an orderly process, plants coming first and animals only after a long series of trials. All these evolutionary conceptions were carried further by Aristotle, who was as much a scientist as a philosopher. His careful descriptions of the habits, organs, and structure of animals entitle him to rank as the founder of zoology. Perhaps his most important contribution to biological knowledge was his recognition of the role of the female in generation, in contrast to the old idea that the father formed the only real parent and that the mother provided merely a home and nourishment for the embryo. Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle and the latter's successor in the headship of the school in the Lyceum, ranks as the founder of botany. Both these scientists utilized in their researches the collections of animals and plants made by the trained observers who accompanied Alexander the Great to Asia.

The work of Hippocrates of Cos (born about 460 B.C.) in freeing the medical art from superstition and ignorance has gained for him the title of the "father of medicine." For Hippocrates disease was neither a punishment for sin nor the result of possession by an evil spirit; it was something to be alleviated, if not cured, by assisting Nature in her own healing processes. The high ideals animating the physicians who followed his example and teaching are embodied in the famous Hippo-

cratic Oath, still the accepted summary of medical ethics. Medicine and anatomy in later times received much attention at Alexandria, where there were dissecting rooms, charts, and models for the study of the human body. Surgical operations, even those of a major sort, were performed and anaesthesia was produced by the use of various drugs. The Alexandrian scientists definitely established the fact that the seat of intelligence is in the brain and not in the heart, as Aristotle supposed; that nerves exist to transmit sensations and impulses; and that the blood is borne in streams to every part of the body. About the middle of the first century A.D. Dioscorides, a botanist and physician, wrote a treatise describing about six hundred plants and their medical properties; this work continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages. The ancient knowledge of medicine and surgery was systematized in the work of Galen of Pergamum (born about 130 A.D.), who remained the supreme authority in these fields until modern times.

Geographical Knowledge

The colonizing activity of the Greeks made them familiar with the lands bordering the Mediterranean, as may be seen from the map of the world according to the traveler and historian Herodotus (about 450 B.C.). The expeditions of Alexander the Great vastly increased their geographical knowledge. Alexander penetrated almost to the heart of central Asia, crossed the formidable barrier of the Hindu Kush, entered northern India, and would have explored and conquered all that region but for his mutinous soldiers. He then proceeded to build a fleet on the Indus and had it accompany the army down the river to its mouth. The army, with Alexander, returned by a long and toilsome march through the deserts of southern Iran. The fleet, under his admiral Nearchus, was sent to explore a sea route from the mouth of the Indus to the entrance of the Persian Gulf. It took Nearchus nearly three months to make this voyage, a distance of seven hundred and fifty miles. The Greeks had now learned that one could reach India by a water route much shorter and safer than the caravan routes through Asia. Somewhat later a Greek sailor, Harpalus, discovered the periodic nature of the monsoons, the winds of the Indian Ocean. Their reliability was so firmly established that henceforth trading ships took a direct course from Africa or Arabia to the Indian ports and, timing the return voyage to coincide with the change of the wind, had the benefit of the northeast monsoon on the way back. The Periplus (sailing directions) of the Erythraean Sea, which was drawn up about the middle of the first century of our era, affords an idea of what the Greeks at this time knew of the Far East.

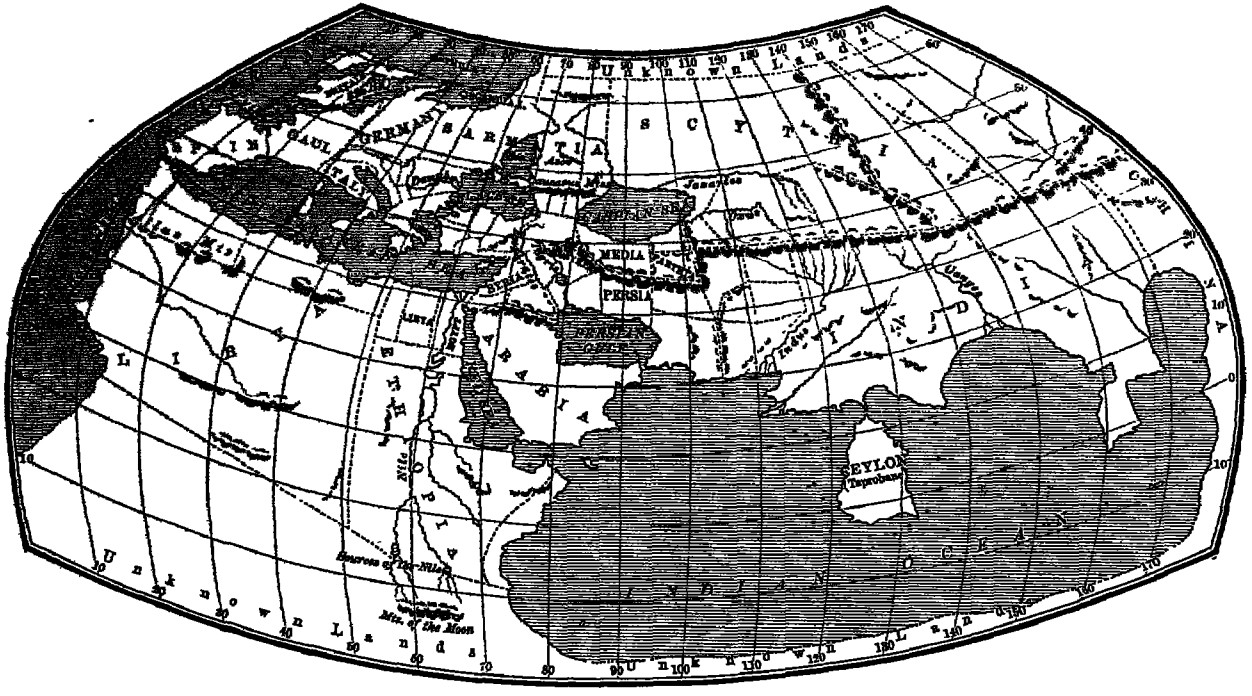


The World according to Herodotus

The boundaries of the world, for Herodotus, were fixed at the Danube and the countries of southern Russia (Scythia) in the north, the Caspian Sea and the Indus River in the east, the upper Nile in the south, and the Strait of Gibraltar (Pillars of Hercules) in the west. It is noteworthy that he regards the world as being larger from east to west than from north to south.

Meanwhile, the Greeks were gaining some acquaintance with other parts of the world. Reference has been previously made to the exploring voyage of the Carthaginian Hanno along the northwestern coast of Africa. Hanno's logbook, translated from Phoenician into Greek, is still extant. About 325 B.C. Pytheas of Massilia sailed along the shores of Spain and Gaul and spent some time in Britain. He was probably the first Greek to visit that island, which he may have circumnavigated. Pytheas has to tell, also, of another island called Thule, the most northerly part of the earth, beyond which the sea becomes thickened and like jelly. The latter statement perhaps refers to the drift ice found off the coast of Norway. When we consider how little had been previously known of northwestern Europe, we must admit that Pytheas belongs to the company of great explorers.

All this new knowledge of the East and West was soon gathered together by Eratosthenes, a learned librarian of Alexandria during the third century B.C. He may be regarded as the founder of scientific geography. Some students before his time had already concluded that the earth is spherical and not flat, and guesses had even been made as to its circumference. Eratosthenes, by observing the shadows cast by the sun at Alexandria and Syene (seven hundred miles apart), was able to estimate the circumference at about 28,000 miles, a figure nearly one-seventh too large but remarkably accurate considering his lack of precise instruments. He also reached the conclusion that the dis-



The World according to Ptolemy

tance from the Strait of Gibraltar to the east of India was about one-third of the earth's surface. With what seems a prophecy, he added that, were it not for the vast extent of the Atlantic Ocean, one might sail westward from Spain to India along the same parallel of latitude. The geographical work of Eratosthenes was continued and expanded by Strabo, who lived in the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus. Strabo keeps pretty closely to the system of Eratosthenes. He rejects the existence of Thule, but adds to the map Ierne, or Ireland, placing it north of Britain.

Still another Alexandrian scientist, the astronomer Ptolemy, was also an eminent geographer. His famous map of the world summed up the geographical knowledge of the ancients. Ptolemy's inaccuracies are obvious: his Europe extends too far west; his Africa is too wide; and his Asia is vastly exaggerated at its eastern extremity. By overestimating the distance eastward from Spain to China, he consequently diminished the real distance westward from Spain to China by nearly four thousand miles. Columbus relied on Ptolemy's calculation and never imagined what masses of land and water lay between the coast of Europe and that of Asia. Ptolemy also believed that Africa was joined to a great continent in the Indian Ocean. This mistaken notion about the "Unknown South Land" (*Terra Australis Incognita*) later led to exploring voyages in search of it, and particularly to Captain Cook's discoveries in the Pacific during the eighteenth century. Ptolemy's work, in spite of its inaccuracies, will always remain one of the monuments of ancient science. After his time no important additions were made to geographical knowledge until late in the Middle Ages.

The Fine Arts

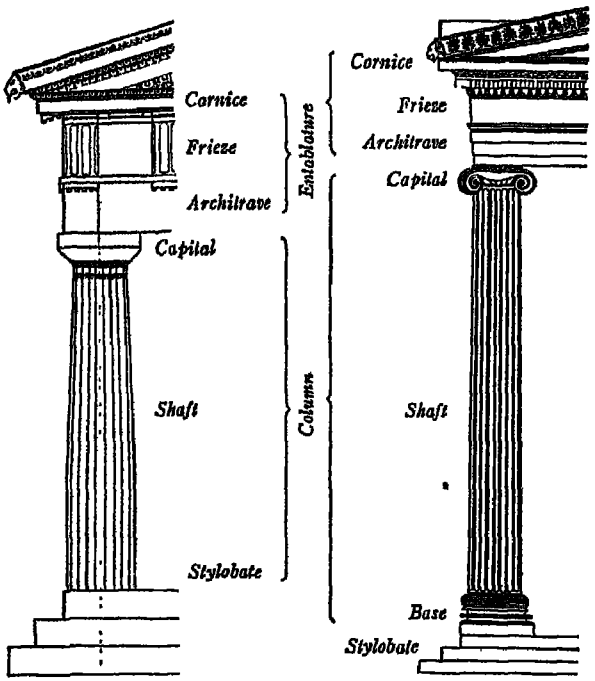
The ancient inhabitants of Crete and the neighboring islands were highly gifted artistically, but few traces of their beautiful creations survived the invasions which overwhelmed the Aegean cities and blotted out their civilized life. The "dark ages" which followed were a time of comparative barbarism in art as in other aspects of culture. The Homeric poems, composed during this period, afford no indication that the early Greeks could build, carve, or paint with the skill of the Aegean peoples. Greek art, as we know it, developed late and developed rapidly, beginning in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. and reaching its highest levels in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Then in Alexandrian and Roman times came the period of gradual decadence or decline.

Little has survived of the major productions of Greek art. The

temples are mostly in ruins, although a few still stand, roofless and unadorned, in continental Greece, southern Italy, and Sicily. No secular buildings remain, except some outdoor theaters and stadiums. As for the sculpture, it is only an insignificant remnant of what once existed. The gold and ivory (chryselephantine) statues vanished long ago. The bronze statues nearly all went into the melting pot. Those in marble were turned into lime mortar or were disfigured by wanton mutilation and centuries of neglect. The statues in our museums are mainly copies, made in Roman times, from the originals. Of the work of the six greatest sculptors of Greece we possess today but one certain example — the Hermes of Praxiteles. The productions of the wall painters and easel painters, so celebrated in antiquity, have also disappeared, and only their names and the stories of their achievements have come down to us. On the other hand, such minor arts as vase-painting, gem-cutting, and metal-working are well represented, chiefly because their productions were often buried with the dead or were hidden from the greed of man in spots now accidentally discovered. Every year of archaeological exploration adds to our riches in these fields.

Unlike the architecture of Egypt, where some of the most ancient work presents the highest excellence, that of Greece can be traced from rude and imperfect forms. In the earliest buildings only the lower part of the walls was composed of stone. The upper stories consisted of timber or sun-dried bricks. But in time the Greeks turned to other materials. It was their good fortune to possess in such quarries as those of Mount Pentelicus, near Athens, and on the island of Paros an inexhaustible supply of beautiful white marble, and this came to be generally used for temples and other public structures. When limestone was used it was coated with a fine, hard stucco to give it the appearance of marble. The uniform white or golden brown of the existing monuments by no means represents their original appearance. Time, the winds, and the rain have removed all but traces of their former coloration. Tints were sometimes employed to relieve the dazzling whiteness of bare walls. It was more common to color only the ornamental parts of a building and the open spaces that served as a background for sculpture. The Greeks were accustomed to a bright sun and a clear light and could endure a vividness of coloring which people in cloudier climes would find unpleasant.

The Greeks made no use of burnt bricks until a late period and hence did not rely on the round arch and vault as a means of covering a void. Their temples and other public structures had only flat ceilings supported by columns. The two Greek orders of architecture, Doric and Ionic, are distinguished mainly by differences in the treatment of the



Orders of Greek Architecture

Left, Doric; right, Ionic

column. The Doric column has no base, but rests upon three steps, of which the uppermost is called the stylobate. The sturdy shaft is grooved lengthwise with some twenty flutings. The capital is a circular band of stone capped by a square block. The Doric order was the characteristic style of the Greek mainland and also of southern Italy and Sicily. The Ionic column has a base of its own, in addition to the stylobate. The tall and slender shaft is fluted, but the flutings, instead of intersecting, as on the Doric column, are separated by flat fillets. The beautifully carved capital swells outward into four spiral rolls, the ends of which are curled under to form volutes. The Ionic order flourished particularly in Asia Minor; it was also well known at Athens. The so-called Corinthian order differs from the Ionic only in its capital, which is modeled on a cluster of acanthus leaves. It was chiefly used in Roman times.

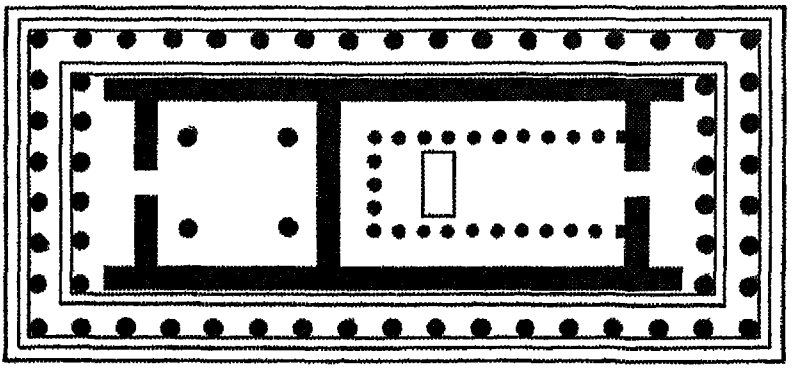
The Greeks were satisfied to live in simple and unpretentious houses, but they often built nobly for their city. The places of assembly and public markets were lined with long porticoes (stoas), roofed above,

walled at the back, and with a row of columns in front, thus providing a sheltered promenade. Olympia possessed an especially beautiful stoa. The city gates were impressive, and the gateway (Propylaea) leading into the Acropolis of Athens was considered a model of architecture. Other public buildings included a council house, an outdoor theater, a gymnasium, and a stadium for footraces. The temple, however, formed the most important structure in a Greek city.

The temple was very simple in outline — merely a rectangular building provided with doors, but without windows, and surrounded by a single or double row of columns. The architrave, a plain band of massive stone, reached from one column to another and supported the upper part of the building. Then came the frieze, adorned with reliefs, then the horizontal cornice, and at the ends of the building the triangular pediments formed by the sloping roofs. The pediments were sometimes decorated with statues. The interior of a temple usually had little ornamentation.

The temple architecture of the Greeks well illustrates the principle animating their art as a whole — "Nothing in excess." A temple never has one part of it too large in proportion to another, or too much decoration, or ornament in the wrong place. In its construction absolutely straight lines were avoided. The columns lean slightly inward toward the center of the building and, instead of being set at equal intervals, are closer together near the corners. The shafts of the columns taper upward and gently diminish the width of their flutings, but in the middle parts exhibit a slight swelling, or entasis. The basement and steps, instead of being perfectly horizontal, have a slight convexity. The artistic eyes of the Greeks delighted in such subtle curves. The total result was a structure combining to a unique degree good craftsmanship and good taste.*

In Greece several factors favorable to the development of the plastic art were united. Sculpture was in constant demand for the adornment of temples, for images of divinities, for votive offerings, for grave monuments, and for statues of athletes and heroes. The athletic sports provided the sculptor with nude living models in the finely shaped young men who "ran and leaped and wrestled greatly" at the Olympic and other national games. Greek costume itself exercised an aesthetic influence; the long, loosely flowing robes worn by both sexes lent themselves to sculptural representation. Given, then, an inherent artistic sensibility, the sculptor could drive forward to reach the one great object of his art — the lifelike representation of the human body, naked or clothed, at rest or in motion. How well he succeeded, all the world knows.



Ground Plan of the Parthenon, Athens

The Parthenon included only two chambers. The rear room stored sacred vessels and furniture, offerings, and state treasure. The second and larger room, one hundred feet in length, contained a gold and ivory statue of Athena by the sculptor Phidias.

Bronze, though always more expensive than marble, became the favorite material of some eminent sculptors after the process of hollow-casting had been introduced. A full-sized clay model of the statue was first made; this done, the model was dismembered and a cast of each part taken separately. The several bronze pieces were then riveted or soldered together. A marble statue or group was generally built up out of several parts, which were joined with such skill as to escape ordinary observation. Little use was made of clay models to be copied in the marble with the aid of exact measurements. The greatest sculptors worked freehand, guiding themselves mostly by the eye. After the figure had been hewn out in the rough by means of chisels, it received a careful polishing with the file and with sand. The features and draperies were then slightly colored to give it a lifelike appearance.

The earliest statuary which we possess dates from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. In spite of the stiffness and rigidity of the figures, much of this work has a freshness and a vigor which largely offset its defective technique. During the fifth century the sculptors overcome all technical defects; their mastery of the forms of the body is complete; and they concentrate their power upon giving to their statues the dignity and ideal quality associated with the Greek masterpieces.

The fifth century produced three great sculptors, Myron and Polyclitus, both celebrated for statues of victorious athletes, and Phidias the Athenian. The exquisite pediment groups and frieze reliefs of the Parthenon, if not by the hand of Phidias, at any rate were executed under his direction. He was also the sculptor of two huge statues of

gold and ivory, one of Athena at Athens and the other of Zeus at Olympia. Both have disappeared and for an idea of them we are obliged to rely chiefly on the descriptions of ancient writers. The statue of Athena stood in the Parthenon, facing the eastern entrance so that it might be bathed in the rays of the rising sun. Some late Roman statuettes are believed to be copies of this work, but they give a very inadequate idea of it. The statue of Zeus represented the god as of colossal size and seated on a throne. The flesh parts were of ivory; the clothing was of solid gold on a core of wood or stone. The whole monument, including the pedestal, was about sixty feet high. Phidias also made a number of bronze statues, including one of Athena the Champion (Athena Promachos) on the Acropolis.

The leading masters of the fourth century were Scopas, Lysippus, and Praxiteles. The world is fortunate in still possessing an original production by Praxiteles — a statue of Hermes holding the infant Dionysus. This was found, not many years ago, at Olympia. In later centuries sculptors continued to produce much good work, not only in Greece proper, but also in such cities as Pergamum, Rhodes, and Alexandria. With few exceptions, such as the Aphrodite of Melos and the Victory of Samothrace, those twin glories of the Louvre, and the Laocoön in the Vatican, their statues are known only by Roman copies.

In addition to the Cretan frescoes there still exist some examples of wall paintings at Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, the product of Italian craftsmen, but thoroughly Greek in character. In mural work of this sort the colors were laid with a brush upon a surface of "fresh," i.e. damp, plaster; hence the name "fresco." Easel painting, which flourished from the fourth century B.C., was done in water color on tablets of wood or, more rarely, of stone. The use of oils was unknown in ancient times. We possess, however, some remarkable miniatures, made by grinding colors in heated liquid wax and applying them to wooden or ivory objects. This is the so-called encaustic process. Vase-painting reached a high degree of excellence, as we know from the thousands of vases recovered from tombs and sanctuaries in Greece and Italy. In the earlier, black-figured pottery the figures were painted like silhouettes in black on the red clay surface of the vase; in the later, red-figured pottery the vase was painted entirely in black except for the figures, which were left in the ruddy color of the clay.

Baked clay was the material, not only of vases, but also of statuettes. The first terra cottas were made by modeling the figure in a solid mass, but later the use of a mold became customary. These statuettes, the least costly of all works of art, served as offerings to the gods, as funereal objects for tombs, and as household ornaments. They represent

creatures of mythological fancy, men and women in their ordinary occupations, children, and animals. The statuettes, like the vase paintings, illustrate the everyday life of classical antiquity. Gem-cutting was another art in which the Greeks excelled. Some gems were intaglios, that is, stones on which the design is hollowed out. They were engraved with a name or device for the sealing of documents. Cameos, which bear a design in relief, frequently a portrait, were worn as personal ornaments. Nothing can exceed their delicate beauty.

The Greeks soon borrowed from the Lydians the art of coinage. Almost every city had its own series of silver coins, besides occasional issues of bronze and gold. The finest examples were produced in Sicily. The artistic superiority of Greek coins over our own is due, in a measure, to changed conditions of manufacture. Modern coins, intended to be piled one upon another, are necessarily flat. Ancient coins, being always more or less globular, could be stamped with an image in high relief. But this is only a partial explanation; the underlying reason is found in the feeling for beauty, which impressed itself upon everything that a Greek made.

Transmission of Hellenism

The literature, philosophy, and science of Greece were taken over by Rome, and during the darkness of the early Middle Ages, when first-hand acquaintance with the Greek classics almost died out in western Europe, some of them continued to be known and read through the medium of Latin translations. When, in the eighth century, the Moors overran Spain, they introduced there, in Arabic versions, the Greek learning of the Near Eastern lands conquered by the followers of Mohammed. The Moorish universities in Spain were visited by many Christians, who thus gained an acquaintance with the Greek achievement. It was in this way, for instance, that the works of Aristotle, as rendered into Arabic and thence into medieval Latin, became familiar to Christendom in the West. All through the Middle Ages the intellectual light of Greece glowed, though somberly, at Constantinople, and before that city was captured by the Turks in 1453 and the "Turkish night" descended on it, a large number of Greek books were brought to Italy. Many learned Greeks also settled in Italy, taught in the universities there, and by means of their grammars and dictionaries enabled European scholars to acquire a knowledge of the Greek classics. After the Middle Ages Hellenism came again to its own, forming since then a chief part of the great cultural stream on which our modern world is borne.

XIII

The Roman Republic

Italy

THE geographical unity of Italy is more apparent than real. Northern Italy, girdled by the Alps and separated from the peninsula by the Apennines, contains the great plain drained by the Po, the "king of rivers," as the Romans called it, from its length and many tributary streams. In striking contrast to this region, the peninsula is traversed by parallel ridges of the Apennines, resulting in an endless diversity of hill and valley. The mountains are highest on the eastern side where they approach close to the Adriatic, so that in central Italy the lowlands extend on their western slope. In southern Italy the Apennines swerve to the southwest, and the level land is there on their eastern side. Sicily, in physical features, resembles peninsular Italy, to which it was joined before the formation of the narrow Strait of Messina.

Environmental conditions exerted as profound an influence on the history of Italy as on that of Greece, but an influence in different directions. In the first place, Italy is not cut up by a tangle of mountains and inlets into many small districts; it was easier for the Italic peoples than for the Greeks to establish one large and united state. In the second place, Italy presents a remarkably regular coast line, with few deep bays or good harbors; the Italic peoples in consequence did not readily take to the sea and they lacked the stimulus of contact with foreigners which the Greeks enjoyed. In the third place, Italy is far more productive than Greece. Its upland pastures nourished great flocks and herds; its forests yielded all manner of useful woods; and its extensive plains supported the culture of the cereals and the vine. As compared with Greece, Italy was better adapted for cattle-raising and farming than for industry and commerce. Finally, the position of Italy, with its best harbors and most numerous islands on the western side, for a long time brought the peninsula into closer relations with the western islands and the coasts of Gaul, Spain, and North Africa

than with the eastern Mediterranean. If Greece faced the civilized Near East, Italy faced the barbarous West.

Etruscans and Greeks in Italy

The earliest known civilization in Italy was introduced or developed there by the Etruscans, a maritime people who seem to have reached the peninsula in the ninth century B.C. The Greeks called them Tyrrhenians. Herodotus tells us that they came from Lydia, and most modern historians agree with him that their original home was probably in Asia Minor. By conquest and colonization the Etruscans built up a strong power in the country to which they gave their name — Etruria (modern Tuscany). Their cities formed a league controlling the entire Italian coast from the Bay of Naples northward to the Gulf of Genoa and inland almost as far as the Alps. Their settlements lined the eastern side of Corsica. Their navy swept the Tyrrhenian Sea. For several hundred years the Etruscans were the leading people of Italy. Yet history is strangely silent about them. The Etruscan language, though written in an alphabetic script derived from the Greek, is in structure unlike any Indo-European tongue. No key to it has ever been found. The surviving inscriptions are mostly epitaphs on gravestones, so that even could these be read they would not add much to our knowledge. The most important memorials of the Etruscans are their tombs, cut in the solid rock in the form of dwelling rooms and decorated with bas-reliefs and frescoes. Objects of Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek manufacture found in the tombs show that the Etruscans had an extensive commerce. They excelled in metal work, made superb statues in bronze and terra cotta, and used the round arch (probably derived from Babylonia) in tombs, gates, and drainage works. Their cities had massive walls and gates, paved streets, and underground drains. Never very numerous, apparently, the Etruscans formed a dominant military class holding the native peasant population in a state of serfdom and themselves leading lives of luxury and refinement. Their power began to wane in the fifth century B.C., and eventually Etruria and its outlying territories were annexed by Rome.

The influence of these mysterious Etruscans was early felt at Rome. From them the Romans took the insignia of the magistrates, the triumphal procession, the practice of liver divination, and the gladiatorial combats. Roman architecture and sculpture also owed much to the Etruscans. A great part of their civilization was thus absorbed in that of Rome; it did not perish utterly.

Greek colonies began to dot the coast of southern Italy after the


Italy before the Rise of Rome
Etruscans
Italians
Carthaginians
Names underlined denote Greek Colonies
SCALE OF MILES
ETRURIA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
GREECE
SICILY
AFRICA
Ancona
Naples
Tarentum
Croton
Syracuse
Agrigentum
Panormus
Messina
Catania
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Tarentum

middle of the eighth century B.C. These were all near or on the sea, from Campania to the Gulf of Taranto. North of the "heel" of Italy extends an almost harborless coast where nothing tempted the Greeks to settle. North of Campania, again, they found the few good harbors already occupied by the Etruscans. The Greeks, in consequence, did not colonize the center and north of Italy as they did the south and southwest. Room was thus left for the native Italic peoples, under the leadership of Rome, to build up their own power in the peninsula.

The Italic Peoples

In the second millennium before our era invaders from the north, speaking dialects of a common Italic language most closely related to Greek and the Celtic tongues of western Europe, had entered Italy through the many Alpine passes and gradually spread over the peninsula. They brought with them the use of metals (copper and bronze, perhaps also iron), they had domesticated animals, and they raised cereals. A relatively small group of Italic peoples were the Latins, who settled in Latium, the "flat land" extending south of the Tiber River between the mountains and the sea. As the Latins increased in numbers, they gave up their simple tribal organization and established city-states. The need of defense against the Etruscans across the Tiber and the fierce mountaineers of the Apennines bound them together in the Latin League. One of the members of this league was Rome.

Regal Rome

Late Roman historians placed the founding of Rome in 753 B.C., from which year dates were reckoned, but modern excavations have shown that the site of the city was occupied long before that time. "Eternal Rome" — the name *Roma* is probably of Etruscan origin — began as a group of villages on some of the hills just south of the Tiber and about fourteen miles from its ancient mouth. The low, marshy land between the Palatine and Quirinal hills became the Forum, or common market place, and the steep rock called the Capitoline served as the common citadel. Eventually the villages were united within a ring wall. Lying far enough inland to be secure from sea raiders and possessing in its hills a natural refuge, Rome was easy to defend. It was also well placed at the head of navigation on the Tiber to become the market center of Latium and at the same time to control the north-and-south land route between Etruria and Campania. Rome, furthermore, lay almost in the center of Italy, a position from which its warlike in-

habitants could advance on what, in military language, are called "inner lines" to the conquest of the entire peninsula. As an ancient historian declared, the site of Rome seemed to be "uniquely marked out for the growth of a city."

No records of early Roman history have been preserved, so that it is scarcely possible to separate the facts from the legends in the traditional narratives of Romulus, the founder and first king of Rome, and of the six kings who followed him. What seems certain, however, is that during the sixth century B.C. the city fell under the sway of Etruscan rulers. Their tyranny at length provoked a successful uprising and Rome then became a republic (509 B.C.?). By this time Rome had come to control the south bank of the Tiber to the port of Ostia at its mouth and, as head of the Latin League, had grown to be the chief city of Latium.

Early Roman Society

Early Rome formed a community of farmers and herders scattered over Latium; the city itself served mainly as a fortress and trading center. The average farm was small, three and a half acres being thought enough, with careful cultivation, to keep a family. "When our forefathers," said a Roman writer, "would praise a worthy man, they praised him as a good farmer and a good landlord; and they believed that praise could go no further." In such a community no great inequalities of wealth existed. Few citizens were very rich; few were very poor. The members of each household made their own clothing from flax or wool and fashioned out of wood or clay what utensils were needed for their simple lives. The Romans had no coinage at all until about the middle of the fourth century B.C., and the long use of a bronze currency thereafter indicates that gold and silver must have been very rare among them, and luxury almost unknown.

From such humble beginnings Rome rose to the leadership of the Mediterranean world. She did so because of the prowess, patriotism, and political capacity of her citizens. The early Romans were a hardy breed, abstemious in food and drink, vigorous and strong. "Virtue" (*virtus*) meant for them manliness, above all, bravery and fortitude: they were iron-hearted warriors, true nurslings of the she-wolf, the children of Mars. To these qualities they added a devotion to the corporate welfare, a willingness to sacrifice the claims of self to the good of the group, for which the nearest close parallels are afforded by the ancient Spartans and the modern Japanese. It must be noticed, also, that the Romans displayed an aptitude for discipline and a respect for constituted authority which made them excel as lawgivers and admin-

istrators. Virgil, one of their poets, recognized the practical bent of their genius and expressed it in famous lines: "Others, I doubt not, shall beat out the breathing bronze with softer lines; shall from marble draw forth the features of life; shall plead their causes better; with the rod shall trace the paths of heaven and tell the rising of the stars: remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway – these shall be thine arts – to crown Peace with Law, to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud."

The family, the unit of Roman society, consisted of all persons subject to the same house-father (*pater familias*). These persons might make a host in themselves: wife, unmarried daughters, and sons real or adopted; sons' wives, unmarried daughters, and sons; and even remoter descendants. The family, in the widest sense, also included slaves and "clients," the latter being dependents who stood above the slaves but owed various duties to their "patron," the house-father. Descent was reckoned exclusively in the male line, so that a son (or a daughter) was not regarded in law as related to any of the mother's kindred. The Romans thus drew a fundamental distinction between agnates, that is, all persons descended from a common male ancestor under whose authority they were or would have been if he had been alive, and cognates, or blood relations whether through the father or through the mother. The wife was included in the agnatic relationship and the married daughters were excluded from it, for by marriage a woman became subject to her husband – in his "hand," as the lawyers expressed it. In the agnatic family, descent is direct and easily traced; in the cognatic family, which prevails among ourselves, it is difficult for a man to trace his origin for more than a few generations; he has to take into account four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so on, and soon becomes lost in the maze of relationships. The principle of agnation emphasized the solidarity and continuity of the family, which in Rome, as in China, formed the keystone of the state.

With paternal descent went paternal authority (*patria potestas*). The wife had few, if any, rights as against her husband: he could chastise her, divorce her, or put her to death for unfaithfulness. When, however, she was accused of a serious offense, her male kinsfolk had first to be consulted before disciplinary action might be taken. Upon her husband's death she and her unmarried daughters came under the authority of a son or the next nearest male relative of the husband. A Roman matron was thus always in the position of a ward; she enjoyed, nevertheless, a position of dignity denied to an Athenian wife. She paid visits and received them; she appeared with her husband at the games, theaters, and courts; in the streets everyone made way for her; and

anyone who insulted her was thought worthy of death. Though her education was not carried far, we often find the Roman matron taking a lively interest in the affairs of state and aiding her husband in both politics and business. It was the women, as well as the men, who helped to make Rome great among the nations.

Sons and unmarried daughters were likewise in the power of the house-father. When a child was born to him, it was placed at his feet, and he then decided whether it should be reared or exposed. He brought up his children to be sober, silent, modest in bearing, and, above all, obedient. Their misdeeds he might punish with banishment, slavery, or even death. As head of the family he could claim all their earnings; everything they had was his. The house-father's authority ceased only with his death, when his sons in turn became lords over their families. Here again the *patria potestas* was less extensive in practice than in legal theory. Public opinion forbade the exposure of sons and of first-born daughters and frowned on a man who sold a married son into slavery. Before inflicting the death penalty on a child, the house-father had to call a council of the adult male members of the family, whose decision he would usually respect. The house-father's ownership of all the property meant, moreover, that he was a trustee to hold and use it for the common benefit. This patriarchal system, with its subordination of wife and children to the family head, has been found in different parts of the world, but among no other people was it carried to such lengths as among the early Romans. A more liberal attitude developed in time, and the rigors of the system were alleviated, not only by custom, but also by law.

Roman Religion

The family likewise included divine members to whom the human members looked for security and prosperity. The house door was sacred to Janus and the hearth with its fire, to Vesta. The storeroom came under the protection of the Penates. The house as a whole had its protecting spirits, called Lares. The house-father also had a guardian spirit, the Genius, which enabled him to beget children and so continue the collective life of the group. The daily worship of these spiritual beings took place at the family meal beside the hearth, when a little food would be cast into the flames and a portion of wine poured out as an offering to them. The images of the Lares and Penates would also be taken from the shrine and placed on the table in token of their presence at the meal. This family religion immensely strengthened the father's position: his home was a temple, his hearth an altar, and he

himself a priest. It long endured, lingering as a pious rite even after the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

The Romans worshiped various gods connected with their lives as farmers, herders, and warriors. The chief place in the pantheon was held by Jupiter, who ruled the heavens and sent rain and sunshine to nourish the crops. The Roman youth, on assuming the dress of manhood, made his offerings at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline; there the magistrates sacrificed before entering on their duties; and there the conquering general, on the occasion of a triumph, dedicated the spoils of victory. Mars, the war god, ranked next in honor. His sacred animal was the wolf; his symbols were spears and shields; and his altar was in the Campus Martius (Field of Mars) outside the city walls, where the army assembled. March, the first month in the old Roman year, was named in his honor. Vesta, who kept watch over the sacred fire ever burning in the Forum, was another important deity. Always hospitable in matters of religion, the Romans in time borrowed various Greek gods, for instance, Apollo and Hermes (Mercury). A fashion also arose of identifying old Roman deities with those of Greece which in any way resembled them in attributes or functions; thus Juno, the wife of Jupiter, was equated with Hera; Minerva, a goddess of wisdom, with Athena; and Neptune, a river god, with Poseidon. Many Greek myths were likewise adopted by the Romans and were given a local setting.

Roman priests did not form a separate class, but were chosen, as were the magistrates, from the general body of citizens. The most important priesthood was that of the pontiffs, who had a general oversight of the state religion and, among other duties, regulated the calendar, kept the public annals, and looked after weights and measures. The title of the head of this priesthood, Pontifex Maximus (Supreme Pontiff), is still that of the pope. There was also a board of augurs, or diviners, who interpreted a great variety of signs, for instance, the number, appearance, and flight of birds, and thunder and lightning. Divination of this sort was called "taking the auspices." No public act, such as a vote in the popular assembly, an election, or a battle, could be begun before the gods had shown their approval by granting favorable auspices.

There were many religious festivals. In April the Romans honored the goddess who cared for flocks and herds; in May they held a procession to purify and bless the fields, with the growing crops; and in August there was a ceremony which marked the harvest season. The Saturnalia was a seven days' festival held in December, in honor of Saturn, god of sowing. Schools were closed at this time, no war was

declared or battle fought, and no punishment was inflicted. A Roman writer tells us that all Rome seemed to go mad on this occasion. During the celebration of a festival the citizen was supposed to do no labor and even the slave to enjoy a respite from toil. The early Roman idea of a holy day thus seems to have been much the same as that which found expression in the Hebrew Sabbath. There were, however, more than one hundred holy days in the year, so that it was practically impossible for all work to cease on them. The old restrictions were gradually lightened or removed, until in the last century B.C. the poet Virgil could declare that "even on holy days some work is permitted by the laws of God and man." Finally, they became little more than public holidays, celebrated with banquets, games, and shows.

The legal bent of the Roman mind shows itself clearly in the conception of religion as essentially a contractual relation between the gods and their worshipers. Provided the people offer the requisite sacrifices, maintain the priesthoods, and celebrate the festivals, the gods stand ready to do their part — to send abundant harvests, success in war, and other earthly blessings. Roman religion promised no rewards and threatened no punishments in another world; it had a practical character and concerned itself with the everyday life of man. Just as the household was bound together by the tie of common worship, so all the citizens were united by a common reverence for the deities that guided and guarded the state.

Republican Rome

During the regal period the political institutions of Rome were similar to those of Homeric Greece: a king, a council of elders, and a popular assembly. The king, as high priest of the state religion, supreme judge, and commander in chief of the army, possessed the executive authority (*imperium*). His dignity was indicated by the purple-bordered toga which he wore, by the ivory throne, or curule chair, on which he sat, and by the attendance of lictors carrying the *fasces*. The latter were bundles of elm rods with a double-headed ax in each bundle — emblems of the king's power to flog or behead offenders and a constant reminder of his dread *imperium*. After the disappearance of the monarchy two consuls were annually elected by the people, with the consent of the Senate, to take the place of the lifelong king. They enjoyed equal authority and honor, so that unless both agreed upon a course of action nothing could be done. Each thus served as a check upon the other, as was the case with the two Spartan kings. When, however, grave danger threatened the state and unity of action seemed

imperative, provision was made for the temporary restoration of the kingship in the person of a dictator. He was nominated by the consuls, acting upon the advice of the Senate. The consuls gave up their authority to him and the people put their property and lives entirely at his disposal. The Romans constantly had recourse to a dictatorship during the stress of their many wars in Italy, but never did a dictator refuse to lay down his power when his term of six months had come to an end.

The Roman people during the regal period seem to have comprised an aristocracy and a commons. The aristocrats were called patricians (*patres*, "fathers") and the commoners were known as plebeians (*plebs*, "the crowd"). The patricians held a privileged position, since they alone sat in the Senate and served as magistrates, judges, and priests. With the establishment of the republic efforts began on the part of the plebeian citizens to acquire the rights which the patricians monopolized. They soon secured the passage of a law allowing a Roman citizen condemned to death by any magistrate except a dictator to appeal his case to the popular assembly. The law did not bind the consuls when outside the city at the head of the army, but when within the walls their lictors took the ax from the *fasces* to show that they could no longer exercise the power of life and death over Roman citizens. Before long the plebeians, as the result of a "general strike" which they organized against the government, compelled the patricians to allow them to choose officers of their own, called tribunes, as a means of protection. Any tribune could *veto* ("I forbid") the act of a magistrate that bore unjustly on a citizen. To make sure that the tribune's orders would be respected, his person was made inviolable, and a solemn curse was pronounced upon anyone who injured him or interrupted him in the performance of his duties. The tribune's authority extended only within the city and for a mile beyond its walls, so that he was powerless against the consul in the field.

There now followed the demand of the plebeians for written laws in place of the unwritten customs which, as in Athens before Draco's legislation, were interpreted by aristocratic judges. A commission of ten men (decemvirs) finally prepared a code. It was engraved on twelve bronze tablets and set up in the Forum, about the middle of the fifth century B.C. These laws of the Twelve Tables have come down to us in very fragmentary form. They mark the beginning of Rome's legal system. Two later landmarks in the struggle for equality of rights were the legalization of marriages of plebeians and patricians, which broke down the exclusiveness of the aristocratic families, and a law requiring that at least one of the consuls each year must be a plebeian,

which made the lowest-born citizen eligible to the highest honor in the gift of the people. Finally, the plebeians were allowed to hold all the magistracies, to sit in the Senate, and even to be members of the sacred colleges of pontiffs and augurs. This contest "between the orders," which lasted for over two centuries, seems to have been conducted without intimidation or violence on either side — a striking testimony to the good sense and moderation of the Roman people.

The Roman city-state was called a republic — *respublica*, a "thing of the people." Roman citizens made the laws, elected the magistrates, disposed of the revenues, and decided questions of war and peace. Democracy at Rome took, however, a far less real and effective form than at Athens and in other Greek cities. The citizens did not have the right of meeting on stated occasions in their assemblies; they could only be called together by a magistrate. When so summoned, they could not frame, criticize, or amend measures laid before them, for no one but a magistrate or some person whom he authorized to speak for him was allowed to address a public gathering. The citizens, in short, could only say "yes" or "no" to a proposal made to them by a magistrate.

Rome had many magistrates. Besides the consuls and the tribunes, there were the quaestors, or keepers of the treasury, the aediles, who looked after markets, streets, and public games, the praetors, or judges, and the censors, who numbered the citizens, assessed their property for taxation, and exercised a moral oversight of their private lives. A man usually passed through the offices in regular order, beginning political life by election to a quaestorship and then becoming in succession aedile, praetor, and consul. If he won distinction in this "career of honors," he might be chosen as one of the two censors. Nearly every magistrate served for one year only and could not enter upon a second term until ten years had passed. Though a magistrate enjoyed much power, it was a divided power, for there were two or more colleagues for every office except the dictatorship.

During most of the republican period the Senate contained about three hundred members, nominated by the consuls (later by the censors) from the list of ex-magistrates and holding office as a rule for life. The Senate, almost inevitably, became supreme in the state. The magistracies changed year by year; the Senate formed a body of seasoned men ripe in age and of long experience in public affairs. The magistrates, who themselves expected some day to sit in the Senate, were naturally disposed to accept its advice and even to seek its approval for any measures which they intended to submit to the people for decision. All weighty matters came before the Senate. It managed finances and

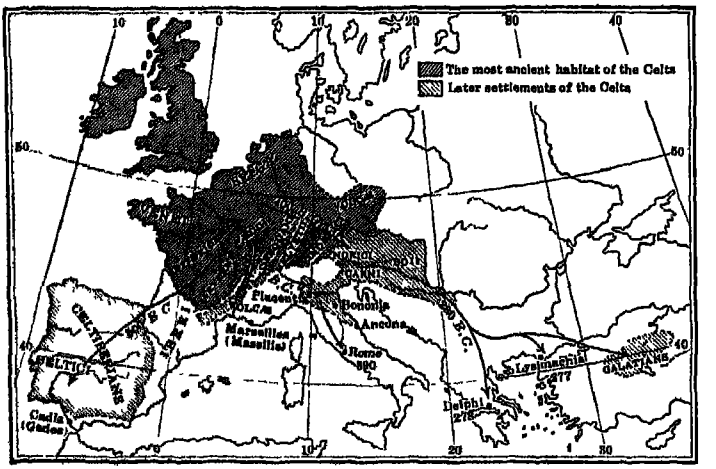
public works, guided the foreign policy of Rome, controlled the generals in the field, and directed the legislative activities of the assemblies. During the centuries when Rome was winning dominion over Italy and throughout the Mediterranean the Senate formed an extraordinarily competent body and ruled with a firmness and strength of will which was proof against every setback or disaster. An admiring foreigner called it a "council of kings."

The cessation of the struggle between patricians and plebeians was followed by the rise of a new aristocracy, an office-holding aristocracy. Election to one of the higher magistracies ennobled a man and made him eligible for a seat in the Senate. He and his direct descendants were henceforth "known" or "distinguished" (*nobiles*). Only wealthy nobles, as a rule, could afford to hold the magistracies, which carried no salary and, moreover, often involved heavy campaign expenses when a candidate sought to curry favor with the populace by means of shows, banquets, and public games. The citizens themselves seem to have felt that political ability descended from one generation to another and they preferred to elect as praetor, consul, or censor a man whose father or grandfather had enjoyed the same honor. It was unusual, therefore, for a "new man," as the Romans called a person whose ancestors had not been distinguished in the public service, to secure official honors. The power and privileges of the senatorial nobility depended on custom rather than on law, so that nothing but a revolution could take them away.

Expansion of Rome over Italy

The first centuries of the republic were filled with warfare between Rome and her neighbors. In 390 B.C. or thereabouts the republic came near to destruction, as the result of an invasion of the Gauls. These barbarians, a people of Celtic speech, poured through the Alpine passes, overran the Etruscan settlements in the Po valley, and then fell upon the Romans. A Roman army was annihilated and Rome itself, except for the citadel on the Capitoline, was taken and burnt. According to one story, the Gauls were induced to withdraw by the payment of a heavy ransom; another story, more favorable to Roman pride, declares that a relieving army forced them to retire without their booty. The Gauls made later raids but never again reached Rome, which rose from her ashes stronger than ever.

Two stages in the subsequent expansion of Rome in Italy may be distinguished. The first (ending in 338 B.C.) saw her conquest of the Latins, followed by the dissolution of the Latin League; the second



The Expansion of the Celts

(ending in 264 B.C.) saw her supremacy established over the Etruscans, the Italic tribes and peoples, and the Greek cities of southern Italy. Rome was now mistress of the entire peninsula from the Strait of Messina northward to the upper Apennines and eastward to the shores of the Adriatic. It should be noticed, however, that as yet she ruled only the central and southern parts of what is the modern kingdom of Italy. The Gauls held the Po valley, while most of Sicily and Sardinia remained in possession of the Carthaginians.

There seems to be no reason to suppose that from the start the Romans had the fixed purpose of conquering and uniting Italy. Their earlier wars might even be described as defensive wars, fought to protect their territory or that of their allies against turbulent neighbors. For the Romans, however, offense was the best defense, so that the task of policing the borders led to one annexation after another. The process was slow, compared with the sweeping conquests of the Persians and Macedonians. It took Rome twice as long to become supreme in Italy as to subdue the entire Mediterranean basin. Rome was not built in a day, but only after centuries of stern struggle.

Roman Rule in Italy

About one-fourth of Italy below the Arno and Rubicon rivers made up the strictly Roman territory occupied by Roman citizens. It included at this time the greater part of Latium, part of Campania and Etruria, and various districts elsewhere in the peninsula. A Roman citizen had many rights. He could hold and transfer property under


Rome in Italy
Roman Possessions at the End of the Kingdom, 509 B. C.
Additional Possessions at the Close of the Latin War, 338 B. C.
Additional Possessions at the Beginning of the First Punic War, 264 B. C.
Names underlined (Verona) denote Latin Colonies.
Principal Roman Roads
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
Rome
Ostia
Ariminum
Rubicon R.
Ravenna
Aquileia
Venusia
Hatria
Capua
Naples
Bay of Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
Paestum
Brundisium
Tarentum
Heraclea
Gulf of Tarentum
Sybaris
Thurii
Croton
Messina
Locri
Rhegium
Cumae
Circeii
Sena Gallica
Ancona
Arretium
Perusia
Clusium
Placentia
Cremona
Verona
Bononia
Pisa
Elba
Genua
Gulf of Genoa
Via Aurelia
Via Flaminia
Via Cassia
Via Aemilia
Via Appia
Via Latina
Via Valeria
Via Salaria
Via Postumia

the protection of the law. He could contract a valid marriage which made his children themselves citizens and gave him over them all the authority of the house-father. He could vote in the assemblies at Rome and hold public office there. He could appeal from the magistrates to the people, when condemned to death or to the loss of personal freedom. Those who possessed such rights, and those only, were "Romans."

Rome was a city-state, and her rule in Italy was the rule of a city-state. She was unfamiliar, as Athens was unfamiliar, with the principle of representative government. Citizens who lived outside of Rome could not send representatives to discuss and resolve in their behalf. They had to visit in person the capital city when they wished to exercise their political rights. The elections, moreover, were not all held on one day, but consuls, praetors, and other magistrates were elected on separate days, while meetings of the assemblies might be held in any part of the year. A country man who really tried to fulfill his duties as a citizen would have had little time for anything else. The result was, that in ordinary legislation the city populace of Rome had the controlling voice.

The tribes and peoples of Italy (Etruscan, Greek, and Italic) which failed to receive Roman citizenship at this period were not treated as complete subjects. Rome neither burdened them with taxes nor confiscated their best lands nor sold them into slavery, according to the time-honored custom of conquerors. Rome called them rather her "friends and allies." They continued to govern themselves in all local matters but lost the right of declaring war on one another, of making treaties with one another, and of coining money. They were required to furnish soldiers for the Roman armies; in the case of the Greek cities this obligation took the form of supplying ships and crews for the Roman navy. Rome thus became the head of a federation in which she controlled all the military resources of the Italian communities and directed their foreign relations. "Divide and rule" (*divide et impera*) formed the cardinal principle of Rome's policy throughout her history.

The Romans very early began to establish Latin colonies, so called because at first they contained settlers from the Latin cities as well as from Rome. There were thirty-five of these colonies, all but the first seven being composed exclusively of Romans. The colonists, usually veteran soldiers or poor plebeians who wanted farms, surrendered Roman citizenship but enjoyed the rights of trade and marriage with Romans and with one another. Having sprung from Rome the Latin colonies naturally remained faithful to her interests. Planted at strategic points in the peninsula, they formed permanent garrisons to sup-

port the authority of the mother city and at the same time helped to spread the Latin language, law, and culture throughout Italy.

The Latin colonies were united with one another and with Rome by an extensive system of roads. The first important road, known as the Appian Way, was carried as far as Capua and was later extended to Brindisi (*Brundisium*), where travelers embarked for Greece. Other trunk lines were soon built in Italy, and from them a network of smaller highways penetrated every part of the peninsula. The first step in road construction was to dig two ditches marking its limits on either side. The loose surface earth was then removed until the workmen reached a firm subsoil or, better still, a bed of rock. If the bottom proved to be swampy, piles were driven down to secure a firm foundation. The cut would then be filled in with several layers of small stones, or rubble, all bound solidly by cement. The surface was laid with large flat blocks of lava or stone, these being fitted together with the utmost care so as to leave no fissures to admit water or to jar the wheels of vehicles. The roads often went a hundred years without repairs, and some stretches of them are still in good condition. As far as possible they ran in straight lines and on easy grades. Nothing was allowed to obstruct their course. Engineers cut through or tunneled the hills, bridged rivers and gorges, and spanned low, swampy lands with massive viaducts of stone. These highways were intended, primarily, for the rapid dispatch of troops, supplies, and official messages. Being free to the public, they also served as avenues of trade and travel and so brought the peoples of Italy into close touch with Rome.

The Roman army was a militia, or national levy. All citizens between the ages of seventeen and forty-six were liable for service in the field and those of forty-six and above, for garrison duty. These men, mainly peasants, served at first without compensation and only for short summer campaigns, after which they returned to their farms. The introduction of state pay made it possible to undertake campaigns of longer duration and to give the troops a more careful training. In place of the solid but unwieldy phalanx armed with spears the Romans adopted the legionary formation, the inspiration of a god, said an ancient writer. Each legion, which consisted normally of about four thousand infantry, was divided into companies capable of maneuvering independently on the field of battle. The soldiers were provided with a missile weapon, the javelin (*pilum*), and a short sword for hand-to-hand fighting. They lived under an iron discipline. The coward, the deserter, or the sentinel who slept on his watch was first scourged with rods and then beheaded. When an entire body of troops was condemned, the general selected every tenth man and sent him to execu-

tion. At the same time rewards and promotions for bravery were numerous, the highest honor being the civic crown of oak leaves granted to one who had saved the life of a comrade. Every time the army halted, if only for a single night, the soldiers made a camp protected by a ditch, a mound of earth, and a palisade of stakes. Behind the walls of such a fortress the army had safety from surprise attacks and could accept or decline a battle. As a proverb said, the Romans often conquered by "sitting still."

The Romans were sometimes vanquished in battle; they were always victorious in war. With her disciplined soldiers, her flexible legion, and her fortified camps, Rome won dominion in Italy and began the conquest of the Mediterranean world.

The Punic Wars

About a hundred years before the traditional date at which Rome rose upon her seven hills, Phoenician colonists laid the foundations of a second Tyre. They chose an admirable site near modern Tunis on the great projection where the African coast reaches out toward Sicily. The new city bordered on rich farming land, had the best harbor of North Africa, and lay far enough away to be out of the reach of Persian or Macedonian conquerors. After the maritime power of Phoenicia declined, Carthage took over the Phoenician possessions in the western Mediterranean and built up a commercial empire. It included the African coast eastward as far as the Greek city of Cyrene and westward to the Strait of Gibraltar, together with many settlements in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, southern Spain, the Balearic Islands, and Malta. The western Mediterranean became almost a Carthaginian lake.

Carthage was in form a republic, with a Senate, a popular assembly, and two senior magistrates annually elected by the people. The Senate, which controlled all public affairs, was in turn controlled by a few rich families whose wealth came from commerce and the possession of landed estates and mines, so that the government might be called a plutocracy. The Carthaginians kept their Phoenician language, religion, and customs and did not mingle with the native African peoples. But we know little of Carthage: she is a "dumb actor" on the stage of history.

The wealth of Carthage enabled her to raise armies of mercenary soldiers from her subjects and allies and to build warships which in size, number, and equipment surpassed those of any other Mediterranean state. Mistress of a wide realm, strong by both land and sea, Carthage was to prove herself Rome's most dangerous foe. In following the

course of the Punic (that is, Phoenician) wars, it is difficult to withhold sympathy for the city which Rome finally conquered and destroyed. Rome, however, was fighting for European civilization, just as surely as was Greece in the Persian wars. Had Carthage won, Oriental ideas and customs might have become dominant throughout the western Mediterranean.

Rome had scarcely attained the headship of united Italy before the struggle with Carthage began. It began as a struggle for Sicily. The Carthaginians aimed to extend their control over the whole island, which from its situation seems to belong almost as much to Africa as to Europe. The Romans also coveted it for its natural riches and as a barrier against Carthaginian aggression in southern Italy. The First Punic War (264–241 B.C.), a long and hard-fought contest, ended at length in favor of the Romans. The treaty of peace deprived Carthage of her possessions in Sicily, and that island now became the first Roman province. The peace amounted to no more than an armed truce. The decisive conflict which should determine whether Rome or Carthage was to rule the western Mediterranean had yet to come. Before it came Rome strengthened her military position by seizing Sardinia and Corsica, in spite of the protests of Carthage, and by conquering the Gauls in the Po valley. The Roman power now reached over northern Italy to the foot of the Alps. Carthage, meanwhile, found compensation for her territorial losses by conquering much of Spain. The produce of the Spanish silver mines filled the Carthaginian treasury and the hardy Spaniards made excellent material for the Carthaginian armies. Carthage thus secured both means and men for another trial of strength with Rome.

The Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.) has sometimes been called the Hannibalic War because it centered about the personality of the Carthaginian Hannibal, one of the ablest military leaders of antiquity. The Romans planned to conduct it in Spain and Africa; Hannibal determined to fight in Italy. Since Roman fleets now swept the western Mediterranean, he was obliged to lead his army with supplies, equipment, horses, and war elephants (his "tanks") from Spain through the defiles of the Pyrenees, across the wide, deep Rhône, over an Alpine pass — which one is uncertain — and down the steep southern slopes of the Alps into the Po valley. He did all this and at length stood on Italian soil. There in a strange land and vastly outnumbered he maintained himself for fifteen years, marching up and down the peninsula almost at will and inflicting severe defeats upon the Romans. Hannibal, however, had no siege weapons to reduce the Latin colonies which studded Italy, and his hope that Rome's Italian allies would join forces

with him was not realized. Most of them recognized Rome as their natural leader against the invader and never faltered in their loyalty. The Carthaginian army dwindled away year by year, and reinforcements sent from Spain were caught and destroyed by the Romans before effecting a junction with Hannibal's troops. Meanwhile, the brilliant Roman commander, Publius Scipio, drove the Carthaginians out of Spain and invaded Africa. Hannibal was then summoned home to face this new adversary. He came, and on the field of Zama met his first and only defeat (202 B.C.). The treaty of peace which followed the battle required Carthage to cede her possessions in Spain, surrender all but ten of her warships, and pay a heavy indemnity. She also bound herself not to wage any war outside of Africa, and not even in Africa unless with the consent of Rome. Carthage had become a vassal state.

There was a Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.). Rome watched with anxiety the reviving strength of Carthage and at length determined to blot the city out of existence. A Roman army landed in Africa, and the Carthaginians were ordered to remove at least ten miles from the sea. It was a sentence of death to a people who lived so largely by maritime trade. In despair they took up arms again and resisted the Romans until, out of a population of half a million or more, only fifty thousand were left to surrender and to be sold as slaves. The doubtful honor of capturing Carthage belonged to Scipio Aemilianus, grandson by adoption of the victor of Zama. The Senate ordered the city to be burned and its site plowed up and declared accursed. As Scipio watched the smouldering ruins, he thought that sometime such might be the fate of his own city; and he repeated sadly the words of Homer, "The day will come when sacred Troy shall fall, and Priam, and all Priam's folk." The Carthaginian territory was now annexed to Rome and organized as a province under the name of Africa.

Rome Mistress of the Mediterranean

The two European territories, Sicily and Spain, which Rome took from Carthage, presented very different problems to the conqueror. Sicily had long been accustomed to foreign masters, both Greek and Carthaginian, and it readily accepted the rule of the Romans. Spain, on the contrary, gave them much hard fighting. After its final conquest Spain speedily became a Roman land. Many colonists settled there; traders flocked to the seaports; even the legionaries, quartered there for long periods, married Spanish wives and, on retirement from active service, made their homes in the peninsula. Rome thus continued in

Spain the process of Romanization which she began in Italy and later repeated in Gaul and Britain.

Rome now had no rival in the western Mediterranean and soon she had no rival in the eastern Mediterranean. Her interference in the affairs of Macedonia found an excuse in the attempt of that kingdom, during the Second Punic War, to give aid to Hannibal. Macedonia was easily overcome and made into a dependent ally of Rome. In 146 B.C. it became a Roman province. Thus disappeared the great power which Philip had founded and which Alexander had led to the conquest of the Near East. Having humbled Macedonia, the Romans proclaimed the "freedom of Greece." Freedom actually meant subjection, as was proved when some of the Greek states rose in revolt against Rome. Her heavy hand then descended on Corinth, the principal culprit and one of the most beautiful cities in the ancient world. In 146 B.C., the same year in which the destruction of Carthage took place, Corinth was sacked and burned to the ground. This event may be said to mark the final extinction of Greek liberties. Though the city-states were allowed self-government, they paid tribute and acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. A few years later the western part of Asia Minor, together with the Greek cities on the coast, was formed into the province of Asia.

Rome's dealing with her new dependencies overseas did not follow the methods that proved to be so successful in Italy. The Italian peoples had been treated as allies, had been allowed to manage their local concerns without interference, and in many instances had been granted Roman citizenship. For the subject peoples beyond the borders of Italy, however, Rome adopted much the same provincial system as that of Persia and Athens. They were disarmed, were made to pay tribute in money or in kind, and were obliged to accept the control of Roman governors and other officials. The governor was a magistrate who, after a year of service at home as praetor or consul, served abroad for another year as propraetor or proconsul. He enjoyed almost absolute sway over a province, for no watchful Senate marked, and no jealous colleague restrained, his conduct. A propraetorship or proconsulship consequently offered unlimited opportunities for graft and money-making at the expense of the provincials. If the latter complained of the governor's rapacity to the Senate which had appointed him, their injuries stood little chance of being redressed by senatorial courts quite ignorant of provincial affairs and notoriously open to bribery. Even were a governor honest and upright, he could do little during his short term toward correcting abuses of the administration. The provincials also suffered from the extortions of the tax collectors

(publicans), who wrung all they could from the people, paid the Roman government its stipulated amount, and then kept the rest for themselves. Their name became a byword for all that was greedy, and in the New Testament one finds "publicans" and "sinners" mentioned side by side.

Roman rule certainly conferred some real benefits in the Mediterranean world. It brought peace and tranquillity; it protected civilized lands from barbarians; it encouraged commerce; it policed the seas. But until the very end of the republic the provincials continued to be oppressed by their rulers and the provinces to be treated as the "estates of the Roman people."

The Transformation of Roman Society

The foreign wars of Rome were immensely profitable. The soldiers, at the end of a successful campaign, shared in the booty taken from the enemy. The state itself benefited by the sale of enslaved prisoners and their property. Large sums of money were sometimes seized and brought to Rome. Publius Scipio, after the Second Punic War, took from Carthage one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of silver. After the treasure of the Macedonian kingdom had been deposited in the public treasury, the state felt so rich that it abolished all taxes on Roman citizens. Once peace had been made, Roman governors and tax collectors followed in the wake of the armies and squeezed the provincials at every turn. The new wealth that poured into Rome from every side naturally promoted the growth of luxurious tastes, and the rude simplicity of early times disappeared almost within a single generation.

The wealthy people were the nobles, whose income came from their landed estates, and the so-called "knights" (Latin, *equites*). The knights were not necessarily soldiers; they might never have served in the cavalry or have mounted a horse. Any citizen not a member of the senatorial nobility might enter the equestrian order provided his property reached a certain amount. Senators and the sons of senators were not allowed to engage in commerce or in other occupations which would take them out of Italy, so that most of the business of the Roman world fell into the hands of the knights. They fattened on government contracts for collecting taxes, for laying out the great military roads, for the construction of harbors and public buildings, and for working the state-owned mines. They were bankers and capitalists, lending vast sums at high rates of interest to cities and provinces. At Rome one could borrow at four per cent; abroad twelve per cent

was the usual rate. The knights also organized joint-stock companies in which a large number of people might hold shares. The Forum at Rome, where this business centered, formed a stock exchange for speculation of every kind; it was the "Wall Street" of antiquity.

The rich were becoming richer, but it seems that the poor were also becoming poorer. After Rome became mistress of the Mediterranean her markets were flooded with the cheap wheat raised in those granaries of the ancient world, Sicily, North Africa, and Egypt. The price of wheat fell so low that Roman peasants could no longer make a comfortable living on their little plots of land. They had to sell out, often at a ruinous sacrifice, to capitalists, who turned many small farms into extensive sheep pastures, cattle ranches, vineyards, and olive orchards. These great estates were worked by gangs of slaves from Carthage, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor. The dispossessed peasants thronged to the cities of Italy, to Rome especially, where they labored for a small wage, fared plainly, and lived in huge lodging houses. Since their votes controlled the assemblies, they were courted by candidates for office and kept from grumbling by being fed and amused. "The majority of these people," declared an ancient writer, "have stepped within our walls, leaving the scythe and the plow; they prefer clapping their hands at the circus to working in their fields and vineyards."

Reforms of the Gracchi

In the year 133 B.C., a year otherwise made memorable by the final subjugation of Spain and the acquisition of territory in Asia Minor, efforts were initiated to remedy some of the evil conditions now manifest in Roman society. The first reformer was Tiberius Gracchus, who belonged to a noble family distinguished for its services to the state. Having been elected one of the ten tribunes of the people, he brought forward a measure intended to revive agriculture in Italy. He proposed that some of the public lands of Rome, then largely occupied by wealthy men, who alone had the resources to work them with cattle and slaves, should be reclaimed by the state, divided into small tracts, and distributed at a nominal rental to landless citizens. No one was henceforth to hold more than about five hundred acres of public land, an amount which might be increased by one half for each of two grown sons. The government was also to advance funds for the purchase of farm implements and stock.

This sensible proposal for getting the people back on the soil aroused a hornet's nest about the reformer's ears, and the great landowners in the Senate induced another tribune, devoted to their interests, to place

his veto on the measure. The impatient Tiberius now took a false step. Though a magistrate could not legally be removed from office, he had the offending tribune deposed and thus secured the desired legislation. This action further embittered the aristocrats, who threatened to impeach him as soon as his term expired. To avoid impeachment Tiberius sought re-election to the tribunate for the following year. This, again, was contrary to the constitution, which did not permit anyone to hold office for two successive terms. On the day appointed for the election, while voting was in progress, a crowd of senators and their clients burst into the Forum and killed Tiberius and three hundred of his followers.

Nine years after the death of Tiberius Gracchus his brother Gaius also became a tribune. Gaius soon secured the passage of a law permitting the sale of grain from public storehouses to Roman citizens at about half the market price. The law made Gaius popular with the poorer classes, but it saddled the treasury with a heavy burden. Later the government had to furnish the grain for nothing. By the middle of the first century B.C. over three hundred thousand persons were receiving free food from the government. A dole of this sort increased rather than lessened the number of paupers. Gaius showed more statesmanship in his other measures. He re-enacted his brother's agrarian law for the benefit of the peasantry, provided work in road-building for the unemployed, and encouraged the emigration of landless citizens from Italy to the provinces. He also proposed to confer the franchise upon the inhabitants of the Latin colonies. This effort to extend Roman citizenship aroused the jealousy of the urban proletariat, which believed that the enrollment of new citizens would curtail its privileges: there would not be so many free shows and so much cheap grain. The people rejected the measure and even failed to re-elect Gaius to the tribunate, though a law had been recently passed permitting a man to hold that office year after year. The Senate took advantage of the situation to declare Gaius a public enemy. Another bloody tumult broke out in which several thousand of his followers perished. He himself committed suicide.

Civil War: Marius and Sulla

Political strife at Rome had thus far left the aristocrats at the head of affairs. They filled the Senate, and the Senate governed Rome. It no longer contained the able and patriotic men who had once piloted the state; it had become a body of ultra-conservatives bent on perpetuating their own privileges and those of the rich nobles whom they repre-

sented. The growing incompetence and corruption of the Senate prepared the way for the appearance of another popular leader, a general named Marius. He gained his greatest distinction in wars with barbarian tribes which had moved into southern Gaul and northern Italy. His victories over them saved Rome from a repetition of the disastrous Gallic invasion of the fourth century B.C. The Roman army under Marius became even more effective as a war machine than it had been in earlier times. The legionaries were now mostly volunteers — poor citizens who enlisted for a long term and made fighting their profession. Such soldiers of fortune cared little for either the Senate or the laws. They obeyed only their commander and looked to him, not to Rome, for pay, promotion, and discharge. A popular and successful general could rely on his legionaries.

Meanwhile, the Senatorial aristocracy also found a leader in a noble named Sulla. He too became eminent as a general, this time in a war between Rome and her Italian allies. The Social War, as it is called, arose from the refusal of both Senate and people to extend Roman citizenship throughout Italy. It ended in 88 B.C., when Rome promised the desired citizenship to those Italians who returned to their allegiance. The inhabitants of nearly all the Italian towns soon received all the privileges enjoyed by citizens of Rome, though they could not vote or stand for office unless they visited in person the capital city. The whole of Italy thus became Roman as far as legal rights were concerned; one might also say, not untruly, that Rome became Italian.

Rome had long been familiar with the street broil and the riot as a method of deciding quarrels between opposing parties. Now she found that a fierce and prolonged civil war which put scores of legions into the field could result from the personal rivalry of Marius and Sulla, the democratic and aristocratic leaders. Sulla finally triumphed and Rome, for the first time since the expulsion of the kings, came under one-man rule. Sulla used his position of "Perpetual Dictator" only to pass a series of measures intended to place the Senate's authority on a solid basis and to give it by law the same supreme position which it had enjoyed in former times by custom and universal assent. He ruled for three years and then laid down the dictatorship, dying soon afterward (78 B.C.).

Civil War: Pompey and Caesar

Sulla's friend, Gnaeus Pompeius, known to us familiarly as Pompey, now became the leading figure at Rome. Pompey won great renown as a commander. He crushed a rebellion of the Spaniards, put down

a formidable rebellion in Italy of slaves, outlaws, and ruined peasants, ridded the Mediterranean of pirates, and made sweeping conquests in the Near East, where he added Syria (including Palestine) to the Roman dominions.

Rome at this time contained another able man in the person of Julius Caesar. He belonged to a noble family, but his father had favored the democratic cause and his aunt had married Marius. As a young man Caesar threw himself wholeheartedly into the exciting game of politics as played in the capital city. He won the ear of the populace by his fiery harangues, his bribes, and his gifts of food and public shows. After spending all his private fortune in this way, he was "financed" by the millionaire Crassus, who lent him the large sums required for a successful career as a politician. He rose rapidly through the offices, serving as quaestor, aedile, and praetor, and finally as governor in Spain, where he wrung from the provincials enough money to pay his debts. Caesar and Crassus, the two leaders of the democratic party, now joined with Pompey in what the Romans called a triumvirate, but what we should call a "ring." Pompey contributed his soldiers, Crassus his wealth, and Caesar his influence over the urban proletariat. Supported by both the army and the people, these three men were masters of Rome.

Caesar was ambitious. The careers of Marius, Sulla, and Pompey taught him that the road to power at Rome lay through a military command which would furnish an army devoted to his personal fortunes. Accordingly, after serving a year as consul, he obtained an appointment as governor of Gaul on both sides of the Alps (Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul). The next eight years (58–50 B.C.) were devoted to his remarkable campaigns against the Gauls of western Europe.

The Gauls, as the Romans called them, were a tall, blue-eyed, fair-haired people, speaking an Indo-European language called Celtic, and occupying at this time the area now included in France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, part of Germany, and the British Isles. They did not keep written records, so that our knowledge of them comes from statements by Roman writers and from modern excavations on the sites of their settlements and burial places. They had no cities and no political life beyond loosely organized tribes. Their rude religion included the worship of nature spirits and animals. Father Rhine was one of the supreme gods, and the oak, with the parasitic mistletoe growing on it, enjoyed great veneration. Human sacrifice seems to have been occasionally practiced by the Druids, who formed a priestly corporation and had charge of all religious rites. The Druids were also found in Britain. Though a barbaric people, the Gauls tilled the soil,

sailed the seas, produced fine metal work in both bronze and iron, and from their Greek and Roman neighbors had begun to take over some of the arts and conveniences of civilized life.

The story of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul has been told by Caesar himself in the famous *Commentaries*, still a Latin text in the schools. This book describes a series of military successes which have given the author a place among the world's great generals. Caesar overcame the Gallic tribes in one battle after another, twice bridged the Rhine and invaded Germany, made two military expeditions to Britain, and brought within the Roman dominions all the territory bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Atlantic Ocean. Caesar's conquest of Gaul widened the map of the civilized world from the Mediterranean basin to the shores of the Atlantic. Gaul soon received and speedily adopted the Latin language, Roman law, and the customs and religion of Rome. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed the orator Cicero, "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but now they are no longer needed."

The death of Crassus, during Caesar's absence in Gaul, dissolved the triumvirate. Pompey and Caesar soon began to draw apart and at length became open enemies. Pompey had the support of the Senate, whose members believed that Caesar was aiming at despotic power. Caesar, on his side, had an army disciplined by years of fighting and devoted to his interests. Unable to compromise with the Senate, Caesar boldly led his troops across the Rubicon, the little stream that separated Cisalpine Gaul from Roman Italy. As he plunged into the river he is said to have exclaimed, "The die is cast." Since it was illegal to bring a provincial army into Italy, Caesar's action meant a declaration of hostilities against the republic. The civil war that now ensued was fought in Italy, in Spain, in Macedonia, and in North Africa. It ended in the defeat and death of Pompey, the overthrow of the senatorial party, and the complete supremacy of Caesar in the Roman state. He returned to Rome to receive from the servile Senate the title of "Father of his Country" (*Pater Patriae*) and to enjoy the power his sword had won.

Caesarism

The new government which Caesar brought into being was a monarchy in everything except name. He became dictator for life and held other offices, such as the consulship and censorship. He refused the title of king (*rex*), but accepted as a civil magistrate that of *imperator* (emperor), with which the soldiers had been accustomed to

salute a victorious general. Though he abolished none of the old republican forms, the Senate became simply his advisory council; the assemblies, his submissive agents; the consuls, praetors, and tribunes, his pliant tools. The laurel wreath, the triumphal dress, the conqueror's scepter — all proclaimed the autocrat.

Caesar used his absolute power wisely and well. No sooner was domestic tranquillity assured than, with restless energy, he entered on a series of far-reaching reforms intended to remove the economic and social evils which a hundred years of discord had made so manifest. By restricting the monthly distribution of grain to those actually in need, he tried to discourage the public charity that was making the capital city a paradise for the idle and the shiftless. By establishing great colonies abroad, notably on the sites of Carthage and Corinth, he sought to provide farms for the landless people of Italy. The grant of the franchise to communities in Gaul and Spain and the appointment of non-Italians to the Senate indicated his purpose to end the exploitation of the provinces and to convert their inhabitants into Roman citizens. The enlistment of non-Italians in the legions formed another step in the same direction. Caesar's active mind even found time to draw up a program for great public works at home and abroad, for a census of the population and resources of the Roman world, for the improvement of the coinage, and for the reformation of the calendar. His premature death put an end to most of these undertakings, but the Julian Calendar, based on that of old Egypt but with the addition of leap years, has come down to us.

Caesar enjoyed less than two years of absolute power (46–44 B.C.). A conspiracy was formed against him by a group of irreconcilable nobles who were convinced that he would never restore the republic and that, on the contrary, he intended to transmit his authority to an heir. Under such circumstances tyrannicide, approved by the moral code of Greece and Rome alike, seemed justifiable and indeed necessary for the preservation of liberty. The conspirators, whose ringleaders were Brutus and Cassius, the one an officer who had served with Caesar in the Gallic campaigns and the other a Pompeian supporter whom he had pardoned and given office, stabbed him to death in the Senate House. His body was burnt on a pyre in the Forum and his friend Marcus Antonius (Antony) pronounced the funeral eulogy.

Caesar, like Alexander the Great, is a colossal figure on the stage of history. Like Alexander, also, he died when his work as a statesman had hardly more than begun. His career has impressed the imagination of all later ages and his name has given us a word, "Caesarism," for the absolute authority which he won so swiftly and kept for so

brief a time. "Caesarism" met the requirements of the situation. It provided what men wanted and needed above everything else, that is, peace. Caesar had begun to rule so ably that one must regret he could not have ruled much longer. His death did not result in the restoration of the republic and served only to prolong disorder and strife within the state. As Cicero himself said, hearing the news, "The tyrant is dead; the tyranny still lives."

Civil War: Antony and Octavian

Caesar's assassins called themselves the "liberators" of the republic. They thought all Rome would applaud their deed, but the contrary was true. The senatorial nobility remained lukewarm and the people, instead of flocking to their support, mourned the loss of a friend and benefactor. Under these circumstances it was possible for Antony, the most prominent of Caesar's officers, and Octavian, his grandnephew and adopted heir, to join forces and defeat the republican leaders. Eventually they divided the Roman world between them, Antony taking the eastern provinces, with Alexandria as his capital, and Octavian taking Rome and the western provinces.

In the West Octavian ruled quietly and successfully. He treated political opponents with moderation and year by year became more popular with all classes. Men congratulated themselves upon the return of peace and prosperity under a second Caesar. In the East things did not go so well. Antony had married a sister of Octavian, but he soon grew tired of her and put her away for the fascinating Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. The Romans were startled by tidings that to Cleopatra had been given Roman territories in western Asia, on the pretext that they had once been Egyptian possessions, and that to the two sons whom she had borne to Antony he had willed some of the richest Roman provinces. Antony's conduct aroused such indignation at Rome that the Senate declared war on Cleopatra (and incidentally on Antony). The issue of the contest did not remain long in doubt. It was decided (31 B.C.) by a naval engagement in the Bay of Actium, off the western coast of Greece. The fight had hardly begun before Cleopatra and Antony sailed away with the Egyptian ships, leaving the rest of their fleet in the lurch. Octavian pursued the infatuated pair into Egypt, where Antony committed suicide and Cleopatra, rather than be led a captive in a Roman triumph, followed his example. Her death brought the dynasty of the Ptolemies to an end, and Egypt became a Roman possession. Octavian on his return to Rome celebrated a three days' triumph.

The Downfall of the Republic

The Romans had won dominion abroad only to lose freedom at home. They lost it within a single century. The attempts of the Gracchi, beginning in 133 B.C., to overthrow the Senate's privileged position and introduce much-needed reforms in the state failed because the reformers trusted for support to the fickle populace. Then followed a series of ambitious generals with the soldiers behind them — Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar — who aimed to secure by the sword what could not be secured by constitutional and legal means. Caesar, triumphing over Pompey, gained a position of unchallenged supremacy. After Caesar's death one-man rule was permanently restored in the person of Octavian. The battle of Actium in 31 B.C. made Octavian master of the Roman world.

The republic, indeed, was doomed. A hundred years of dissension and civil warfare proclaimed clearly enough the failure of the old order. Rome was a city-state called suddenly to the responsibilities of universal rule, and neither the machinery of her government nor the morality of her people was adequate for the performance of so huge a task. Yet on the ruins of republicanism it was still possible to build a new imperial system in which good government, peace, and prosperity should prevail over a large part of the ancient world for more than two centuries. Under the empire Rome made her greatest contributions to civilization.

XIV

The Roman Empire

The Principate of Augustus

FEW persons have set their stamp so indelibly on the pages of history as Octavian, whom we may now call by his more familiar name, Augustus ("Majestic"). The Senate gave him this title, once reserved to the gods, and henceforth all Roman emperors bore it as a mark of distinction. No military genius but a cool and passionless statesman, Augustus took advantage of a memorable opportunity to remake the Roman government. His position was that of a king, as supreme as Julius Caesar had ever been. Realizing, however, that an undisguised autocracy would only outrage public opinion and invite fresh plots and rebellions, Augustus called himself neither king nor dictator, but posed as a republican magistrate who held office by appointment of the Senate and the Roman people. Augustus gave up the externals, only to keep the essentials, of monarchy. He held the proconsular authority over the provinces and thus commanded all the military and naval forces; he possessed the tribunician power, which made his person sacred and enabled him to veto any official act at his discretion; and as chief pontiff (Pontifex Maximus), he headed the state religion, which was still an important factor in Roman society. An American President would have a somewhat similar position if he remained in office for life, selected the members of the Congress, determined the composition of the Supreme Court, and named his successor. The veiled monarchy set up by Augustus has been called the principate, after his formal title of *Princeps*, the "First Citizen" of the state.

The emperors who followed Augustus were not so successful as he was in preserving the old republican forms. Before long the election of magistrates and the enactment of laws were transferred from the assemblies to the Senate, which the emperors controlled. The assemblies survived, but without real power. Augustus left the Senate with considerable authority and always treated it with studied consideration,

but more and more that body became simply an advisory council which the emperors consulted or not, as they preferred. The old magistracies of the republic also declined in importance under the imperial government. Tribunes of the people were still chosen, but their occupation was gone when the emperor held the tribunician power himself. It flattered the pride of a Roman to be chosen to the position, yet the dignity was the "shadow of a shade." There were still quaestors, aediles, and praetors, but some of their chief duties were taken away from them by the new officials for whom Augustus and his successors provided. The consulship continued to be a position of high honor; the consuls, nevertheless, were the servants of the emperor, dependent on him for election and unable to take any important steps without his approval. Thus the names and forms of republicanism prevailed — and little more. As a Roman writer declared, the emperor had "clothed himself with the republic."

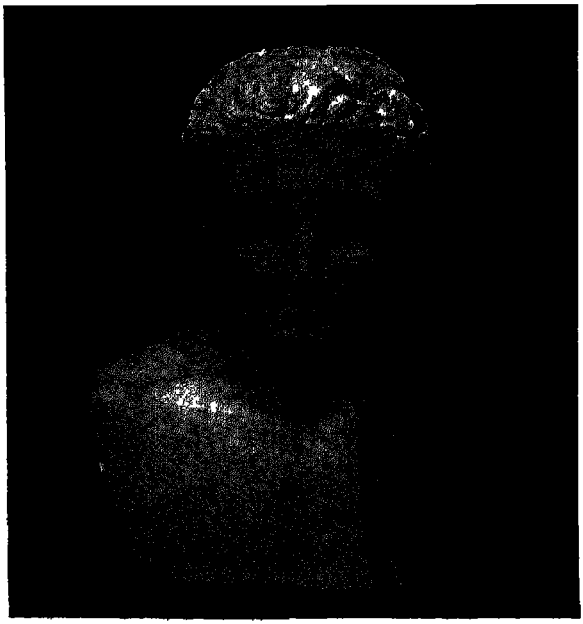
With unwearied devotion Augustus turned to the task of ruling the Roman world. He followed the example of Julius Caesar in his insistence on just government of the provincials. Trade between the provinces and Italy was fostered by the building of roads and the suppression of piracy on the seas. Distant regions of the empire were brought into closer relations with Rome by a state postal service such as had existed in the Near East under the Persians. A census was taken of the wealth and population of the provinces, in order that taxes might be equitably assessed. It is referred to in the New Testament: "There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the [Roman] world should be enrolled." These measures were probably suggested to the emperor by personal observation, for he is said to have visited nearly every part of his dominions. In Italy he put down brigandage, which had become rife during the period of civil warfare, repaired the public highways, and planted many colonies in unsettled districts. In Rome he established a system of police and fire protection, organized the supply of grain and water, and continued, on a larger scale than ever, the public games. His architectural works in the capital were so numerous that he could boast he had "found Rome of brick and left it of marble." He was also a generous patron of letters, and some of the most famous Latin poets and prose writers gave splendor to the Augustan Age.

Even during the lifetime of Augustus worship had been offered to him by the provincials. The Senate, after his death in 14 A.D., accorded him divine honors. Later emperors, well pleased to see a halo of awe and sanctity gather round them, sometimes demanded adoration as "Lord and God," even before their earthly careers had closed.



MARBLE STATUE OF GREEK BOY, TYPICAL OF THE GRACE AND IDEALISM OF GREEK SCULPTURE IN THE 5TH CENTURY B.C. *Page 255.*

PLATE IX



HEAD OF ATHLETE IN STYLE OF PRAXITELES
4th Century B.C. *Page 256.*

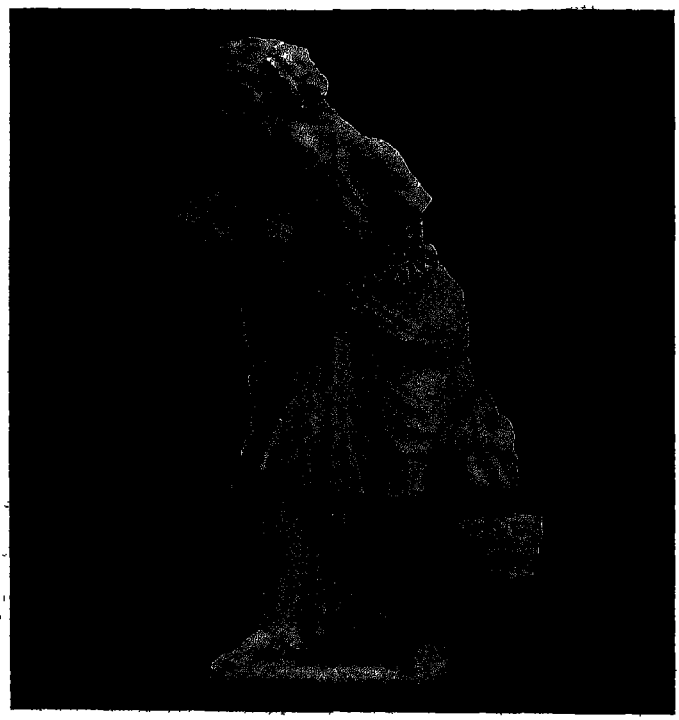


FIGURE OF OLD MARKET WOMAN IN REALISTIC STYLE OF
HELLENISTIC AGE *Page 222*

Emperor worship was not unnatural in the first century of our era. The peoples of the Near East had long been wont to adore living and dead rulers; the Greeks, in their hero cults, raised to divinity after death those who had founded cities or done great deeds as warriors or statesmen; and for the Romans, accustomed to revere the Genius of the house-father, the transition was easy to reverence for the emperor as the father of his country. Emperor worship spread rapidly over the Roman world and helped to unite all classes in allegiance to the new government. It provided a universal religion for what had become a universal empire.

The Principate after Augustus

For more than half a century after Augustus his place was filled by four rulers who, by either descent or adoption, had kinship with him and the mighty Julius. They are known as the Julio-Claudian emperors (14–68). None of them possessed the commanding ability of Augustus; but two, Tiberius and Claudius, were excellent administrators, who well maintained the standards set by that great emperor. The other two, Gaius (nicknamed "Caligula") and Nero, were vicious tyrants, the recital of whose follies and crimes occupies much space in the works of ancient historians. The dynasty that traced its descent from Julius and Augustus became extinct with the death of Nero. The Senate, which in theory had the appointment of a successor, was too weak or too fearful to take any action. And now, as a Roman writer put it, a secret was divulged, "that emperors could be made elsewhere than at Rome." The Praetorian Guard — the emperor's private troops stationed just outside the capital city — and the legions on the frontiers placed their own candidates in the field, and Italy became once more the seat of civil war between rival generals. The throne was finally secured by Flavius Vespasianus, supported by the armies of the eastern provinces. Vespasian and his two sons who followed him, Titus and Domitian, are called the Flavians (68–96). After them came the Antonine emperors (96–192). Nerva, the first of the series, was the candidate of the Senate. Having been a senator himself, he took pains to keep on good terms with that body during his reign. He also began the practice of adopting an heir, so that no contests for the throne might arise after his death. Nerva's policies were followed by his successors, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. These five are often called the "Good Emperors," a designation which they deserved for their just and beneficent rule. Commodus, the unworthy son and successor of Marcus Aurelius, was the last of the Antonines.

Expansion of the Empire

At the accession of Augustus the empire almost completely encircled the Mediterranean and spread over three continents. On the west and south it found natural barriers in the Atlantic Ocean and the deserts of Africa and Arabia. On the east the Euphrates River divided it from the kingdom of Parthia, the heir of the old Persian realm. In order to provide on the north another natural barrier, Augustus annexed the districts south of the Danube and secured the entire line of that wide, impetuous stream. The Balkan peninsula and northeastern Italy, where the Alpine passes are low and easy of access, were henceforth shielded from the restless Germanic peoples. Julius Caesar's campaigns had carried the Roman arms to the Rhine, and that river became the boundary between Gaul and Germany. Augustus, apparently, wanted to push it forward to the Elbe, which would have formed a shorter line and one easier to defend. The Romans advanced into Germany and made some conquests there, only to lose them in a sudden revolt of the native tribes. The failure of Augustus and his successors to annex any territory beyond the Rhine meant that the Germans were not to be Romanized as were their neighbors, the Gauls.

The proximity of Britain to Gaul brought the former within the sphere of Roman influence, and its conquest began under Claudius. The Celtic-speaking inhabitants took no more kindly to foreign masters than did the Germans, but by the close of the first century the legions had pushed to the north as far as the Scottish Highlands. All the island up to this boundary formed the province of *Britannia*. It remained a part of the Empire for over three hundred years. Northern Scotland (*Caledonia*) and Ireland (*Hibernia*) were never included within the Roman dominions.

The empire reached its widest limits under Trajan, who rivaled Julius Caesar in warlike ability. His campaigns in Europe were against the Dacians, a barbarian people north of the Danube. They were thoroughly subdued after a hard struggle, and their kingdom was formed into the province of Dacia, a thousand miles in circumference. The colonists who settled there made it a thoroughly Roman land, as its modern name (Rumania) and the Latinized language of the present inhabitants testify. Trajan's campaigns in Asia against the Parthians led to the annexation of Armenia and the Tigris-Euphrates valley. To hold such distant regions only increased the difficulty of safeguarding the frontiers, and Hadrian, the successor of Trajan, wisely abandoned them. Rome's best efforts were now required, not for the extension, but for the preservation of her empire.

Defense of the Empire

The standing army under Augustus consisted of twenty-five legions — one hundred and fifty thousand men, Roman citizens — and of an approximately equal number of provincial auxiliaries such as cavalry, spearmen, archers, and slingers. The army was increased after Augustus, reaching at the end of the second century about four hundred thousand men — the largest body of professional soldiers the world had ever seen, but small, indeed, compared with the armies which Europe supports today. The soldiers took an oath of allegiance to the emperor as commander in chief (*imperator*), and during the first two centuries they commonly remained loyal to him. Their pay was about the daily wage of common laborers. When honorably discharged after twenty years of service (twenty-five years for the auxiliaries), they received a money bonus and a grant of land.

The standing army formed perhaps the most important agency for the Romanization of the empire, especially in the West. It came to be recruited more and more from the warlike inhabitants of the border provinces, often from the very districts where the permanent garrisons were established. Those who served in it learned Latin speech and Roman ways, and when their term of service was over they were granted full Roman citizenship if they did not possess it already. The long intervals of peace were not passed in idleness by the legionaries. They built the highways that penetrated every region of the empire, spanned the streams with bridges, raised dikes and aqueducts, and, finally, provided the most exposed parts of the frontiers with fortifications.

Augustus had sought natural barriers of river, sea, or desert for an empire ringed about by barbarian foes. The policy of protecting the frontiers by artificial barriers as well was adopted by his successors. Domitian began and later emperors completed a system of fortifications for the region between the upper waters of the Danube and those of the Rhine. A palisade of stakes, a deep ditch, a rampart of earth and stone, and a chain of forts and watch towers stretched for three hundred and thirty-six miles from near Ratisbon (Regensburg) to near Cologne. The Roman line of defense now extended almost continuously from the Black Sea to the North Sea. In Britain Hadrian raised a wall of turf from the Tyne to the Solway, a distance of about seventy-three miles. It was subsequently rebuilt as a wall of concrete and stone, from six to eight feet thick and about seventeen feet high. Some parts of it are well preserved, forming the most impressive of all Roman works in Britain. Between the Forth and the Clyde Antoninus Pius

raised a second and shorter wall, but this rampart against the Scottish Highlanders was soon abandoned. Such fortifications, while useful in checking raids by small bands, could not keep out larger forces once the legions had been withdrawn or seriously reduced in strength. Wall-building was a confession of weakness before the barbarians.

The Roman road system received its greatest extension during the imperial age. The principal trunk lines began at Rome and radiated thence to every quarter of the empire. Along them sped the couriers of the emperors, carrying dispatches and making, by means of relays of horses, as much as one hundred and fifty miles a day. The roads resounded to the tramp of the legionaries passing to their stations on the frontiers; travelers by foot, horseback, or litter journeyed on them from land to land, employing the maps which described routes and distances; and traders used them for the transport of merchandise. They constituted a network of communication unrivaled in the history of the world until the era of railway building, and even as late as the eighteenth century they formed the most important highways in many parts of Europe.

The city of Aquileia (near modern Trieste) was the starting point for several important routes which led down the eastern side of the Adriatic into Greece and across the Balkan peninsula into Asia Minor. Thence other routes penetrated the interior as far as the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, while still others passed through Syria and Palestine into Egypt. A long road followed the African coast to the Strait of Gibraltar and connected the cities of Alexandria, Cyrene, and Carthage. Spain, Gaul, Britain, and the Danubian provinces were also well supplied with roads. Traces of the Roman occupation are still found along these highways: the coins of a treasure chest; images of pagan gods; inscriptions on tombs and altars; milestones; and sometimes the walls of a soldiers' camp, now marked by grassy mounds.

These roads and fortifications and the living rampart of the legions gave to the provinces security and freedom from war. Except for the territory conquered by Trajan but voluntarily relinquished by Hadrian, the empire during this period did not lose a single possession. As for the provincials themselves, Rome so little feared their disaffection or revolt that she massed her soldiers on the dangerous frontiers and kept them quartered there for long periods. The clash of arms on the frontiers scarcely disturbed the serenity of the Roman world. For over two hundred years, throughout an area as large as the United States, Western civilized mankind enjoyed a peace more profound than was ever known before or has ever been known since — the "immense majesty of the Roman Peace."

The Provinces

The Roman Empire, at its widest extent in the second century, included more than forty provinces. The imperial system conferred upon them great and lasting benefits. They were protected from invasion; they were brought into close relations through the opportunities for travel and trade; and they were given good government. Augustus divided the provinces into two groups, those administered by the Senate and those which he took under his direct control. The latter included the newer territories which had been recently conquered and the great frontier districts in contact with the barbarians. The imperial possessions became so numerous that finally three-fourths of the Roman world were entirely removed from the Senate's sphere of influence. The emperor managed his provinces through governors appointed by himself and responsible to him alone. These officials did not exercise the absolute authority of the republican propraetors and proconsuls; they had a master in the emperor, who watched their conduct and issued orders for their guidance. Augustus also created an imperial civil service, recruited at first from the equestrian order (knights) and later in increasing measure from the ranks of freedmen (enfranchised slaves) chosen for intelligence and education. The administration of the provinces thus passed gradually from the hands of the Roman aristocracy into those of permanent salaried officials, and government by experts took the place of misgovernment by the untrained novices of republican days.

Augustus also favored the provincials in the matter of taxation. They still had various dues to pay, including the land tax, which was the most profitable source of Roman revenue, but it was no longer farmed out to greedy publicans. The governors, likewise, lost their old privilege of extorting money from the provincials under the guise of requisitions. The new provincial system of Augustus was continued by his successors. Tiberius, when urged to increase the tribute from the provinces, replied, "A good shepherd shears his sheep, but does not flay them." Some of the emperors most hated in Rome — Tiberius, Nero, Domitian — were worshiped abroad for the blessings of their rule. Whether good or bad monarchs sat on the throne, the provinces continued to enjoy prosperity as well as peace.

The Roman Empire consisted of three sections, differing widely in historical and cultural backgrounds. There was an Oriental section, which included such parts of the Near East as had come under Roman rule; there was a Greek section centering about the Aegean; and there was a distinctively Latin section formed by the western provinces. In

the Near East the Romans appeared only as conquerors, and their culture never took deep root there. The same was true of the Aegean lands, where the Greek language and customs maintained themselves. Nevertheless, in both these sections Roman law and government prevailed, Roman roads traced their unerring course, and Roman architects raised majestic monuments. In the barbarian West the Romans appeared as civilizers as well as conquerors. They never tried, by compulsion or exhortation, to spread a higher culture in the West; the provincials took it over because of its obvious superiority to their own. During the imperial age the western provinces were the seats of populous cities where the Latin language was spoken and Roman customs were followed. From them came many of the emperors. They furnished some of the most eminent men of letters. Their schools of grammar and rhetoric attracted students from the capital city itself. The Romanization of the western provinces (modern Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and England, together with the Rhine and Danube valleys) was of fundamental importance for all later European history. When the Germans poured over western Europe, Rome had left there her enduring mark, and they built up their new civilization on the foundations that Rome had laid.

Extension of Roman Citizenship

The grant of Roman citizenship to all Italians during the last century of the republic only increased for a time the contrast between Italy and the provinces. Julius Caesar's legislation began the work of assimilating Romans and provincials. Although Augustus followed a cautious policy in this matter, Claudius gave the franchise to a large part of Gaul. "I am not unmindful of the fact," said the emperor, "that the Roman city in times past was extended to the Alps, so that not single individuals but entire provinces and tribes were given the Roman name. . . . The descendants of these immigrants remain among us, nor do they yield to us in their devotion to the fatherland. What other cause was there of the downfall of Sparta and of Athens, states once powerful in arms, save this – that they closed their gates against the conquered as aliens?" The emperor Caracalla issued in 212 an edict which bestowed citizenship on the freeborn inhabitants of the empire, with the exception of recently conquered tribes. Britons, Gauls, Spaniards, North Africans, Egyptians, Jews, Syrians, and Greeks were henceforth Romans equally with the Italian peoples. Caracalla seems to have taken this step chiefly to replenish a treasury depleted by his extravagances, for Roman citizens were liable to a five per cent inheritance tax from which provincials

were exempt. The fact remains, however, that his famous edict completed the work, begun so many centuries before, of making Roman all the Mediterranean world.

A Roman citizen could not be maltreated or punished without a trial before Roman courts. If condemned in a capital case, he could "appeal to Caesar," that is, to the emperor at Rome. We know from the New Testament that St. Paul, a Jew of Tarsus in Asia Minor, throughout his missionary journeys claimed the privileges of citizenship and that on one occasion, when accused by the Jews of treason against the government, he appealed from the provincial tribunal to that of the emperor Nero. Wherever a Roman citizen lived, he enjoyed, for both his person and his property, the protection of Roman law.

Development of Roman Law

The code of the Twelve Tables which the Romans framed almost at the outset of the republic bore all the marks of a half-barbarous age. It was very harsh. Fathers were given absolute control over the lives, persons, and property of their children, while creditors were allowed to throw their insolvent debtors into prison or to sell them as slaves. It was very technical, so much so that an advocate who made a single error in reciting a legal formula lost his case. It was illiberal, since foreigners and slaves had no rights in Roman courts. Finally, the code was so brief and incomplete that many questions were left unsettled. Its improvement began with the work of the praetors, who served as judges in controversies between citizens. When an old rule of the Twelve Tables seemed too rigid or failed to fit the case, the praetor interpreted it in such a way as to reach a reasonable and just settlement. His decisions and the legal principles which guided him in making them naturally became precedents for his successors, and so a mass of "judge-made" law was built up, much as the law of England and the United States has been formed in the courts. The civil law of Rome, the law regulating the relations of citizens (*cives*), was thus modified to meet the needs of a growing, progressive community.

As foreigners settled in Rome and as that city extended her rule over Italy, controversies arose between Roman citizens and Roman subjects. It became necessary to appoint another official, the praetor for foreigners, to judge in such cases. Similarly, when Rome sent a governor into a province, he had to deal with issues arising between provincials or between provincials and Roman citizens. Neither the praetor for foreigners nor the governor could follow the civil law, since that applied only to Romans. These officials then proceeded

to frame a new set of rules, the so-called "law of nations," representing the customs which were common to the subject peoples and were based on equitable principles. Roman magistrates after a time began to adopt some features of the "law of nations" into their own civil law and to apply to citizens the same rules which the praetor for foreigners followed in his court. In this manner, for instance, the excellent commercial regulations made by merchants of Rhodes found a place at Rome.

By taking over and absorbing all that was best in the legal systems of antiquity, the civil law became at length exact, impartial, liberal, humane. It limited the use of torture to force confession from persons accused of crime. It took away the father's power of inflicting heavy punishments on the members of the family and restricted his privilege of dictating marriage for the sons and daughters. It protected the widow and the orphan. It provided that a master who killed a slave should be treated as a murderer and that slaves who had been abandoned in old age or infirmity by their masters should be emancipated. Inspired by Stoicism, it even taught that all men were originally free and therefore that slavery itself is contrary to natural right. Justice it defined as "the steady and abiding purpose to give every man that which is his own."

The improvement of Roman law, which began during republican times, culminated during the imperial epoch. Law had now become a profession; there were two law schools in Rome under Augustus and later many in the provinces. The jurists trained in these schools collected the written sources of the law, especially the praetors' decisions, edited them, and purged them of errors. In Hadrian's reign and by his direction this material was incorporated in the so-called Perpetual Edict of the year 131, unalterable except by the emperor himself and binding in every court. Four centuries after Hadrian, during the reign of the emperor Justinian, all the Roman laws were brought together in the famous code known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of Civil Law." It passed from ancient Rome to medieval and modern Europe and still forms the fundamental basis of the legal systems of half the world.

Spread of the Latin Language

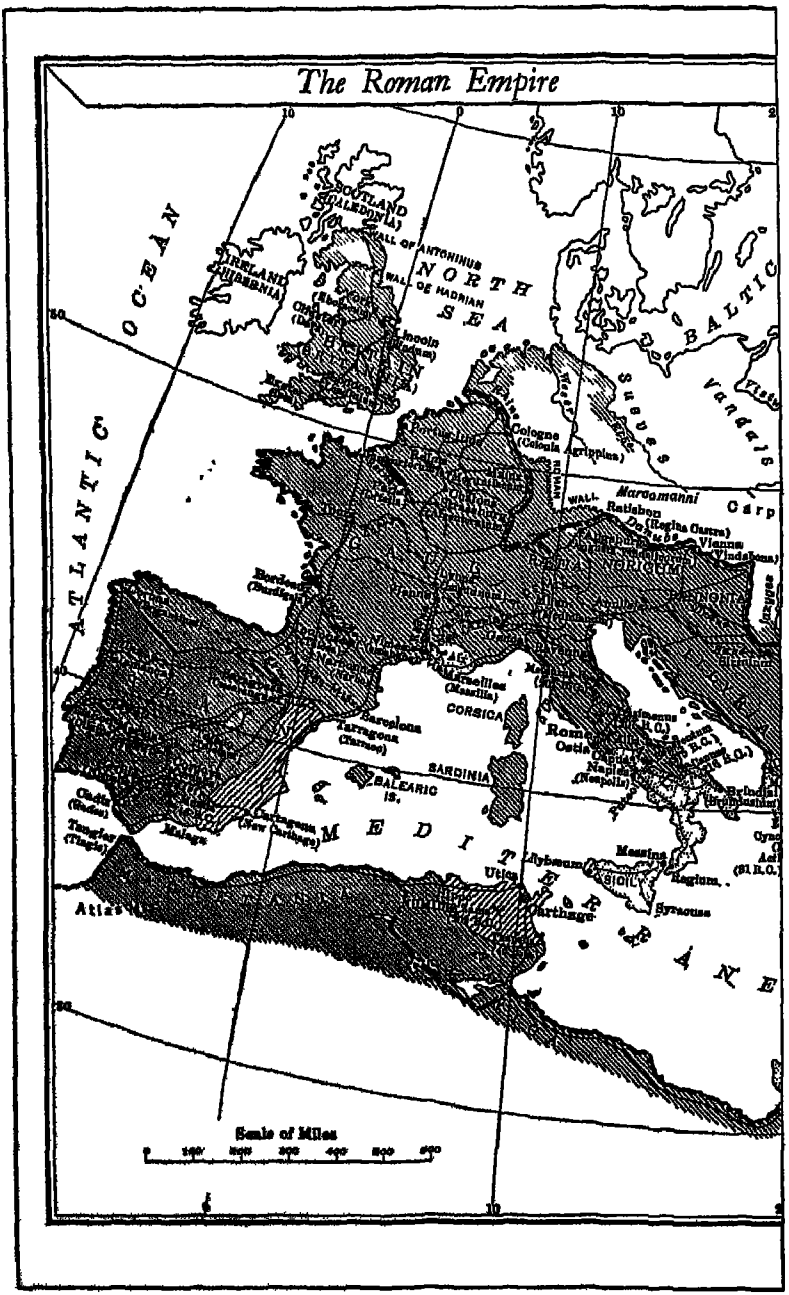
The political supremacy which Rome acquired over the other Latin cities after the middle of the fourth century B.C. led to the Roman form of Latin becoming the standard speech of Latium. As Rome extended her sway over Italy, Etruscan and the various Italic languages gradually fell out of use, until by the end of the first century B.C. practically

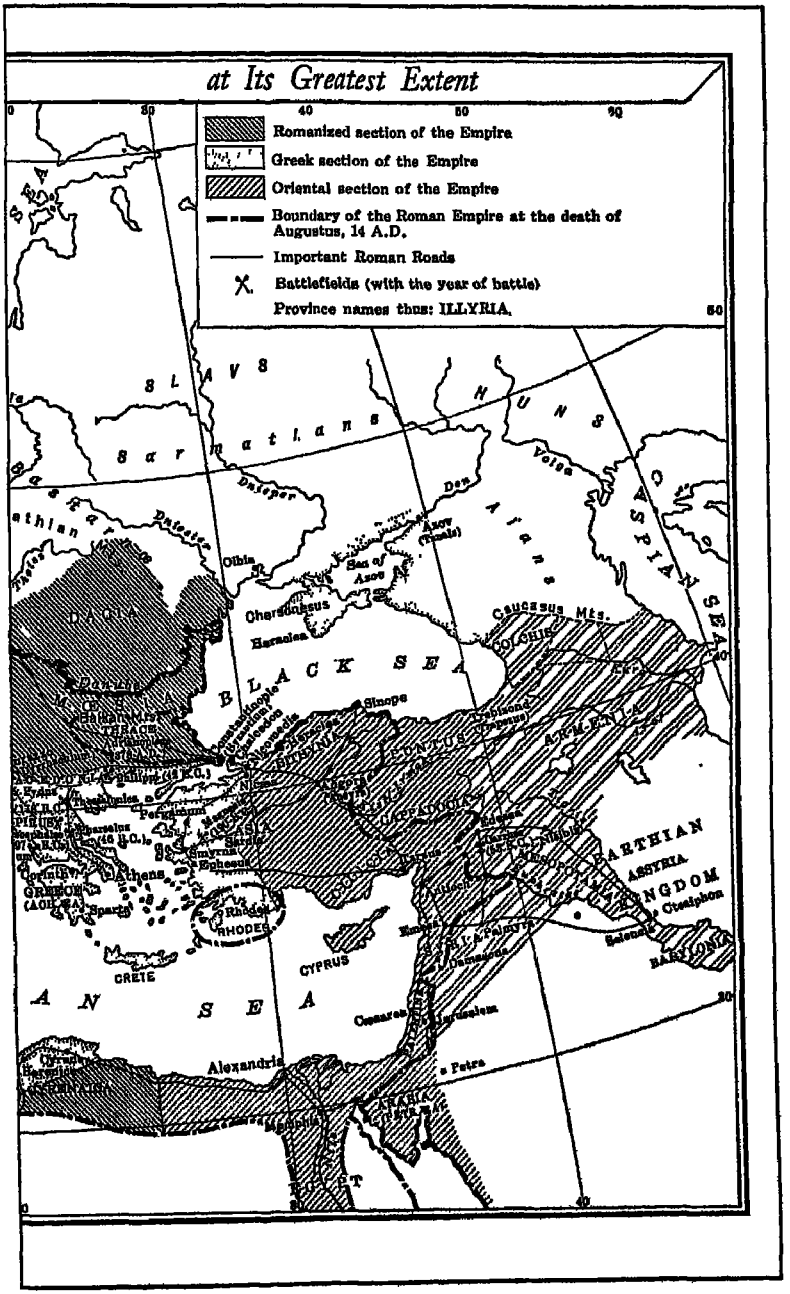
all the inhabitants of the peninsula spoke Latin. The Romans carried their language to the barbarian peoples of Europe, as they had carried it throughout Italy. The Latin used by colonists, merchants, soldiers, and officials in the western provinces was eagerly taken up by the rude, unlettered natives, who tried to make themselves as much like their conquerors as possible. The provincial Latin did not form simply the language of the upper classes, as English does today in India; the common people used it freely, as we know from thousands of inscriptions that have survived. And with Latin went the gift of the simple Roman alphabet, which has spread and continues to spread so widely over the world.

The speech of a single Italian city-state thus became the common language of western Europe. So firmly did Latin establish itself there that, in spite of the barbarian invasions which overwhelmed the Roman Empire in the West, it has continued to hold to the present day most of the territory gained nearly two thousand years ago. It became the basis of the Romance languages — Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, French, and Rumanian — which developed in the Middle Ages out of the colloquial Latin used by the inhabitants of Italy and the western provinces. English, though in the main derived from the speech of the Germanic invaders of Britain, contains so many words of Latin origin that we can scarcely utter a sentence without using some of them: about four-fifths of all the borrowed words in our language came from Latin either directly or through French. The rule of Rome has passed away; the stately, sonorous language of Rome continues to enrich the intellectual life of mankind.

The Municipalities

The Roman world was a world of cities. Some had earlier been native settlements, such as those in Gaul before the Roman conquest. Others were the splendid Graeco-Oriental foundations in the Near East. Many more were of Roman origin, arising from the colonies and fortified camps in which citizens and soldiers had settled. Where Rome did not find cities she built them. Their number was surprisingly great. They lined the banks of the Rhône, the Rhine, and the Danube. Over a hundred were organized in Dacia. The province of Asia (western Asia Minor) had half a thousand, which more than equaled those of ancient Ionia. Egypt counted forty of importance, besides many smaller towns. In North Africa the Roman Peace worked miracles and filled its now sandy wastes with a multitude of populous communities.

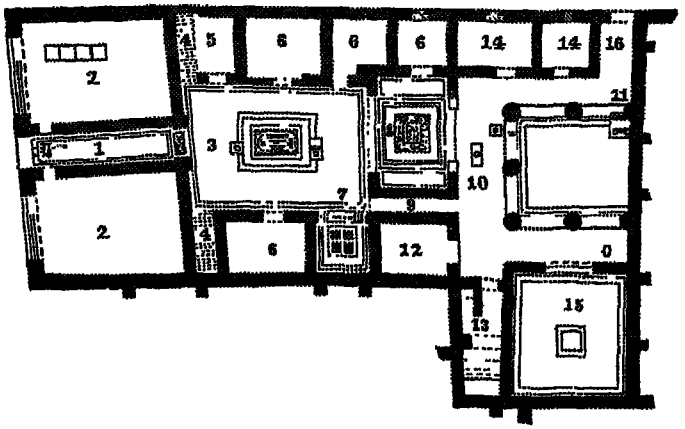

The Roman Empire
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SCOTLAND (CALEDONIA)
IRELAND (HIBERNIA)
WALL OF ANTONINUS
WALL OF HADRIAN
Suevi
Vandals
Marcomanni
Carp
Cologne (Colonia Agrippina)
Ratisbon (Regina Castra)
Vienna (Vindobona)
Bordeaux (Burdigala)
Marseilles (Massilia)
CORSICA
Barcelona
Tarragona (Tarraco)
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Rome
Ostia
Naples (Neapolis)
Cadiz (Gades)
Tangier (Tingis)
Malaga
Carthagena (New Carthage)
Utica
Carthage
Syracuse
Messina
Rhegium
Atlas
Scale of Miles


at Its Greatest Extent
Romanized section of the Empire
Greek section of the Empire
Oriental section of the Empire
Boundary of the Roman Empire at the death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Important Roman Roads
Battlefields (with the year of battle)
Province names thus: ILLYRIA.
SLAVS
Sarmatians
HUNS
Dnieper
Don
Volga
Alani
Azov (Tanais)
Sea of Azov
Olbia
Chersonesus
Heraclea
Caucasus Mts.
COLCHIS
CASPIAN SEA
DACIA
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Trapezus
ARMENIA
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Ancyra
Pessinus
Smyrna
Ephesus
Athens
Sparta
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Tarsus
Antioch
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Petra
ARABIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
ASSYRIA
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
BABYLONIA
Nisibis
Edessa
Palmyra
Hatra
Dura
Artaxata
Tigranocerta
Zeugma
Melitene
Samosata
Cappadocia
Galatia
Pontus
Bithynia
Thrace
Macedonia
Illyria
Pannonia
Noricum
Rhaetia
Germania
Gaul
Britain
Spain
Africa
Mauretania
Numidia
Egypt
Cyrenaica
Carthage
Rome
Ravenna
Milan
Aquileia
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica
Balearic Is.
Rhine
Danube
Euphrates
Tigris
Nile
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Atlantic Ocean
Caledonia
Hibernia
Thule
Ocean
Sea
Gulf
Mts.
Is.
R.

Rome was the largest of the cities, her population possibly exceeding one million. Alexandria came next, with perhaps half a million inhabitants. Italy contained such important places as Naples, Genoa, Florence, Verona, Milan, and Ravenna. In Gaul were Marseilles, Arles, Nîmes, Bordeaux, Lyons, Strasbourg, Cologne, and Mainz. In Spain were Barcelona, Cartagena, Toledo, Seville, Cordova, and Cadiz. In Britain York and London were seats of commerce, Chester and Lincoln were military colonies, and Bath was celebrated then, as now, for its medicinal waters. Carthage had risen in new splendor from its ashes; Corinth was again a great commercial center; and Athens was still the peculiar home of Greek art and culture. Western Asia included such important places as Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus, Antioch, and Damascus, together with Rhodes on the island of that name. A little book, accessible to everyone — the Acts of the Apostles — affords a vivid impression of some of these great cities in the first century of our era.

Almost every city was a miniature Rome, with its forum and senate house, its temples, baths, and theaters, its circus for chariot races, and its amphitheater for gladiatorial combats and animal baitings. Most of the cities enjoyed an abundant supply of water, and some had good sewer systems. The excavations at Pompeii, which was destroyed in 79 by an eruption of Vesuvius, have revealed to us the appearance of one of these cities. The visitor there sees the narrow but straight and regular streets paved with flat blocks of lava, the public fountains at the crossings, the little shops, and the one-storied or two-storied houses behind the shops or abutting directly on the street line. The living rooms of a comfortable dwelling were grouped about the *atrium*, a large apartment with a hole in the roof admitting light and air, and the peristyle, a spacious court open to the sky and inclosed by a colonnade. Pompeii was a town of scarcely thirty thousand inhabitants, yet it was lavishly provided with public buildings. And what we find at Pompeii was repeated on a more splendid scale in hundreds of places from the Danube to the Nile, from Britain to Arabia.

The cities of Roman origin, especially those in the western provinces, copied the governmental institutions of Rome. Each one had a council, or *curia*, modeled on the Senate and made up mostly of ex-magistrates (*curiales*). A popular assembly chose quaestors, aediles, and two chief magistrates, called *duoviri*, corresponding to the consuls. All municipal offices were unsalaried; in fact, those who held them had to pay an entrance fee before assuming their duties. Local politics excited the keenest interest. Many inscriptions found on the walls of Pompeii are election placards recommending particular candidates for office. Some statements are very much to the point, as "Vote for Gaius



Ground Plan of a Pompeian House

1. Passage
2. Shops
3. *Atrium*
4. Stairways
5. Porter's room
6. Sleeping rooms
7. Wing
8. Master's room
9. Passage
10. Peristyle
11. House shrines
12. Sleeping room
13. Kitchen
14. Sleeping room
15. Dining room
16. Back door

Julius Polybius, he provides fine bread," or "Vote for Bruttius Balbus, he will manage the city treasury well." To ridicule a candidate someone wrote, "All the sleepy men nominate Vatia as aedile." Even women took part in political contests. The cities were not supported by the imperial government or out of direct taxes levied on the inhabitants. Much income came from mines, quarries, and other public property. Rich men bore, however, a large part of the expenditures for pavements, buildings, education, feasts, and games. Heavy contributions for such purposes were expected from those who held the magistracies. At the same time, there was much unselfish giving. The presents of Pliny the Younger, a Roman governor under Trajan, to his boyhood home (Como) included a library, a temple, and endowments for teaching and charity. The prince of public benefactors was Herodes Atticus, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. He gave an aqueduct to Olympia, a race course to Corinth, and to Athens a marble stadium large enough to hold all the citizens, besides a concert hall called the Odeum. Many of the emperors made similar gifts for public purposes.

The legal-minded Romans developed the idea that a body of men might be clothed with a corporate personality and thus be treated as an artificial person. The idea was then applied to their provincial cities (*municipia*), which became municipal corporations, self-governing and with a right to hold property. Although the provincial cities decayed and often disappeared altogether in the troubled period which followed

the barbarian invasions, this municipal system survived in some parts of western Europe, and there are Italian, Spanish, and French cities which have had an unbroken political life from Roman times to the present day.

Commerce and Industry

The first two centuries of our era formed the golden age of Roman commerce. Augustus and his successors stamped out (for the first time) piracy on the Mediterranean, built lighthouses and improved harbors, policed the roads, and made travel by land both safe and speedy. An imperial currency replaced the various national coinages with their limited circulation. The customs duties levied on the frontiers of the empire and also on the frontiers of the provinces or groups of provinces were for revenue only and not for protection, so that practically free trade flourished between all parts of the Roman world.

The routes followed were, in general, those which had been used by Phoenicians and Greeks. The annexation of Gaul, Britain, and the districts north and south of the Danube opened up trade channels between western and central Europe and the Mediterranean basin. Imports from the Far East reached the Mediterranean either by caravan through Asia or by ships which sailed across the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Rome was the great market to which all lines of transport converged. From the West came the lumber of Gaul; the grain of Sicily; the wool of Spain; the tin and leather of Britain; the amber, furs, and slaves of Germany. From the East the Aegean Islands contributed marbles and wines; Asia Minor, luxurious fabrics; Syria, dyes, cedar wood, and glass; Egypt, grain and costly manufactures; Africa, ivory and ostrich feathers; Arabia, incense, perfumes, and precious stones. Even distant China and India sent fine cotton stuffs, delicate silks, and odorous spices. "Now Rome is golden," sang one of her poets, "since she possesses the mighty treasure of the conquered world."

Roman commerce, though extensive, was one-sided. The provinces sent their productions; they took back very few Roman goods. The imperial city never became a really great manufacturing center. Her workmen made many articles of luxury, such as fine furniture, jewelry, metal ware, and pottery, but these were chiefly for local consumption. Rome paid for her imports mostly in cash, that is, from the taxes levied on the provinces and from the income of investments abroad. It is the rule that in international trade imports and exports over a given period must be approximately equal in value; we can buy only to the extent

that we can sell. Roman commerce affords an interesting exception to this rule.

Artisans, merchants, and professional men at Rome and in the provincial cities were usually grouped in guilds (*collegia*), including those of bakers, weavers, shoemakers, jewelers, painters, musicians, and even of gladiators. The government looked with suspicion on these associations as possible centers of conspiracy or disorder, and required them to be licensed. They corresponded in no way to modern trade unions: the workers never tried to secure by collective bargaining higher wages and shorter hours and never in a thousand years of Roman history (so far as we know) did they indulge in the luxury of a strike. The guilds were rather social, religious, and benefit societies. Each one had its clubroom for official meetings and banquets and its divine patron, such as Vesta, the fire goddess, for bakers, and Bacchus, the wine god, for innkeepers. Every year the members held a festival in honor of their patron and marched through the streets with banners and the emblems of their trade. Nearly all the guilds had as one main object the provision of proper funeral rites for deceased members. The humble laborer found consolation in the thought that he belonged to a group of friends and fellow workers who, after his death, would bring the annual offering of wine and flowers and keep his memory green. Not only persons of free birth, but also freedmen and slaves, belonged to these organizations.

Free workingmen at this period seem to have led fairly comfortable lives. Hours of labor were not excessive. If wages were low, so also was the cost of living. Wine, olive oil, and wheat flour were cheap. The mild climate made heavy clothing unnecessary and permitted an outdoor life. The luxurious public baths stood open to everyone who could pay a trifling fee. There was no weekly rest day, but there were numerous holidays celebrated with gladiatorial combats and wild-animal hunts in the amphitheater, chariot races in the circus, and dramatic performances in the theater — all free spectacles. The number of days devoted to such exhibitions at Rome rose from sixty-six in the reign of Augustus to eighty-seven in that of Tiberius and under Marcus Aurelius to one hundred and thirty-five. By the middle of the fourth century their number reached one hundred and seventy-five, or almost half the year. There were also extraordinary festivals on special occasions, such as those decreed by Trajan to celebrate his victories in Dacia. An ancient satirist declared with bitterness and with truth that the once sovereign people of Rome wanted only two things to make them happy — " bread and circus-shows " (*panem et circenses*).

The number of slaves reached almost impossible figures during the

later centuries of the republic, for every victorious battle swelled the troops of captives sent to the slave markets at Rome. Pompey and Caesar together are said to have sold into slavery more than a million Asiatics and Gauls. Ordinary slaves became as cheap as beasts of burden are now. The poet Horace tells us that at least ten slaves were necessary for a gentleman in even moderate circumstances. A wealthy noble would have hundreds in his palace and many more on his country estates. The condition of slaves naturally varied according to their employment and the character of their owner. Those of the household probably received kind treatment as a rule, but those in the mines and on the plantations worked for long hours with little food or rest, and when ill were often left to die without attention. Some Roman writers on agriculture refer to slaves as "speaking tools," only a little different from "semi-speaking tools," the cattle, and "mute tools," the hoes and plows. The terrible punishments, the beating with scourges which followed the slightest misconduct or neglect of duty, the branding with hot iron which a runaway slave received, the fearful penalty of crucifixion which followed an attempt upon the owner's life — all these show how hard was the lot of the bondsman. Several slave revolts occurred during later republican times; they were suppressed with great difficulty and with great cruelty.

During the imperial age the number of slaves steadily declined with the cessation of foreign wars and the great increase of manumissions. A master in his will often set free his favorite slaves as a reward for their faithful service; often also he found it profitable to liberate them and establish them in business, he himself becoming a silent partner. Many slaves also had opportunities of accumulating enough money to purchase their freedom. Freedmen not infrequently became rich and influential members of Roman society.

Economic and Social Conditions

Senators and knights continued to form an aristocracy in the imperial age. It was an aristocracy of wealth, since membership in the senatorial and equestrian orders depended on the possession of property to the amount of about fifty thousand dollars for a senator and of about twenty thousand for a knight. There had been rich men during the last century of the republic; their number increased and their fortunes rose during the first century of the empire. The philosopher Seneca, a tutor of Nero, is said to have made twelve million dollars within four years by the emperor's favor. Narcissus, the secretary of Claudius, made sixteen million dollars — the largest Roman fortune on record.

These sums must be multiplied four or five times to find their modern equivalents, because in antiquity interest rates were higher and the purchasing power of money was greater than today.

The heaping-up of riches in the hands of a few brought its natural consequence in much extravagance. "Since Roman poverty departed," declared a moralist, "every lust is in our midst." The palaces of the wealthy, with their gardens, baths, picture galleries, and other features, were costly to build and costly to maintain. The money not lavished by a rich man on his town house could easily be sunk on his villas in the country. Italy, from the Bay of Naples to the foot of the Alps, was dotted with elegant residences, having flower gardens, game preserves, fish ponds, and artificial lakes. Much waste occurred at banquets and entertainments. The fare of the rich was as sumptuous as the food of the poor was mean. Vast sums were spent on vessels of gold and silver, jewelry, clothing, and house furnishings. Even funerals and tombs required heavy outlays. A magnate and capitalist of imperial Rome could get rid of a fortune in selfish indulgences as readily as any modern millionaire not blessed with a refined taste or with public spirit.

The existence of many social evils is undeniable. Spectacles of bloodshed in the amphitheater were a passion with almost everyone from the emperor to his lowest subject. Their effect must have been thoroughly pernicious, for they encouraged, not only idleness but also brutality in a people always callous to suffering. Both popular sentiment and legal opinion showed a decided leniency toward abortion and infanticide. Exposed infants were often rescued by professional panders, who sold them into slavery or a life of shame. The forms of marriage which brought a woman under the power of her husband had almost completely disappeared by imperial times, and the only requirements for a valid union were the mutual consent of the parties and their living together under the same roof. Readily made, a marriage was as readily dissolved. Divorce became so common as to reach the proportions of a public scandal. We have many accounts of persons who contracted five, six, or seven marriages, and there were Roman women, it is said, who counted their years, not by consuls, but by their husbands. In spite of the ease of divorce, the married state came more and more to be regarded as undesirable. Its place was taken to a large extent by loose and irregular connections, which, if permanent, were legally recognized. Suicide, especially among the upper classes, was astonishingly frequent. No law prohibited it, except in the case of soldiers, and no system of philosophy regarded it as a crime. Under certain circumstances self-destruction was rather considered a heroic and

praiseworthy act, as when a wife died with a husband condemned to death. Both educated and uneducated people practiced magical arts, believed firmly in astrology, and accepted the existence of demons. The decline of the earlier paganism left many persons without a deep religious faith to combat the growing doubt and worldliness of the age.

Yet this dark picture certainly needs correction. It may be questioned whether the extravagance and vice of ancient Rome, Corinth, Antioch, or Alexandria much exceeded what our great modern capitals can show; in any case, life was simpler and cleaner in the provincial towns and the countryside. A society cannot have been hopelessly corrupt which has left to us, for instance, the elevated moral teachings of the Stoic Seneca and of that philosopher on the throne, Marcus Aurelius. The imperial age was marked, furthermore, by an increasing kindliness and charity toward the underprivileged classes. Trajan, for instance, lent municipalities large sums to be used for the maintenance of poor children and Antoninus Pius set aside an endowment for the care of orphan girls. Even the slaves received better treatment. The emperors tried to prevent by law the abuses of neglect, overwork, and cruelty, and moralists urged upon masters the exercise of gentleness toward their bondsmen. Seneca and other Stoics argued that slaves "are also men and friends and our fellow servants." There was, in short, a remarkable growth of the humanitarian spirit during the first and second centuries of our era.

The Educational System

Roman children at first received their training only in the family, but private schools, taught usually by ill-paid freedmen, were established during the later centuries of the republic. A boy began his school days about the age of seven. He learned to read, to write with a stylus on wax tablets, and to cipher by means of the reckoning board, or abacus. He also memorized proverbs and maxims, as well as the laws of the Twelve Tables, "a sing-song imposed by fate." After Greek influence became strong at Rome, this meager curriculum was enlarged by the study of the language and literature of Greece. The Romans were the first people who made the learning of a foreign tongue an essential part of a liberal education. With the development of Latin literature such works as Cicero's orations and the poems of Virgil and Horace also became subjects of study. In these grammar schools, as they may be called, Roman boys completed their ordinary education at about the age of fifteen. The rhetoric schools provided a more advanced training, chiefly in prose composition and public speaking. Oratory at

Rome, as at Athens, was almost essential for leadership in a society without newspapers and printing presses. Young Romans of ability often went abroad for a "postgraduate" course in rhetoric and philosophy, usually at Athens or Rhodes. The famous schools which eventually arose in Spain, Gaul, and other provinces also attracted many students.

During late republican times and under the empire women of the upper classes were often highly educated. Seneca considered feminine capacity for mental training equal to masculine and Quintilian, the principal Roman writer on education, favored the intellectual development of women for the sake of their children. Whether boys and girls were taught separately or together is a disputed question. The Romans never established a system of popular elementary education, although gifts for the benefit of poor students were occasionally made by the emperors and by private individuals. Higher education fared better. Professorships of rhetoric and other subjects were endowed by the government and teachers received special privileges such as exemption from taxes and military service and the right of trial before special courts. Under Hadrian and later emperors interested in education Rome came to have a real university, the Athenaeum, teaching philosophy, law, medicine, and even architecture, mathematics, and mechanics. These subjects were expounded as the Greeks had organized them; there was nothing in the way of investigation and no attempt to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge. The Romans were practical men, and their university served practical ends.

Intellectual Life

In philosophy the Romans always sat at the feet of the Greeks. Only Epicureanism and Stoicism made any strong appeal to them, for these systems subordinated theory to practice and pursued knowledge as a means to happiness. Of the two, Stoicism was by far the more popular during the imperial age. It had an eminent representative in Seneca, a native of Spain, who rose to high station at Rome in the service of the government. Another Stoic philosopher was Epictetus, a Greek from Asia Minor and once a slave, who taught at Rome toward the end of the first century. He wrote nothing, but his pupil Arrian took and subsequently published verbatim notes of his lectures. The emperor Marcus Aurelius, a great admirer of Epictetus, himself composed a little book of ethical precepts — the so-called *Meditations*, which is one of the finest productions of pagan thought. Anyone who reads these Stoic writings will find in them not a few resemblances to the

Christian moral code. Stoicism urged men to forgive injuries – to "bear and forbear." It emphasized ideas of human brotherhood and of a spiritual community embracing all mankind. It expressed a firm reliance on a divine providence and the paternal care of God for the world. But Stoic philosophy appealed only to the wise, the strong, and the austere, and of such there were few; it never became and never could become a religion for all sorts and conditions of men.

The Romans were as deficient in pure science as in philosophy. What knowledge they had of nature came to them almost entirely from the Greeks. It was summed up during the first century by Pliny the Elder, who compiled from about two thousand books – nearly all now lost – an encyclopedic *Natural History* dealing with cosmogony, geography, anthropology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, and medicine. The work makes no pretension to literary attractiveness, and the author's credulity prevents him from separating the wheat from the chaff in his voluminous granary. Nevertheless, the *Natural History* forms a repertory of the scientific knowledge of the ancients and probably throws more light on classical civilization than any other book that has come down to us from Greece and Rome.

In the applications of science, especially engineering and architectural design, the Romans were unquestionably superior to all their predecessors. It is only necessary to mention the remains of Roman roads, fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, theaters, baths, and other monuments, often built so solidly that some of them are still in use. Vitruvius, a Roman engineer and architect of the time of Augustus, wrote a treatise on architecture destined to be much used by European builders in modern times. He understood that sound is a vibration of the air and investigated the principles of acoustics. Another Roman, Frontinus, left an account of the water supply of Rome and made valuable observations on hydrodynamics. Commercial arithmetic, so necessary for publicans, money-lenders, traders, and capitalists, was carefully studied in spite of the awkward numeral system in use. Geometry was well developed as a practical art for the laying out of camps and cities and the orientation of buildings. The Romans made no real contributions to the theory of medicine, but paid much attention to public health and sanitation. Besides providing by means of the aqueducts an abundance of fresh water, they built hospitals and equipped their armies with medical officers. They were always interested in scientific agriculture and cattle-breeding, and several of their works on these subjects have come down to us. The practical aspects of geography also appealed to the Romans, who surveyed and mapped the principal roads of the empire.

Literature

The earliest writers in Latin did little more than translate and adapt Greek works for Roman audiences; indeed the poets and prose writers of Rome always leaned heavily on those of Greece and gloried in doing so. The first Roman whose productions possess much literary charm was Cicero. He does not rank as an original thinker, but he created a style for Latin prose which has been admired and imitated even to our own day. More than fifty of his *Orations* have come down to us, as well as the numerous *Epistles* which he wrote to friends and correspondents in all parts of the Roman world. Cicero also composed a number of *Dialogues* dealing chiefly with philosophical themes and based on Greek models. Julius Caesar likewise won success in literature. His speeches, which were ranked next to Cicero's, have not survived; we have, however, his invaluable *Commentaries* on the Gallic and Civil wars.

Latin poetry during the last century of the republic is best represented by the works of Lucretius and Catullus. In a long poem, *On the Nature of Things*, Lucretius set forth the doctrines of Epicureanism. He deals with the creation of the world, the progress of mankind from savagery to civilization, and the character and fate of the human soul. For Lucretius, as for Epicurus, gods exist, but they do not concern themselves with mundane affairs. One law of causation rules all things, and behind the "flaming ramparts" of the universe there is no need to postulate the existence of a Lawgiver. Catullus, imitating Sappho and other Greek lyricists, expressed in short poems his varying moods and passions. He was the first to show how the Latin language, naturally stiff and reserved, could be shaped into songs distinguished for melody, tenderness, and grace.

The half century included in the Augustan Age produced great writers in both verse and prose. Foremost among the poets was Virgil. As an artist, his highest achievement was the adaptation of Greek hexameter verse to the service of Latin poetry. His best-known work, the *Aeneid*, centers about the Trojan hero, Aeneas, who, according to legend, settled in Italy after the fall of Troy and became the forefather of the founders of Rome. The real theme of the poem is the growth of Rome under the fostering care of the gods. The *Aeneid* took rank at once as the only ancient epic worthy of comparison with the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Another member of the Augustan circle was Virgil's friend and fellow poet Horace, who reproduced in Latin verse the forms and sometimes even the substance of Greek authors. What Horace borrowed he made his own by the added beauty which he gave to it. His

Odes are perhaps the most admirable examples of literary art to be found in any language. Ovid, the third of the great Augustan poets, is chiefly remembered for his *Metamorphoses*, a collection of stories taken from classic Greek myths.

The most important prose writer during this period was Livy. His history of Rome, beginning with Romulus and ending with Augustus, traced the progress of the Roman state through eight triumphal centuries. Livy's patriotic enthusiasm and eloquence enabled him to do in prose what Virgil had done in verse. The other eminent Roman historian is Tacitus, who wrote late in the first and early in the second century. The crowning labor of his life was a history of Rome (*Histories* and *Annals*) from Tiberius to Domitian. The bitter hostility which Tacitus had for the imperial government often marred his judgment and prevented him from writing an impartial narrative. His attention, moreover, is always fixed on the capital city, with its corrupt politics and life; he has little to tell about the condition of the provinces and the civilizing movements throughout the Mediterranean world under Roman rule. Tacitus, in short, was a great man of letters, a moralist, and a satirist, as much as he was a historian.

Latin literature under the empire includes many other notable authors. Quintilian, by birth a Spaniard, opened a rhetoric school at Rome, where Vespasian endowed a professorship for him. He wrote a treatise describing Roman education along literary lines. Pliny the Younger is remembered for his letters, of which more than three hundred have been preserved. Though stilted and artificial compared with Cicero's animated correspondence, they present an attractive picture of the interests and occupations of a cultivated gentleman in the time of Nero and Trajan. Pliny's contemporary, Juvenal, composed satiric poems lashing the fads, follies, and vices of high society at Rome. Somewhat later in the second century Suetonius wrote his *Lives of the Caesars*. Much of it is gossip, but the gossip concerns the mightiest line of rulers the world has ever known. This work is one of the last productions of classic Latin prose.

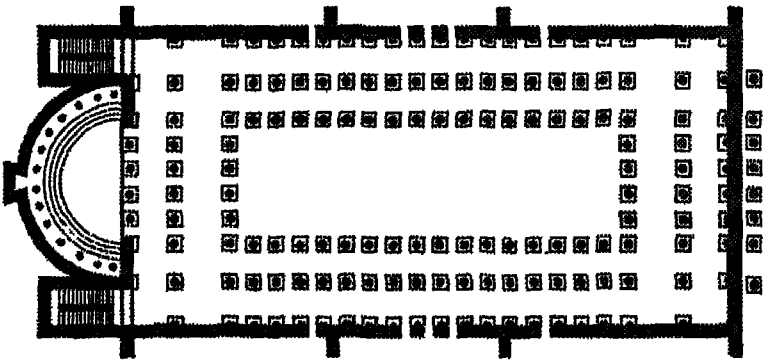
Art

The Romans learned the principles of architectural design from the Etruscans and the Greeks, but they applied these principles to new kinds of building material and to new problems of construction. They discovered concrete and used it extensively in place of ordinary dressed stone. The chief ingredient of their concrete was a volcanic earth (*pozzolana*) found near Naples and Rome. Mixed with lime, it made

a very powerful cement and could be poured in a fluid state into timber casings. Small stones, lava, or broken brick were forced into the mixture to give it additional stability. Buildings of this sort were generally faced for ornamental purposes with thin bricks or tiles, which in turn might be coated with stucco or covered with strips of many-colored marble. A concrete structure could be put up much more cheaply and rapidly than one of stone; it was also far more durable, for concrete, when set, forms a rigid mass exerting no outward or inward thrust. By means of the round arch, the cylindrical vault, and the hemispherical dome — all in concrete — the Romans were able to span wide spaces without the support of columns, as no builders before them had ever done. They made another important contribution to the building art by combining the Greek column and colonnade with arch and dome construction, an innovation which profoundly influenced the architects of modern times. St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's at London, the Capitol at Washington, and some of the great railway stations in the United States and abroad are modeled upon the mighty edifices of imperial Rome, such as the Pantheon and the Baths of Caracalla.

The architecture of the Romans, like the rest of their civilization, was essentially utilitarian; though they built temples, their chief monuments were those intended for secular purposes. The temples, for the most part, follow Greek styles, but with less accuracy in the cutting and fitting of masonry and with far less attention to details of construction. The florid Corinthian and Composite replace the purer Doric and Ionic orders. The rows of columns are frequently restricted to the front of the building, while the sides and rear are lined with semidetached or "engaged" columns simulating a colonnade.

Of the secular buildings some of the largest were the basilicas, which housed the courts of justice and also served as places of public resort, especially for bankers and merchants. The chief feature of a basilica was the spacious central hall higher than the side aisles and lighted by clerestory windows. It contained a raised platform for the use of the magistrates; this was often placed in a semicircular recess — the apse — at one end of the building. The abundant water supply provided by the aqueducts, which numbered no less than sixty-eight in Italy and the provinces, made possible the maintenance of public baths in every city. Those at Rome were immense establishments accommodating several thousand bathers at once and also providing gymnasiums, lounges, and libraries, all on a magnificent scale. Together with free food and free amusements, these clubhouses helped to keep the city populace comfortable and contented. Rome, Italy, and the former provinces contain



Ground Plan of the Basilica Ulpia, Rome

many examples of triumphal arches, some with a single great arch between massive piers and others with three arches, the central one being the largest. The sides of these monuments are ornamented with bas-reliefs setting forth the scenes of a successful campaign. Columns of victory were also set up in Rome and other cities. The palaces of the emperors and nobles and their luxurious country houses have disappeared, and a like fate has befallen the huge circuses, such as the Circus Maximus at Rome and the Hippodrome at Constantinople. The Roman theaters that survive reproduce in most respects the outlines of the Greek structures. The amphitheaters are characteristically Roman, however, and the Flavian Amphitheater at Rome — the so-called Colosseum — as truly typifies Roman architectural genius as the Parthenon typifies at its best that of the Greeks.

Some of the most imposing monuments of the imperial age are not in the capital city itself, or even in Italy, but in France, Spain, Greece, Syria, and North Africa. Among these are the aqueduct known as the Pont du Gard near Nîmes in southern France, the temple called the Maison Carrée in the same city, the amphitheater of Arles, the theater of Orange, the bridge over the Tagus at Alcántara in Spain, and the Temple to the Olympian Zeus (the Olympieum) at Athens. The last, completed by Hadrian, was on so enormous a scale that it was sometimes included in the Seven Wonders of antiquity. Even greater was the temple to Jupiter as the sun god at Baalbek, in Syria. East of the Jordan River, at Jerash (Gerasa) and Amman (Philadelphia), there are more Roman ruins than anywhere else in the ancient world outside of Rome itself, and this for the simple reason that the nomadic Arabs have never used them as quarries for building material. And in Algeria, lying on the edge of the desert, there are also the remains of great cities such as Timgad (Thamugadi) and Lambessa (Lambaesis), silent and

abandoned, but still with streets, temples, baths, and other buildings as perfectly preserved as those excavated at Pompeii.

While the sculpture of the Romans owed much to Greek models, the practical, realistic character of the Roman mind led to an emphasis on portraiture and lifelike representation. The sculptor tried to show a historic person as he actually looked and a historical event — a battle or a triumph — as it actually occurred. In the statues of the emperors and empresses and the bas-reliefs of the Arch of Titus and Trajan's Column at Rome the plastic art has been well-nigh lost in the pictorial art. Our knowledge of painting among the Romans is almost wholly confined to the murals found at Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum. These were produced by ordinary craftsmen, who, if not Greeks, were deeply affected by the Greek artistic spirit. The technical excellence of their work is often quite remarkable. The minor arts of the jeweler, the gem engraver, the goldsmith, and the mosaic maker also reached a high degree of development during the imperial age.

The Graeco-Oriental-Roman World

Though somewhat less extensive than the Persian Empire or that of Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire at the end of the second century measured about three thousand miles in length and two thousand miles in breadth. It included everything between the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, the Atlantic, and the northern edge of the Sahara. It included more, for the eagles of the legionaries glittered by the cataracts of the Nile, on the crests of the Caucasus and the Carpathians, and in the British Isles as far as the Scottish Highlands. The only other great state in the world was China under the Han Dynasty, but Rome and China never came in contact except by commerce. Rome brought within the circle of her power nearly all the centers of ancient civilization in the Near East and Greece and lured from barbarism many peoples never affected by Oriental or Greek culture. The Roman Empire was like the Roman cement; it held the ancient world together. The empire contained (it is estimated) from fifty to seventy-five million inhabitants, at peace with one another and united in a common loyalty to the imperial government. A new sense of cosmopolitanism replaced old feelings of tribal, civic, or national patriotism. "We have not," said the philosopher Seneca, "shut ourselves up in the walls of a city; we have opened an intercourse with all mankind; we have declared ourselves citizens of the world." The Greek Plutarch uses almost identical language: "I am a citizen, not of Athens or of Greece,

but of the world." Rome thus made a tremendous advance toward internationalization, toward the formation of a society embracing civilized mankind.

There were many unifying forces at work. The extension of Roman citizenship broke down the old distinction between the citizens and the subjects of Rome. The development of Roman law carried its principles of equity and humanity to the frontiers of the remotest province. The spread of the Latin language provided the western half of the empire with a speech as widespread there as Greek was in the eastern half. Trade and travel united the provinces with one another and with Rome. The worship of the Caesars dimmed the luster of all local worships and kept constantly before men's minds the greatness of Rome and of her emperors. Last, but not least important, was intermarriage between the Romans and those over whom they ruled. No antipathies based on differences of skin color barred the way to such unions, nor (except in the case of the Jews) were differences of religion any obstacle to them. A real assimilation of alien peoples could thus occur and did occur in the Roman Empire to an extent unequaled in any modern imperialistic state. "Rome, Rome, alone," sang a provincial poet, "has taken the conquered to her bosom, and has made men to be of one household with one name, herself their mother, not their empress, and has called her vassals citizens, and has linked far places in a bond of love. Hers is that large loyalty to which we owe it that the stranger walks in a strange land as if it were his own; that men can change their homes; that it is a pastime to visit Thule and to expose mysteries at which we once shuddered; that we drink at will the waters of the Rhône and the Orontes; that the whole earth is one people."

XV

The Roman Empire (Continued)

The Soldier Emperors

THE period between the accession of Augustus (31 B.C.) and the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.) was one of settled government and domestic tranquillity, except for a year of military anarchy at the close of Nero's reign. Nearly all the emperors were vigorous, capable rulers. The peace and prosperity which prevailed under them for more than two hundred years amply justify, if justification be needed, the change from republic to empire.

But evil days were now in store for Rome. During the third century the very existence of the empire was threatened from within and from without. The armies on the frontiers often set up their favorite leaders as contestants for the throne, thus provoking civil war. Ambitious governors of distant provinces sometimes revolted against a weak or unpopular ruler and tried to establish independent states. The Germans took advantage of the disturbed condition of affairs to make constant inroads; finally it was necessary to surrender to them the great province of Dacia, which Trajan had won. A serious danger also appeared in the Near East, where the Persians endeavored to recover from Roman hands the Asiatic provinces once belonging to the old realm of Cyrus and Darius. They failed to make any permanent conquest of Roman territory, but their constant attacks weakened the empire just when the barbarians were once more a menace. The "Roman Peace" prevailed no longer; not only the frontier territories but also the interior provinces and even Italy itself had suffered from the ravages of war. The fortification of the capital city by a massive brick wall which still stands was an emphatic testimony to the altered condition of affairs.

The rulers during this troubled time are commonly known as the "Soldier Emperors." There were more than thirty of them, and al-

most all owed their position to the swords of the legionaries. Emperor after emperor followed in quick succession, to enjoy a brief reign and then to perish at the hands of a mutinous soldiery or of a successful competitor for supreme power. Within a single year six rulers were chosen, worshiped, and then murdered by their troops. "You little know," said one of these imperial phantoms, "what a poor thing it is to be an emperor." The government seemed to be on the verge of collapse near the end of the third century of our era, as it had been near the end of the first century B.C. when Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, Antony and Octavian fought for supremacy in wars that brought desolation to the Roman world. The crisis produced the man to meet it and overcome it. He was Diocletian, the son of an ex-slave, who entered the army as a common soldier, rose to high command, and in 284–285 fought his way to the throne. Once emperor, Diocletian set himself to remake the Roman state.

The Absolute Emperors

Experience had shown that the burden of empire was too heavy for the shoulders of one emperor. There were the distant frontiers on the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates to be guarded; there were all the provinces to be governed. A colleague was needed, and Diocletian decided to share his power with a trusted lieutenant named Maximian. Each was to be an *Augustus*, with all the honors of an emperor. Diocletian, who assumed the majestic name of Jovius (descendant of Jupiter), ruled in the East; Maximian, under the title of Herculius, ruled in the West. Experience had also shown that the uncertainty as to the succession constantly invited struggles between rival pretenders, thus exposing the empire to the ravages of civil warfare. To reduce the risk of a disputed succession and at the same time to lighten still more the imperial burden Diocletian provided that each *Augustus* should have a younger associate, or *Caesar*, as his assistant and destined heir. The unity of the empire was not sacrificed by these arrangements, for the *Augusti* controlled the *Caesares*, and over his three colleagues Diocletian claimed to exercise a paramount authority.

Diocletian also remodeled the provincial system. The entire empire, including Italy, was divided into one hundred and one provinces grouped into thirteen dioceses, these in turn grouped into the four great prefectures of Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and the East. The governors of the provinces, the vicars of the dioceses, and the prefects of the prefectures were all servants of the emperor, appointed by him and dismissed at his pleasure. And all of them had their trains of minor

officials, so numerous that it was said, of course with much exaggeration, that half the population of the empire was on the government pay roll. By means of an elaborate espionage system the emperor kept watch over his subordinates; the imperial secret service was ubiquitous and always busy. This bureaucracy had the usual faults of bureaucracies: it "dug in," so that an agency or department once established could with difficulty be dislodged even when no longer useful; it was often permeated with "graft"; and its members frequently co-operated with one another to enrich themselves at the public expense. Still, it never could have lasted so long as it did without working moderately well.

The changes in the administrative machinery were accompanied by measures designed to correct the military weaknesses which the wars of the third century had revealed. The huge empire, with four long and several smaller frontiers, needed a larger army. Diocletian and the emperors after him greatly increased it, especially the cavalry service, so as to be able to cope with the horsemen on whom Persians and Germans relied for victory. Another innovation was the stationing of large reserve forces at strategic points in the interior provinces, whence they could be quickly moved to any region threatened with attack. Finally, Diocletian and his successors to a large extent separated the civil and military authority in the provinces, so as to diminish the danger of revolts by the provincial rulers. There can be little doubt that these reforms propped up the tottering empire, gave it a new lease of life in the West, and in the East prolonged its existence for many centuries.

The imperial government, from Diocletian onward, became an undisguised autocracy. The emperors, like Oriental monarchs, lived aloof from their subjects in stately seclusion. Like Oriental monarchs they were treated as gods. Everything that touched their persons was sacred, and so men spoke of the "sacred" palace and even of the "sacred" bedchamber. They wore a diadem of pearls and purple silken robes, bejeweled and gilded. They filled their court with a crowd of fawning, flattering nobles and busied themselves with an endless round of imposing ceremonials. Hitherto a Roman emperor had been *Imperator*, the head of an army; now he became *Dominus* ("Lord"), to be greeted, not with the old military salute, but with the bent knee and the prostrate form of adoration. Such pomps and vanities, which Romans once would have thought degrading, helped to inspire reverence among the servile subjects of a later age. The absolutism of the emperors found expression in the famous sentence of Roman law — *Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem* ("What

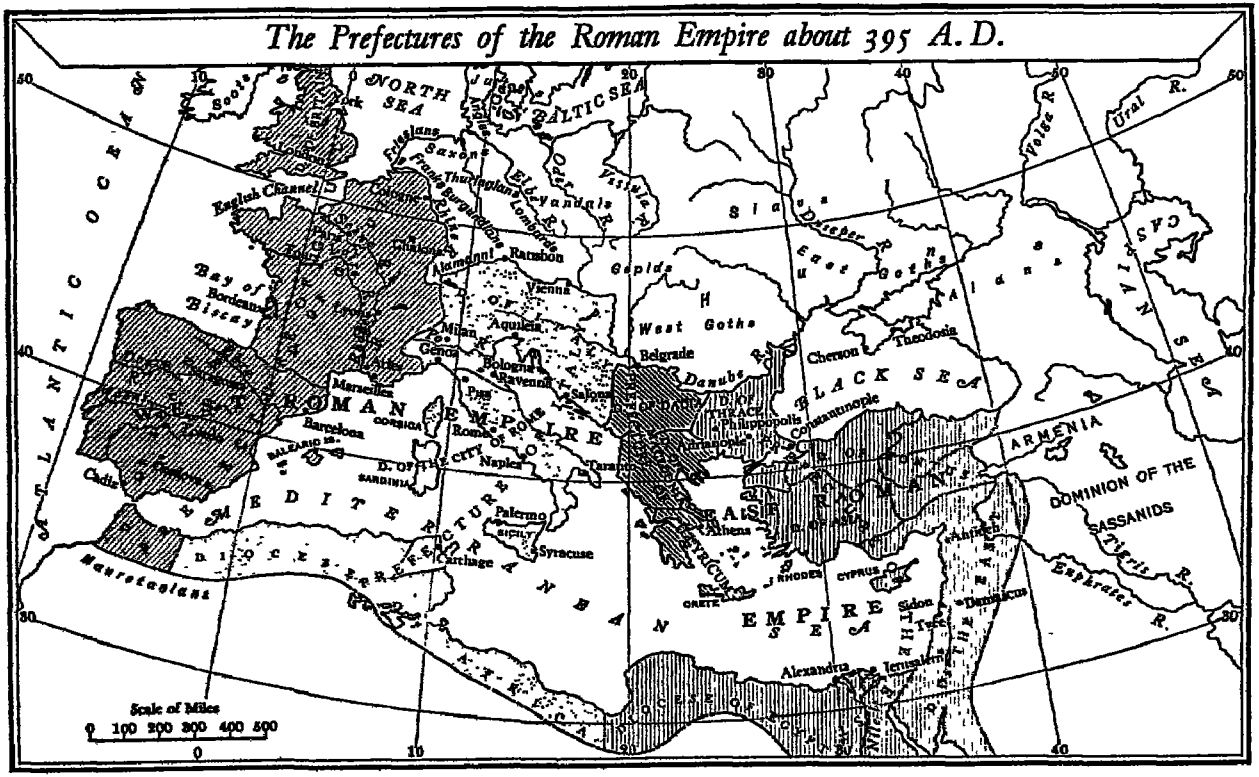
pleases the prince has the force of law") — the maxim of every despot and every dictator from Roman times to the present day.

Diocletian had planned that after twenty years the two *Augusti* were to retire and be succeeded by the two *Caesares*, who should then nominate their successors. Diocletian did abdicate in 305 and induced his colleague Maximian, much against the latter's will, to take the same step. So complicated a scheme for filling the imperial office might have worked in happier times; it failed in an age when emperors were made by the army. Disputes about the succession soon arose, and before long there were several pretenders for supreme power. Their dreary struggles continued until two emperors were left, Constantine in the West and Licinius in the East. These ruled jointly until 324, when Constantine, having defeated Licinius, became sole emperor. The Roman world again had a single master.

Two events have made the reign of Constantine memorable. He recognized Christianity as one of the religions of the empire and thus paved the way for the triumph of that faith over paganism. He established a new capital for the Roman world on the site of the ancient Greek colony of Byzantium. It was christened "New Rome," but it soon took the emperor's name as Constantinople, the "city of Constantine."

Good reasons could be urged for the removal of the capital from the Tiber to the Bosporus. Constantinople, far more than Rome, was the military center of the empire. Rome lay too far from the vulnerable frontiers; Constantinople occupied a position about equidistant from the Germans on the lower Danube and the Persians on the Euphrates. Furthermore, Constantinople had a far better commercial site than Rome, for it stands in Europe, looks on Asia, and controls the traffic between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. How much these considerations weighed with Constantine we cannot say; possibly the most compelling reason for his decision was the desire to have a new capital distinctively Christian, in place of old Rome with its pagan atmosphere and traditions. Constantinople was dedicated in 330, seven years before the emperor's death.

After Constantine the Roman world once more entered on a period of disorder, marked by civil strife between rival aspirants for the purple and constant warfare on the exposed frontiers. Meanwhile, the eastern and western, the Greek and Latin, halves of the empire tended more and more to draw apart, and their separateness was intensified by the foundation of Constantinople as a second Rome. After the death in 395 of the emperor Theodosius I, who had ruled supreme over the Roman world for the last three years of his reign, the division of

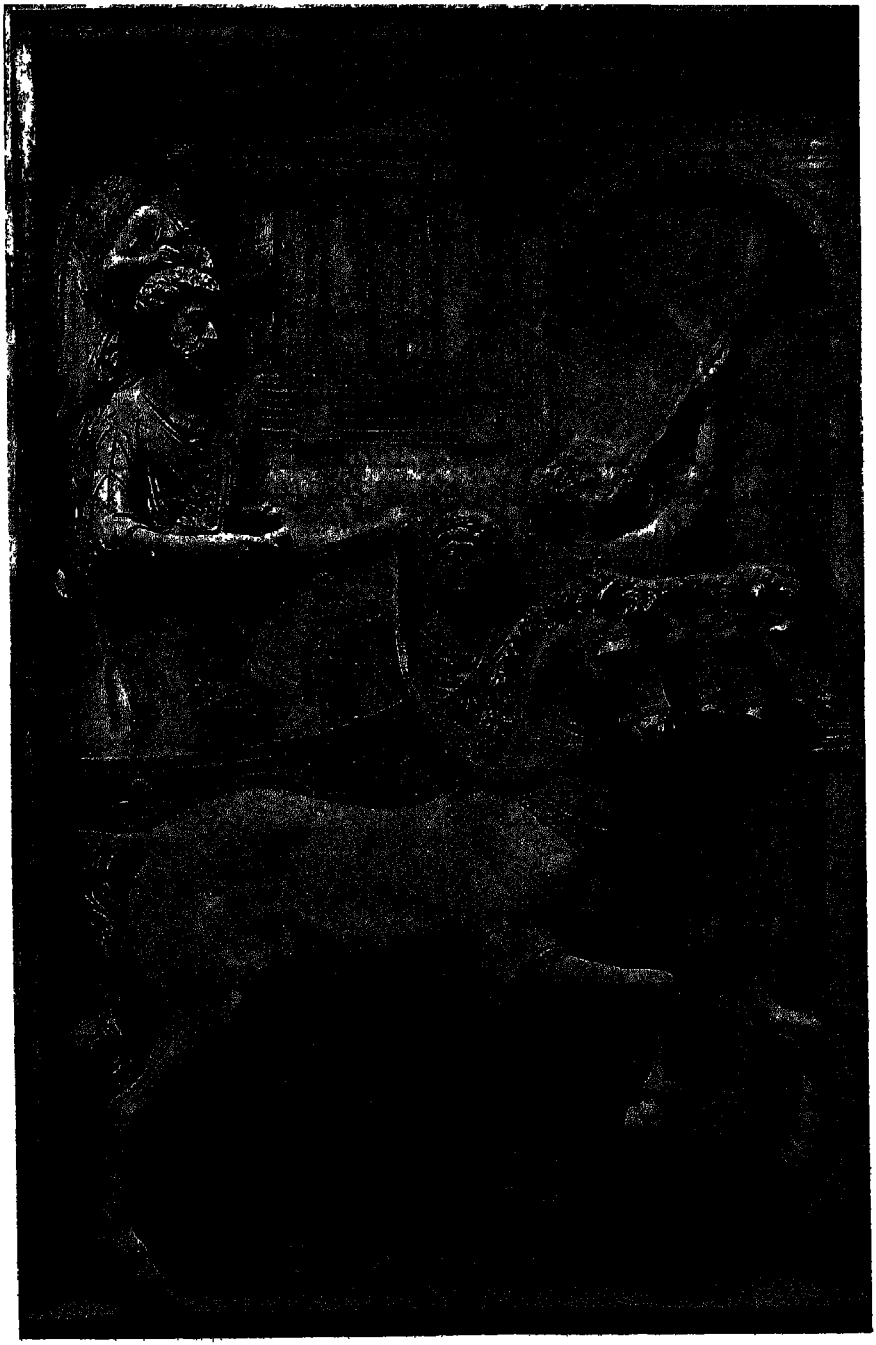

The Prefectures of the Roman Empire about 395 A.D.
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
Scots
Picts
Saxons
Franks
Burgundians
Alemanni
Ratisbon
Vienna
Aquileia
Milan
Genoa
Bologna
Ravenna
Marseilles
Rome
Naples
Barcelona
Cadiz
Carthage
Palermo
Syracuse
Tarentum
Belgrade
Danube
Thessalonica
Philippopolis
Constantinople
Cherson
Theodosia
Athens
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Sidon
Damascus
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
ARMENIA
DOMINION OF THE SASSANIDS
West Goths
East Goths
Alans
Huns
Volga R.
Ural R.
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Vistula R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Rhine R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Thames R.
Tweed R.
Forth R.
Clyde R.
Mersey R.
Humber R.
Severn R.
Thames R.
Mauretania
Numidia
Africa
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica
Balearic Is.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
0
10
20
30
40
50

the empire became firmly and finally established. Theodosius, indeed, in bequeathing the government to his young sons, Honorius in the West and Arcadius in the East, did only what some of his predecessors had done. The two emperors were still regarded as colleagues ruling a common Roman world. They issued their laws under their joint names, and the edicts of the one enjoyed validity in the dominions of the other. So much for constitutional theory. Really, however, the empire had now split into two independent realms, each going its own way. There came to be in fact, if not in name, a Roman Empire in the East and a Roman Empire in the West.

Economic Conditions

Diocletian and Constantine not only reorganized the government and administration of the empire but also tried to restore its prosperity, which had been so deeply injured by the wars, both domestic and foreign, of the third century and by the piracy, brigandage, and general disorder accompanying them. The imperial legislation sometimes improved economic conditions but more often only aggravated the evils it was designed to cure. The emperors deserve credit for their efforts to provide a stable monetary system. Rome had long suffered from a scarcity of the precious metals, caused partly by the decreased output of the mines and partly by the drain of specie to the Far East in exchange for Oriental luxuries. At the same time, the extravagance of some of the emperors, Nero and Caracalla for example, resulted in an empty treasury and brought the government to the verge of bankruptcy. Under such circumstances a modern state would have recourse to paper money, an impossible expedient in antiquity before paper had been discovered and printing invented. As a last resort, the emperors constantly debased the coinage, until at length the standard silver coin, the *denarius*, came to be made of copper, with a silver wash on its surface to give it a whitish appearance. Worth about sixteen cents in the time of Augustus, its value had fallen to less than half a cent in the time of Diocletian. Currency depreciation on this scale, though profitable to the government, played havoc with private capital, investments, and endowments; it always does. Diocletian attempted to remedy the situation by issuing gold, silver, and copper coins at nearly the old ratios before debasement. Constantine put the currency on a sound basis by issuing the gold *solidus*, which formed the standard gold coin and maintained its proper weight for many centuries.

Debasement of the coinage was followed naturally by a rise of prices and a consequent increase in the cost of living. Pressure on the govern-

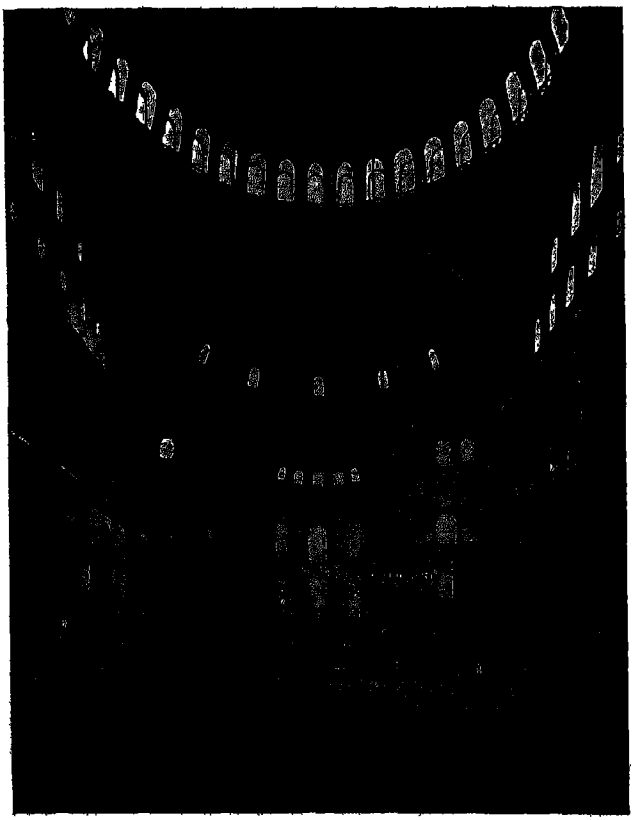


TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THE EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS (161–180 A.D.)
Pages 289, 307.

PLATE XI



EARLY CHRISTIAN FRESCOES, CATACOMB OF GIORDANI, ROME. *Page 348.*



INTERIOR OF CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE
6th Century A.D. *Pages 402, 412.*

PLATE XII

ment to "do something" about it led Diocletian in 301 to issue an edict which fixed maximum prices on seven or eight hundred articles produced and sold in the eastern part of the empire. The edict also established a maximum rate of wages, for the emperor seems to have thought that the workers were "profiteering," as well as the farmers and merchants. The punishment meted out for violators of the edict was death. This experiment in paternalism, though well meant, made no allowance for variations in prices between one place and another or for fluctuations caused by changes in supply and demand; moreover, it did not permit goods to be sold cheaper at wholesale than at retail. The result was that businessmen closed their shops and farmers hoarded their grain, many articles disappeared from trade, and food riots occurred in the cities. So unpractical a measure could not be enforced, and after Diocletian's abdication it was allowed to lapse. There were limits to the power of even a Roman emperor.

The burden of taxation seems to have become increasingly heavy under the "Absolute Emperors." To meet the lavish expenditures of two, three, or four imperial courts, to provide the salaries of the swarms of public officials, to supply the idle populace of Rome and Constantinople with "bread and circus-shows," to buy off or fight off the barbarians on the frontiers — all required a large revenue and this was ever harder to raise as wealth declined. Nor were the taxes justly apportioned; men of moderate means and the poor contributed more than their fair share, while the nobles often evaded payment in whole or in part. The government adopted the harshest methods to raise an adequate revenue, with the result, it was said, that Roman citizens came to dread the visits of the taxgatherers more than the inroads of the barbarians.

The *curiales*, those well-to-do members of a municipality who filled the magistracies and sat in the local council (*curia*), were made responsible for the collection of taxes, and if they failed to squeeze the stipulated amount from their fellow townsmen and the landholders of the neighborhood they were held collectively liable for the deficiency. In earlier times election to a municipal office had been regarded as a high honor and had been eagerly sought; now it was anxiously avoided because of the responsibilities and ruinous expense which office-holding involved. Finally the government had to step in and compel the *curiales* to perform their duties. Lest they defraud the state of their services, they were forbidden to leave the cities and reside in the country, to take any journey without special permission, or to enter any calling — such as the army or the church — which might interfere with their obligations. And their sons were bound to the same servitude.

Nothing shows their unhappy condition more vividly than the fact that from time to time persons guilty of some crime or misdemeanor were actually condemned to enrollment in the *curia* and subjection to its burdens. By the fifth century most of the *curiales* had been reduced to poverty, and by the sixth century this middle class had practically disappeared. The imperial legislation which brought about its extinction has been called a monument of "merciless despotism." It was likewise a monument of foolish despotism.

The heavy hand of the government descended on the guilds, or *collegia*, organized by workingmen and shopkeepers for mutual support and social intercourse. These associations had always been voluntary in character; Diocletian and later emperors introduced the method of compulsion by requiring the members of a guild to remain in it for life. A guildsman who left his place of abode and customary occupation was severely punished, as well as anyone who aided him in trying to escape. The workers in the mines and in the imperial factories were even branded with red-hot iron lest they run away. It was also required that a man's sons should follow his trade or business, so that the condition of the free laborers in the *collegia* became, like that of the *curiales*, a condition of hereditary servitude. The purpose of the emperors in all this repressive legislation was praiseworthy: at a time when private industry had largely broken down they wanted to make sure that sufficient food supplies and manufactured goods would be provided for the needs of the court, the army, and the population of the cities. But no governmental system could have subordinated more completely the interests of the individual to the welfare of the state.

The emperors applied the same method of compulsion to the free peasants in the country. It had been customary in different parts of the empire for wealthy landholders to divide their large estates (*villae*) into small tracts which were leased to tenants (*coloni*). The landlords usually supplied tools and stock and the *coloni* paid them a fixed money rent or a percentage of the crops. Toward the end of the third century, as the consequence of the ravages of war and heavy taxation, many *coloni* found themselves insolvent and had to give up their farms. Much land fell out of use, agricultural production declined, and the government suffered a loss of revenue. Diocletian dealt with this agrarian problem by simply ordering the tenants to remain on their farms for life; Constantine went further and ordered that their children after them should also be permanently attached to the soil. The *coloni* thus fell into the condition of serfs, unable to leave their holdings in search of employment elsewhere and often compelled to work for their

landlord a certain number of days every year without recompense. If a tenant fled from the land he was brought back by force, and if the land was sold he and his family went with it. The serf's condition was better, however, than that of a slave, for he could acquire personal property, contract a valid marriage, and transmit his right of tenancy to his descendants; at the same time, imperial laws protected him against exorbitant demands for rent by the proprietors. This system of serfdom had long prevailed in some parts of the Near East and in North Africa. It was now extended to Spain, Gaul, Britain, and other European provinces, and during the Middle Ages it became general throughout western Europe.

Social Conditions

Every age is to some extent an age of transition from an old to a new order. Life does not stand still, whether it be the life of the individual or of the social group. The third and fourth centuries of our era were to a very great extent an age of transition, for they witnessed the disappearance of nearly everything that was characteristically "Roman" in antiquity. The state become officially Christian, the capital removed to distant Constantinople, the government converted into an undisguised autocracy — such were some of the momentous developments of this period. Accompanying them, as we have just seen, was the formation of an almost Oriental system of caste. Society took the shape of a pyramid: at its base the slaves, much less numerous than formerly, and better treated, but still without legal rights; above them the serfs, the *coloni*, over whom their lords had no power of life or death but who were bound, as were their children, to perpetual labor on the soil; and above them the workingmen and shopkeepers of the cities, bound to perpetual service in their guilds. Then came the middle class of *curiales*, now rapidly approaching extinction because of the burdens laid upon it, and at the top the senatorial nobility consisting mostly of great landowners. These classes were strictly separated; each one was hereditary, and each one, in the eyes of the government, existed solely to provide the taxes and perform the tasks necessary for the support of the court, the bureaucracy, and the army. For this elaborate stratifying and stereotyping of society the "Absolute Emperors" must be held largely responsible.

Decay of the Municipalities

The Roman Empire of the first and second centuries formed essentially a collection of municipalities possessing a large measure of self-

government, or home rule. The "slump" of agriculture, trade, and business enterprise during the third and fourth centuries struck a fatal blow at their prosperity. The two capitals were least affected, for Rome and Constantinople attracted much of the wealth still produced in the empire. The great seaports — Alexandria, Corinth, Carthage — continued to flourish, together with such places as Milan, Ravenna, Trier, and Nicomedia, where the sharers of the imperial power held their courts. But, generally speaking, the municipalities suffered grievously in both population and resources when "hard times" settled on the Roman world. The pulse of life began to beat slower and slower in many a provincial center, and when cities on the outskirts of the empire were destroyed by the barbarians, as sometimes happened, they never rose again. The decline of the municipalities was accelerated by the policies of the despotic emperors, who more and more interfered with local administration and taxation. The ruin of the *curiales* meant the ruin of the very class by which their self-government had been carried on. There was an end to that intense civic patriotism which in former days had led wealthy men to vie with one another in generous contributions for the adornment and betterment of their community. The influence of Christianity also affected the municipalities adversely, for Christianity suppressed the temples, priesthoods, sacrifices, festivals, amusements, and other features of paganism which had done so much to make life in the cities interesting and enjoyable for the inhabitants. Thus the springs of municipal progress steadily dried up.

Cultural Decadence

The civil wars, the foreign wars, and the economic disorders of the age undermined the material foundations, and Christianity undermined the spiritual foundations, of Graeco-Roman culture. In the realm of letters not a single pagan author of genius can be named for the two hundred years between Marcus Aurelius and Theodosius I. In the realm of thought the situation was much the same. With the exception of the Greek Diophantus of Alexandria, who made important contributions to algebra, and of the Egyptian Plotinus, who founded at Rome the mystical philosophy known as Neoplatonism, no mathematician, scientist, or philosopher of real eminence appeared during this age.

The fine arts likewise deteriorated. The buildings of Diocletian and Constantine, though on a magnificent scale, were less nobly conceived and less carefully constructed than buildings of earlier times; as for sculptures, nothing was produced that bears comparison with the earlier masterpieces. When Constantine raised a triumphal arch at Rome,

many reliefs for its adornment were stripped from an arch which Trajan had erected, and the new reliefs added show by their distorted figures and deformed faces how low the plastic art had fallen. The coins reveal very clearly the lack of manual skill and aesthetic taste; those of Diocletian and later emperors are almost barbaric when compared with those of Augustus and his successors. The industrial products of the age – its metal work, pottery, and the like – are also depressingly crude and unoriginal.

Characteristic of the third and fourth centuries even more than of the first and second centuries was the prevalence of what may be shortly described as "superstition": the practice of magical arts such as witchcraft, dream divination, and astrology; and the belief in omens, miraculous occurrences, and demoniac possession. There was a progressive decline in the rational or scientific temper of mind, while the appetite for the marvelous as steadily increased. Graeco-Roman culture showed, in short, many marks of decadence long before the barbarian invasions brought about a period of still deeper ignorance and mental obscurity.

Characteristic of this period was also its "over-ripe, autumnal quality." For thoughtful pagans and Christians alike the world had grown old and weary and very evil; futile to try to make it better, rather escape from it to another world where all obstinate questionings would be answered and the heart find rest. Pagans sought solace in mystical philosophies and religions, while Christians professed a faith which promised salvation in a future life of eternal bliss. The Christian attitude found expression in *The City of God* by the great St. Augustine, who, writing a few years after the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410, declared that if earthly Rome must fall the true city of God remained and would never perish.

The Fall of Rome

The Roman Empire at the death of Theodosius I in 395 was still intact save for the loss of the territories beyond the Danube and the Euphrates. It had endured more than four centuries, and the peoples within its far-flung boundaries had believed that it would endure forever – "Eternal Rome." Yet we are now on the eve of its dismemberment and the setting up of independent Germanic kingdoms in Britain, Gaul, Spain, North Africa, and Italy. While the empire in the West disappeared within less than one hundred years, the empire in the East lasted for more than a thousand years and for the greater part of that long period formed the most powerful of European states.

There seems to have been no inner necessity for the collapse of the western provinces, since the eastern provinces survived in spite of their despotic, centralized government, their bureaucracy, their oppressive system of taxation, their slavery and serfdom, and their castelike organization of society. It follows that the so-called "fall" of Rome cannot be satisfactorily explained as the inevitable effect of the political, economic, and social changes which made the Roman state in the days of Theodosius so unlike what it had been in the days of Augustus. The empire in the East escaped the fate of that in the West because, by its situation, it offered greater obstacles to the barbarian invaders, who followed the line of least resistance; fortunately, also, during the critical period the empire remained on good terms with its formidable neighbor, Persia. The western provinces had to bear the brunt of the attack on the Roman world. The failure of their inhabitants to withstand it was due to the decline of their martial spirit. This had come about gradually, as the result of the practice of recruiting the legions among the natives of the border provinces and among the barbarians themselves, thus exempting the great mass of provincials from the burden of military service. What the times urgently demanded was the "nation in arms," not an unreliable force of mercenary soldiers. If the "Absolute Emperors," among their many innovations, had introduced conscription and raised a truly citizen army, as, indeed, they were urged to do, it should have been impossible for comparatively small bands of invaders to range almost at will over the rich and populous West. But the nation was not called to arms, and when the barbarians managed to get within the boundaries of the empire they found a spiritless people who could not, or would not, defend themselves.

The "fall" of Rome was a tragedy, perhaps the greatest of the many tragedies which history records. When the empire in the West collapsed, the sun of civilization set for at least six centuries over the untilled fields, the deserted cities, and the benighted, brutalized peoples of western Europe. It was an unnecessary tragedy. We may well believe that had the peoples of western Europe been left to themselves, they would eventually have recovered from the maladies, political, economic, and social, which vexed them. If a genuinely high degree of culture could survive so long in the East, it ought to have been able to survive in the West. But there the barbarians came and conquered.

The Heritage of the Middle Ages

The period intervening between what we are pleased to describe as "ancient" times and "modern" times has long been called the Middle

Ages. The term applies only to the history of western Europe; there were no Middle Ages in the history of eastern Europe. The period is not well defined as to either its beginning or its end. The change from the ancient to the medieval world, like that from the medieval to the modern world, was a gradual process extending over several centuries. The social life of man forms a continuous growth and man's cultural history, an uninterrupted stream. If any particular date must be selected, let this be the year 395. Under Theodosius I the Roman Empire had been united for the last time; when he died the fortunes of East and West passed into separate hands. And the same year saw the renewal of the barbarian invasions with all their catastrophic consequences.

Much of Graeco-Roman civilization was lost in western Europe during the early Middle Ages, some of it irretrievably, but the greater part of it, especially the literature, philosophy, and scientific thought, was to be recovered during the later Middle Ages. The Latin language continued in use and became the basis of the Romance languages. The Roman law remained, except in Britain, and gradually supplanted barbarian customs and the rude legislation of barbarian kings. And the conception of Rome as a universal state still exercised a compelling influence on men's minds; even when Rome ruled no longer over a Europe divided among petty kingdoms and feudal principalities, men clung to the imperial ideal, an ideal which found partial realization in the so-called revival of the Roman Empire in the West by Charlemagne and the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire. The continuity between antiquity and the Middle Ages is illustrated in the economic sphere by the survival of slavery and serfdom among medieval peoples. There also passed over from the ancient world many elements of material culture — the roads, bridges, and aqueducts (though these were often allowed to go without repairs), the baths, theaters, and other public buildings (though these were often allowed to sink into ruins), and, on a humbler scale, the cultivable plants, such as herbs and fruits, the vine, the olive, flax, and domesticated grasses which the Romans introduced into the western provinces. Methods of agriculture and navigation, the mechanic arts, various inventions — in general, much practical knowledge of all sorts formed part of the medieval inheritance from Rome.

This was not all. The empire in the West went down before the barbarians, but the idea of Rome, of her universality and of her eternity, lived on in the Roman Church. The Roman genius for government, law, and administration found a new expression in the erection of the papacy. The leading city of the old empire became the Church's capital; Latin continued to be its official and ritual language; and the title

of Pontifex Maximus, once given to the head of the Roman state religion, now became that of the pope. The Roman Church Christianized the barbarians, mediated between them and the provincials, fostered in cathedrals and monasteries what she could of education, learning, and art, and, in an age when might made right, proclaimed the superiority of the spirit to brute force. As the successor of the empire in the West, the Roman Church was the chief center of civilization in medieval Europe.

XVI

Early Christianity

Paganism

PAGANISM, the public and private cults of the Graeco-Roman world, became in process of time largely moribund among the well-educated. Plato, who sought to make religion both rational and moral, attacked the myths found in Homer and in Hesiod as being "neither reverent to the gods nor profitable to us." Lucretius denounced all religious belief: religion was superstition. Lucian wrote his *Dialogues of the Gods* for the purpose of satirizing the popular faith in deities who were only men writ large. If the well-educated were generally unbelievers, the masses remained attached to the religion of the city-state, for this meant holidays and processions, beautiful pageants and impressive rituals. Even were a man not religiously minded, he might delight in such things for aesthetic reasons and because of civic patriotism. Considered as a system of social observances, paganism was in full vigor when Christianity arose, but it formed no school of virtue; it satisfied neither the reason nor the conscience; its many gods were of the earth, earthy. Nor could the worship of the emperors, which spread throughout the Roman world, meet in any way the spiritual needs of men.

Some men turned to the poets and philosophers of Greece, for it was they, and not the priests, who set forth nobler ideas of divinity and moved in the direction of ethical monotheism. The transformation of Homer's Zeus, whose superiority to the other gods rests on physical force, into a supreme moral deity akin to the Hebrew Jehovah can be traced in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides and in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Their influence in restoring religion to intellectual respectability was not only great at the time, but it has ever since profoundly affected Christian theology. Stoicism, an importation from Greece, became for a few chosen spirits in the Roman world almost a religion or a substitute for a religion. The still later philosophy of Neoplatonism, developed by Plotinus and his disciple

Porphyry during the third century of our era, also obtained followers among cultivated Romans, to whom it appealed as a mixture of Platonic speculation with Oriental mysticism and symbolism. The Neoplatonists exalted the idea of the divine element in the world and in the human soul and declared, much as the philosophers of India had done, that the supreme happiness for man consists in the beatific vision of God and mystical absorption in him. This goal they often sought to attain, as also did the philosophers of India, by ascetic practices and purificatory rites. Neoplatonism deeply influenced and continues to influence Christian thought; "the altars of Plotinus are still warm."

The Mystery Religions

The philosophy of the poets and the poetry of the philosophers had only a limited appeal; far more general was the appeal of the mystery religions. Greeks initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries received an emotional experience which gave to them or confirmed in them a belief in a life of happiness beyond the grave — an experience somewhat comparable to that now produced by attendance at the passion play of Oberammergau. There were other Greek mysteries not attached to any one locality, as were those at Eleusis, but celebrated in various places wherever a group of initiates existed. Conspicuous among such secret rites were those associated with the shadowy figure of Orpheus, a Thracian bard whom legend made the first poet and musician. The Orphic mysteries centered in the worship of the vegetation god Dionysus, who symbolized the reproductive powers of nature. Candidates for admission met by night on a lonely mountain peak, where, with torches in their hands, they danced wildly to the music of flutes and cymbals. When worked up into a state of religious exaltation, they were said to be "possessed" and "maddened" by the deity, to be one with him, and to enjoy a foretaste of blissful immortality. For the Orphics the body of man was the prison house of the soul; hence the necessity for purificatory ceremonies and strict rules regulating diet, dress, and personal conduct, in order to cleanse the soul of bodily defilement and prepare it for a home in a happy other world. As a gospel of personal salvation Orphism was carried far and wide after the middle of the sixth century B.C.

The Asiatic conquests of Alexander the Great, followed in later centuries by the extension of Roman rule throughout the Mediterranean, brought the Greeks and Romans into contact with mystery religions which had arisen in the Near East. Slaves, soldiers, traders, and travelers carried these to the West. The mysteries connected with the

Phrygian goddess Magna Mater, or Cybele, and her male associate Attis were practiced at Athens as early as the fourth century B.C. By the end of the third century they were introduced into Rome, but their real popularity there did not begin until imperial times. Little is known of the secret rites. The public performances included a thirteen days' festival every spring celebrating the death and revivification of Attis. His restoration to life seemed to his votaries an assurance of their own immortality, as was expressed in one of their hymns: "Be of good cheer, initiates; since the god has been saved you too shall have salvation from troubles." The Romans found something novel and fascinating in the processions of the priests of Magna Mater, who displayed a frenzy of grief for the dead Attis and equal excesses of rejoicing at his rescue from the grave. One of the rites of this cult was the *taurobolium.* The votary entered a pit and bathed in the blood of a bull sacrificed on the holed platform above him. This bloody baptism received a spiritual interpretation. He who had submitted to it was purified from sin and endowed with a new divine life which continued after bodily death; as an inscription reads, he was "reborn unto eternity."

The mysteries of the Egyptian goddess Isis also enjoyed much popularity during the imperial age. Isis, like Magna Mater, represented the univeral Mother Nature. Her worship especially attracted women, who saw in her a glorified type of their sex, such as their daughters, under Christianity, were to find in the Virgin Mary. But men as well as women crowded the temples of Isis, where every day at morning and evening white-robed, tonsured priests burnt incense, recited prayers to the "Queen of Peace," and offered her image for adoration. As the worship of Magna Mater was coupled with that of Attis, so the worship of Isis was coupled with that of Osiris. According to ancient Egyptian myth, Osiris likewise had been a god who died yet lived again. Every autumn a dramatic festival celebrated the sorrow of Isis when she sought the dismembered body of her brother and husband, and then her joy when she possessed him again, quick with new life. And in the mysteries of Isis, as in those of Magna Mater, the initiates found the promise of eternal happiness.

Still another mystery religion, that of Mithraism, arose in Persia. It centered about the figure of Mithras, an old Indo-Iranian deity who appears in the later parts of the Avesta as a god of light, the leader of Ahura Mazda's hosts in the ceaseless struggle against the forces of darkness and evil. Mithras became, as well, a god of truth and purity who cleansed the sinner, conquered death, and procured for his faithful followers the crown of everlasting life.

The Mithraic mysteries, like many secret societies among primitive

peoples, admitted men only. There were seven progressive degrees of initiation, each with terrifying or cruel tests of the candidate's fortitude. Another rude feature was the wearing of animal masks by some of the members. The ceremonies also included ablutions with holy water, a communal meal of bread and wine, and litanies to the sun — all sufficiently like the Christian sacraments to seem to Christians deliberate counterfeits, the work of devils. Mithras was represented as a youthful hero miraculously born from a rock at the dawn of day; hence his worship was always conducted in natural or artificial caves or in cellars. At the back of one of these underground temples would often be a picture or a statue of Mithras slaying a bull and an inscription: "To the unconquerable Sun, to Mithras." In Mithraism the worshiper was never identified with the god, as in the Orphic rites and the cults of Attis and Osiris; Mithras always remained a person distinct from the worshiper — the guide and unfailing protector of his followers. The religion spread widely during the second and third centuries of our era, especially among soldiers, who were attracted by its emphasis on all manly virtues. It was probably the most formidable rival ever encountered by Christianity in the ancient world.

These and other mysteries contrasted strongly with Graeco-Roman paganism. They were universal religions, receiving all comers without respect to race or social station. They were voluntary religions: a man did not belong to them by virtue of having been born a member of a city-state. They were religions with a regular clergy, who alone could perform the secret rites for the initiates. They had, furthermore, a real moral element — some more, some less — and put much emphasis on the need of personal holiness and purification from sin. Finally, while paganism had been concerned only with this world and the good things of this life, the mystery religions all looked to another world and a heavenly life which would be enjoyed by the righteous. They were, in short, religions of redemption, with an emotional appeal utterly wanting in the cold and formal pagan cults. It is not strange that they penetrated every province of the Roman Empire. With the triumph of Christianity they disappeared, for the new religion was as hostile to them as to paganism.

Christianity, spreading over the ancient world, must have appeared to most people as one of the mysteries. An initiation through bodily ablutions, or baptism, supposed to regenerate the soul; a communal meal believed to produce a mystical union with a dying and reviving redeemer-god; and the assurance of salvation for faithful initiates: these Christian beliefs and rites were of a familiar type. But Christianity cannot be accurately described as a mystery religion. There was

nothing esoteric about it; no veil of secrecy concealed its doctrines and practices from outsiders. The Christian drama of redemption did not center upon some nebulous mythological figure – an Attis, an Osiris, a Mithras – but upon one who came down from heaven to live and die upon earth as a real man in the not distant past. While no close bonds united the members of a mystery association in one place with those in another, there was a " brotherhood " of Christians everywhere. Lastly, unlike the mysteries, but like Judaism, Christianity was an intolerant religion. No one could be a Christian who associated himself with any other form of worship.

Judaism

The dispersion (Diaspora) of the Jews from Palestine carried their religion throughout the Roman Empire and beyond its borders. This movement had been going on for centuries, ever since Assyrian and Babylonian conquerors deported great numbers of Jewish captives to the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Alexander the Great and his successors showed the Jews special favor, and they flocked to the new cities, such as Antioch and Seleucia, which arose in the Near East. Alexandria received so many Jews as to become, after Jerusalem, their most important center. They were also found in the West, especially at Rome, where there was a separate Jewish quarter. At the time of Christ the majority of Jews lived outside of Palestine. For the benefit of these non-Palestinian Jews, who had forgotten their mother tongue, a Greek version of the Old Testament – the so-called Septuagint – was prepared at Alexandria in the third century B.C. The existence of this translation enabled the Greeks and Romans to become familiar with Hebrew religious literature, a matter of much importance later when Christianity spread among them. The Jews prospered in their new homes, but the ordinary pagan regarded with contempt a people who kept so closely to themselves and had so many strange customs – their circumcision; their clean and unclean foods; their " lazy " Sabbath; and, strangest of all, their worship of a God without an image. Jews were never popular; riots against them often broke out in the cities; and the emperors more than once expelled them from Rome. Wherever the Jews settled they built synagogues, not only for those born in the faith of Israel, but also for the occasional proselytes made by them among serious-minded men who realized the emptiness of paganism and felt the attraction of a pure and lofty monotheism. But Judaism never developed into an active missionary religion, never became a " light to lighten the Gentiles."

Judaism and Christianity

Jesus, a Jew, addressed his message to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He came, as he himself declared, not to annul but to fulfill the Law. The Twelve Apostles were Jews, and the few but faithful disciples who organized the mother church at Jerusalem were Jews. Christianity arose, in fact, as a sect of Judaism, comparable with other Jewish sects or parties, such as the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Samaritans. From Judaism Christianity inherited much: its recognition of one God, "our Father in Heaven," who demanded from his worshipers moral living; its belief in a Messiah (Greek, *Christos*), who would establish God's kingdom on earth; its eschatology — a bodily resurrection, a last judgment, a paradise for the righteous and a hell for the wicked; and its conceptions of Satan as a personal devil and of angels and evil spirits. Although Christians had the New Testament, they accepted the Old Testament as well, treating it as verbally inspired and appealing to it as a rule of faith and morals second only to their own sacred books. Finally, early Christian worship owed not a little to the synagogue service with its communal prayers and the reading and exposition of the Scriptures. Christians and Jews soon went their separate ways; the gulf of hostility between them steadily widened and has never closed; but the indebtedness of the new religion which started in Palestine to the old religion of Israel was immense. It could not be otherwise.

Jesus

The Palestinian Jews in the time of Jesus were subjects of Rome. The whole of Syria, with Palestine included in it, had formed part of the Roman dominions ever since the time of Pompey's victorious campaigns in the Near East. The Romans for a while allowed a native king, Herod the Great, to rule for them and under them. After his death in 4 B.C. Augustus divided the Jewish realm among Herod's three sons. One of the sons, Herod Archelaüs, governed so badly that the emperor removed him in less than ten years and converted his territory of Judaea into a regular province under Roman officials called procurators. Pontius Pilatus (Pilate), the fifth of these procurators, was in office during the period of Jesus' ministry.

What do we know of Jesus? From Jewish sources, nothing or next to nothing. The *Antiquities of the Jews*, a monumental work completed in the year 91 by the Jewish historian Josephus, contains two passages mentioning Jesus; the first of these has long been recognized as a clumsy interpolation by an unknown hand; the second, perhaps

also an interpolation, merely refers to Jesus "called the Messiah" (or "surnamed the Christ"). From pagan sources, nothing throughout the first century of our era. The earliest Roman author to mention Jesus is Pliny the Younger. Writing from Asia Minor in 111 or 112 to the emperor Trajan, Pliny reported the province of Bithynia and Pontus to be full of Christians, who met regularly on a "fixed day" to sing hymns to Christ "as to a god." Pliny's friend, the historian Tacitus, in his *Annals*, a work completed about 116, has a brief reference to a certain "Christus," who was put to death during the reign of Tiberius by the procurator Pontius Pilatus. Finally, Suetonius, in his *Lives of the Caesars*, published about 121, speaks of Jews who, "at the instigation of Chrestus," were constantly rioting in Rome during the reign of Claudius. The name "Chrestus" may or may not be equivalent to the name "Christ"; if it is equivalent, then the fact that Suetonius believed that Jesus had gone to Rome shows how slightly the Romans, even at this late date, interested themselves in Christianity.

Our knowledge of Jesus is derived from the New Testament and almost entirely from the three Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke. These "synoptic" Gospels, so called from their many agreements in narrating the career of Jesus, appeared during the latter part of the first century. That Mark came first (about the year 70 or a little earlier) and that it formed the main source of Matthew and Luke, seems to be thoroughly established by modern investigation. That there were other sources, certain "Sayings" (*Logia*) ascribed to Jesus but now lost, behind the Synoptic Gospels may also be considered certain; indeed, two mutilated papyri, unearthed not many years ago in Egypt, preserve a few "Sayings" not recorded in the New Testament. The Gospel according to John, which belongs to a time probably early in the second century, was written to supplement, interpret, and correct the earlier narratives. The Gospels do not profess to be formal biographies of Jesus; they were composed for the use of Christian missionaries and apologists working among Jews and pagans. It is the task of the critical student to discover how far they present the genuine tradition relating to Jesus and how far they contain accretions to it in the shape of popular legend and philosophical reflection. When the accretions are removed, the residue is the "Life of Jesus."

According to Mark, our oldest and most important Gospel source, "the carpenter" Jesus, "the son of Mary," came from Nazareth. He was born toward the end of the reign of Herod the Great. The family to which he belonged included four brothers, whose names are known, and several sisters married and living in Nazareth. He spoke a dialect of Aramaic current among the Galilean Jews. On arriving at mature

manhood, when about thirty years old, he was drawn from retirement by the appearance of John the Baptist ("the baptizer"), who had appeared in Judaea proclaiming that the kingdom of God was near at hand, urging men to repent of their sins, and dipping them in the Jordan as an act of ritual purification. Jesus resorted to him and received baptism from him. Soon afterward Jesus began his ministry, which seems to have covered a period of somewhat less than two years. Most of this time was passed in Galilee and the surrounding region. He taught, he preached, he healed; when he spoke in the village synagogues or in the countryside, crowds heard him gladly; and a band of more or less permanent disciples accompanied him from place to place. These included an inner group of twelve apostles or "messengers," the number twelve being symbolic of their mission to all the tribes of Israel. The ministry of Jesus ended when he went to Jerusalem to keep the Passover with his followers. Then came his arrest and examination on a charge of blasphemy before the Jewish court of the Sanhedrin, his transference to Pilate's tribunal, his condemnation to death as a Messianic agitator who had plotted to make himself "King of the Jews," and his execution by crucifixion, the Roman mode reserved for slaves and criminals of the lowest sort.

There is no reason to suppose that the New Testament sources for the life of Jesus reproduce always, or even generally, his actual words. He himself wrote nothing, and his discourses and parables were preserved, at first, only in the fallible memories of his disciples or sometimes, perhaps, in their hastily made notes. But the teaching of Jesus, however much it may have been paraphrased in transmission, produces an impression of clarity and consistency; most of it in the Synoptic Gospels can be understood without difficulty. It was not a new theology: his doctrine of God, a future life, heaven, hell, contained nothing that would have been unfamiliar to a well-instructed Jew of his time. It was not a new philosophy: he had not been educated in any philosophical school whether Jewish or Greek. It was not a new system of ethics: his commandment "that men should love one another" had been enunciated by many a moralist of Judaism. Nor was it a program of social reform addressed to the poor and the disinherited, for the renovation of society made no appeal to one who believed with John the Baptist in the speedy coming of the kingdom of God. The teaching of Jesus was the teaching of a Jewish prophet. As some of the prophets before him had done, but with still greater earnestness and moral fervor, he put the emphasis on the essentials of religion — on personal righteousness, forgiveness of injuries, love of one's neighbor, and free intercourse with a loving Father in heaven. And because of

the light value which he set upon the nonessentials of religion the traditionalists and formalists, the Pharisees and Sadducees of the day, were all soon in opposition to him.

Christianity among Jews and Gentiles

The principal disciple of Jesus, surnamed Peter ("Rock"), on the third day after the crucifixion had an experience which convinced him that Jesus was alive; other disciples afterward had the same experience and shared the same conviction. Belief in the resurrection was the foundation of Christianity, which began with the little group of disciples rallying around Simon Peter at Jerusalem. For many years after the crucifixion these Nazarenes, as they were known, formed a community in Palestine, keeping up all the observances of orthodox Judaism and carrying the Gospel, the "good news" about Christ, to their fellow Jews. Meanwhile, some members of the Jerusalem community who had settled outside Palestine began missionary work among the non-Jews, or Gentiles, in Antioch, Damascus, and other cities. It was in Antioch that the name of "Christians" was first given as a popular designation to the followers of the new religion.

There were many Christian missionaries during the first century, but from about the year 40 the most prominent and successful of them was Saul, better known by his Roman name of Paul. A native of Tarsus, a Greek city of southern Asia Minor, Paul belonged to a Jewish family that had obtained Roman citizenship. He went to Jerusalem when a young man and became a student of the Law as interpreted by the Pharisees. Zealous for the religion of his fathers, he took an active part in the persecution of Nazarenes by the Sanhedrin. It was while so engaged that on the road to Damascus he had an experience in which he believed he saw a light shining from heaven and heard reproachful words of the risen Christ addressed to him. From that moment Paul was a changed man — changed for life. He joined the Nazarenes at Damascus and soon began his long career as an itinerant missionary, "in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by my own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren." To the communities of believers established by him in Asia Minor, Greece, and Macedonia he addressed the earliest Christian writings that have come down to us, those letters (epistles) which set forth the Pauline conception of Christianity and picture so vividly the life of the early Church. His strenuous career closed with martyrdom at Rome, whither he had been taken, as a Roman citizen, to stand trial before the emperor's court on

a charge of treason. He was put to death, probably under Nero in the year 67, and according to tradition Peter was also executed in Rome on the same day. To St. Paul more than to any other man, Christianity owed its emancipation from the fetters of the Law — the circumcision, the food restrictions, the Sabbath observance, the festivals, and the temple worship centered at Jerusalem. He found it a mere local movement, a sect of Judaism; he left it a world-wide movement, a universal religion.

At the end of the first century the Christian Church was already a widespread society, represented by communities scattered over Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, Crete, Asia Minor, the Balkan peninsula, and Italy. During the second century Christianity reached Gaul and North Africa. Tertullian, writing from Carthage in 197, soon after his conversion, declares with pardonable exaggeration, "We are of yesterday, yet we have filled all that is yours — cities, islands, villages, towns, the camp itself, tribes, town councils, the palace, the senate, and the forum. We have left you only your temples." During the third century Christianity became well established in every province of the Roman Empire and even beyond its borders. Origen, a Christian author of this period, mentions only remote peoples such as the Chinese and barbarian peoples such as the Germans as not having heard the word of the Gospel. The converts, in the West at least, were mainly city dwellers; to conservative country folk (*pagani*) Christianity had less appeal. Slaves, freedmen, small tradesmen and handicraftsmen — "not many mighty, not many noble" — seem to have formed the bulk of the membership of the early Church.

If we consider simply the cultural phenomenon, it is difficult to see how a religion starting in a nook of the Near East could have spread so fast and so far but for the unity which Rome gave to the Mediterranean world. The use of Greek and Latin as the common languages of the Roman Empire enabled Christian missionaries to be readily understood wherever they went. Many of them were Roman citizens who enjoyed the protection of Roman law. All of them used to the full the opportunities for safe and speedy travel which the imperial rule provided. The propagation of a universal religion required a universal state. The Roman Empire, embracing so many diverse peoples, was such a state.

The Faith of the Church

Jesus' death and the belief in his resurrection put the emphasis, thenceforth, less on his teaching than on his person, less on the Sermon

on the Mount than on the Cross. For the earliest Christians Jesus was not only the true Messiah or Christ, whose coming had been foretold in the Scriptures; he was indeed a pre-existent divine being, the Son of God, who from love of man had put on the mantle of humanity, had descended to earth to die as a malefactor, and had been raised from the dead and taken up into heaven. For St. Peter, for St. Paul, and for all their followers, whether Jew or Gentile, faith in the incarnation and in the death and resurrection of this divine being offered to those who accepted it redemption from sin and the promise of eternal life. Without such faith there could be no salvation for Jews or Gentiles; with it there was salvation for all mankind. It has always remained the heart of Christian doctrine. Christianity so conceived satisfied the religious sense far more than any of its rivals, whether these were the old mythologies and philosophies of paganism or the newer mystery cults, and because of this fact Christianity supplanted them all.

Some beliefs prominent in early Christianity were profoundly modified or lost altogether when the new religion passed from its Palestinian environment and became fully launched on a world career. The Jewish proselytes had seen in Jesus the Messiah of their hopes, but this notion of a coming divine deliverer who would establish for all Jews a national kingdom with a capital at Jerusalem made no appeal to Gentile Christians; in time, the Messianic hopes were forgotten and Jesus the Messiah was absorbed in Jesus the "Son of God." The millenarianism so characteristic of early Christianity also largely disappeared. For the first Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, the end of all things was very near. They anticipated the speedy return of Christ to earth and his reign there for a thousand years. But Christ did not come back triumphantly in the clouds of heaven to judge both the quick and the dead; the "Last Days" never dawned. The notion of a Second Advent gradually faded from men's minds or survived only among small, obscure, heretical sects.

The Organization of the Church

The early Church found models for its simple organization on the one hand in the Jewish synagogue and on the other hand in the friendly societies (*collegia*) so numerous in the Graeco-Roman world. The unit was the whole congregation of worshipers in a municipality, and it was the congregation which chose certain officers, known as presbyters (Anglicized, *priests*), or "elders," to conduct the services and instruct the converts. The chief presbyter received the name of *episcopos* (Anglicized, *bishop*), or "overseer." There were also dea-

cons, or "attendants," who visited the sick and relieved the wants of the poor.

The increase in the number of converts and the multiplication of churches led in time to a more elaborate organization, and the bishops of the chief cities became the principal officers. The bishop of the capital city of a province presided over the other bishops with the title of archbishop or metropolitan. During the third century the bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome came to be recognized as patriarchs, standing above the archbishops in authority. In the fourth century, after the removal of the imperial capital to Constantinople, that city became a patriarchate, and somewhat later Jerusalem was added to the list, as being the cradle of Christianity. There were now four patriarchs with jurisdiction in the East, but only one ruling the West – the bishop of Rome, or the pope. This episcopal system with its graded hierarchy followed the model of the later Roman government. Bishops corresponded to the municipal officials, archbishops to the provincial governors, and patriarchs to the vicars presiding over the great divisions of the empire. The age was one of centralization and absolutism in both state and church.

Patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, presbyters, and deacons were drawn from all ranks of life. No especial training was at first considered necessary to fit them for their duties, though the more celebrated ministers were often highly educated. To eke out their salaries they often had outside employments, but when a church possessed sufficient funds to support its minister his engagement in secular affairs was discouraged and finally prohibited. Clerics were for a long time permitted to marry; during the early Middle Ages, however, their celibacy became obligatory in the West. Special garments for them did not come into use until the fifth century, when, after the barbarian invasions, men wore their hair long and the short tunic and trousers came to be the ordinary garb. Clerics retained the tunic and toga of ancient Rome and cut their hair short, as Romans had done. The clergy were thus gradually separated from the laity by their abstention from worldly occupations, their celibate lives, and their distinctive costume.

Christian Worship; Festivals; Sunday

Christians met at first in private houses, where they offered prayers, sang hymns, listened to Scriptural readings, and partook of the Lord's Supper, or Eucharist (i.e., "thanksgiving"). Special church buildings were rare indeed before the third century, and their first form seems to have been much influenced by the architecture of the Graeco-

Roman house, with its *atrium* and peristyle. To meet the needs of the growing congregations larger structures were required, and in Italy and the West these came to be generally of the "basilican" type, a name derived from that of the great halls serving as tribunals or markets in Roman cities. The Christian basilica was a long rectangular building divided into three or five aisles by rows of columns, the central aisle, or nave, higher and wider than the others, lighted by clerestory windows, and covered with a flat wooden ceiling. A semicircular recess, or apse, at the end contained the seats of the bishop and the lower clergy. Eventually a bell tower (campanile) was added. Church interiors were adorned with wall paintings, mosaics, and images of saints and martyrs. Lighted candles on the altar and the burning of incense lent an additional impressiveness to worship. It was not long before music became an important feature of the service; as St. Paul had directed, Christians were to sing psalms and spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts to the Lord. Organs with bellows were introduced during the early Middle Ages and bells, which served the double purpose of summoning worshipers and of scaring away evil spirits, were attached to church edifices.

The observance of an annual paschal festival in memory of the resurrection of Christ goes back almost to the apostolic age. It formed the Christian equivalent of the Jewish Passover feast of deliverance from Egypt; for Christians it commemorated the great fact of deliverance from death. Its Teutonic name, Easter, is probably derived from Eostre, an Anglo-Saxon goddess associated with spring. Hence the symbolism of the Easter egg, which represents the potentiality of life reviving in the spring of the year. The date of Easter was finally fixed on the first Sunday after the full moon following the vernal equinox. A period of fasting (Lent), originally of only forty hours — that being the time when Christ lay in the grave — but later extended to forty days, preceded the festival. Whitsunday, or Pentecost, commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles at Jerusalem, was celebrated on the fiftieth day after Easter. The Jewish Pentecost had been originally a thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the earth; the Christian festival formed a thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the Holy Spirit. Although the precise date of Christ's birth was unknown, his nativity came to be assigned to December 25 and thus coincided with the day of the great annual celebration in honor of Mithras, the "birthday of the unconquerable Sun," at the winter solstice. Christmas inherited several features of the Roman Saturnalia, which was also held in December, notably the visits, the feasts, and the gift-giving; it also took over heathen customs associated with the yule log and the mistle-

toe. Many other festivals and numerous saints' days were gradually added to the calendar of the Christian year.

The New Testament contains unambiguous evidence that from a very early period Christians kept "the first day of the week" as the Lord's Day to commemorate the resurrection. They held public worship on this day, but otherwise did not abstain from worldly business and amusements. Some Jewish Christians kept the Sabbath also, making it a day of rest; the practice was soon condemned by St. Paul and other leaders as a piece of Judaizing. There are no commands relating to the observance of the Lord's Day in Christian literature of the first three centuries. Nevertheless, it came in time to be regarded as the Christian equivalent of the Sabbath; this was due to the recognition of the Ten Commandments and their injunction of a weekly rest day as the code of divine morality. The non-Christian designation, Sunday, testified to the popularity of Mithraism and other solar cults in the ancient world. The observance of this day first became a matter of legal obligation in 321 by a decree of Constantine the Great requiring courts of justice and workshops to be closed on the "venerated day of the Sun" and city people (though not country people) to rest on that day. Many similar regulations were made by the emperors after Constantine and, in the Middle Ages, by kings and church councils. But Sunday in medieval times was never set aside exclusively for religious exercises. After attendance at divine service, the people were free to devote themselves to holiday-making. This was the "Continental Sunday," as still observed by Roman Catholics.

The early Christians at first adopted the Jewish seven-day week with its numbered weekdays, but eventually they followed the example of the pagans and called the weekdays by the names of the planetary deities once supposed to rule over them. The planetary week, in turn, became familiar to the German barbarians, who named four of the weekdays (Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday) after their own deities. Sunday, Monday (Moon Day), and Saturday (Saturn's Day) retain, in German translation, the pagan nomenclature. When we use it we are unconscious astrologers.

The New Testament

Western Christendom now recognizes twenty-seven New Testament writings as authoritative, or "canonical," four being the biographies of Jesus known as the Gospels and twenty-one the letters attributed to St. Paul and other apostles. The book of Acts recounts the early history of Christianity in Palestine and St. Paul's missionary journeys. At

the end of the collection is Revelation, an apocalyptic work predicting the downfall of pagan Rome and the ultimate triumph of the Church. It was not until the middle of the second century that some of these writings were assembled in one collection and not until the early third century that most of them were generally received as sacred and inspired. Christianity did not begin by being a book religion, as Islam and some other religions have begun; there was a Church before there was a New Testament.

All the works in the New Testament were composed to meet the immediate needs of Christian missionaries and teachers. St. Paul addressed words of counsel or warning to churches which he could not personally visit; his associates, in like manner, addressed the Church at large. The Gospels and Acts provided handbooks for the instruction of converts, while Revelation was intended to comfort Christians during a period of persecution by the imperial government. The New Testament has come down to us only in Greek – not the traditional literary language but the popular Greek of the first century. Themselves sprung from the common people, the authors of the New Testament naturally used the language which was so generally understood by the common people of their day in the eastern half of the Roman Empire.

The New Testament ranks as one of the masterpieces of Greek literature. The Gospel of Luke has been called the most beautiful book in the world and Acts the most interesting travel narrative of antiquity; Revelation, with its vision of "the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven," contains many a sublime passage, and the Pauline Epistles, quite aside from their significance as theological documents, reveal on every page the depth of spiritual thought of the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

Theological Development

The philosophers of Greece had long been engaged in speculations as to the nature of God and man's moral being. When Christianity converted them, they converted it into a philosophy of religion with the forms of speech and modes of thought familiar to the Greeks. The development of a Christian theology was inevitable, in a world permeated by Hellenism, if the new religion was to make any headway among educated, thoughtful pagans. What may be called the intellectualization of Christianity is traceable even in the New Testament. The Pauline Epistles are imbued with the ideas and ideals of Stoicism, for St. Paul was master of both Greek and Hebrew learning, and the Fourth Gospel reveals on the part of its author an acquaintance with Platonism as set forth in the schools of Alexandria.

The great theologians of the second, third, and fourth centuries — the earliest of the so-called Church Fathers — were faced by a fundamental problem — how to harmonize the worship of Christ as the Son of God with the monotheism which Christianity had taken over from the Jewish community where it arose. Attempts to solve the problem produced many controversies as to the person and nature of Christ. These could not be settled finally until after Christianity had received recognition from the Roman government and its representatives could meet together and formulate the majority opinion as to the faith of the Church. Minority opinions were then described as heretical, not to be entertained henceforth by orthodox Christians.

Of all the heresies the most important was Arianism in the fourth century. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, who had studied Greek philosophy at Antioch, argued (following Aristotle) that self-existence is the characteristic mark of deity and therefore that Christ the Son, having been created by God the Father, was essentially different from the Father and not co-eternal with him; in other words, Christ was not God but a subordinate divine being between God and man. Arius adduced various Scriptural texts in favor of his views, and some theologians rallied to his support. Many others opposed Arianism. The question thus raised must be regarded as momentous. Was Christianity to continue to be Christianity or was it to become a variety of paganism?

To settle the question the emperor Constantine summoned in 325 the first general council of the Church. Three hundred and eighteen bishops, or presbyters delegated by bishops, assembled at Nicaea in Asia Minor across the Bosporus from Byzantium. The emperor presided at the opening session. After protracted debates Arianism was almost unanimously condemned as a heresy, the council affirming that the Son was "begotten not made" by the Father and was "of the same substance" (Greek, *homoousios*) with the Father; Christ was "true God of true God." The council thus defined what was henceforth the orthodox doctrine of Christ's divinity and incorporated it in the Creed of Nicaea, the first written standard of faith for the whole Church. As altered to some extent by later councils, this creed has since remained in acceptance throughout Christendom. Though thrust out of the Church, Arianism lived to flourish anew among the German barbarians, the majority of whom were converted to Christianity by Arian missionaries.

The discussion as to the relation of the Father and the Son brought up another great problem of theology. From the earliest times Christians had recognized the existence of a divine power moving in them and enabling some of them to work miracles, to prophesy, to heal the

sick, and to speak in various tongues. These powers were thought of as the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which had descended upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost. The Creed of Nicaea declared simply, "We believe in the Holy Spirit," but did not define the belief. A second creed, put forth by a council at Constantinople in 381, affirmed the Holy Spirit to be a "Person" (Greek, *Hypostasis*) "proceeding from the Father" and to be worshiped and glorified with the Father and the Son. The Trinity doctrine was not formulated as something new but as something justified by statements in an inspired New Testament. Nor was it held to impair the monotheistic view since the three Persons were considered as being of one substance. The doctrine of the Trinity has always remained the orthodox form of Christian theism, but because of its abstruseness it has been upheld by ecclesiastical authority rather than by popular understanding.

Christianity had gone far by the end of the fourth century. Instead of the simple words of Jesus to a band of disciples thirsting for the waters of life, there was now a set of elaborate dogmas couched in terms of old philosophies and systematized in creeds. In place of the little religious communities linked together only by the personal influence or authority of the evangelists who founded them, there was now a powerful and wealthy organization — the Church — with a graded series of officers, with councils, both local and general, and with its own laws. To this Church the name Catholic, that is, "Universal," was applied, the name expressing the idea of one body of orthodox believers throughout the world, as opposed to heretical groups and dissenting sects. It formed the earthly embodiment of the kingdom of God, and membership in it came to be regarded as essential to salvation. "He cannot have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother," said St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. The Church was often likened to Noah's ark; only those in it could be saved.

Monasticism

Monasticism arose, not within, but outside the organized Church. It was the outgrowth of various ascetic tendencies which soon appeared in Christianity. The poverty of Jesus, coupled with his approval of both continence and fasting, lent itself to an ascetic interpretation; so also did the example and words of St. Paul. The teachings of the Essenes, a Jewish sect which practiced communism of property, celibacy, and a rigorous way of life, likewise influenced Christian asceticism. At a very early period there were converts who abstained from marriage and gave themselves up to devotional exercises and works of charity.

They did this in their homes, without abandoning their families and human society. From the latter part of the third century Christians in Egypt began to withdraw into the desert to live as hermits. Some of them, in the belief that the soul might be purified by subduing the desires and passions of the flesh, went to extremes of mortification and self-denial. They occupied empty wells, tombs, and solitary places, deprived themselves of necessary food and sleep, wore no clothing, and neglected to bathe or care for the person in any way. "The body kills me," said one of the self-torturers; "I kill it." The example of the Egyptian recluses — those "holy cactus flowers" — found many imitators in the sun-baked wastes of Palestine and Syria.

The mere human need for social intercourse gradually brought the hermits together, at first in small groups and then in larger communities, or monasteries. The next step was to provide for the scattered monasteries a common organization and government. Those in the East adopted the regulations which St. Basil, bishop of Caesarea, drew up in the fourth century for the guidance of the monks under his direction. St. Basil's Rule is still the code of Greek and Slavic monasticism. Meanwhile, similar communities began to spring up in North Africa, Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and before long the wealthy and well-born were abandoning riches and rank for a life which appealed to them as a realization of the Christian ideal. During the period of the barbarian invasions crowds of lesser folk, driven by fear or destitution, flocked to the monasteries, little islands of refuge in a storm-tossed world. As it fulfilled both religious and social functions, monasticism soon entered the service of the Church and established itself as a permanent institution.

Christianity and the Roman Government

From the outset the new religion met popular opposition, sometimes on the part of Jews, who regarded its missionaries as Jewish renegades likely to bring their own religion into disrepute, but more often on the part of pagans. For these intolerant, puritanical Christians kept very much to themselves, seldom attended the festivals and civic entertainments, denounced the obscenities of the theater and the cruel shows of the amphitheater, and waged open war on the whole fabric of polytheism — the idolatry, the bloody sacrifices, the myths, and the legends. In short, the Christians despised the gods on whose favor the prosperity of everyone depended. Common rumor also accused the Christians of abominable orgies in their more or less secret assemblies and of the practice of black magic. It is not surprising that they were called "haters of mankind," nor that from time to time the mob arose against

them and sated its blood lust upon them. As a Christian writer said, "If the Tiber rises, if the Nile does not rise, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, famine, or pestilence, straightway the cry is, 'The Christians to the lion.'"

Such outbursts became less common and finally ceased when the Christians got to be better known as good neighbors and citizens. There would have been no real obstacle to the spread of the new religion if the imperial government had not taken measures against it. Rome, which treated other foreign cults with careless indifference or with positive favor, which tolerated even Judaism, did attempt to extirpate Christianity. Rome did so because Christianity was regarded as dangerous to the state. Unlike Judaism, a purely national religion, it sought converts on every side and took an aggressively hostile attitude toward all its rivals. To the authorities it seemed subversive of public order and the solidarity of an empire containing so many peoples and so many gods. That is why rulers not in the least fanatical, but humane and enlightened, adopted the policy of persecution. Christianity was made illegal and its profession a crime. Christians were thus regarded as outlaws, and as such could be dealt with summarily by the magistrates. A person accused of Christianity was brought before a court and given an opportunity to clear himself of the charge, usually by offering incense to the statues of deified emperors. His compliance at once freed him. If he refused to perform what was, for pagans, an act of allegiance to the government and, for Christians, a recognition of the divinity of the emperor, he might be tortured to make him do so or be executed as a common malefactor.

The Persecutions

As long as Christians were thought of as forming just another Jewish sect the Roman government protected them. Once the difference between them and Jews was recognized their persecution began. This seems to have been as early as the year 64, during Nero's reign. After a great fire which destroyed most of Rome the Christians there were accused by the emperor of being the incendiaries and, according to the historian Tacitus, "a great multitude" of them were executed. About thirty years later Domitian is said to have condemned to death some Christian members of the Roman aristocracy. But persecution "for the Name," as it is called, really dates from Trajan's reign early in the second century. For nearly two hundred years thereafter Christians were never safe from molestation; the sword of Damocles always hung over their heads. Yet for a long time the law against them was

not rigorously or widely enforced. Repressive measures might be taken in this or that city or province, while elsewhere the Church enjoyed profound peace; there were also periods entirely without persecution. About the middle of the third century Decius and his successor Valerian set in motion the whole machinery of the empire against the Christians, but failed to stamp them out.

The persecution beginning under Diocletian in 303 was the last and by far the worst of the trials which the Christians had to endure. It continued with interruptions for eight years, a veritable reign of terror. Imprisonment, torture, enslavement, or death was the lot of the victims. Paganism, fighting for its existence, left no means untried to destroy a religion both despised and feared. Some Christians recanted, but the majority welcomed the torments which would gain for them the crown of martyrdom; their death days were their "heavenly birthdays." How many perished we do not know, but the long lines of martyrs' graves in the catacombs of Rome testify to their number in a single city of the empire.

Though Diocletian abdicated in 305, the persecution continued in the East with even greater severity after his retirement. It practically ended in 311, when the emperor Galerius, who then lay dying, issued in his own name and in the names of his colleagues, Constantine and Licinius, a general edict granting toleration to the hitherto outlawed Christians. This was done on the principle that every god is entitled to the worship of his own people. Two years later Constantine and Licinius met at Milan and issued an edict putting Christianity on a complete equality with paganism. The so-called Edict of Milan forms a landmark in history, for it enunciated the new principle that every man, whether Christian or pagan, should be free to choose and practice his own religion in his own way. For the first time a state which claimed to be all-powerful recognized the existence of a domain where it might not enter — the domain of conscience.

The End of Paganism

Constantine, whose services to the Church were rewarded with the appellation of "the Great," did not become formally a Christian until his baptism on his deathbed. But his mother had been a Christian and his father, though a pagan, had refused to carry out Diocletian's persecution in Gaul and Britain. In favoring the Church as he did, more especially after becoming sole emperor, Constantine not only followed his personal inclinations but also rallied to his support the whole body of vigorous, enthusiastic, and united Christians. He surrounded him-

self with ecclesiastical advisers, freed the clergy from municipal taxation, permitted legacies to be left to them for religious purposes, and spent large sums on the building and adornment of churches. One of his laws abolished crucifixion as a mode of punishment; another, as we have seen, made Sunday a day of enforced public rest. Paganism was not disturbed by the emperor, who still as Pontifex Maximus stood at the head of the state religion; he even permitted pagan temples to be erected in his new Christian capital, Constantinople. Nevertheless, he gave evidence of his zeal for Christianity by summoning the Council of Nicaea and by issuing, a year later, a decree expressly confirming all clerical privileges to orthodox, but not heretical, believers. The figure of the cross which now appeared on the military standards and imperial coins was an outward and visible sign of the fact that a Roman emperor, himself a god to most of his subjects, had become the worshiper of a crucified provincial.

The recognition given to Christianity by Constantine could not fail to accelerate its progress. It met but one more check. The emperor Julian (361–363), a nephew of Constantine and himself outwardly a Christian in early manhood, tried to instil new life into the old religion, but his work met a chilly reception even from the pagans themselves and died with him. After Julian the Christian emperors took steps to end paganism. Sacrifices to the gods were forbidden, the temples were closed and in some instances destroyed, and the revenues of the priesthoods were confiscated. The Delphic oracle, the Olympic games, and the Eleusinian mysteries were abolished. At length in 392 a decree of Theodosius I prohibited pagan worship as being a crime of the same character as treason. The law put an end to the legal toleration of paganism, although in country districts it long survived with little interference from the government. No organized resistance against triumphant Christianity was made; no one fought for the old religion; it had no martyrs. There is a story that Julian, as he lay dying from a wound received in battle with the Persians, exclaimed, "Galilean, thou hast conquered." The story is a fabrication, but it represents the facts; the Galilean truly had conquered.

Christianity and Pagan Society

The Christian Church was originally represented by little groups of brethren, without worldly aims, indifferent to all distinctions of rank, wealth, or education, proclaiming with Stoicism the equality of all men ("for whom Christ died"), setting forth the ideal of a life based simply on the love of God and man, and looking forward to the speedy

realization of the divine kingdom on earth. Had these principles won acceptance in their entirety, a condition of "celestial anarchy" must have ensued, for all authoritative control by law and government would have disappeared. Compromise was inevitable. The change in the life and outlook of the Church was already marked when the new religion became the official and only religion of the empire. Having penetrated the world, Christianity could not fail to be affected by the world, could not fail to be, in some measure, secularized.

The early Christians practiced a sort of communism — not of production but of consumption. Instead of heaping up riches which might never be enjoyed, they were expected to bring their superfluities into the common store for the benefit of all. Communism, though preserved in the monastic life, was soon abandoned as a rule for lay Christians, and the Church itself, through the gifts of the faithful and the patronage of the emperors, became a wealthy organization. The Christians started out by condemning homicide in any form, by holding military service unlawful, and by adopting a policy of nonresistance under all circumstances. They that take the sword shall perish with the sword; the meek shall inherit the earth. The Church formed, in fact, the first peace society and launched the first peace movement. Pacifism was not long maintained; the Church had to accommodate its teaching to the practices of a warlike age. The Church began by admitting the legitimacy of "just wars" — for the redress of wrongs or in self-defense — but ere long it sanctioned aggressive warfare as well, especially against non-Christians and heretics. Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man logically involved the condemnation of the slave system, but while the Church always encouraged emancipation as a meritorious act, it never sought to abolish slavery or the serfdom into which slavery gradually passed. As long as the Christians formed a forbidden sect, they claimed toleration on the ground that religious belief is voluntary and not something that should be enforced by law. This attitude changed after Christianity triumphed in the empire and had the support, instead of the opposition, of the government. The Church, backed by the state, no longer advocated freedom of thought, no longer relied exclusively on persuasion as a missionary method, but resorted to compulsion and repression. Nonbelievers were imprisoned, exiled, and, on occasion, executed. Persecution was this time successful, and the use of force to put down divergent opinion henceforward marked the history of the Church for many centuries.

In spite of its progressive secularization, Christianity did add a new increment of moral force to pagan society. It stressed the "Christian" virtues of humility, tenderness, and mercy. It condemned the very

common practice of suicide, as well as the frightful evils of abortion and infanticide. It reprobated the gladiatorial games, so exciting and so demoralizing, forbade Christians to attend them, and ultimately suppressed them. It denounced unsparingly the frivolity, the luxury, and the vice of the large cities. While Christianity had no monopoly of philanthropic work, it emphasized benevolence as a duty and therefore supported many institutions to relieve the needy of every class, not merely needy citizens, as had been the case in pagan times. Free hospitals were a Christian contribution to the world. Christianity bettered the lot of the bondsman by penalizing the master who mistreated him. Constantine, under Christian influence, forbade the breaking up of slave families and a later emperor allowed marriages between slaves and freedmen. The contempt in which manual labor was held by pagans could hardly be shared by Christians, for Jesus and most of his immediate followers had been laboring men and the new religion first took root among the workers in industrial and commercial centers such as Antioch, Corinth, and Alexandria. The Church did not begin as a "proletarian" organization fomenting economic and social revolution, but from the start it had a special appeal to the depressed classes everywhere. Christianity also elevated the standards of sexual morality by making marriage between Christians a sacrament, a symbol of the indissoluble union between Christ and the Church, instead of a mere civil contract with a utilitarian purpose, "the procreation of legitimate offspring," according to the Greek formula. It became the rule in western Christendom that a valid Christian marriage could not be dissolved during the lifetime of husband or wife; there might be a separation "from bed and board," but no divorce. As for sexual relations outside of wedlock, these were treated as reprehensible, in contrast to the easygoing attitude of most pagans. In general, one may say that Christianity tended to identify itself with the higher and not with the lower aspects of the world which it penetrated and that, more effectively than any of the rival philosophies and religions, it stood for spiritual values in the life of man.

The triumph of Christianity over paganism was followed by its triumph over heathenism. Before the end of the fourth century Christian missionaries were at work among the barbarians in eastern Europe, and during the fourth century other missionaries took up the task of converting those in western Europe. The very fact that some of the principal barbarian peoples were Christian tended to lessen the terrors of the invasions for the Romanized provincials and to promote a peaceful fusion of the conquerors and the conquered.

PART FOUR

Medieval Civilization

XVII

The Germans

Teutonic-speaking Peoples

THE barbarians whose invasions put an end to the Roman Empire in the West belonged by speech to the Teutonic branch of the Indo-European linguistic family. In the second millennium B.C. and before the dawn of recorded history in Europe they occupied southern Scandinavia, Denmark, and that part of northern Germany lying between the Elbe and Oder rivers. As far as we can tell, they had been in this region since Neolithic times, if not longer.

While community of language is not a certain indication of blood relationship, there is much reason to believe that the various Teutonic-speaking peoples were originally of a single racial type, often described as Nordic (Northern) and characterized by long, narrow heads, very light hair, blue or gray eyes, high stature, and the whitest skins of all mankind. This racial type is best represented at the present time by the inhabitants of the Scandinavian countries, particularly of Sweden. The gradual expansion in central Europe of the Teutonic-speaking "Nordics" brought them into the zone of the so-called "Alpines" — broad-headed men of medium height and stocky build, with brownish skin and brown hair and eyes. The Nordics gave their speech to the Alpines but, mingling with them, seem to have been largely modified in physique and general appearance.

The Germans

The Romans called all these peoples Germans (*Germani*), a name which the latter never applied to themselves. For the Romans Germany (*Germania*) comprised the whole area within the Rhine, the Vistula, the Danube, and the Baltic. In antiquity it was an inhospitable region, not the fruitful, well-tilled land which it is now. Across southern Germany, as far as the Bohemian highlands, stretched the vast Hercynian Forest, which interposed so effective a barrier to a Roman ad-

vance into the heart of Europe. Where the woods ceased there were extensive marshlands and sandy plains incapable of supporting a dense population. "Who, indeed," said an ancient writer, "would leave Asia or Africa or Italy for Germany, with its wild scenery and bitter climate, ill to visit and ill to live in — unless of course it was his fatherland?"

Our earliest notice of the Germans is found in the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar, who twice led punitive expeditions into their territory beyond the Rhine. About a century and a half later the historian Tacitus wrote a little book, called *Germany*, which gives an account of the inhabitants as they were before coming under the influence of Rome and of Christianity. It is not known whether Tacitus had ever traveled among them or had observed their customs at first hand. His book, for the most part, seems to have been compiled from earlier Roman writings which have not come down to us. It must be used with caution, for the author wrote as a moralist and delighted to contrast the fresh, unspoiled Germans with the Romans enervated through luxury. So in later days the American Indian — the "noble red man" — used to be held up for the admiration of a sophisticated Europe. Moreover, the statements of Tacitus, like those of Caesar, relate only to the western tribes between the Rhine and the Elbe; as to the eastern tribes beyond the Elbe he knew little more than the names and geographical positions of some of them.

According to Tacitus, the Germans were tall, with fierce blue eyes and blonde or ruddy hair, simple in their dress and rude in their habits, inured to hardship, and more concerned with war gear than gold and silver. He mentions their love of fighting, the fury of their onset, and the contempt which they had for wounds and even death. It was a common custom for the young men to enter the retinue (*comitatus*) of some famous leader who could promise them both adventure and booty. The leader was proud to maintain such a band, his honor in peace and his defense in war. "Once in battle, it is a disgrace for the chief to yield to anyone in bravery, a disgrace for his followers not to match the valor of their chief. Shame and utter ruin of all reputation attach to the man who leaves the battlefield alive after his chief has fallen." The Germans were big eaters and deep drinkers and so passionately fond of gambling that, when a man's wealth was gone, he would stake even his freedom on the issue of a single game. We are also told that they were very hospitable to the stranger, that they respected their sworn word, and that they loved liberty and hated restraint. Their chiefs ruled by persuasion rather than by authority. Above all, the Germans had a pure family life. "Almost alone among

barbarians, they are content with one wife. No one in Germany laughs at vice, nor is it the fashion to corrupt and be corrupted. Good habits are here more effective than good laws elsewhere." The Germans, as seen in the pages of Tacitus, recall vividly the Vedic Aryans and the Homeric Greeks.

Little is known of Germanic heathenism, for the Christian missionaries thought it their duty, not only to suppress the former beliefs and rites of their converts, but also to hide these in oblivion. Countless minor spirits of rivers, springs, mountains, groves, and trees received veneration, together with animals such as the horse, the bull, and the wild boar. There were also great gods, whom both Caesar and Tacitus tried to identify with those of the Graeco-Roman pantheon. When the Germans adopted from the Romans the seven-day week, they substituted the names of their own deities for those of the pagans, so that the "day of Mars" became Tuesday (after Tiu), the "day of Mercury" Wednesday (after Woden), the "day of Jupiter" Thursday (after Donar, or Thor), and the "day of Venus" Friday (after the goddess Frija). The special observance of Thursday as a holy day reflected the commanding place occupied by Thor, a sky god and thunder god. The worship of these deities usually took place in the gloomy recesses of sacred groves. Animals and occasionally slaves or prisoners of war were sacrificed. Tacitus tells us that the Germans thought temples and images unworthy of their gods. They certainly had these a few centuries later, for the idol houses and idols were often destroyed by the missionaries. As a national and official cult heathenism soon disappeared where Christianity penetrated, but after fifteen centuries much of it lingers in the popular festivals, superstitions, legends, and folk tales of the German peasantry.

Caesar describes the Germans with whom he was familiar as mainly a hunting and pastoral folk, nomadic in their habits; Tacitus represents them as practicing agriculture in more or less settled communities. This change in way of living came about naturally as population increased. Hemmed in on the east by their own kinsmen and on the west and south by the Romans, the western Germans turned to tillage of the soil as a solution of the insistent food problem. On the other hand, the eastern Germans, who were not similarly confined, kept their pastoral and migratory life. And it was these Germans, still in the stage in which steady habits of work seemed repulsive and dishonorable, who launched the earliest and most extensive attacks upon the Roman Empire.

The Germans had the simple tribal organization characteristic of barbaric peoples. Over each tribe, great and small, was a chief, chosen

by the whole body of freemen from the families that were considered to be most eminent because of noble rank or distinguished service. When several tribes united for warfare or migration, it was necessary to select someone to command the assembled host; if the leader did well, he might gain greater authority than the chiefs had possessed and become a king of the confederated tribes. But even as king his authority was by no means unlimited, nor did he have the unquestioned right to transmit the crown to some member of his family; the kingship had not yet become hereditary. Indeed, the sovereign people sometimes deposed a king or refused to elect a successor after his death or dismissal. German "kings" were no such absolute monarchs as the later Roman emperors and some of the rulers of medieval Europe. The winds of popular freedom blew in old Germany.

Rome and the Germans

Rome's first contact with the northern barbarians came in the days of Marius, when two tribes or confederated tribes, the Cimbri and Teutones, quitting their homes in Denmark, began a long trek toward the Mediterranean. They overran southeastern Gaul and defeated five Roman armies in succession, but were finally caught and all but annihilated by Marius in two great battles, the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae near Marseilles (102 B.C.), and the Cimbri at Vercellae near Turin (101 B.C.). Those who escaped the swords of the Romans were sold as slaves in the land they had risked so much to reach. About half a century later Julius Caesar, during his consulship in Gaul, warred with German tribes which had settled west of the Rhine, drove them back across that river, and made it the boundary between Gaul and Germany. Under Augustus the Romans began a forward movement into Germany as far as the Elbe, only to meet disaster in the battle of the the Teutoberg Forest (9 A.D.), when an entire army, commanded by Varus, was cut down almost to a man by the native tribes under a chieftain named Arminius (Hermann). The boundary now returned to the Rhine and stayed there.

A long period of equilibrium followed, with Rome on the defensive, but in the reign of Marcus Aurelius the Germans on the Danube began once more to press against the frontiers. The emperor was still fighting them when he died at Vienna (Vindobona) in 180. During the third century, while rival generals struggled for the throne, the Germans made repeated inroads. The Visigoths, of whom we now hear for the first time, even destroyed a Roman army near the mouths of the Danube and slew the emperor Decius (251). Twenty years

later the emperor Aurelian surrendered Dacia to them. Dacia had been the last European province to be acquired by Rome; it was the first to be lost to the barbarians. The Visigoths thus began the actual dismemberment of the empire.

It was not always necessary for Rome to fight the Germans. Her policy from the days of Julius Caesar had been the familiar one of "divide and rule" — to stir up trouble between the tribes and, by ranging one against the other, to prevent their union. Rome also used friendly tribal groups to balance the rebelliousness of unfriendly ones, much as in the American colonial wars the French relied for help on the Algonkins and the English on the Iroquois. Tacitus, who knew how dangerous the Germans had been and who realized how dangerous they might yet be, expresses the pious hope that if the "barbarians" will not love the Romans, long let them hate one another. "The destiny of empire is a heavy burden. No gift of heaven could be more welcome in these days than disunion among our enemies."

The relations between the two peoples were by no means uniformly hostile in character. The Germans made excellent soldiers, and many of them enlisted as mercenaries in the imperial armies, fighting readily enough even against their fellow tribesmen. After the time of Constantine, Germans from beyond the frontier formed the great majority of the troops. Julian's army was so largely made up of them that, when they proclaimed him emperor, they raised him on their shields, after the old German fashion. In time the word "barbarian" (*barbarus*) came to be used as the synonym for "common soldier" (*miles*). Even the officers were frequently Germans, and some of them rose to the highest grades in the imperial service. Composed of Germans and commanded by Germans, the army was no longer Roman in anything but name. An analogy would be found today were the French army made up mainly of African "colonials" and that of Great Britain mainly of levies from India.

The Germans also entered the empire as colonists. Augustus began the dangerous practice of admitting them when he transported thousands of conquered Germans to the Roman side of the Rhine. Later rulers, anxious to fill the gaps in population and restore agricultural prosperity, induced many Germans to settle as *coloni*, or serfs, in desolated tracts of country. Sometimes entire tribes were allowed to occupy vacant lands within the empire. They undertook to guard the frontiers and in return received yearly subsidies conditional on their good behavior. Constantine paid tribute of this sort to the Visigoths and his successors paid it to other invaders; in fact, nearly all the barbarian peoples were "allies" of Rome for a longer or shorter time

before becoming independent masters of Roman territory. In addition to German soldiers and colonists, the empire contained many German slaves, usually employed in manual labor. The result of all this "peaceful penetration" was a very considerable barbarization of the empire before the invasions began. The line of partition between Romans and Germans tended to become less rigid and the old antagonism between them to disappear. Meanwhile, the Germans near or inside the frontiers gained some acquaintance with Roman civilization, so that when at last the barriers broke and the barbarians entered they established themselves in the provinces not as complete strangers, hostile to everything they found there, but as settlers full of respect for the customs and institutions of Rome.

Causes of the Invasions

The love of adventure and of fighting for fighting's sake, the prospect of plunder in the rich Roman cities, the attraction which the warm and sunny Mediterranean basin seems always to have had for northern peoples — these were minor causes of the invasions. But land hunger principally explains them, even as it explains those other great "wanderings of the nations" which in earlier times carried men of Indo-European speech to India and Persia, to Greece and Italy, to Gaul and Spain and Britain. When the soil, as men know how to use it, can no longer sustain increasing numbers, the inhabitants must either migrate or starve — the grim alternatives that confronted the Germans in antiquity. They chose to migrate, even though to do so meant war, and their gradual movement southward from their seats on the Baltic brought them finally to the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

The migrations of the Germans were planless, formless — confederated tribes, men, women, and children, with their slaves and cattle, pushing onward by the easiest routes and sweeping into the vortex of their movement any people whom they met on the way. The movement was as irresistible as that of a glacier, and often it was almost glacierlike in its slow, leisurely course. The Vandals, for instance, took more than two centuries for their passage from the bleak and sterile plains about the Baltic to the fertile grainfields of Roman Africa. Contrary to a very general impression, the barbarians were never numerous in comparison with the Roman provincials among whom they settled, and of their numbers only a fourth or a fifth at the most could be reckoned as warriors. An army of one of the larger peoples, such as the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, or Vandals, must be counted by tens, not hundreds, of thousands. It was not, as the poet Milton conceives it, a vast host which the North poured

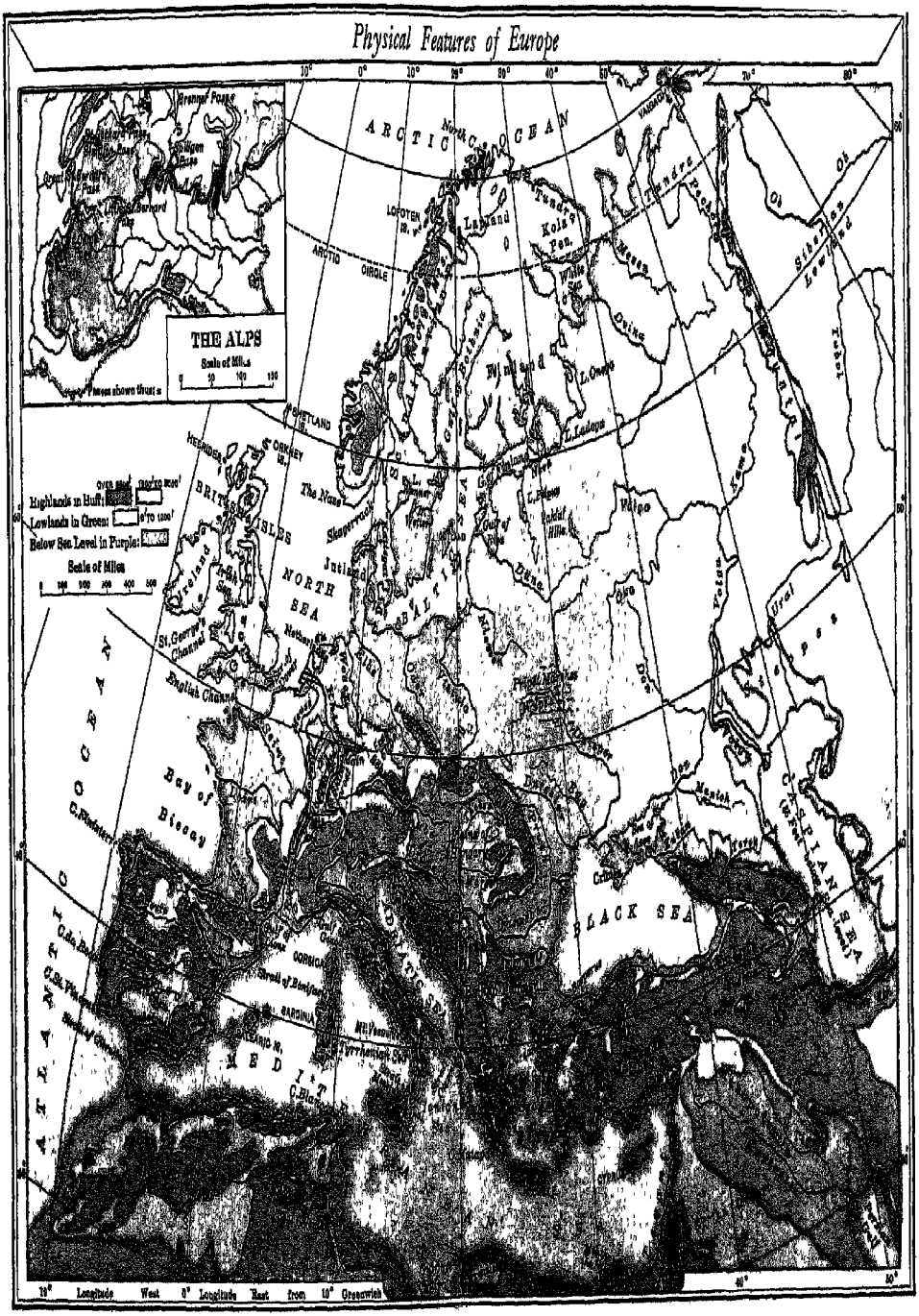
From her frozen loins to pass
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan seas.

In the earlier conflicts between the legions and the barbarians the better organization and discipline of the Romans usually gave them victory. As time went on, however, the Germans became more efficient fighters, adopting defensive armor, improving their weapons, relying on the shock of mailed horsemen to break down resistance, and learning from their opponents the strategy and tactics that Rome had used so long and so successfully against them. While Rome grew weaker, the barbarians grew stronger; time was on their side.

Breaking of the Danube Barrier

The Goths, according to their own traditions, came from Scandinavia and occupied the region of the lower Vistula. They moved to the shores of the Black Sea, about the end of the second century. Originally one people, they had already divided into the two groups of Visigoths (West Goths) and Ostrogoths (East Goths) when their attacks on the Roman Empire started during the third century. In the province of Dacia, which Aurelian abandoned to the Visigoths, these barbarians had some intercourse with the Romanized population and began to practice agriculture and to lead more settled lives. During the fourth century they accepted Christianity in its Arian form from Bishop Ulfilas ("Wolf"), who had been brought up as a Goth, spoke the Gothic language, and bore a Gothic name. Ulfilas translated the Bible into his native tongue, but omitted the more warlike books of the Old Testament because his converts "needed the bit rather than the spur, so far as fighting was concerned." His version forms the oldest literary monument of the Germans. Some parts of it, written in the Gothic alphabet which Ulfilas invented, are still preserved. From the Visigoths Arian Christianity spread to other Germanic peoples.

The peaceful fusion of Goth and Roman might have continued indefinitely but for the sudden appearance in Europe of the Asiatic nomads known as the Huns. Entering Russia north of the Caspian by the so-called Ural Gate, the Huns soon subdued the Ostrogoths and forced them to unite in an attack upon their German kinsmen. The Visigoths then crowded the banks of the Danube and begged the imperial authorities for permission to place that river between them and their foes. Their prayer was granted, and the entire Visigothic people, some on board ships and rafts and others in canoes made of hol-


Physical Features of Europe
THE ALPS
Scale of Miles
Highlands in Buff:
Lowlands in Green:
Below Sea Level in Purple:
Scale of Miles
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
St. George's Channel
Irish Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Riga
Sea of Azof
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Taranto
Adriatic Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Sea of Marmora
Archipelago
Sea of Marmora
Caspian Sea
Lake Aral
Lake Baikal
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Lake Wener
Lake Wetter
Lake Maeler
Lake Vanern
Lake Constance
Lake Geneva
Lake Como
Lake Garda
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Neufchatel
Lake Zurich
Lake Thun
Lake Brienz
Lake Lucerne
Lake Zug
Lake Walen
Lake Zell
Lake Wallenstadt
Lake Constance
Lake Geneva
Lake Como
Lake Garda
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Neufchatel
Lake Zurich
Lake Thun
Lake Brienz
Lake Lucerne
Lake Zug
Lake Walen
Lake Zell
Lake Wallenstadt
Longitude West
Longitude East
from Greenwich

lowed-out tree trunks, crossed the Danube and stood at last on Roman soil. To provide food and shelter for such a multitude of refugees sorely taxed the resources of the government; the relief work was bungled; and the Visigoths finally broke out into open revolt against the incompetent and profiteering officials set over them. Near Adrianople in Thrace they utterly defeated the legions mustered against them, and the emperor Valens himself perished. This was in 378. Though a small affair so far as numbers went, the engagement marks a turning point in military history; it was won by the barbarian cavalry, and thereafter for a thousand years horsemen were to be dominant on European battlefields. And it broke, once for all, the Danube barrier. Swarms of Germans, Ostrogoths as well as Visigoths, overran the provinces south of the river. Theodosius I, the successor of Valens, saved the situation for a time by granting lands to the barbarians and by enrolling thousands of them in the Roman army. Until his death they remained quiet — the lull before the storm.

Theodosius, the "friend of the Goths," died in 395, leaving as co-emperors his two young sons, Arcadius, who ruled in the East from Constantinople, and Honorius, who ruled in the West from Ravenna. From this time on the western emperors did not reside at Rome, which was no longer considered impregnable; they preferred as a capital Ravenna, situated among marshes by the Adriatic and for that very reason less exposed to attack than the city of the seven hills. The year 395, which saw the death of Theodosius, saw also the renewal of the Visigothic inroads under Alaric, whom the barbarians had acclaimed king. Alaric determined to lead the Visigoths into the heart of the empire, where they might find fertile lands and settle down. During the next decade and a half we find them moving about in the Balkan peninsula and Greece, descending through the low passes of the eastern Alps into the Po valley, and even capturing and sacking Rome in 410. That same year, however, Alaric died in southern Italy — another Moses who was not to enter the Promised Land. The Visigoths now made their way into southern Gaul and northern Spain, where they founded an independent kingdom, the first to be created on Roman soil.

It seems scarcely credible that a comparatively small body of Germans could thus wander almost at will through some of the richest and most populous parts of the empire. But the emperors were weak and vacillating, the imperial armies were paralyzed by the jealousies of rival ministers and generals, and the provincials, enfeebled by the long centuries of peace, were useless for military service. They made the best terms they could with the invaders; it was better to submit than to fight.

Breaking of the Rhine Barrier

At the time of Alaric's invasion of Italy most of the troops along the Rhine had been withdrawn to meet him, thus leaving the frontier there practically unguarded. In 406 a great company of barbarians crossed the river and swept almost unopposed through Gaul. Some of them carved out kingdoms for themselves from territories which Rome could defend no longer. The Burgundians occupied the region about Lake Geneva and the valley of the Rhône almost to the Mediterranean. The Sueves and Alans (the latter non-Germans) settled in what are now Portugal and northwestern Spain. The Vandals also settled at first in the Iberian peninsula, but eventually passed over the Strait of Gibraltar, made themselves masters of Carthage, and soon conquered all the Roman province of Africa. These were evil days for Rome, and days still more evil were near at hand.

The Huns

The extensive steppes of central Asia have formed for many centuries the abode of pastoral peoples belonging to the Mongoloid race and with languages belonging to the Altaic family. They are nomads, moving regularly twice a year, with their horses, camels, sheep, and cattle. In summer they go northward to tracts with water and green pasturage; in winter they return southward to regions uninhabitable during the summer because of the drought. These herdsmen dwell in tents and hut-wagons. Severe simplicity is their rule of life, for property consists of little more than their animals, clothes, and weapons. Constant practice in riding and scouting inures them to fatigue and hardship, and the daily use of arms makes every man a soldier. When population increases too rapidly or when the steppes dry up and water fails, the nomads have no course open but to range farther and farther in search of food. Some of them in ancient times overflowed into the fertile valleys of China, until at the close of the third century B.C. the Chinese began to build the Great Wall to keep them out. Others turned to the West and entered Europe between the Caspian Sea and the Urals, where the Asiatic steppes merge insensibly into the plains of Russia. One such nomadic people were the Huns, whom we find north of the Black Sea during the fourth century. Roman writers describe their dwarflike stature, swarthy skins, little turned-up noses, black beady eyes, and generally ferocious appearance. They lived mostly on horseback, sweeping over the country like a whirlwind, and leaving destruction and death in their wake.

The Huns did not become dangerous to Rome for about seventy-five years after their appearance in Europe. During this time they moved into the Danube valley and occupied the region now called after them, Hungary. They found at length a national leader in Attila (Etzel), the "scourge of God," who built up an empire embracing many barbarous peoples all the way from the Caspian Sea to the Rhine. From his central position in Europe Attila threatened both the East and the West. The emperors at Constantinople bought him off with lavish gifts, and so the robber-ruler turned to the western provinces for his depredations. In 451 he set out with a large and motley army comprising numerous German tribes as well as his own Huns, crossed the Rhine on a bridge of boats, and invaded Gaul. Many a noble municipality with its still active Roman life was visited by the Huns with fire and sword. Provincials and Germans united against the common foe. Visigoths sent a contingent under their native king; Burgundians and Franks joined their ranks; to these forces the German general Aëtius added the last imperial army in the West. The allies caught up with the invaders, probably near Troyes, and there took place the so-called Battle of Châlons, "a battle obstinate, furious, horrible, such as was never seen in the memory of man," wrote a chronicler. The allies won, and Attila withdrew his shattered host beyond the Rhine. What the outcome might have been had they not won we can only guess, but surely confusion would have been worse confounded in western Europe.

Despite this setback Attila was still formidable. In 452 he penetrated Italy through the eastern passes of the Alps, destroyed the flourishing city of Aquileia, and plundered other cities or forced them to pay tribute. Tradition declares that some of the fugitives from the Huns sought shelter on islands in the shallow lagoons at the head of the Adriatic, where in after ages grew up Venice, a city that was to help defend Europe against those kinsmen of the Huns, the Turks. Attila's path now seemed to lead straight to Rome, but that city was spared from being sacked by this dreadful successor of Alaric. Attila soon quitted Italian soil, though why he did so we do not know. A contemporary author asserts that the Huns were stricken with plague and famine and harassed by troops which the eastern emperor had sent against them. Attila died suddenly the following year, and the empire which he had formed broke up at once. The German subjects gained freedom and the Huns themselves gradually mingled with the peoples whom they had conquered and disappeared from the pages of history.

End of the Roman Empire in the West

Rome escaped a visitation by the Huns only to fall a victim three years later to the Vandals. Having captured Carthage, the latter made it the seat of a strong naval power and ravaged the islands and coasts of the western Mediterranean. The ships of the Vandals, led by their king, Gaiseric, appeared at the mouth of the Tiber in 455. The Romans offered no resistance, but Bishop Leo went out with his clergy to meet the invader and intercede for the city. Gaiseric promised to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not to destroy the public buildings; he promised nothing more. The Vandals spent fourteen days stripping Rome of her movable wealth. Besides shiploads of booty they took away thousands of Romans as slaves, including the widow and two daughters of an emperor. Six centuries before, Scipio, as he stood on the ruins of Carthage, looked forward with foreboding to the downfall of his own city. Now a barbarian leader whose capital was a new Carthage had stepped into the place of Hannibal as the conqueror of Rome.

After the Vandal sack of Rome the imperial throne became the plaything of the army and its leaders. Ricimer, a German commander, set up and deposed four emperors within five years. Orestes, another German, placed his own son on the throne. This lad by a curious coincidence bore the name of Romulus, legendary founder of Rome, and the nickname of Augustulus ("the little Augustus"). The boy emperor reigned less than a year. The troops of Orestes clamored for a third part of the lands of Italy, and when their demand was refused they mutinied and proclaimed their leader Odovacar king. Odovacar put Orestes to death, and Romulus Augustulus was packed off to a villa near Naples. The deposition of the "emperor" occurred in the year 476. It is not quite accurate to select this date as marking the extinction of the imperial line in the West. As a matter of fact, Romulus Augustulus was not properly an emperor but the puppet of a usurping general. The rightful emperor was Julius Nepos, whom Orestes had deposed and who did not die until 480. Nor does this date mark the end of Roman dominion in the West, for there survived in northern Gaul a fragment of the empire governed by a certain Syagrius, and he was not defeated and overthrown by the Franks until 486.

For men who lived at this time there was nothing prophetic in the events just described. It seemed to contemporaries that East and West had been once more joined under a single ruler, as in the days of Constantine the Great and Theodosius I. Odovacar shrank from grasping in his own barbarian hand the scepter of the Caesars; instead, he formally rec-

ognized the supremacy of the emperor at Constantinople and accepted from the latter the title of "patrician," which had been held before him by two other German leaders, Aëtius and Ricimer. Such was his position in legal theory. Nevertheless as head of the barbarians in Italy, Odovacar ruled a kingdom as independent as that of the Vandals in Africa or that of the Visigoths in Spain and Gaul. By the end of this terrible fifth century one of the halves of the *Respublica Romanorum*, the "Republic of the Romans," as it continued to be called, had ceased to exist. The empire in the West was never to be restored in its entirety.

Ostrogoths in Italy

The dissolution of the Roman Empire in the West marked only a stage, and that not the last stage, in the Germanic invasions and settlements. Odovacar's kingdom was soon overthrown by the Ostrogoths. At this time they were holding a district south of the middle Danube which the government at Constantinople had hired them to defend. They turned out to be such expensive and dangerous allies that the emperor was glad enough to strike a bargain with their king, Theodoric, and commission him to conquer Italy in the imperial name. In 488 Theodoric led the Ostrogoths across the Julian Alps into northern Italy, beat Odovacar in several pitched battles, and shut him up in the strong fortress of Ravenna. Unable to capture the place, Theodoric agreed to share the government with Odovacar if the latter would surrender. The agreement was never carried out. When the Ostrogothic leader entered Ravenna, he invited his defeated rival to a feast in the palace and at its conclusion slew him in cold blood. The Ostrogoths were now supreme in Italy.

Theodoric triumphed by violence and treachery, but once firmly seated on the throne he showed himself to be enlightened, tolerant, and generally humane. His boyhood had been passed as a hostage in the imperial court at Constantinople, and the experience imbued him with a high regard for Roman institutions and culture. While Romans were excluded from the army, they regularly filled the civil posts in his new government. A legal code which he drew up for the use of Ostrogoths and Romans alike contained only selections from Roman law. In spite of the fact that his own people were Arians, he was always ready to extend protection to Catholic Christians. Though himself a rude soldier who could neither read nor write, he patronized literature and gave high positions to Roman authors. He restored the Italian cities, had the roads and aqueducts repaired, deepened the harbors to facilitate commerce, and so improved the condition of agriculture that Italy,

from a wheat-importing became a wheat-exporting country. In imitation of the Roman emperors he erected notable buildings at Ravenna, the Ostrogothic capital; like the emperors also, he provided "bread and circus-games" for the hungry proletariat of the cities. Theodoric reigned for thirty-three years, nominally as the deputy of the eastern emperor, but really independent of him. During this time Italy enjoyed unbroken peace and prosperity. It seemed, indeed, as though the Ostrogoths were destined to be the Germanic people to carry on the civilizing work of Rome. No such good fortune was in store for western Europe.

Theodoric died in 526. The year after his death an able emperor, Justinian, came to the throne at Constantinople. Justinian had no intention of abandoning to the Germans Italy and Sicily. The Ostrogoths made a stubborn resistance to the armies which he sent against them, but in the end they were so completely overcome that they agreed to withdraw from the Italian peninsula. The feeble remnant of their nation filed northward through the passes of the Alps and, mingling with other barbarian tribes, became lost to history.

Lombards in Italy

The destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom did not free Italy of the Germans. Justinian was hardly in his grave when the peninsula was overrun by the Lombards, whose name (*Langobardi*) may have been derived from their long beards. They were the last of the Germanic peoples to quit the northern wilderness. The Lombards settled the region between the Alps and the Po — a region ever since called after them — and fixed their capital at Pavia. Other settlements were made in central and northern Italy. Many of these barbarians were still heathen when they entered Italy and others were converts to the Arian form of Christianity. In course of time, however, the Lombards accepted the Catholic faith and adopted the language and customs of their subjects. Their kingdom was eventually overthrown by the Franks.

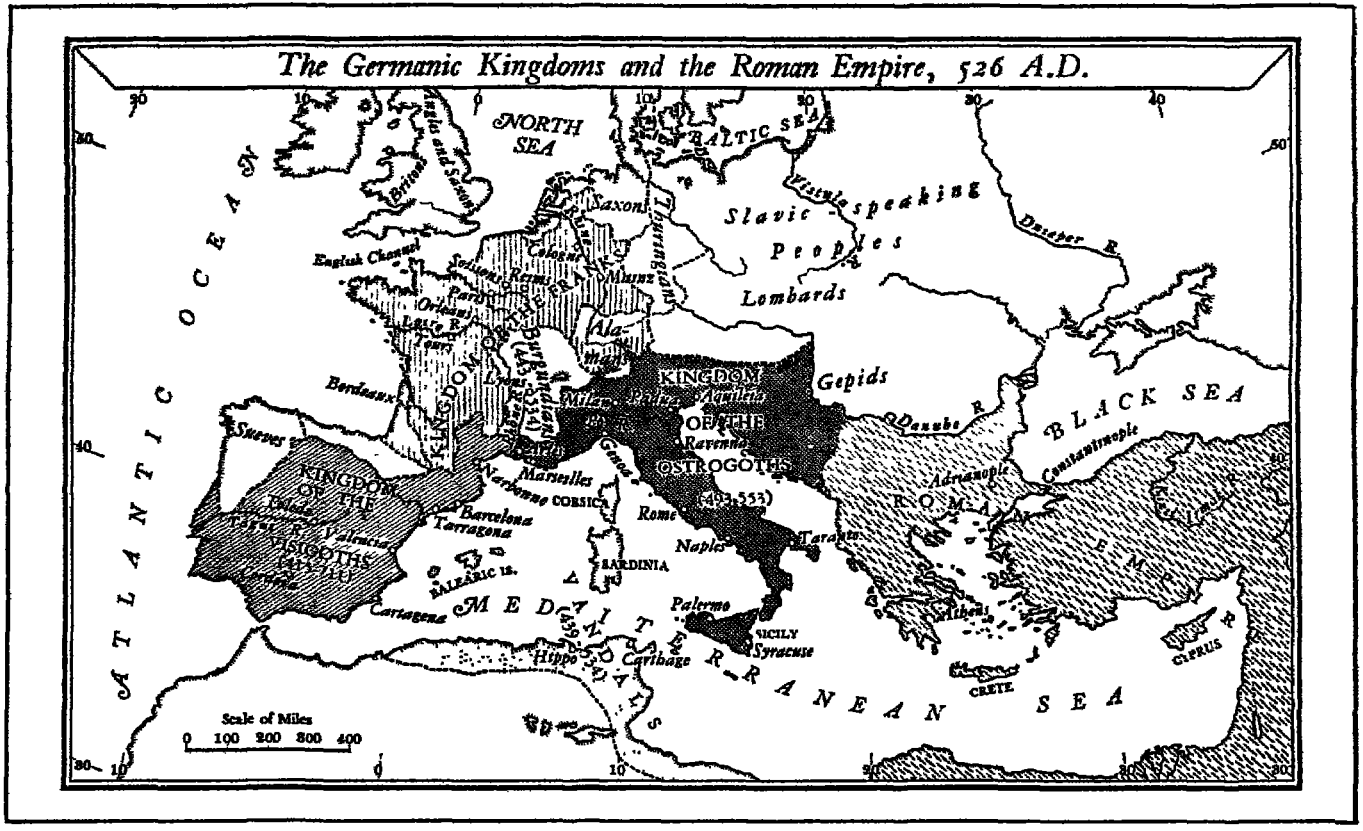
The failure of the Lombards to conquer all Italy had important results in later times. Sicily and the extreme southern part of the Italian peninsula, besides large districts containing the cities of Naples, Rome, Genoa, Venice, and Ravenna, long continued to belong to the Roman Empire in the East. The rulers at Constantinople could not exercise effective control over these possessions now that they were separated by the Lombard territories. The consequence was that Italy broke up into a number of small and independent states which never combined

into one kingdom during the Middle Ages nor, indeed, until the nineteenth century.

The Franks

While the Visigoths were settling in the districts north and south of the Pyrenees, the Burgundians in the Rhône valley, and the Vandals in North Africa, the Franks, who have given their name to modern France, began to spread from their seats on the lower Rhine over northern Gaul. They contented themselves with a gradual advance into Roman territory, and it was not until near the close of the fifth century that they were well launched on a career of conquest. Their history really begins with King Clovis (Louis). In 486, ten years after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, Clovis defeated Syagrius, the governor of what was left of Roman Gaul, in a battle near Soissons, thus destroying the last vestige of imperial rule in the West. He then turned against the Alamans, who had occupied what is now Alsace, overcame them in 496, and added much of their territory to the Frankish realm. It is a curious fact that the Alamans have given their name in the French language to the whole of Germany (*Allemagne*). Clovis afterward annexed the Visigothic possessions between the Loire and the Pyrenees, so that most of Gaul was now united under the king of the Franks. In order to be nearer to the newly conquered territories, he moved his capital from Soissons to Paris (the Roman Lutetia), then a little city on an island in the Seine. Clovis reigned in Gaul as much an independent sovereign as in his own German Frankland, but he acknowledged a sort of allegiance to the eastern emperor by accepting from the latter the honorary title of "consul." The Gallo-Romans were not oppressed; their cities were preserved; and their language and laws were undisturbed. Clovis may be compared with his contemporary, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, in his efforts to pose as an heir of the Roman Empire and a guardian of Latin culture.

Most of the Franks in the fifth century were still heathen, but Clovis had married a Burgundian princess, Clotilda, who was a devoted Catholic and an ardent advocate of Christianity. The story is told how, when the Frankish king was hard pressed in battle with the Alamans, he vowed that if Clotilda's God gave him victory he would become a Christian. The Franks won, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, had himself baptized by St. Remi, bishop of Reims. With Clovis on that same day were baptized three thousand of his warriors. It was natural that Clovis should have embraced the Catholic faith, which was that of his wife, instead of the Arian form of Christianity professed by all the


The Germanic Kingdoms and the Roman Empire, 526 A.D.
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Slavic peoples
Vistula speaking
Lombards
Gepids
Saxons
Franks
Burgundians
Alamanni
KINGDOM OF THE OSTROGOTHS
(493-553)
KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS
(418-711)
ROMAN EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400

other Germanic invaders. His adherence to Catholicism rather than Arianism seems, however, to have been no accident or sudden inspiration. Though in many ways an untamed barbarian, Clovis was a man of statesmanlike quality, and doubtless he realized how much support in Gaul he would receive from the Roman Church by becoming an orthodox Christian. The popes soon entered into relations with the Franks, and the friendship between them afterward ripened into a close alliance, which greatly influenced the course of medieval history.

The descendants of Clovis are called Merovingians (after Merovech, grandfather of Clovis). They occupied the throne for almost two hundred and fifty years. The annals of their reigns form a catalogue of bloody wars, horrible murders, and deeds of treachery without number. Nevertheless, some of the earlier Merovingians were strong men who continued the expansion of the Frankish realm initiated by Clovis. The conquests of the Franks differed in two important respects from those of the other barbarians. In the first place, the Franks did not cut themselves off from their original homes in Germany, but kept their territory there and drew from it continual German reinforcements. In the second place, they steadily added new German lands to their possessions. They built up in this way the largest and strongest of all the barbarian kingdoms founded on the ruins of the Roman Empire in the West.

During the seventh and eighth centuries the Merovingian line of Frankish kings degenerated into weaklings, *rois fainéants*, who reigned but did not rule. More and more the actual control of affairs passed into the hands of their ministers, commonly known by the title of Mayor of the Palace. At length, it is said, the mayors left to the kings little more than their title, their long hair and beard — the badge of royalty among the Franks — and a scanty allowance for their support. The most illustrious of the mayors was Charles, surnamed Martel, "the Hammer," from the terrible defeat which he inflicted near Tours in 732 on an Arab army which had crossed the Pyrenees and invaded Gaul. Charles Martel, who contrived to make his office hereditary, was virtually a sovereign, but he never ventured himself to ascend the throne. This step was taken, however, by his son, Pepin the Short, in 751. Before setting aside the last feeble "do-nothing," Pepin sought the approval of the papacy so that his act might appear less like an outright usurpation. The pope declared that it was only right that the man who held the real power in the state should be called king and be king. Pepin then had himself crowned as sovereign of the Franks, thus founding the dynasty named Carolingian from Pepin's son, Charles (Latin, *Carolus*).

Reign of Charlemagne

Pepin was followed in 768 by his two sons, one of whom, Charles the Great (Charlemagne) three years later became sole ruler of the Franks. Charlemagne reigned for nearly half a century, and during this time he set his mark on all later European history. Much of his reign, almost to its close, was filled with fighting. He conquered the Lombards in Italy and brought their kingdom to an end. He invaded Spain and wrested from the Arabs a considerable district south of the Pyrenees. A long, hard struggle with the Saxons led to his annexation of the German territory up to and even beyond the Elbe; its heathen inhabitants were forced to accept Christianity at the point of the sword. His other wars extended the Frankish realm deep into central Europe. Charlemagne at the height of his power ruled over what is now France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, western Germany, northern Italy, and northeastern Spain, besides part of the present Czechoslovakia and of Jugoslavia. His truly gigantic realm incorporated all the surviving peoples of Teutonic speech except those in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Britain.

The Frankish dominions were divided into counties, each one ruled by a count, who kept order, administered justice, and collected the royal revenues. The border regions, which lay exposed to invasion, were organized into "marks," under the military supervision of counts of the mark, or margraves (marquises). These officials had so much power and lived so far from the royal court that Charlemagne found it necessary to appoint special agents, the *missi dominici* (the "lord's messengers"), to keep an effective oversight of them. The *missi* were usually sent out in pairs, a layman and a bishop or abbot, in order that the one might serve as a check upon the other. They recall the "eyes and ears" of Persian monarchs.

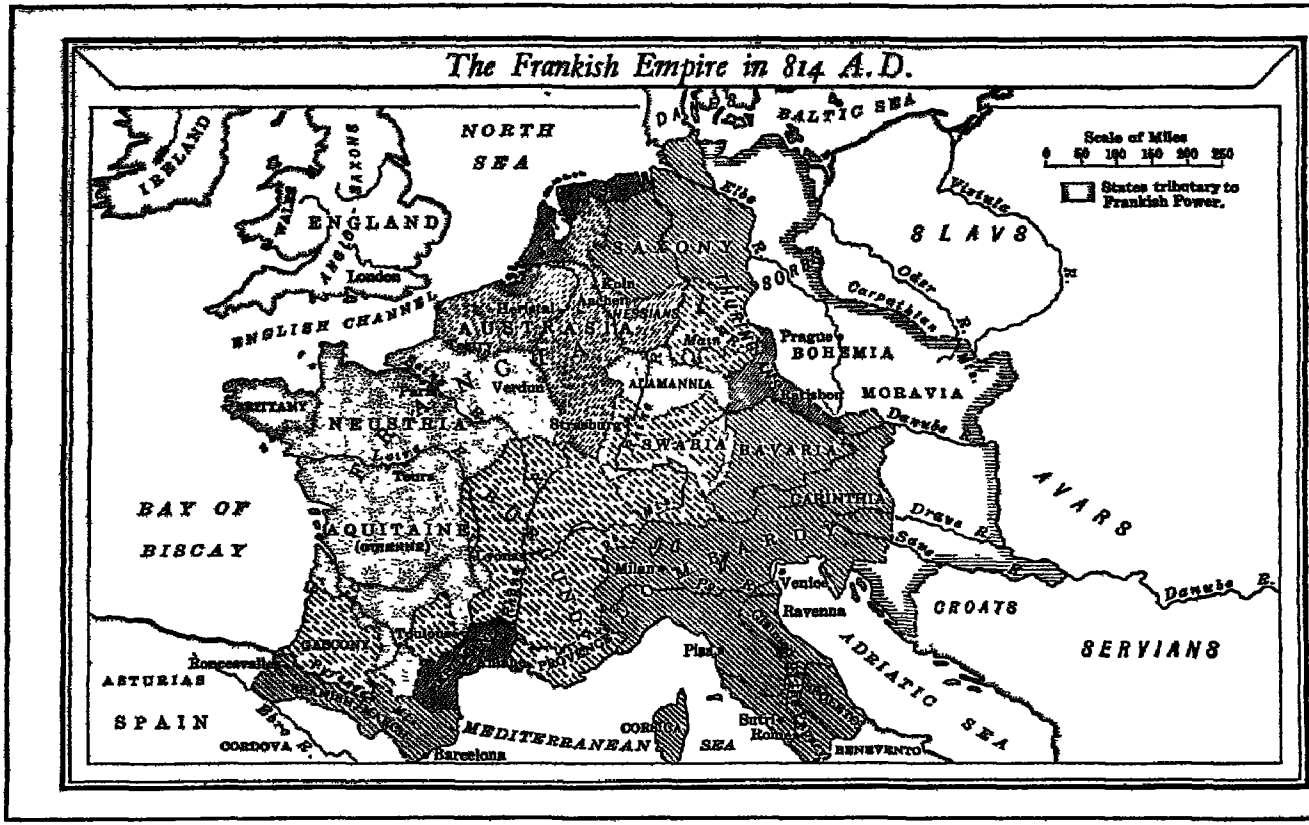
Charlemagne was, for the times, an educated man. His secretary and private chaplain, Einhard, tells us that he spoke Latin as readily as his native tongue and understood something of Greek. "He tried to learn to write, and for this purpose used to carry with him and keep under the pillow of his couch tablets and writing sheets that he might in his spare moments accustom himself to the formation of letters." According to Einhard, he also spent much time and labor in studying rhetoric, astronomy, and arithmetic. Himself so interested in the "liberal arts," it was natural that Charlemagne should try to revive them among the ignorant Franks. Even the clergy at this time could no longer read the sacred books, and their Latin had become barbarous. We still possess a number of laws issued by Charlemagne for the pro-

motion of education. He founded schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, where the sons of both freemen and serfs might be trained for the Christian ministry. He supported a palace school at his capital, Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), in which learned men from Italy, England, and Ireland gave instruction to his own children and to those of his nobles. He had Latin manuscripts collected and copied, thus saving from destruction much classical literature. Nearly all the works of Latin authors have been preserved to us in copies written, from the ninth century onward, in the very legible "minuscule," which served as a model for our printed characters. Charlemagne also began a grammar of the Frankish language and ordered that the laws of his barbarian subjects should be collected and set down in written form. All this work formed no more than a hopeful beginning. Centuries were to pass before intellectual culture in the West began to recover from the low state to which it had fallen during the period of the Germanic invasions.

The Carolingian Empire

Charlemagne, the foremost ruler in Europe, had the power of the Roman emperors and now he was to have their name. On Christmas Day, 800, Pope Leo III, in old St. Peter's Church at Rome, placed on his head a golden crown, while all the congregation (apparently instructed beforehand) shouted three times and with one voice, "Life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, the great and pacific emperor, crowned of God!" Charlemagne did not disavow the pope's act; on the contrary, he proudly bore the imperial title during the fourteen years which remained of his reign.

The pope, of course, had no legal right to institute an emperor, but the papacy was now virtually an independent power, having thrown off all allegiance to the eastern rulers and governing, with the support of the Frankish kings, an extensive district in central Italy between Rome and Ravenna. Moreover, at this time Irene, the sovereign at Constantinople, was a woman and a usurper, so that technically, at least, the throne stood vacant. Charlemagne, the protector of the papacy against the Lombards and the champion of the Church against the Moslems in Spain and the heathen Germans, seemed to Leo III and the ecclesiastics about him the one man of all men to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. There was thus established a new line of emperors, calling themselves Roman, regarding themselves as the successors of Justinian, Theodosius I, Constantine the Great, Diocletian, and Augustus, and claiming, in virtue of the imperial title, to be supreme in Europe. It


The Frankish Empire in 814 A.D.
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
IRELAND
ENGLAND
ANGLO SAXONS
London
ENGLISH CHANNEL
SAXONY
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
SLAVS
Oder R.
Carpathian Mts.
Cologne
Aachen
WESTPHALIANS
AUSTRASIA
Main R.
Prague
BOHEMIA
Ratisbon
MORAVIA
Danube R.
Verdun
ALAMANNIA
NEUSTRIA
BRITTANY
Strasburg
SWABIA
BAVARIA
Tours
BAY OF BISCAY
CARINTHIA
Drave R.
Save R.
AVARS
AQUITAINE
(organized)
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
CROATS
Danube R.
SERVIANS
GASCONY
Toulouse
Pisa
ADRIATIC SEA
Roncesvalles
ASTURIAS
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
Rome
BENEVENTO
CORDOVA
Barcelona
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250
States tributary to Frankish Power.

was all a fiction, but men not seldom are ruled by fictions. The Carolingian Empire formed in no true sense a continuation of the old Roman Empire, even in the West. An empire which did not include North Africa, Britain, or much of Spain and which, on the other hand, did include extensive territories east of the Rhine and north of the Danube where Rome had never ruled was Roman only in its size and in its name. The Carolingian Empire was essentially a new creation, the result of an alliance between the kingdom of the Franks and the papacy.

Anglo-Saxon Britain

The troubled years of the fifth century witnessed the beginning of the Germanic conquest of Britain. The withdrawal of the legions there for service on the Continent left the island exposed to the barbarians. Fierce Picts from what is now Scotland swarmed over the abandoned Wall of Hadrian, attacking the Britons in the rear. Ireland sent forth the not less ferocious Scots. The eastern coasts, at the same time, were harried by Saxon pirates. "The barbarians," groaned the unhappy inhabitants, "drive us to the sea, the sea throws us back to the barbarians; thus two kinds of death assail us — we are either slain or drowned." In 449, according to the traditional date, bands of Jutes came over from northern Denmark, to be soon followed by a much greater company of Angles and Saxons. These were all closely related peoples. Their conquest of Britain was a slow process, lasting at least one hundred and fifty years. The invaders followed the rivers and the Roman roads into the interior and gradually subdued the fertile plain district in the southeast and middle of the island.

Although the Romans held Britain for four hundred years, it had never been so thoroughly Romanized as Gaul, and even the municipalities, the centers of Romanization, were few in number and small. Apparently the invaders destroyed the municipalities and killed the inhabitants; for centuries their desolate ruins cluttered the landscape of Anglo-Saxon Britain. It seems probable, however, that the women were often spared to become the wives of their captors and that the Celtic-speaking peasantry was enslaved rather than massacred. Such is the usual practice of conquering barbarians. Some Britons fled to the hill regions in the west and north of the island, while others took flight across the English Channel to Gaul and settled in the peninsula now known as Brittany.

The Anglo-Saxons started to fight one another before they ceased fighting their common enemy, the Britons. Throughout the seventh and eighth centuries their petty states engaged in almost constant

struggles — "battles of kites and crows" — for supremacy. The kingdoms in the east of England, namely, Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia, found their expansion checked by the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, which grew up in the interior of the island. Each of these three stronger states gained in turn the leading place. Early in the ninth century Egbert, king of Wessex (802–839), a friend of Charlemagne, from whom he doubtless learned valuable lessons of war and statecraft, compelled all the other kings to acknowledge him as overlord. He thus began the work of uniting the Anglo-Saxons under one government. From Egbert and the royal House of Wessex the sovereigns of England have traced their descent to the present day.

Christianity reached the Anglo-Saxons by way of Rome. It was brought in 597 by the monk Augustine, whom Pope Gregory the Great had sent with forty companions to preach the Gospel to the heathen English. The missionaries landed in Kent, then a kingdom under Ethelbert. Ethelbert had a Christian wife, the Frankish princess Bertha. The king, already well disposed toward the Christian faith, greeted the missionaries kindly and told them that they were free to convert whom they would. He and his court embraced the new religion, and his people soon followed the royal example. The monks were assigned a seat in Canterbury, a city which has ever since remained the religious capital of England. From Kent Roman Christianity spread gradually among the other Anglo-Saxons.

Results of the Invasions

Not once or twice but many times have barbarous nomadic peoples entered the territories of settled, tillage peoples to raid, despoil, conquer, and rule. In earlier periods, and particularly before the invention of firearms, fighting nomads were often more than a match for sedentary folk, more numerous, indeed, but become too soft and inert for effective resistance. The wild tribes of central Asia have repeatedly attacked and sometimes overrun large parts of China and India. Around 1800 B.C. rude Kassites from the eastern mountains took possession of Babylonia and equally rude Hyksos from Arabia and Palestine established themselves in Egypt, in each case to lord it over a subject population for centuries. The Greek invasions of the Aegean world, in their disastrous effects on population, wealth, commerce, art, and culture generally, afford still another parallel to those of the Germans. Predatory nomadism has been an outstanding fact of recorded, and doubtless of unrecorded, history. It is so no longer because during recent centuries the more civilized peoples have expanded widely at

the expense of the less civilized, at the same time multiplying and perfecting their means of both offense and defense. The stability and steady march of civilization are now not threatened from without but from within; our "barbarians" are inside our gates.

The invaders who established themselves on the ruins of the empire in the West had little taste for anything but warfare and bodily enjoyments. They were unlike the Romans in dress and personal habits, lived under different laws, spoke different languages, and obeyed different rulers. Once they settled down, they proceeded to appropriate part of the arable land, together with the pastures and forest, the livestock, and the human occupants, the serfs. Their share seems to have been normally one-third of the land, but the Visigoths in Gaul took two-thirds, and the Anglo-Saxons probably all the soil of Britain conquered by them. When the invaders spared the cities, it was seldom to occupy them but rather to strip them of the movable wealth that caught their fancy, as Alaric and Gaiseric sacked Rome. Urban life had little attraction for the barbarians. Herdsmen and farmers, content with their cattle and swine and the products of their own land, they demanded neither foreign wares nor costly luxuries and they had no commerce; if they took to the sea at all, it was to engage in such piratical expeditions as those of the Vandals and Saxons. Caring little for knowledge and the arts, the invaders failed to keep up the schools, universities, libraries, museums, galleries, and other instruments of education. The knowledge of Greek, formerly so usual among the educated classes in the West, all but disappeared. For an appreciation of what Hellenism meant in the things of the mind men were dependent henceforth chiefly on a few Latin translations of Greek books. Except in theology, the four hundred years between Theodosius I and Charlemagne are well-nigh barren of writers worthy of comparison in any way with those of the classic age. "Woe to our time," exclaims Gregory of Tours, a sixth-century Frank who composed a crude history of his people, "for the pursuit of letters has perished from among us." There was a general bankruptcy of the human spirit. Civilization in the West had been declining before the Germans came. Their invasions vastly accelerated the decline, with the result that large parts of western Europe fell back for centuries into a state little better than barbarism.

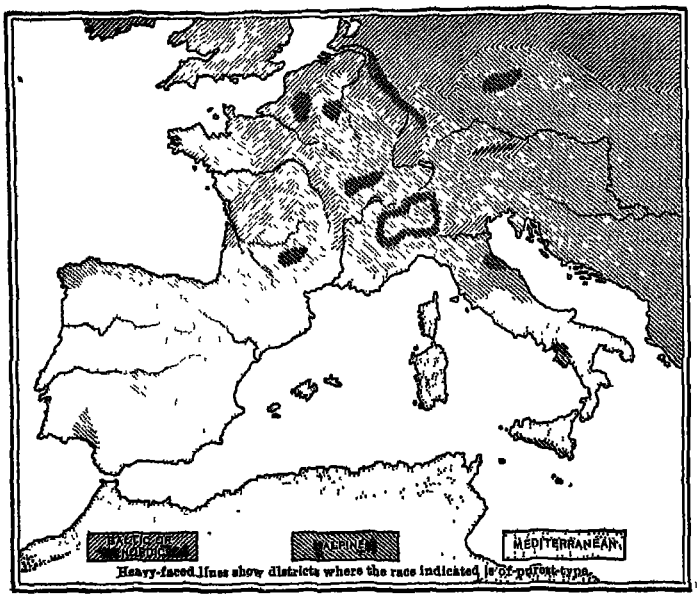
How dark was the age which now ensued we can judge from the appalling decrease of population, the result of the wars, the plagues and famines that followed the wars, and the widespread disorder and lawlessness. The city of Rome, which in the great days of the empire counted probably a million inhabitants, contained only a twentieth of that number by the opening of the seventh century. Many cities completely disappeared. In Britain not one survived the Anglo-Saxon

conquest. Of all those built by Rome on the banks of the Rhine few remained by the ninth century. Few cities of medieval France arose on the sites of those of Roman Gaul. Frequently the cities were pulled down and used as quarries by the surviving inhabitants, who walled in the central part for protection. At Arles, in southeastern France, the remains of the population lived in huts built among the ruins of the amphitheater. In general, it may be said that small, self-sufficing, isolated village communities, abodes of ignorance, poverty, and squalor, replaced the noble municipalities which Rome had raised everywhere in the West.

Considering how little resistance the Germans encountered, we might be surprised that they did not sweep away every vestige of civilization in the West. Rather than extol their moderation and magnanimity we should admire their prudence: numerically they were so inferior to the provincials that they had everything to lose by needless ill treatment of them. And it must be remembered that the barbarians never set out to give the empire a mortal wound, to commit some atrocity of conquest at the expense of a weaker people; they wanted to settle on the soil of the empire and enjoy it. If they came with arms in their hands, the prayer for land was ever on their lips. As they advanced toward the heart of the empire they were confronted by stately cities—cities crammed with temples, palaces, and public buildings; linked to one another by paved roads and bridges; and watered by mighty aqueducts. The grandeur of the sight, the spectacle of what the Romans had achieved, could not but impress and move these forest children. The more statesmanlike of the conquerors soon came and always remained under the spell of the empire. The exclamation of a Visigothic chieftain when he visited Constantinople may stand for the feelings of a whole people: "Without doubt the emperor is a god on earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood." Outside of Britain, which was overrun by tribes from far beyond the borders of the empire and remote from the influence of Rome, the story of the invasions and settlements is not the story of a complete destruction of all things Roman but of the gradual Romanization of the Germans.

Romanization of the Germans

The Germans settled among peoples far more numerous than themselves, and almost everywhere, with the major exception of Britain, they were soon ethnically absorbed. Conquerors and conquered do not seem to have felt any marked dislike for one another; there was little race antipathy on either side. When no religious barrier existed



Racial Types in Western Europe

(as between heathen and Christian or Arian and Catholic) intermarriage was common, being favored by the fact that so many Germans had already found their way within the empire as hired soldiers, colonists, and slaves. Even among the upper classes mixed unions often occurred; thus a daughter of Theodosius I allied herself with Alaric's brother-in-law and Arcadius married the fair child of a Frankish chieftain. In Italy neither the Nordic Lombards nor their predecessors, the Nordic Ostrogoths, produced much racial change. The population continued to be what it still is, a predominantly Alpine type in the northern part of the peninsula and a predominantly Mediterranean type in southern Italy and Sicily. In Spain and Gaul the outcome was much the same; the blood of the invaders mingled with that of the provincials. Even in Britain the importance of the Anglo-Saxon element may easily be exaggerated. We sometimes overlook the numerical strength of the Celtic-speaking population of Wales and Scotland, where the Anglo-Saxons never penetrated; moreover, in the most purely Germanic part of the island it is altogether likely that a considerable proportion of the Celtic-speaking inhabitants escaped massacre at the hands of the invaders and intermingled with them. The English people that grew up in the early Middle Ages was already a mixed people.

Nor did the languages of the Germans generally maintain themselves. The invaders formed but a small minority of the population;

they could not force their uncouth tongues upon the Romanized provincials. To govern their subjects, to trade with them, to hold any intercourse with them, the Germans had to learn Latin. They learned it so quickly and so well that the Romance languages of Italy, the Iberian peninsula, and France, and of part of Belgium and Switzerland now reveal scarcely a trace of their influence save in some borrowed words. The popular Latin out of which these languages developed during the Middle Ages persisted almost everywhere that Rome had conquered in the West. But not in Britain. There the speech of the invaders ousted both Latin and the Celtic used by the native inhabitants, and Anglo-Saxon, though very different from modern English in form and pronunciation, is in grammar and idiom the language of today. It should be noticed, also, that Flemish, a Teutonic language introduced by the Franks, survives as a spoken language in northern Belgium and that in the districts formerly Roman just west of the middle Rhine and south of the upper Danube the inhabitants now speak German.

The Germans brought with them their tribal customs. These they kept for themselves, while the provincials continued to live under Roman law. After the Germans had been for some time in contact with the Romans they began to compile their customary laws in the Latin language. Euric, a Visigothic king, did this for the Visigoths in the latter part of the fifth century, Clovis for the Franks, and Ethelbert for the Kentish folk after the introduction of Christianity. Many of the codes, the "Laws of the Barbarians," as they are known, survive and throw much light on old Germanic life: the blood feuds and blood fines; the use of ordeals, oaths, and judicial duels; and other features of a primitive society. Some of the kings also issued codes of Roman law for their Roman subjects. The untutored barbarians could not fail to be affected by the principles of a legal system so immeasurably superior to their own; its subtlety and precision, its equity and humanity, commended it more and more, and during the later Middle Ages it came to prevail throughout most of western Europe. In England, however, there was more resistance to the importation of Roman legal ideas, so that the common law which developed there and has since spread to the United States and the English-speaking colonies beyond the seas owes much less to the jurisprudence of Rome than does that of the Continent.

Germanic heathenism, rude, unorganized, and lightly held, offered little resistance to missionary effort, and Christianity won, on the whole, an easy victory over the barbarians. Christianity reached them first in the Arian form. Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Vandals, and Lombards were Arians. In an age when people took their theology

seriously, when they would fight for it and die for it, the Arianism of the invaders stood in the way of friendly intercourse between them and the Romanized provincials who had accepted the Catholic faith. The Roman Church labored with success to reconvert these Arian heretics, and the work was at last completed when the Lombards early in the seventh century accepted Catholicism.

The Franks and the Anglo-Saxons adopted from the outset the Catholic form of Christianity. An Anglo-Saxon monk, St. Boniface, did more than any other man to evangelize the Germans east of the Rhine. Thanks to the support of the Carolingian rulers Charles Martel and Pepin, this intrepid monk was able to penetrate into the heart of heathen Germany, where he labored for nearly forty years, preaching, baptizing, and founding numerous churches, monasteries, and schools. His boldness in attacking heathenism is illustrated by the story of how he cut down with his own hand a certain oak tree much reverenced by the natives of Hesse as sacred to Woden, and out of its wood built a chapel dedicated to St. Peter. He crowned a lifetime of missionary effort with a martyr's death, probably in 754, at the hands of the heathen Frisians in what is now Holland. The work of Boniface was continued by Charlemagne, who not only conquered the Saxons but forced them to become very unwilling converts to Christianity; they were "converted in cohorts and baptized in brigades."

The Christianization of the barbarians was usually tribal or national, rather than individual or personal; the people took over the new religion *en masse,* following the conversion of their chiefs and kings. Had the missionaries been able to adopt the methods followed by the earlier evangelists and to build up a Church without the support of worldly-minded rulers and without the aid of persecution, the conversion of barbarian Europe might have been less superficial than was actually the case. A long time passed before the fruit of Christian living became really manifest in the lives of the converts.

We have now followed the fortunes of the Germans for more than four centuries. Most of their kingdoms were not permanent. The Visigothic and Burgundian dominions in Gaul yielded to the Franks, and those of the Visigoths in Spain, to the Arabs. The Vandal possessions in North Africa were regained for a time by the emperors at Constantinople, but later passed into the hands of the Arabs. The rule of the Ostrogoths in Italy endured for only sixty years, and that of the Lombards passed away after two hundred years. The kingdoms established by the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons alone developed into lasting states. The history of the Franks after Charlemagne and of the Anglo-Saxons after Egbert takes us well into the Middle Ages.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (PART II)

A.D.	*Rulers and Dynasties*	*Political History*	*Cultural History*
		376 Visigoths cross the Danube	
		378 Battle of Adrianople	
			392 Pagan worship declared illegal by Theodosius I
400		395 Virtual division of Roman Empire	
		410 Capture of Rome by Alaric	
		415–711 Visigothic kingdom in Spain (in Gaul, 415–507)	
		429–534 Vandal kingdom in Africa	
		443–534 Kingdom of the Burgundians	
	446–461 Pontificate of Leo I, the Great		
		449(?) Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain begins	
		451 Battle of Châlons	
		455 Sack of Rome by Vandals	
		476 Deposition of Romulus Augustulus	
	481–511 Reign of Clovis		
		486 Clovis defeats Romans at Soissons	
	493–526 Reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth	493–553 Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy	
			496 Adoption of Catholic Christianity by Clovis
	527–565 Justinian, Roman emperor in the East		527–534 The *Corpus Juris Civilis*
			529(?) Rule of St. Benedict; Plato's Academy and other pagan schools of Athens closed by Justinian
		568–774 Lombards in Italy	
			570(?)–632 Mohammed
	589–618 Sui Dynasty in China		
	590–604 Pontificate of Gregory I, the Great		
600			597 Augustine's mission to Anglo-Saxons
	610–641 Heraclius, Roman emperor in the East		
	618–907 T'ang Dynasty in China		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (PART II) *Continued*

A.D.	*Rulers and Dynasties*	*Political History*	*Cultural History*
	632–661 The Orthodox Caliphs (Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, Ali)		622 The Hegira
	661–750 Umaiyyad Caliphate at Damascus	711 Arabs and Berbers enter Spain	
		711–718 Siege of Constantinople by Arabs	
		732 Battle of Tours	
	750–1258 Abbasid Caliphate at Bagdad		754 Martyrdom of St. Boniface
			756 "Donation of Pepin"
	768–814 Reign of Charlemagne		
	786–809 Harun-al-Rashid, caliph		
		787 Incursions of Northmen begin	
800		800 Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans	
	802–839 Egbert, king of Wessex		
		843 Treaty of Verdun	
		862(?) Northmen under Rurik in Russia	
			863 Mission of Cyril and Methodius to Moravians
	871–900(?) Reign of Alfred the Great		874 Colonization of Iceland by Northmen
			910 Monastery of Cluny founded
		911 Grant of Normandy to Rollo	
	960–1279 Sung Dynasty in China		
		962 *Otto the Great* crowned Roman Emperor	
			979–1037 Ibn Sina (Avicenna)
			982 Greenland discovered by Erik the Red
		987 Hugh Capet founds the French monarchy	
			988 Christianity introduced into Russia
1000			1000 Leiv Eriksson's voyage to Vinland
	1016–1035 Canute, king of England, Denmark, and Norway		
			1054 Final rupture of Greek and Roman Churches
			1059 Papal election decree

	1066–1154 English sovereigns, Norman line William I, 1066–1087 William II, 1087–1100 Henry I, 1100–1135 Stephen, 1135–1154	1066 Battle of Hastings and Norman conquest of England	*c.* 1070–1130 Irnerius
	1073–1085 Pontificate of Gregory VII (Hildebrand)	1072 Palermo captured by Normans	1077 Humiliation of Henry IV by Gregory VII at Canossa 1079–1142 Peter Abélard
		1085 Toledo captured by Spaniards 1095–1291 The Crusades 1095 Council of Clermont 1099 Capture of Jerusalem 1204 Fourth Crusade; capture of Constantinople 1244 Jerusalem recovered by Moslems 1291 Fall of Acre	1098 Foundation of the Cistercian order 1122 Concordat of Worms 1126–1198 Ibn Rushd (Averroès) 1135–1204 Maimonides
	1154–1399 English sovereigns, Angevin or Plantagenet line Henry II, 1154–1189 Richard I, 1189–1199 John, 1199–1216 Henry III, 1216–1272 Edward I, 1272–1307 Edward II, 1307–1327 Edward III, 1327–1377 Richard II, 1377–1399 1180–1223 Philip II, Augustus, king of France	1192 Japanese shogunate established by Yoritomo	*c.* 1163 Oxford University in existence *c.* 1193–1280 Albertus Magnus
1200	1198–1216 Pontificate of Innocent III	1206–1227 Conquests of Genghis Khan	*c.* 1208 Cambridge University in existence 1209(?) Franciscan order established *c.* 1214–1292 Roger Bacon

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (PART II) *Concluded*

A.D.	*Rulers and Dynasties*	*Political History*	*Cultural History*
		1215 Magna Carta	1216 Dominican order established
			c. 1225–1274 St. Thomas Aquinas
	1226–1270 Louis IX (St. Louis), king of France		
		1258 Abbasid Caliphate overthrown by Mongols	
			1265–1321 Dante Alighieri
			1266–1336 Giotto
			1271–1295 Travels of Marco Polo
	1273–1291 Rudolf of Hapsburg, Holy Roman Emperor		
	1279–1368 Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty in China		
	1285–1314 Philip IV, the Fair, king of France		
		1291 Confederation of Swiss Forest Cantons	1291 Voyage of the Vivaldi Brothers
		1295 Model Parliament of Edward I	
1300			1304–1374 Petrarch
			1309–1377 Babylonian Captivity of the papacy at Avignon
			1313–1375 Boccaccio
			1320–1384 John Wycliffe
			1332–1406 Ibn Khaldun
		1337–1453 Hundred Years' War between England and France	1340(?)–1400 Geoffrey Chaucer
			1348–1349 Black Death in Europe
		1358 The Jacquerie in France	
	1368–1644 Ming Dynasty in China		
			1373(?)–1485 Jan Hus
			1377–1466 Brunelleschi
			1378–1417 The Great Schism
		1381 Peasants' Rebellion in England	

XVIII

The Northmen and the Normans

The Baltic Lands

THE Baltic resembles the Mediterranean in its narrow entrance, its numerous islands, and its deeply indented shores. In extent, however, it is little more than one-seventh as large as that great inland sea; it is bordered by less fertile and less climatically favored countries; and its harbors are closed to navigation by drifting ice during several months of the year. For these reasons the historical importance of the Baltic ranks far below that of the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, it has always determined the relations of the North European peoples with one another and, in particular, of those Teutonic-speaking peoples whose earliest known home was on its shores. From the Baltic lands the Germans moving southward began those "wanderings of the nations" which led finally to the barbarian settlements on the ruins of the Roman Empire in the West. And from the Baltic lands the northern Germans, or the Northmen as they may be more fitly described, set forth on another great migratory movement.

The Northmen lived, as their descendants still live, in Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula — that unknown, farthest north which by the ancients was commonly called Thule. Denmark forms, physically, a part of the great European plain which spreads without a break as far as the Urals; in early times it was a land of forests, marshes, and sand dunes, with little tillable soil. Sweden, though largely mountainous, contains broad alluvial valleys threaded by copious streams, dotted with many lakes, and sloping down gradually to the Baltic and the Gulf of Bothnia. While Sweden faces these inland waters, Norway faces the Atlantic. The latter country is little more than a continuous range of mountains and a fringe of seacoast reaching northward to well within the Arctic Circle. Were it not for the influence of the Gulf Stream drift, much of Norway would be a frozen waste during many months

of the year. Vast forests of fir, pine, and beech still cover the land, and the soil available for grazing and farming does not exceed eleven per cent of the total territory. But, like Greece, Norway has an extent of shore line out of all proportion to its superficial area. So numerous are the fiords which penetrate deeply into the country that the total length of the coast approximates twelve thousand miles. Slight wonder that its inhabitants should feel the lure of the ocean and should put forth in their frail barks upon the " pathway of the swans " as fishers, traders, and piratical adventurers.

During the period of extensive glaciation called the Pleistocene, at a time when Palaeolithic hunters were already ranging over southern and central Europe, northern Europe lay buried deep in ice. The first inhabitants of Scandinavia, entering it upon the retreat of the glaciers, were doubtless the rude fisher folk whose refuse heaps (" kitchen middens ") have been found on the shores of Denmark and other Baltic lands. After them arrived Neolithic men more advanced in culture. Their grave mounds, when opened, reveal them as herdsmen and farmers, possessing domestic animals and raising barley, wheat, and flax. From their southern neighbors they learned the art of working in metal, at first and for a long time only in bronze. Many rock carvings, probably made in the Bronze Age, show boats with as many as thirty men in them, horses drawing two-wheeled carts, spans of oxen, plowmen, and warriors on horseback. The Age of Iron dawned late in Scandinavia, and that metal did not find general use until several centuries after the Christian era. Writing was introduced in the form of the so-called Runic alphabet. A few of the characters came from the Latin, but the majority were derived from the Greek alphabet. The word " rune " signifies a secret thing, so mysterious was the graphic art to these unlettered peoples of the North.

The Viking Age

How long the Northmen had occupied Scandinavia we do not know. It is only after the beginning of the Christian era that we get any information about their Teutonic language, which, when we hear of it, had already spread over Denmark and most of Norway and Sweden. Hundreds of years passed before the Northmen appeared on the historic stage in the role of " sea warriors " (Vikings) and began to come into contact with the peoples of western Europe. The Viking Age, as it may be called, extends from the latter part of the eighth century to the introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia during the tenth and the eleventh centuries. During this period the Northmen made their

long and remarkable voyages to foreign lands. Sometimes they went as traders, exchanging such staple commodities as furs, wool, and fish for the cloths, ornaments, and other articles of luxury which attracted their barbarian fancy. But it was no far cry from merchant to free-booter, and, in fact, expeditions for the sake of plunder seem to have been even more popular with them than peaceful commerce.

Whether the Northmen traded or plundered, good ships and good seamanship were indispensable to them. They became the boldest sailors of the Middle Ages. No longer hugging the coast, as the Phœnicians and the Greeks had done before them, the Northmen pushed out into the open sea and steered their course solely by observation of the sun, moon, and stars. In this way they were led to make those explorations in the North Atlantic and the polar seas which added so much to geographical knowledge. In navigation the achievement of the Northmen is comparable only with that of the Polynesians, who, about the same time but on the other side of the world, sailed up and down the Pacific without chart, compass, watch, or sextant, and explored every island of their vast domain.

A leader of the Northmen, after his sea-roving days had ended, was often buried in his ship, over which a grave chamber covered with earth would be erected. Remains of about a thousand ships have been discovered, the best-known being one found at Gokstad, Norway, dating from the ninth century. It is seventy-eight feet long, undecked, with seats for sixteen pairs of rowers, a mast for a single square sail, and a rudder on the starboard side. The prow and stern of such a vessel rose high, the former often carved to represent a dragon's head; on the sides hung the round and painted shields of the warriors. The sail seems to have been used only when the wind favored; the oars formed the main reliance. With several shifts of rowers a crew could cover as much as one hundred and fifty miles in twenty-four hours. The seaworthiness of the Gokstad ship was proved when, in 1893, an exact model of it was sailed across the Atlantic to the Chicago exposition. Larger ships were also built, with twenty, thirty, and in one case even sixty pairs of oars. A fleet of several hundred ships, carrying thousands of mail-shirted warriors armed with spears, swords, and battle-axes, must have been an imposing sight. During this period, when the art of navigation was either neglected or forgotten by the Christian peoples of western Europe, the heathen Northmen ruled and swept the seas.

Our knowledge of the Northmen formerly came altogether from medieval Latin chroniclers, Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish. To the chroniclers the Northmen appeared simply as pirates, enemies of civilization and the arts of peaceful life. Pirates they not seldom were, the

"Mongols of the sea," and if their activity had been confined to destructive raiding their place in history would be as ignoble as that of the Mongols of the land. A truer picture of them has been presented by archaeological research in Scandinavia and by the study of the old Scandinavian literature. We now know that the Northmen, though unaffected by Graeco-Roman influence and the Christian religion, had a culture of their own scarcely inferior on its material side to that of their European neighbors and rich in treasures of story and poetry. The Northmen were not a mere wild folk, and when they ceased to pillage and settled down they showed a marked capacity for self-government and the building of a stable society. It is significant that our word "law," which replaced the Anglo-Saxon "doom," is of Scandinavian origin. Today the descendants of the Northmen are among the most orderly, cultivated, and humane peoples of Europe.

In the narratives called sagas the Northmen produced a noble literature too little known to English-speaking peoples, who derive the greater part of their speech, laws, and customs from the Teutonic North. Some of the sagas relate the exploits of heroes, real or legendary; others describe the explorations and settlements of the Northmen and hence possess considerable value as historical records. These prose works (sometimes interspersed with poetry) were often based on the songs which the minstrels, or skalds, sang to appreciative audiences at feasts and public gatherings. The sagas were committed to writing only as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, not in Scandinavia but in distant Iceland.

The sagas throw much light on the nature of the Northmen. Love of adventure and contempt for the quiet joys of home come out in the description of the heroes who "never sought refuge under a roof nor emptied their drinking horns by a hearth." An intense love of fighting breathes in the accounts of warriors "who are glad when they have hopes of a battle; they will leap up in hot haste and ply the oars, snapping the oar-thongs and cracking the tholes." The undaunted spirit of sailors braving the storms of the northern ocean expresses itself in their sea songs: "The force of the tempest assists the arms of our oarsmen; the hurricane is our servant, it drives us whithersoever we wish to go." The sagas also reveal other characteristics of the Northmen: a cruelty and duplicity which made them a terror to their foes; an almost barbaric love of gay clothing and ornaments; a strong sense of public order, giving rise to an elaborate legal system; and even a feeling for the romantic beauty of their northern home, with its snow-clad mountains, dark forests, sparkling waterfalls, and deep, blue fiords.

In addition to sagas the Northmen produced the works known as

Eddas. The *Poetic* or *Elder Edda* is a collection of poems by unknown authors, gathered from oral sources and committed to writing during the twelfth century, probably in Iceland. Though put together during Christian times, it reflects an attitude almost purely heathen and forms a storehouse of the myths and religious beliefs of the Northmen. The *Prose* or *Younger Edda*, compiled in the thirteenth century by an Icelander, Snorri Sturluson, also contains much material bearing on Scandinavian heathenism.

The great German deities Odin (Woden) and Thor have the leading place in the mythology of the Eddas. Odin was a war god, carrying a spear which never missed its mark; he was likewise the wise one, the inventor of the runes which gave him secret knowledge of all things. Having created the world and peopled it, Odin retired to the sacred city of Asgard, reached by a rainbow bridge, where he reigned in company with his children. Enthroned beside him sat his eldest son, red-haired and red-bearded Thor, a weather god and wielder of the thunderbolt, which, in the shape of a double-headed ax, he hurled against the giants. Another deity was Balder, most beautiful of Odin's children and best-beloved, but slain by the malice of the traitor Loki. These and other divinities were all forms of nature invested with human personality. According to one belief the souls of the dead passed to the underworld of Hel; according to another belief warriors who had died, not ingloriously in their beds but on the field of honor, dwelt with Odin in Valhalla. No anaemic paradise, Valhalla was a place of battles where the warriors fought with one another all day and where at evening the slayer and the slain returned to Odin's hall, roofed with golden shields, to feast mightily on boar's flesh and to drink deep draughts of mead. Gods and giants were always at war. A time was to come when the giants would triumph in a final battle, when even Odin and Thor would perish, and when Asgard would be destroyed by fire and the earth sink into the sea — the "Twilight of the Gods." And afterward a new, beautiful, and nobler world would arise. Thus all ended, or rather all continued, for the best. So spiritual a conception, quite foreign to the materialistic mythology of the Eddas, was doubtless borrowed from Christian teachings.

Christianity gained a foothold in Denmark through the work of Roman Catholic missionaries sent out by Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. Two hundred years passed before the Danes were completely converted. From Denmark the new religion spread through Sweden. Norway owed its conversion largely to the crusading efforts of King Olaf, better known as St. Olaf, early in the eleventh century. The Norwegians carried Christianity to their settlements in Iceland. For

the Northmen as for the other European peoples conversion involved little more than their willingness to receive baptism and to forsake the old heathen rites. The "white Christ" could not mean much at first to barbarians, drunken and lustful, who practiced human sacrifice, exposed the heads of their enemies outside camps and towns, and in warfare playfully tossed little children on the point of the spear — barbarians of whom it was said that they wept neither for their sins nor for the dead. But the acceptance of Christianity brought the Northmen into closer touch with the cultural life of medieval Europe, and upon its acceptance the Viking Age came to an end.

The Northmen in the West

Cramped in a homeland with a rigorous climate and scanty resources, the Northmen went forth, as had the Germans, to better themselves abroad. Unlike the Germans, however, they could go only by sea. Those in the Scandinavian peninsula were virtually surrounded by water and the Danes were held up from any advance southward by the frontier of the Carolingian Empire. The pressure of population on subsistence, the multiplication of mouths beyond the meat to fill them, principally accounts for the expeditions, but there were other contributory causes. For the Northmen it was more honorable to earn a livelihood by fighting than by working; the exploits of warriors were celebrated in the sagas and only warriors were received into Valhalla. Political conditions at this time fostered the movement. The Scandinavian countries had begun to come under kingly rule, so that men of independent spirit who would not tolerate any authority above them sought an outlet for their energies abroad. And when the success of the first plundering raids disclosed how superior in strength, courage, and seamanship were the Northmen to their adversaries and how quickly and easily fortunes might be made overseas, it is not surprising that the trickle of invaders soon became a devastating torrent.

The incursions of the Northmen began, so far as we know, in 787, when they raided the coast of southwest England. Soon every European sea was covered with their fleets and scarcely any European coast escaped their ravages. The Danes and Norwegians, facing west, naturally had the greater share in the expeditions against the British Isles. They appeared at the start only in small bands, searching every creek and inlet of the sea and, in their "dragon ships" that drew little water, following the rivers far inland to make a sudden foray and depart quickly with their booty. Often, too, they robbed the countryside of its horses, became a swiftly moving cavalry, and penetrated areas

inaccessible by boat. They plundered particularly monasteries and cathedrals, these being full of treasure and less easily defended than castles and towns. Their raids inspired such terror that a special prayer was inserted in the church services: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us." The wholesale destruction of the religious establishments, the chief centers of intellectual life, was a heavy blow to the slowly reviving civilization of western Europe.

At first the Northmen raided only in summer, but before long they began to spend the winters in the lands which they visited. Year by year their fleets and armies grew larger and their attacks became well-organized expeditions of conquest and colonization. Early in the ninth century we find them making settlements in Ireland, and for a time half of the island was under their control. The first towns on Irish soil, including Dublin and Limerick, were founded by the Northmen. They also occupied part of northern Scotland and the neighboring Hebrides, Orkneys, and Shetlands. These barren, inhospitable islands long remained Scandinavian possessions.

The Northmen soon passed over to Iceland, which had been previously visited by Irish monks. Colonization began in 874. One of the most valuable of the sagas, the "Book of the Land-taking," tells how emigrants from Norway, nobles and freemen with their families, sought to escape from oppression at home by settling in this unpopulated island, so remote and sundered from Europe by a storm-vexed sea. There, amid glaciers, volcanoes, and geysers, their descendants have maintained themselves for more than a thousand years, preserving their old language almost unchanged even to the present day. And there, too, they treasured the old myths, legends, and traditions of the Northmen and created in the Middle Ages the extensive saga literature and the Eddas. The Icelanders rank as one of the great little peoples of the world.

An Icelander, Erik the Red, reached Greenland during the latter part of the tenth century. With a genius for advertising he called the country the Green Land, not because it was green but because, as he said, "there is nothing like a good name to attract settlers." The settlers soon came, but the danger of the Iceland-Greenland passage was shown when, in a single summer, twenty-one ships out of the thirty-five attempting it were driven back or lost at sea. Leiv, the son of Erik the Red, established a new route from Greenland to Norway by sailing straight across the open Atlantic. This was the first transatlantic voyage known to history. Norwegians continued to occupy southern Greenland for several hundred years. Ultimately the feeble settlements disappeared — according to one theory, because the Eskimos de-

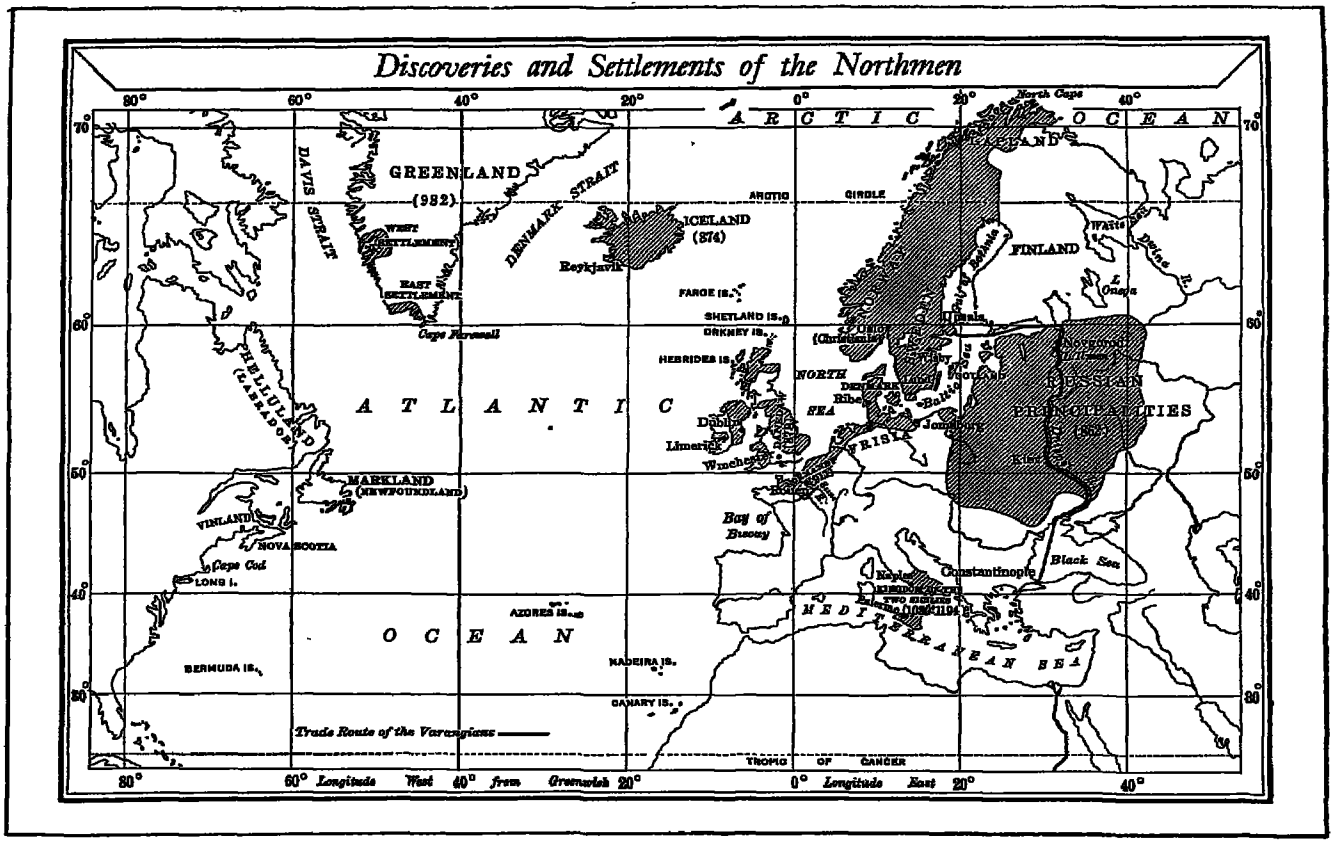
stroyed them and slaughtered the inhabitants; according to another theory, because the Norwegians intermarried with the Eskimos, "went native," and became absorbed in the aboriginal population; and according to still another theory, because the settlers gradually died out as the result of undernutrition and malnutrition. When in the eighteenth century the Danes resumed intercourse with Greenland, no Norwegians were found there. A few ruined buildings alone remain to tell the tale of the ill-fated colony.

One of the sagas contains a brief notice of a voyage which Leiv Eriksson started to make in 1000 from Norway to Greenland. Storms came up and he lost his way, but at length he reached an unknown region where there were grapevines and fields of self-sown wheat. Leiv had discovered North America, possibly Nova Scotia or New England. Several expeditions to this Vinland (wine-land) were sent out and two other countries, Helluland (stone-land) and Markland (wood-land), were found and named. These have been identified, though not certainly, with Labrador and Newfoundland. But attempts at settlement soon ended in failure; the colonists were few and the Indians were many and hostile. All memory of the far western lands faded away, save in the minds of some scholars familiar with the sagas. The curtain fell on the New World, not again to rise until the time of Columbus and John Cabot.

The Northmen in the East

The Swedes, by reason of their geographical position, were most prominent in expeditions to eastern Europe. Crossing the Gulf of Bothnia, they overran Finland, the "country of a thousand lakes," as the inhabitants call it. In the Middle Ages the Finns were a primitive people with a language Asiatic in origin and allied to that used by the still half-heathen Lapps in the land of the midnight sun. Conquered by Sweden in the twelfth century and annexed by Russia in the nineteenth century, Finland did not secure independence until after the World War. Swedish influence through the centuries had made it largely Scandinavian in civilization.

The piratical and trading activities of the Swedes led them to establish settlements on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea and far inland along the waterways leading into the plains of Russia. That country in 862 came under the sway of a Swedish adventurer, Rurik, who set up a dynasty reigning in Russia for more than seven hundred years. The first Russian state centered in the city of Novgorod near Lake Ilmen. Some of Rurik's followers, passing south-


Discoveries and Settlements of the Northmen
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND (982)
DAVIS STRAIT
DENMARK STRAIT
ICELAND (874)
Reykjavik
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES IS.
Cape Farewell
WEST SETTLEMENT
EAST SETTLEMENT
HELLULAND (LABRADOR)
MARKLAND (NEWFOUNDLAND)
VINLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
Cape Cod
LONG I.
BERMUDA IS.
AZORES IS.
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
Trade Route of the Varangians
ARCTIC CIRCLE
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Hecla
Geysers
Thingvalla
Dublin
Limerick
Winchester
Bay of Biscay
NORTH SEA
Bergen
Stockholm
Constantinople
Black Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TROPIC OF CANCER
80° 60° 40° 20° 0° 20° 40°
70° 60° 50° 40° 30°
60° Longitude West 40° from Greenwich 20° 0° Longitude East 20°

ward along the Dnieper River, took possession of the small town of Kiev, and it later became the capital of the Scandinavian possessions in Russia. Though ultimately absorbed in the vast sea of Slavic-speaking peoples, the Swedes did much to develop Russia by building cities, fostering commerce, and establishing a stable government. So strong was their influence that the name Rus, by which Rurik's people were known, passed from the masters to the subjects and became the common designation of the Russians. Through their principalities in Russia the Northmen also came into contact with the Roman Empire in the East, at first as raiders who made no less than four unsuccessful attacks by sea on Constantinople, and then as mercenaries in the imperial bodyguard. These "ax-bearing barbarians from Thule" were renowned for strength and courage. Russian history henceforth was to be linked up with that of the great eastern metropolis, for from Constantinople Russia received the Christian religion and much of its civilization.

Normandy and the Normans

No part of western Europe suffered more severely from the Northmen than the Frankish realm. They first appeared toward the end of Charlemagne's reign. The story goes that one day as the emperor sat at dinner he saw from the window the ships of these corsairs far out at sea and, rising from his seat, watched them pass out of sight. And the emperor wept, foreseeing "with what evils they would overwhelm his successors and their people." The story is a fabrication by a monkish chronicler long after Charlemagne's death in 814, but it is true that the attacks of the Northmen were the greatest calamity which ever befell the Carolingian Empire. During the reign of Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis the Pious, the Northmen made occasional raids; later, when the quarrels and wars of Charlemagne's grandsons left the empire defenseless, the Northmen sailed up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, spreading destruction everywhere. Paris, then a small but important place, lay in the path of the invaders and more than once felt their heavy hand. They destroyed Antwerp on the Scheldt, Hamburg on the Elbe, Cologne on the Rhine, and many another flourishing city. Even Aachen, Charlemagne's capital, was captured, and Northmen stabled their horses in the church which the emperor had built there. Scarcely any corner of the old land of the Franks escaped a visitation from this heathen scourge.

One of the most feared of the pirate leaders was a certain Rollo, probably a Norwegian, who had established himself in Rouen, whence

his warriors ravaged the banks of the lower Seine. In 911 a Frankish king purchased peace by granting this territory to Rollo, who, for his part, agreed to become a Christian and end his raiding. He also swore an oath of fidelity to the king, something, we are told, that "neither his father, nor his grandfather, nor his great-grandfather before him had ever done for any man."

The district ceded to Rollo developed into what was later known as the duchy of Normandy. Its Scandinavian settlers, henceforth called Normans, gradually blended with the French, whose language and culture they adopted, but without losing their enterprising, adventurous spirit. They now began to put off the old heathen ways and to make their new home no longer the "Pirates' land" but a Christian land noted for its churches, monasteries, and schools. Their religious and artistic feeling during the Middle Ages found expression in the development of architecture, and many fine examples of their buildings are found in Normandy, England, southern Italy, and Sicily. Their literary genius had a large part in creating the romances of war and chivalry so popular in medieval Europe. Trade and commerce were also fostered by the Normans, who first taught the French to become powerful at sea. Normandy has always been the home of great navigators and explorers. The country remained practically independent until the thirteenth century, when a French king added it to his possessions.

The Danes in England

Even before Egbert, king of Wessex, brought the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms under his supremacy, Northmen, chiefly from Denmark, had made occasional forays on the English coast. Egbert kept them at bay, but after his death their real invasion of England began. The Danes came over in large numbers, made permanent settlements, and soon controlled much of England. Before long Wessex felt the full force of their attack. It was ruled at this time by Alfred, Egbert's grandson. Alfred came to the throne in 871, when only about twenty-three years old, but in spite of his youth he showed himself the right sort of leader for the hard-pressed West Saxons. The English and Danes finally agreed to a treaty dividing the country between them. The eastern part of England (north of the Thames), where the invaders were firmly established, became known as the Danelaw, because there the Danish and not the Anglo-Saxon law prevailed. In the Danelaw the Danes have left memorials of themselves in numerous place names and in legal and social observances. Many words of the

Scandinavian language, especially those of everyday speech, have also entered English through the Danes.

It was a well-nigh ruined country which Alfred had now to rule over and build up again. His work of restoration invites comparison with that of Charlemagne. He reorganized the army and created a fleet of vessels larger and swifter than those of the Danish sea rovers and able to engage them successfully in their own element. And then the king turned gladly to the works of peace. He had the laws of the Anglo-Saxons reduced to writing, rebuilt ruined churches and monasteries, and labored with especial diligence to revive education among the English folk. His court at Winchester, like that of Charlemagne at Aachen, became a literary center. The king himself learned Latin in order that he might translate Latin books into the English tongue. The oft-quoted words which he added to one of his translations form his fitting epitaph: "My wish was to live worthily as long as I lived, and after my death to leave to them that should come after, my memory in good deeds." Alone of the rulers of England Alfred bears the appellation of "the Great."

About seventy-five years after Alfred's death the Danes renewed their invasions of England, and they were only bought off by the payment of an annual tribute, the so-called Danegeld. Early in the eleventh century Canute, a Danish prince, managed to establish himself on the English throne. He and his two sons did not reign long, however, and the old West-Saxon line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor (or "the Saint"). Edward had passed most of his life in Normandy. On coming to England he brought with him many Norman nobles and churchmen, whom he placed in high positions. The way was thus prepared for the conquest of the country by the Normans.

The Normans in England

Edward the Confessor having left no direct heirs, the choice of his successor fell lawfully upon the Witenagemot ("meeting of wise men"), the national assembly of nobles and higher clergy. This body chose as king, Harold, earl of Wessex, the leading man in England. Harold's right to the crown was disputed by William, duke of Normandy, who declared that it had been promised to him by his cousin, the Confessor. William also asserted that Harold had once sworn a solemn oath, over a chest of relics, to support his claims upon Edward's death. When word came of Harold's election, William denounced him as a usurper and began to prepare an armament for the invasion of England. Norman knights, attracted by promises of wide lands and

rich booty if they should win, formed the core of William's forces. Adventurers from every part of France, and even from Spain and Italy, also entered his service. The pope blessed the enterprise and sent to William a ring containing a hair from St. Peter's head and a consecrated banner. When all was ready in the late autumn of 1066, a fleet bearing five or six thousand archers, foot soldiers, and horsemen crossed the Channel and landed in England.

William at first met no resistance, for Harold was in the north fighting against another set of invaders from Norway. Having defeated them decisively, he hurried southward and encountered William near Hastings, on the road to London. The battle raged all day, as the stout English infantry behind their shield wall threw back charge after charge of the Norman knights. At last, with the approach of evening, Harold was slain by an arrow; his household guard died about him; and the rest of the English took to flight. William pitched his camp on the field of victory and "sat down to eat and drink among the dead." The battle settled the fate of England. William pressed on to London. That city, now practically the capital of the country, made no resistance and opened its gates to him. The Witenagemot, meeting there, offered him the empty throne. On Christmas Day, 1066, in Westminster Abbey, the duke of Normandy was crowned king of the English.

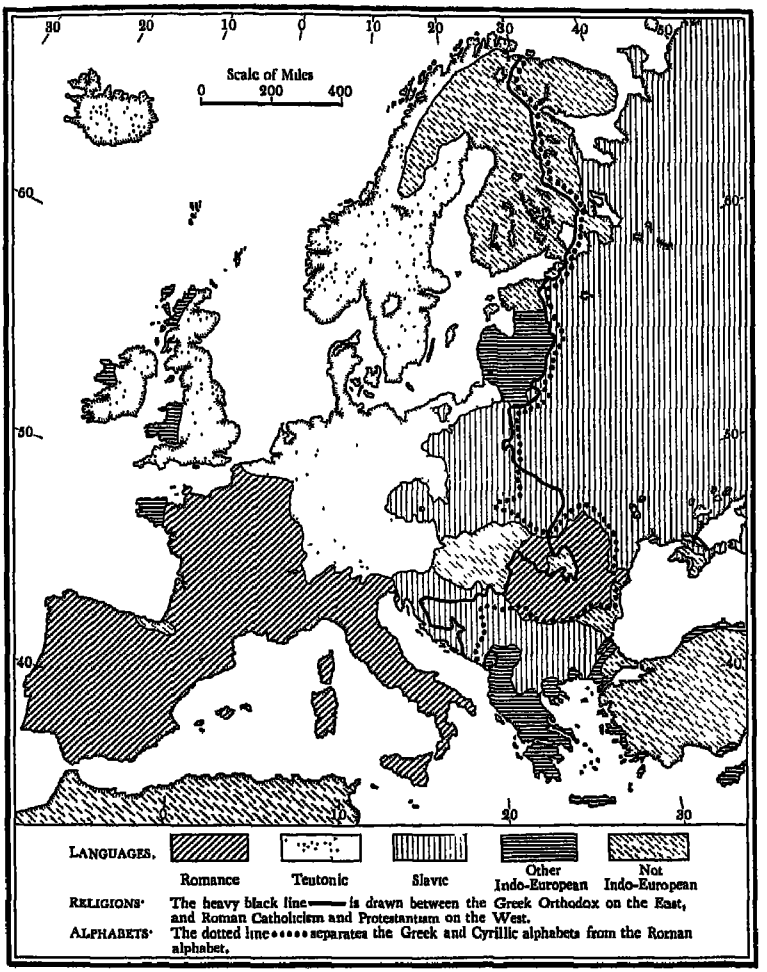
The Normans came to Normandy as colonizers; they came to England as conquerors, a few thousand at the most, and formed a ruling class which lorded it over a subject people. In time Norman merchants and artisans followed the soldiers, settling in the southern and eastern parts of the island. They seem to have emigrated in considerable numbers and they doubtless added an important element to the population. Two hundred years after the conquest perhaps a fifth of the inhabitants was of Norman descent. The conquest may thus be regarded as the third and last installment of the Teutonic invasion of England, less significant, however, than the Danes and Anglo-Saxons because the Normans in Normandy had received a considerable infusion of French blood and had learned to use a form of the French language (Norman-French). In spite of the changes which the Normans effected in the language, laws, and social institutions of England, the conquerors did not hold aloof from the conquered but mingled with them, and, being far less numerous, were eventually absorbed by them. In Normandy a century and a half had been long enough to turn Normans into Frenchmen. So in England, at the end of a like period, Normans became Englishmen.

The Two Sicilies

The conquest of England, judged by its results, proved to be the most important undertaking of the Normans. But during this same eleventh century they found another field in which to display their energy and daring. They went to the Mediterranean and created a Norman state in southern Italy and Sicily. The founding of their power there was largely the work of Robert, surnamed Guiscard ("the Crafty"), a nobleman of Normandy. He had set out from his home with only a single follower, but by valor and shrewdness he soon forged to the front. Robert united the scattered bands of Normans in Italy who were fighting for pay or plunder, acquired some of the Lombard lands, and wrested from the Roman Empire in the East its last possessions in the peninsula. His brother Roger subdued Sicily, then in the hands of the Moslem Arabs. Its recovery from "infidels" the Normans considered pleasing to God as well as profitable to themselves. These conquests in southern Italy and Sicily were united into a single state, which came to be known as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Normans kept this state for about one hundred and fifty years, but under German, French, Spanish, and Austrian rulers it lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Northmen and Normans in European History

The Scandinavian peoples in their expansion put a girdle almost around the Christian world. During the ninth century they settled in the British Isles, Iceland, Greenland, and Russia; during the tenth century they founded the duchy of Normandy; and during the eleventh century they established kingdoms in England and the Two Sicilies. Good fighters, they taught their adversaries lessons in fortification, siegecraft, and strategy — useful lessons for a fighting age. Excellent administrators, they had the best-governed states of medieval Europe. Not less striking was their aptitude for navigation and commerce. Economically, if not politically, their widespread settlements formed a real empire, connected by seaways and riverways and everywhere accessible to merchants. The great store of Arabic coins found in Sweden and of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Russia shows how extensive were their commercial activities. They opened up a very important trade route from the Baltic Sea through the Gulf of Finland and the Dnieper River to the Black Sea. This was named the Varangian route after the common designation of the Swedish Northmen. In the modern



Western and Eastern Europe: the Cultural Frontier

Russian language the word *variag* (derived from Varangian) still means a peddler or trader.

The Northmen and the Normans formed but a small folk and were merged with the peoples whom they conquered, becoming Frenchmen in France, Englishmen in England, Italians in Italy, Russians in Russia. They lost their identity, but as leaders, organizers, and energizers of European society they were "the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump."

Western Europe

The fusion of the Germans and of their successors, the Northmen and the Normans, with the Romanized provincials laid the foundation for the development of western Europe during the Middle Ages and in modern times. The boundary between western Europe and eastern Europe may be taken as a line drawn in a northeasterly direction from the Adriatic Sea to the Arctic Ocean. Many of the countries west of this line — Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, Switzerland, part of Germany, and England — once formed Roman provinces; all of them during the Middle Ages gave allegiance to the papacy; nearly all of them have Romance or Teutonic languages; and even today they continue to possess a certain community of interests and ideals, although no longer united under the universal monarchy of the Roman Empire or the spiritual sway of the Roman Church. This Atlantic-facing western Europe must be regarded as a single cultural area, comparable to the cultural area of the Mediterranean world in classical times, to that of the Near East in antiquity, to that of India, and to that of China. And it is western Europe whose peoples have expanded so widely during the last four centuries and have carried to the uttermost parts of the earth their languages, customs, government, religion, even their literature and art, until the greater part of the world has become subject to European influence.

XIX

New Rome

The Roman Empire in the East

IF western Europe during the early Middle Ages presented a scene of turbulence and violence while the Teutonic-speaking peoples were settling in their new homes, a different picture was afforded by eastern Europe. There the Roman Empire, though often menaced by enemies from without and weakened by civil dissension from within, continued to uphold law and order throughout a wide territory. Until the middle of the eleventh century it was the strongest state in Europe, except the Frankish power during the reign of Charlemagne; and until the middle of the fifteenth century it preserved the name, some part of the dominions, and much of the civilization of Rome. A long history — indeed, only surpassed in length by that of Oriental monarchies where "Amurath to Amurath succeeds." The great and continuous vitality of the empire appears the more remarkable when one considers that it had no easily defensible frontiers and faced powerful, hostile states. The empire survived so long because of its vast wealth and resources, its despotic, centralized government, the strength of its army and navy, and the immensely strong position occupied by Constantinople (ancient Byzantium), the capital. And to the end it remained the Roman Empire, known to its neighbors as Rūm, peopled by those who called themselves Romaioi, and headed by a Roman *Augustus*.

To the rulers at Constantinople the coronation of Charlemagne was an act of rebellion. If in later times they occasionally conceded the title of Emperor to the reigning German sovereign, they never regarded him as anything but a pretender and a rival. The rulers in the West reciprocated these sentiments, so that the relations between the two imperial lines were by no means amicable during most of the Middle Ages. Religious hostility was added to political hostility as the two churches, Greek and Roman, drew apart in theology and modes of worship.

Reign of Justinian

The successors of Theodosius I (died 395) could not prevent the Germans from seizing Italy and the western provinces, but they managed to keep their eastern dominions intact. The gradual recovery of the empire in strength and warlike energy made possible the great reign of Justinian (527–565), one of the ablest in a long line of able emperors. With Justinian must be mentioned the empress Theodora, a remarkable woman, who exercised much influence on her husband and through him on affairs of state. Their real though unavowed partnership of the throne is the first instance of the sort known to history. It was the ambition of Justinian to win back the former possessions of the empire in the West, an ambition partially realized by the overthrow of the Vandal kingdom in North Africa and the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy and Sicily. His armies also gained from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain. The Mediterranean was a Roman lake once more. The island of Sicily and some strips of the Italian coast continued for several centuries to belong to the Roman Empire in the East. Justinian's reign is also notable for the restoration of ruined cities, the founding of new ones, and the construction of massive fortifications on the exposed frontiers, splendid palaces, and many monasteries and churches. The most famous monument to his piety was the church at Constantinople dedicated to "Holy Wisdom" (*Hagia Sophia*) but commonly known as St. Sophia. The "fairest church in all the world," a medieval traveler truthfully described it. By his conquests, his buildings, and most of all by his laws, Justinian revived for a time the waning glory of imperial Rome.

The Corpus Juris Civilis

Until Justinian's reign the sources of Roman law had never been completely brought together, condensed, simplified, and arranged in systematic form. The legal commissioners whom Justinian appointed for this task carried it out successfully in seven years, 527–534. The result of their labors, in which the emperor himself assisted, was the compilation of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. Its main divisions are: (1) the Codex, containing what may be called statutory law, that is, the imperial legislation then in force; (2) the Digest, summarizing what may be called case law, that is, the opinions of learned jurists, similar in character to the decisions of our judges; and (3) the Institutes, a brief statement of legal principles for the use of law students. Justinian later issued many additional statutes which were collected as the Novels (*novellae*) and incorporated in the "Body of Roman Law." To reduce

the huge and confused mass of Roman law into a few convenient volumes, freeing it, as the poet Dante said, from "the excessive and the irrelevant," was a very important achievement, all the more important in an age that was ignorant of printing and that had none of the indexes, abstracts, and other devices which make our own law easy of reference. The Roman law that has survived means primarily the contents of Justinian's code — the crystallization of nearly a thousand years of development from the publication of the Twelve Tables.

The *Corpus Juris Civilis*, which appeared in Latin, was soon translated into Greek, the more popular language in eastern Europe. In its Greek form and with various modifications it continued to be the law of the empire while the empire lasted, and it is now the law of modern Greece. In western Europe the *Corpus Juris Civilis* long remained almost unknown except in those parts of Italy still controlled by the emperors at Constantinople. But during the eleventh century the West began slowly to emerge from the long night of the early Middle Ages, and the study of Justinian's code, especially at the University of Bologna, extended the civilizing influence of Roman law far and wide. That law lives today in nearly all parts of Europe where Roman arms once held sway and in some countries, such as Germany and Scotland, where they never penetrated. Spread by European colonization, it prevails in Latin America from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, in Quebec and Louisiana (formerly under French rule), in South Africa and Ceylon (formerly under Dutch rule), and in the Philippines. Even the legal system of Japan has been modeled upon that of Rome. The "Eternal City" still rules by her reason long after she has ceased to rule by her authority.

The Asiatic Provinces of the Empire

Justinian's conquests weakened the empire rather than strengthened it, for now there were much more extensive frontiers to defend. Within half a century after his death it was attacked in both Europe and Asia. The Lombards, as we have learned, soon secured the greater part of Italy, while in the Near East the Persians renewed their age-long contest against the Roman power. The Persians were repulsed by the exertions of the emperor Heraclius (610–641), but only at the cost of a struggle which drained the Asiatic provinces of their resources and made possible the speedy conquests of the Arabs. Heraclius had not closed his reign before these followers of Mohammed seized Syria and Palestine, and the year of his death saw them also masters of Egypt. Asia Minor remained unconquered and for four hundred years there-

after it continued to be the heart and strength of the empire. Beginning in the eleventh century came the attack of the Seljuk Turks, nomad horsemen from the steppes beyond the Caspian and fanatical converts to Islam. They spread over nearly all of Asia Minor. The ruin of this region, once so populous and wealthy, dates from the occupation by the Seljuks and the desolating wars between them and the imperial forces. Only in recent years has Anatolia, as Asia Minor is now called, begun to recover some measure of its former prosperity.

But neither the Arabs nor the Seljuks inflicted so grievous a wound on the empire as did the Christian peoples of Europe. In 1204 a powerful expedition of crusaders, French, German, and Venetian, pledged to fight against the Moslems, turned aside from their original aim to capture and sack Constantinople. No "infidels" could have treated in worse fashion this magnificent city, which they left half burned, depopulated, wholly plundered, and whose monuments and works of art they either destroyed or carried away. Never, declared an eyewitness of the scene, had there been such booty since the world began. The self-styled crusaders set up a line of "Latin" rulers at Constantinople, but after sixty years the rightful Greek emperors returned to the throne.

The empire never recovered from the shattering blow which it had received. During the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks, successors to the Seljuks, firmly established themselves in northwestern Asia Minor, and then, invading the Balkan peninsula, wrested province after province from the enfeebled empire. All that remained was Constantinople, protected by its mighty fortifications. The end came in 1453 when, with the aid of cannon, now for the first time used extensively in the siege of a city, the Turks breached the walls and poured in. Constantine Palaeologus, the last emperor, perished in the defense of a city which he could not save, and the Turkish conqueror, entering a St. Sophia stripped of its Christian emblems, proclaimed there the faith of the Prophet. Eleven hundred and twenty-three years had elapsed since Constantine the Great had dedicated with solemn ceremonies his capital of "New Rome."

The fall of Constantinople meant the fall of a state which throughout the Middle Ages had defended the Graeco-Roman Christian civilization of Europe against the civilization of Asia. In delivering the coasts and waters of the Mediterranean from all danger from Persia, the empire played the part which in earlier centuries had been played by Athens and Sparta and by Macedonia under Alexander the Great. As the result of its contest with the Arabs, the empire kept them out of Asia Minor and prevented them from sweeping over the Balkan penin-

sula as they had swept over Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Centuries passed, and the Turks became the bearers of the Asiatic menace. They triumphed, finally, in eastern Europe, but the empire by its long warfare with them broke the force and fury of their attack and thus protected the states of western Europe when still weak and disunited. The empire was the bulwark of the West against the East.

The European Provinces of the Empire

The empire for much of its life had to contend with barbarian invaders of the European provinces. Among those were the Slavic-speaking peoples, who first appear on the scene during the troubled years after Justinian's death. "Alpine" in racial type and related in language to the Teutonic and Celtic-speaking peoples of western Europe, their origin and early development are but vaguely known. No Greek or Roman writer had a vision of them; no contemporary onlookers heralded their entry on the stage of history. Their earliest home is supposed to have been the district called Polesia, among the mist-hung marshlands of the Pripet River, whence during the early centuries of our era they began to spread in ever widening waves over the European plain. As they spread, they displaced or absorbed the earlier inhabitants, thus effecting an extensive racial transformation and making possible the rise of new nationalities in this part of the Continent. Today their domain embraces almost all of Eastern Europe, besides the vast tracts of northern Asia which Russia has made her own. The Slavic-speaking peoples of Europe now form three great groups: Russians in the east, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks in the center, and Jugoslavs ("southern Slavs") south of the Danube. The Jugoslavs all through the sixth century made repeated raids into the Balkan peninsula, and the Roman emperors could not keep them out. During the seventh century they began to come in as colonists, as so many Germanic barbarians had done, and at length they became practically independent of the empire. Like the Germans, also, they avoided the cities and formed peasant communities in the country, where they mingled readily with the inhabitants. Their descendants have since remained in the Balkan peninsula, and even in the modern Greeks there is a considerable strain of their blood.

The Bulgars, a nomadic people of Asiatic origin and in language related to the Turks, made their appearance south of the lower Danube in the seventh century. For more than three hundred years these fierce barbarians formed a menace to the empire. At one time they threatened Constantinople and even killed a Roman emperor, whose skull was con-



The Expansion of the Slavs

verted into a drinking cup. The Bulgars occupied the region which now bears their name, Bulgaria; they gave up their wandering life for that of farmers and gradually adopted the languages and customs of the more numerous Slavic-speaking peoples whom they conquered and among whom they settled.

As the Roman Church labored to convert and civilize the Germans in western Europe, so the Greek Church worked among the barbarians in eastern Europe. The pomp and splendor of the Greek liturgy, with its incense and music, its lighted lamps and candles, the brilliant vestments of the clergy, their processions, genuflections, and prostrations, all had a great appeal to barbarous minds, perhaps more appeal than the actual teaching of the missionaries. The Jugoslavs and Bulgars became Christians in the ninth century and the Russians late in the tenth century. According to the account that has come down to us, Vladimir, the Russian ruler at Kiev, decided to abandon heathenism and sent envoys abroad to study the different religions — Judaism, Islam, and Christianity in its Roman and Greek forms. The envoys upon their return reported in favor of the Greek Church, for they had been so impressed by the magnificent ceremonies performed in St. Sophia that "they did not know whether they were on earth or in heaven." Vladimir accepted their report, ordered the idols of Kiev to be thrown into the Dnieper, and had himself and his people baptized. His decision to

adopt Greek Christianity meant that the Russians, as well as the Jugoslavs and Bulgars, were to come under the influence of Constantinople instead of under that of Rome.

With a new religion these barbarian peoples also received the gift of alphabetic writing. In 863 two brother monks, Cyril and Methodius, were sent from Constantinople to convert the Moravians, who formed a kingdom on the eastern boundary of Germany. In order to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among their converts, they devised a new alphabet suitable for writing the various Slavic languages. In time the Jugoslavs, Bulgars, and Russians adopted it, and they use it to this day. This so-called Cyrillic alphabet was based in the main on the Greek; in the modern Russian alphabet, for instance, no less than nineteen characters are either identical with the Greek capital letters or only slight modifications of them. Besides a writing system the barbarians received a literary language, Biblical translations, ecclesiastical art, the rudiments of law, and some knowledge of governmental methods. Since, however, they remained ignorant of the Greek language, the treasures of Greek literature preserved in Constantinople were a sealed book to them. The great city by the Bosporus never formed for them such a center of culture and intellectual development as did Rome in the Middle Ages for the Western peoples.

The Greek Church

For many centuries the two churches, Roman and Greek, remained in formal unity, the one under the pope and the other under the patriarch of Constantinople. The patriarch, as the adviser of the emperor in religious affairs, naturally became the chief ecclesiastical authority in the East. His position was greatly strengthened after the Moslem Arabs, having conquered Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in the seventh century, practically extinguished the three patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. At the same time the pope's power in matters temporal and in matters spiritual had been steadily growing throughout the West, and after the coronation of Charlemagne in 800 the papacy looked to the German emperors, and not to the emperors at Constantinople, for support and assistance. The stage was thus set for rivalry between the two churches and for ultimate open rupture.

The controversies which divided the churches had to do in part with theological questions and in part with ritual. Both churches professed to be orthodox, to accept the fundamentals of Christian belief as first laid down in the Creed of Nicaea. Both were thoroughly Trinitarian,

but they differed on a point of doctrine involving the question of the full equality of the Son with the Father. The Greeks maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, though through the Son; the Romans held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and also "from the Son" as a joint source. This phrase (in Latin, *Filioque*), which Roman theologians added to the venerated creed, seemed to Greek theologians a grave heresy, and they still declare that it makes unity between the two churches impossible. Another dispute arose over the religious use of images (icons), such as mosaics, pictures, and statues. Many eastern Christians wanted to get rid of those in worship, on the ground that by the ignorant they were venerated as idols. The Iconoclasts (image-breakers) received no encouragement from the popes, who held that images should be allowed, not as objects of devotion but as aids to devotion. When the Iconoclastic emperor issued a decree for the destruction of all images, the pope did not obey the order in the Italian churches under his control and went so far as to debar the image-breakers from Christian fellowship. The Greeks and the Romans also held conflicting ideas of ecclesiastical government. While the patriarch of Constantinople made no sweeping claims to spiritual rule over all Christians, he was not disposed to accept such claims when made by the pope.

In spite of many efforts to compose their differences, the two churches finally separated in 1054. The pope sent his legates to Constantinople to demand recognition of the papal supremacy. When the demand was refused they laid on the high altar of St. Sophia a sentence consigning the patriarch and all his followers to the eternal society of the Devil and his angels, "unless they repent." Then, we are told, they strode out of the church shaking the dust from their feet and crying, "Let God see and judge." The patriarch retaliated with an anathema, equally vitriolic, against the pope. The two branches of Christendom thus torn apart have never since been reunited; indeed, the gulf between them has but widened in the course of the centuries.

The long association, one might say identification, of the Greek Church with the empire gave to it a formal, conservative, even reactionary character. Religion became a sort of ceremonial function of the state; altar and throne supported each other and blessed each other. This character the Greek Church has retained, although its various branches in Greece, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Russia are today independent and under their own officers. In Russia the Bolsheviks disestablished the church, confiscated its revenues, and closed its schools. They regarded it as having been a strong prop of czarism and aristocracy. However, the policy of persecution and the antireligious

propaganda of the Soviets has now been abandoned. The Greek Church, the "Orthodox" church, as it calls itself, has weathered many storms and still provides a strong bond of union for the peoples of eastern Europe, just as in former days it united in a common faith and worship all the diverse subjects of the empire.

Governmental and Military Systems

The imperial government always remained what Diocletian and Constantine had made it, a despotism of the Oriental type. Never was the principle of autocracy challenged by a popular revolution, although weak or vicious rulers (remarkably few in number) were sometimes deposed or assassinated. When an uprising occurred, it was because people wanted good government, not self-government. No fixed rule of succession prevailed, so that the imperial office formed a possible goal for anyone crafty enough to conspire for it or strong enough to fight for it. But once solemnly crowned in St. Sophia the emperor reigned supreme as head of the state and head of the church. He led the army in person, served as his own finance minister, issued edicts having the force of laws, acted as a court of final appeal, and kept a careful oversight of bishops, metropolitans, and the patriarch of Constantinople. The emperor relied, as autocrats must rely, very much on the civil service which Rome had built up since the days of Julius Caesar and Augustus. The huge bureaucratic machine continued to perform its allotted tasks century after century; it sometimes creaked ominously but never broke down. It maintained public order and raised the enormous revenues necessary for a state involved in almost constant warfare. No contemporary kingdom in the West had a governmental system in any way so efficient as that of the Roman Empire in the East.

The military system of the empire displayed an equal efficiency. The armies were now recruited mainly from the hardy highlanders of Asia Minor and Armenia, Roman subjects and not foreign allies or unreliable German mercenaries. The main force consisted of mail-clad horsemen, provided with bow, broadsword, and lance, carefully drilled, and sternly disciplined. Ambulances and surgeons accompanied the soldiers into battle. Tactics and strategy received much attention. Several emperors wrote scientific treatises on the conduct of war; they realized that war is an art which requires intelligence as well as valor. The navy consisted of galleys, cruisers, and transports. Ships might be provided with battering rams, but their great weapon was the mysterious "Greek fire," a chemical compound used in various ways. Most

commonly it was thrown by hand in grenades which exploded on striking the enemy boat; or else whole pots of the liquid were hurled by means of a catapult. Combustibles were also propelled in some manner through long tubes placed on the prow of a ship and managed by a gunner. Pictures have survived showing the crew of an opposing vessel overwhelmed by such flame-throwers, which recall the *Flammenwerfer* used in the World War. If we add to all these weapons the massive fortifications of the frontiers and of the capital city, we need not wonder that the empire kept at bay for so many centuries so many dangerous foes.

Commercial and Industrial Activity

Until the rise of Venice and other Italian trading cities Constantinople monopolized most of the commerce of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Byzantine goods found a ready market in Italy, France, Germany, and other western lands and, by way of the rivers emptying into the Black Sea and the Baltic, reached Russia and the Scandinavian countries. There was a lively trade with the Near East, even after the Arab conquests there. The products of Byzantine craftsmen were also exchanged at Constantinople for the spices, drugs, precious stones, and precious wares which came overland or by water routes from India, China, and the East Indies. Raw silk was one of the chief imports from the Far East, but during Justinian's reign two monks smuggled some eggs of the silkworm from China by concealing them in a hollow bamboo and thus inaugurated the production of silk in the empire.

A twelfth-century traveler well described Constantinople as a metropolis "common to all the world, without distinction of country or religion." Significant of its commercial importance is the fact that the imperial coinage, the gold "bezant," circulated throughout Europe for nearly a thousand years. It was universally esteemed because the emperors until a late period never allowed it to be debased by reducing the gold content. The merchants of the empire were likewise responsible for bringing into Italy and thence into the West various commercial devices such as the bill of exchange, the letter of credit, and contracts of partnership and insurance — devices that had been originated long before by those keen businessmen, the Babylonians.

Constantinople was a hive of industry, and many men and women were occupied in making up the silks, brocades, embroideries, enamels, bronzes, mosaics, ivories, and other luxury goods in wide demand. As in earlier times, the workers and traders were organized in guilds. Their wages, methods of manufacture, conditions of labor, and prices

were all carefully regulated by an inquisitorial government; at the same time, the government took pains to protect them from foreign competition by means of tariffs. Although the hereditary membership of the guilds, enforced by Diocletian and his successors, no longer prevailed, unemployment seems to have been virtually nonexistent. Any able-bodied man out of work was at once put on some job of public utility or of charity. "Idleness," said one of the emperors, "leads to crime, and any superfluity resulting from the labor of others should be given to the weak and not to the strong." Paternalism could no further go.

Intellectual Life

When the upper classes in western Europe (save the higher clergy) were illiterate, those in eastern Europe received an education in all the learning of the age. Greek was the universal language and Greek literature was the foundation of the educational system. Grammar, rhetoric, logic, and the ancient masterpieces of poetry, history, and oratory were studied with ardor in the schools of Constantinople. Homer's poems had to be learned by heart; every cultivated person could recognize a Homeric quotation. Many were those who prided themselves, as did an imperial princess, on having studied Hellenism "from end to end." The classical tradition lived on in the empire and never died out until the empire itself vanished from the scene of history. Constantinople boasted a university, founded in the fifth century, where literature, philosophy, science, mathematics, law, and medicine all received attention. It attracted students from every quarter, even from Arab lands and western Europe.

The industry and talent of Byzantine scholars found expression chiefly in piling up knowledge, in making an inventory, as it were, of the intellectual riches that had come down from the past. Without their lexicons, encyclopedias, commentaries, and compilations much of the heritage from ancient Greece must have been lost forever. They formed, for instance, the famous collection known as the *Greek Anthology*, containing several thousand short poems composed from 700 B.C. to 1000 A.D., many by unknown authors – a golden treasury of all that the Greek poets had to say of nature and human nature, of art, of the passion of love, and of life and death. The men of letters, like the scholars, did little creative or original work except in history and religious poetry, and Byzantine literature has made but a slender contribution to the main stream of the world's literature.

Artistic Productions

The surviving monuments of Byzantine architecture are mainly churches; the palaces and other secular buildings which adorned the great cities of the empire have disappeared. The churches, after the time of Justinian, generally took the form of a Greek cross with shortened arms. Over each arm rose a cupola, while the central square space was covered by a dome instead of by the flat ceiling used in the basilican churches of Italy. Justinian's church of St. Sophia has, however, only one mighty dome. It does not rest, as does that of the Pantheon at Rome, on a broad circular wall, but on four triangular pieces of vaulting called pendentives. Each of these, in turn, is supported by a pier of massive masonry. The Pantheon dome appears heavy and earthbound in comparison with that of St. Sophia, an airy creation "hung from the sky," as a Byzantine poet described it. This method of dome construction was the most important innovation of Byzantine builders, and it has been largely adopted by the builders of modern times. The exterior of St. Sophia and other Byzantine churches is plain and unimposing, but the interior is adorned on a magnificent scale. The eyes of the worshiper are dazzled by the walls faced with marble slabs of variegated colors, by columns of polished marble, granite, jasper, and porphyry, and by glass mosaics gleaming with purple and gold. St. Sophia is still a marvelous sight, in spite of the fact that the Turks, who converted it into a mosque, destroyed or covered with whitewash most of the mosaics. St. Mark's in Venice, modeled on a church at Constantinople, affords an even better idea of the richness and splendor of Byzantine architecture in its prime.

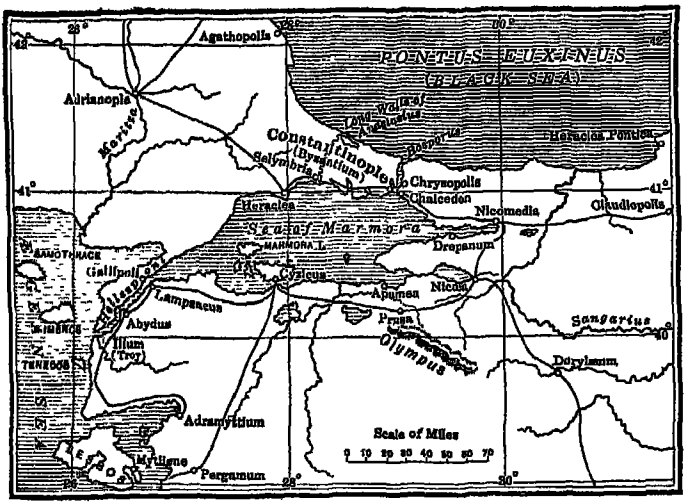
Statuary was very little in demand because of the religious objection to the three-dimensional representation of the human figure. But after the storm of the Iconoclastic controversy had blown over, icons in the form of pictures representing sacred scenes and personages were permitted. The pictures were painted on wooden tablets or metal plates not in oils but by the *tempera* process, the colors being first mixed with glue, albumen, or other viscous substance and then applied to a dry surface. These portable, wonder-working icons, often half hidden under silver or gold frames, filled the churches and monasteries. The painter had to follow closely the rules prescribed by the ecclesiastical authorities in indicating vestures, features, and attitudes. He was sometimes an astonishingly clever copyist — but he was never anything but a copyist. Much more satisfying, at least to modern eyes, are the polychrome mosaics with which church walls and domes were often decorated. Mosaic work was carried into Italy, where it may

be studied in St. Mark's at Venice and in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna, the latter especially interesting for the portraits of Justinian and Theodora with their officials and ladies of the court. Cefalù and Palermo in Sicily also contain very fine examples of this art. Byzantine carved ivories, enamels, miniatures, and productions in metal (such as bronze doors) often combine with great technical skill a genuine appreciation of the beautiful. Such products were disseminated throughout Europe.

Constantinople

Constantinople lies on a jutting peninsula between the Sea of Marmora and the spacious harbor called the Golden Horn. Enthroned like Rome upon seven hills and commanding like San Francisco and Rio de Janeiro magnificent views of sea and mountain, Constantinople occupies a truly imperial position at the junction of two continents and two of the greatest inland seas. Difficult to attack, the city was easy to defend. A hostile army advancing through Asia Minor found its further advance arrested by the long winding channel formed by the Bosporus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. A hostile fleet coming by way of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea faced grave difficulties in attempting to penetrate the narrow strait into which this waterway contracts at each extremity. On the landward side the line of defense was so short — about four miles in width — that it could be strongly fortified and held by a comparatively small force. The double walls of the city, erected in the fifth century, are still largely preserved. These fortifications, measured from the bottom of the moat, are one hundred feet high. Constantinople, in fact, was all but impregnable. Though each new century brought a fresh horde of enemies, it resisted siege after siege and only in the declining days of the empire was the city captured by the crusaders and the Ottoman Turks.

Constantine had laid out his capital on an imposing scale and had adorned it with treasures of art from Greece, Italy, and the Near East. Fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, eight public baths, and several triumphal arches are assigned to the founder of the city. One of his buildings was the Hippodrome, for chariot races, gladiatorial shows, and popular gatherings. There new emperors, after their consecration in St. Sophia, were acclaimed by their subjects; there civic festivals were held; and there the last Roman triumphs were celebrated. Theodosius II built the principal gate of Constantinople, the " Golden Gate," as it was called, by which the emperors made their official entry into the capital. But it was Justinian who, after Constantine, did most to adorn Constantinople. He erected more than twenty-five churches, the



The Vicinity of Constantinople

most beautiful being the world-famed cathedral dedicated to "Holy Wisdom." "Solomon, I have surpassed thee," said Justinian upon its completion. It remains perhaps the supreme achievement of Christian architecture.

Excepting Athens and Rome, no other European capital can lay claim to so long and so important a history as Constantinople. It was the largest, most populous, and most wealthy place in Europe for many centuries. When London, Paris, and Vienna were small and mean towns, visitors to Constantinople found a city of upwards of a million inhabitants, with paved and lighted streets, an adequate supply of water conveyed by aqueducts and stored in enormous cisterns, a good police system, parks, public baths, hospitals, theaters, schools, libraries, museums, churches, and palaces far surpassing anything in the West. The renown of Constantinople penetrated even into barbarian lands. The Scandinavians called it Micklegarth, the "Great City"; the Russians knew of it as Czarigrad, the "City of the Caesars." But to its own people it was the "City guarded by God."

Influence of Byzantine Civilization

When in 1453 the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople what remained of a great and glorious civilization perished. That civilization, in its larger aspects, represents a fusion of three principal elements — Near Eastern or Oriental, Greek or Hellenic, and Roman — the whole permeated and transformed by Christianity. How much the

world owes to it scholars only now are beginning to appreciate. Its services in preserving the treasures of classical knowledge and literature until, at the close of the Middle Ages, the West was ready to receive them and profit by them would alone entitle it to grateful remembrance. But all through the Middle Ages there was a more or less continuous infiltration of cultural elements from Constantinople into a western Europe slowly emerging out of semibarbarism into order and settled life. Eastern Europe received almost everything of cultural value from the churchmen and statesmen of Constantinople. The Balkan countries and Russia are backward today as compared with their western neighbors; but it is well to remember that the Balkan countries languished for more than four hundred years under the rule of the Asiatic Turks, and that Russia for two hundred and fifty years after the thirteenth century was under the equally stunting and isolating rule of the Asiatic Mongols. While Byzantine civilization never had a chance to reach full fruition in eastern Europe, it was powerful there. Its influence on the Arabs was also profound. The Arabs who came out of the desert to conquer so widely were a rude people, and almost all the refinements which they acquired were taken over by them from their subjects. Persia gave them much, but from the Byzantine civilization in Syria and Egypt they absorbed still more. To the Arabs and their achievement we now turn.

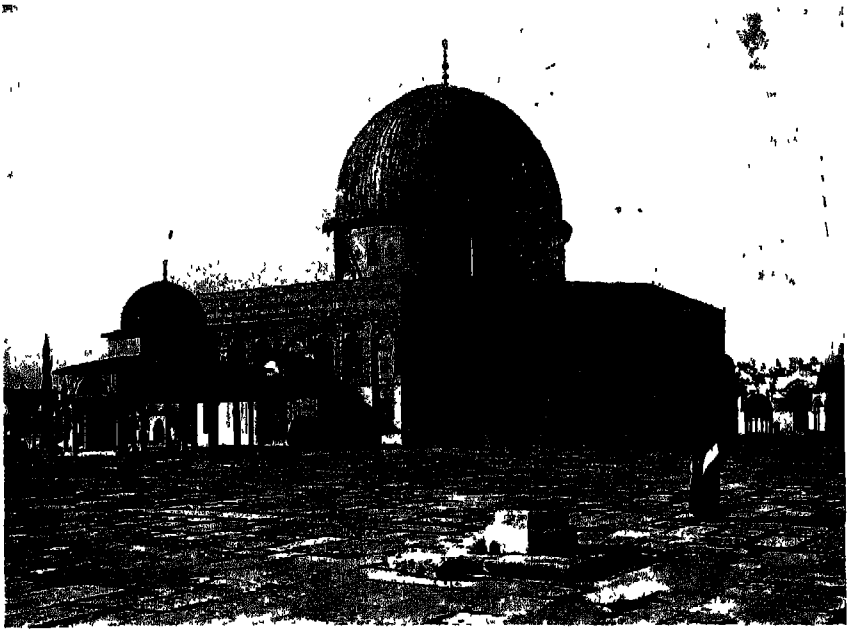
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Islam

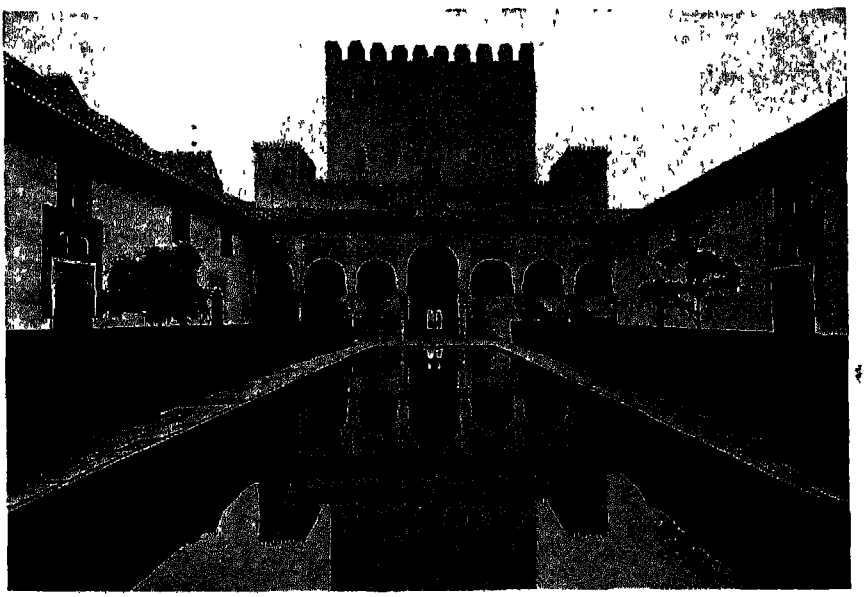
Arabia and the Arabs

THE peninsula of Arabia is one-third as large as the United States, and like the southwestern part of the United States most of it is a wilderness of barren mountains, dry rocky plateaus, and sandy deserts. There are no perennial rivers, no real lakes, no forests, and almost no natural harbors of any consequence in a coast line of four thousand miles. The peninsula is connected with the rest of Asia by arid plains stretching northward to the Euphrates River, and with Africa by the equally arid isthmus of Suez. Difficult of access from every quarter, this "island of the Arabs," as the inhabitants call it, is still very little known and parts of it are entirely unexplored. Ever since the rise of Islam much of Arabia has been forbidden country for the foreigner and the unbeliever, while the two holy cities of Medina and Mecca may be visited only by the followers of Mohammed. The interior of the peninsula contains numerous oases where springs gush forth from underground rivers and create fertile tracts sometimes large enough to support a considerable population. But it is chiefly in the valleys along the western, southern, and southeastern coasts, with a temperate climate, adequate rainfall, and productive soil, that men have been able to settle down and develop some of the arts of civilization.

The Bedouin Arabs, by which name the nomadic inhabitants of the desert are known, claim Ishmael, the son of Abraham and the half brother of Isaac, as their ancestor. The life which they lead today recalls that of the Hebrew patriarchs as pictured in the first book of the Old Testament. Herdsmen and shepherds without fixed homes, dwellers in tents which they can strike at a moment's notice, ever on the move from one pasturage and water hole to another, the Bedouin Arabs have kept their ways but little changed century after century. Good stock-raisers but poor husbandmen, it is only by compulsion that they turn from pastoral pursuits to agriculture. "The plough-



DOME OF THE ROCK, MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE, JERUSALEM
7th Century A.D. *Page 439.*



COURT OF THE MYRTLES AND COMARES TOWER, THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA, SPAIN
14th Century A.D. *Page 440.*

PLATE XIII



THE CHURCH DEFENDED AGAINST THE HERETICS
Medieval Symbolic Painting. *Page 448.*



THE PROCESSION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT FOLLOWED BY RENÉ, KING OF NAPLES. *Page 464.*

PLATE XIV

share and shame enter hand in hand into the family," declares one of their proverbs. From very early times they had the dromedary, or single-humped camel, to supply them with meat and drink and the material for their tents and coarse garments. On account of its endurance and swiftness, it is generally used for long journeys; the "ship of the desert" can go ten days without water and, when grazing is good, can travel thirty miles a day. The struggle for existence is always hard and often desperate for these nomads, especially when drought burns the pastures and dries up the wells or when swarms of locusts descend upon the land. Their virtues – hospitality to the stranger, generosity, faithfulness to the ties of kinship – are well known. So also are their love of fighting and plundering, vengefulness, and impatience of restraint. To the Bedouin Arabs their neighbors, the peaceful farmers and traders, were legitimate prey; to the latter the Bedouins were natural enemies. As was said of Ishmael, "His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him."

The settled inhabitants of southwestern Arabia achieved a relatively advanced civilization many centuries before the Christian era, as we know from the remains of their walled towns and thousands of their inscriptions that have been discovered. The writing resembles Abyssinian (Ethiopic) and not the Arabic script of later times. There were at least four independent states in this part of the peninsula, the most famous being that of the Sabaeans. One of their rulers, so modern Arabs believe, was the "Queen of Sheba," who visited Solomon at Jerusalem and brought with her as gifts a camel train bearing "spices and gold very much, and precious stones." The riches of the Sabaeans were celebrated in antiquity; the Roman Horace, for instance, refers to their "unrifled treasures." From their land came ginger, pepper, and other spices in wide demand, as well as frankincense, a fragrant gum used for embalming and fumigating and fully established in Christian ritual by the time of Justinian. The Romans called the land of the Sabaeans Arabia Felix ("Araby the Blest"); it is now called the Yemen.

During the early centuries of the Christian era the inhabitants of the Hejaz, the territory along the western coast of Arabia, began to adopt settled habits of life, to practice agriculture, and to engage in trading expeditions on the Red Sea and by caravan routes through the peninsula. Here grew up the flourishing city of Yathrib (Medina). To the south of it, about fifty miles from the sea, lay Mecca, Mohammed's birthplace. Every year the Arab tribes suspended for four months their petty wars and feuds and visited Mecca to buy and sell and enter the sanctuary known as the Kaaba (Cube). The Kaaba contained idols and a mysterious small black stone (probably a meteorite) which legend

declared had fallen from heaven in the days of Adam. The stone was originally white, but the sins of the people who kissed it had blackened it. The annual pilgrimage, coupled with the excellent position of Mecca on the caravan routes, made the city an important commercial center of the Arabs, both nomadic and sedentary.

The religion of the heathen Arabs seems to have been much like that of the related Canaanites of antiquity — a mass of local cults centering about sacred stones, trees, wells, and mountains and recognizing many gods and a few goddesses, all as rude in character as their worshipers. Allah ("the deity") enjoyed a certain precedence as father and creator, but he was not sole God. The old heathenism seems to have been in decay even before Mohammed's time, for many Arab communities had embraced Judaism or Christianity, especially along the Syrian frontier and in the Hejaz and the Yemen. The more enlightened Arabs were ready for the appearance of a prophet of a truly monotheistic religion.

Mohammed

Our knowledge of Mohammed is derived from Arabic sources, and Western scholars find it a difficult matter to separate the historical from the unhistorical elements in the "lives" of the Prophet that have come down to us. He was born about 570, a member of the tribe called the Koreish, to which most of the inhabitants of Mecca belonged. Left an orphan at an early age and brought up by an uncle, he found employment tending camels and more than once may have journeyed with the Meccan caravans on their visits to the fairs of Syria. He never received a regular education; it is doubtful whether he could read or write. Such accomplishments were then rare among the Arabs. Entering the service of Kadija, a rich widow and merchant of Mecca, he conducted her affairs successfully, won her admiration, and, while still a young man, married her. Kadija was his first convert; he owed much to her support during the early years of his mission; and as long as she lived he took no other wife.

Mohammed had reached middle age, a prosperous though undistinguished citizen of Mecca, before his prophetic career began. All accounts agree that at this period he spent much time on a mountain top near Mecca, fasting and holding solitary vigils. These ascetic exercises were probably suggested to him by the example of Christian hermits, for asceticism had no place in the old religion of the Arabs. During lonely hours of contemplation strange figures passed before his eyes and strange voices sounded in his ears. He had visions which to him were revelations from another world. For mediumistic experiences

of this sort the career of Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, affords perhaps the closest modern parallel. Mohammed became convinced, as had John the Baptist, that the last days were near at hand and that he must at all costs warn his countrymen of the impending judgment of God. Finally, so he declared, the archangel Gabriel appeared to him and bade him proclaim the divine message. The message was very simple, but in its simplicity lay its strength: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the messenger [that is, prophet] of Allah." In order to proclaim that message Mohammed gave up wealth, friends, and an honorable position, facing for more than ten years the ridicule and hatred of the citizens of Mecca. He was to be one more prophet not without honor save in his own country.

The disciples of Mohammed called themselves Moslems (Muslim) — those who "surrendered" themselves to the will of God. They were very few at first, chiefly men of humble and even slave origin. Some others, such as Abu Bakr, Ali, Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law, and Othman, another son-in-law, were persons of position and influence. The early converts assembled privately to listen to the Prophet's sermons, to pray according to the formulas and postures he prescribed for them, and to pledge their abstinence from the sins he most condemned, including idolatry, fornication, and infanticide. Islam (Surrender, or Resignation) thus began as a religious secret society.

Mohammed's mission to the Meccans met a discouraging reception. They regarded with a tolerant contempt this self-styled prophet who had arisen in their midst; when, becoming bolder, he proceeded to revile the idol worship which made Mecca a holy city and attracted there the very profitable "tourist trade," contempt passed into open hostility. Mohammed himself did not suffer anything worse than abuse, because of family and clan support, but those of his followers who had no relatives to protect them were bitterly persecuted. At length the Prophet and the little band of converts took refuge in Yathrib, where some citizens had already been influenced by the new religious teaching. This Flight (Hegira) occurred in 622, and after Mohammed's death it was made the beginning of the Moslem era. To Arabs the year has great significance as marking the time when the Prophet first enjoyed protection to preach openly.

For the next ten years Yathrib, or Medina (city of the Prophet) as it came to be known, formed Mohammed's home and the refuge of his followers. As they increased in number, Mohammed began to combine fighting with preaching — so successfully that in the end Mecca itself surrendered to his army. He treated the inhabitants leniently, but destroyed all the idols with which the city abounded.

After the submission of Mecca many Bedouin tribes enlisted under the Prophet's banners, and when he died in 632 he ruled western Arabia (the Hejaz) and exercised a loose authority over the central part of the peninsula. The Moslems, after his death, were ready to worship him as a god, until Abu Bakr rebuked them with the memorable words: "Whoso worshipeth Mohammed, let him know that Mohammed is dead; but whoso worshipeth God, let him know that God liveth and dieth not." Islam was to be sternly, fanatically monotheistic.

Such was the career of a man whom Christians, at any rate until recent times, have dubbed an "impostor"; whom some modern students have regarded as a victim of epilepsy or an abnormal nervous disorder; and whom Moslems consider a saint. History records few examples of a career more influential, for — no Mohammed, no Islam.

The Koran

The sacred book of Islam, the Koran (Recital), was put together about two years after Mohammed's death, out of his utterances delivered in a real or assumed state of trance and his public speeches and prayers. Some parts of the book were written down at the time on anything that came to hand, such as palm leaves, bits of parchment and shoulder blades of sheep; other parts remained at first only in the memories of his auditors. There can be no doubt, however, that the Koran in its present form is substantially identical with the Prophet's own words. It is not very extensive, being, in fact, only two-thirds as long as the New Testament. For Moslems the contents correspond exactly with those of the heavenly Koran in God's handwriting which Gabriel revealed to Mohammed. Hence there must be no tampering with the sacred text; it is all verbally inspired. The "Higher Criticism" does not flourish in Moslem lands. There are one hundred and fourteen chapters (suras), varying in length from a few lines to many pages. The arrangement is quite arbitrary, for the compilers made no attempt to group the chapters either chronologically or by subject matter and merely placed them in the order of their decreasing length. Western people find the Koran almost unreadable as a whole, although the poetic power of many isolated passages cannot be denied. Whatever else he was, Mohammed was a true poet, as indeed the Meccans realized when they called him that in derision. If for us the Koran seems no well of spiritual wisdom, no source of profound philosophy, it must still have the importance that attaches to a work which, next to the Bible, is the most read book in the world.

The Koran does not include all the regulations observed by Moslems

There are several other authoritative works based on traditional accounts (*Sunna*) of the sayings and doings of Mohammed, his family, and his close companions. The trustworthiness of this material is often open to question; nevertheless the Faithful accept the *Sunna*, or part of it, as genuine and derive from it many rules for the guidance of life. Thus in Islam, as in Christianity, tradition supplements and interprets revelation.

Islam as a Religious System

Mohammed made no claim to be the founder of a new religion. He presented himself as the restorer of the old religion established by Abraham among the Arabs. His God was the God of the Hebrews; Allah was the same deity as Jehovah. Islam, in fact, derives directly from Judaism, with the addition of features taken over from Christianity. These religions were known to Mohammed from oral sources only and hence were known very imperfectly. Islam emphasizes the unity of God. The Moslem cry — "*Allah Akbar!*" "God is Great!" forms its cardinal doctrine. It accepts twenty-eight prophets as revealers of God's will, the first being Adam, others being Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, and the last and greatest, Mohammed. But Mohammed never claimed to be more than a prophet, never demanded worship for himself, and always refused to satisfy his superstitious followers by working apparent miracles.

Islam recognizes the existence of angels and evil spirits; Iblis, the chief of the demons, bears a family resemblance to the Jewish Satan and the Christian Devil. The account of the creation and fall of man is derived, with variations, from the Old Testament. The descriptions of the resurrection of the dead, of the last judgment, and of the division of the future world into heaven and hell, have also a plainly Jewish and Christian background. Hell, in Mohammed's fervent imagination, is a great gulf where unbelievers burn endlessly and believers who die in sin suffer for a period purgatorial fires according to their sinfulness. Heaven is a garden of delight where the Faithful dwell amid fountains of clear cold water; where they have abundance of milk and honey, and wine that fuddles no wits, and fruits of every kind; and where they enjoy the society of "large-eyed," modest maids forever young and fair. But Mohammed also describes a spiritual paradise in which peace and concord reign and the pious rejoice continually before the presence of God. Enlightened Moslems interpret all these descriptions figuratively, as enlightened Jews and Christians explain similar word-paintings in the Bible.

Islam imposes on a Moslem five great obligations. First, he must recite, at least once in his life, aloud, correctly, and with full understanding, the short creed: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the messenger of Allah." Second, he must pray five times a day – at sunrise; when the sun hangs highest in the sky; at midafternoon; at sunset; and at bedtime. In every Moslem city the hour of prayer is announced from the tall minaret of the mosque by a crier (*muezzin*). Before engaging in prayer the worshiper washes face, hands, and feet; during the prayer he turns toward Mecca, and bows his head to the ground. Third, he must observe a strict fast from morning to night during every day of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Moslem year; eating during the nights of this month is allowable. It was in Ramadan that God presented the Koran to Gabriel for revelation to Mohammed. Fourth, the Moslem must give alms to the poor. Religious law now fixes the amount at one-fortieth of the believer's income; to give less is a sin, to give more a meritorious act. Fifth, he must, "if he is able," undertake at least one pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrims visit the Kaaba, which lies in the center of a colonnaded courtyard, the shrine covered with a heavy black cloth renewed every year. They walk or run around the Kaaba seven times – seven is a holy number in Islam as in Judaism – and kiss the sacred black stone fixed in the outer wall of the sanctuary. The annual visit of pilgrims, sometimes as many as two hundred thousand, to the holy city makes a strong bond of brotherhood among Moslems all over the world. These five obligations are the "pillars" of Islam.

There is nothing sacerdotal about Islam. No priesthood, serving as an intermediary between God and man, finds a place in it. Any Moslem of good character can conduct the mosque service. Usually, however, a recognized leader (*imam*) offers the public prayers and delivers a sermon on the Moslem Day of Assembly, the fifth day of the week. All work is suspended during the service, but at its close secular activities are resumed. It should be added that altars, pictures, and images have no place in the mosque.

Islam as a Social System

The Koran contains some important prohibitions. Moslems are not to worship idols; to practice usury, that is, to exact any interest at all upon loans; to engage in blood feuds; to use any form of divination; to play games of chance (the Arabs were as much addicted to gambling as were the barbarian Germans); to eat pork and certain other unlawful foods; or to drink wine, "the mother of all wickedness."

Especially noteworthy is the condemnation of infanticide, a custom once as common among poor Arabs as it still is in China. Mohammed denounced infanticide as murder, and after the Prophet's time unwanted daughters were no longer buried alive. Fornication was also forbidden, and a passage of the Koran prescribes that both parties guilty of it shall be scourged with one hundred stripes. The rite of circumcision, practiced everywhere in ancient Arabia, was kept by Mohammed's followers, though it is never mentioned in the Koran.

Both polyandry and polygyny prevailed without restriction among the heathen Arabs. Mohammed did not recognize polyandrous unions at all and he urged, if he did not require, his followers to limit themselves to not more than four wives at a time – four wives were enough for any man. Such has always been the rule in Islam, although an unlimited number of concubines is allowable. After Kadija's death Mohammed himself never observed the rule, a convenient "revelation" having authorized an exception in his case.

The Prophet did much to improve the condition of married women. He discouraged divorce, declaring it "most abominable" to God and allowed the divorced wife to receive, not alimony, but a sum equivalent to the dowry or bride-price paid to her on her wedding day. He condemned the custom of treating widows as mere property to be appropriated by the dead man's heir. He allowed the wife to hold and dispose of her own possessions without consulting her husband and to receive a reasonable share of a relative's estate. And Mohammed insisted on kind treatment of married women. "The best of you," he said, "is he who behaves best to his wives." Such practices as the veiling of women and their seclusion in a separate part of the house, the harem, seem to have been unusual among the Arabs of Mohammed's time; they are not enjoined by the Koran. Nor was there any prejudice against the education of women. In early Islam women of the upper class were often highly accomplished. Their relative freedom at this period no doubt helps to account for the marvelous flowering of Moslem culture.

Slavery, as well as polygyny, was an institution which Mohammed found fully developed among the Arabs. If he never abolished it, he did much to ameliorate it. Only non-Moslems taken captive in lawful warfare or carried off by force from a foreign country might be held in bondage. The manumission of slaves formed an act of special merit, and anyone who provided ransom for them became the favored of God. A slave woman who bore children to her master was *ipso facto* emancipated; the children themselves were legitimate and free. And Mohammed insisted on kind treatment of bondsmen. "Feed your

slaves," he directed, "with food of that which you eat and clothe them with such clothing as you wear, and command them not to do that which they are unable to do." While slavery has not yet disappeared from Arabia and some parts of Moslem Africa, it never assumed in the Islamic world the form of human chattelhood characteristic of Negro slavery in America.

As a religious teacher Mohammed accomplished his greatest work in the substitution of monotheism for the nature worship and idolatry of the heathen Arabs. As a social reformer, the greatest thing he did was the imposition of a firm discipline upon his primitive-minded, fierce, unruly followers. He gave the Arabs a common belief and a common worship, and, in spite of the opposition of vested interests, introduced among them much higher standards of right and wrong than they had ever known before. In its insistence on the equality of all Moslems before the law, in its denial of class distinctions, and in its repudiation of a privileged priesthood Mohammed's religious and ethical code proved to be well adapted to the needs of Arab society.

Shiites and Sunnites

Not long after Mohammed's death Islam began to divide into the two great sects of Shiites (Partisans) and Sunnites (Traditionalists). The differences between them were originally political in character. Mohammed, though much married, had left no son and had appointed no successor. Under these circumstances the Shiites thought that the succession should devolve on Ali, Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law and nearest of kin to him by both birth and marriage, and that it should remain in Ali's family. The claim of Ali to be the rightful "representative" (caliph) was passed over, however, and the position went at first to Abu Bakr and then to Omar and to Othman. Ali did become the fourth holder of the caliphate, but his descendants by his wife Fatima never held the office to which, according to the Shiites, they were entitled. There is still a living representative of Ali in the person of Aga Khan, of India and Europe, whom the piety of millions of followers has made one of the world's richest men. The Shiites also rejected some of the written traditions known as the *Sunna*, whereas the orthodox Sunnites accepted all of them as supplementing the Koran. Outside of Persia, where Shiism is the state religion, the Moslem world is mainly Sunnite. This schism in Islam recalls the divisions which arose in Buddhism and Christianity. All the universalistic religions have been unable to preserve unity; they have always become sectarian.

Arab Expansion

Arabia is a land of Semitic-speaking peoples, perhaps their original home and certainly the center from which they spread over the territories of their neighbors. Within historic times there have been at least four periods when great migratory movements occurred. The first outpouring from Arabia was that of the Akkadians, who entered the Tigris-Euphrates valley during the third millennium B.C.; the second was that of the Canaanites, who occupied Palestine; the third was that of the Aramaeans, who settled in Syria; and the fourth, last, and most important was that of the Moslem Arabs in the seventh century of our era. Arabia has been well described as a prime source of "ethnic disturbance," a human reservoir which from time to time has overflowed its banks. This peninsula, much of it uninhabitable or scarcely habitable, cannot support a large population, and, when numbers increase too rapidly and press against food supply, migration becomes inevitable. No natural boundaries separate northern Arabia from western Asia, and the intervening desert can be readily crossed by migrants provided with camels and horses.

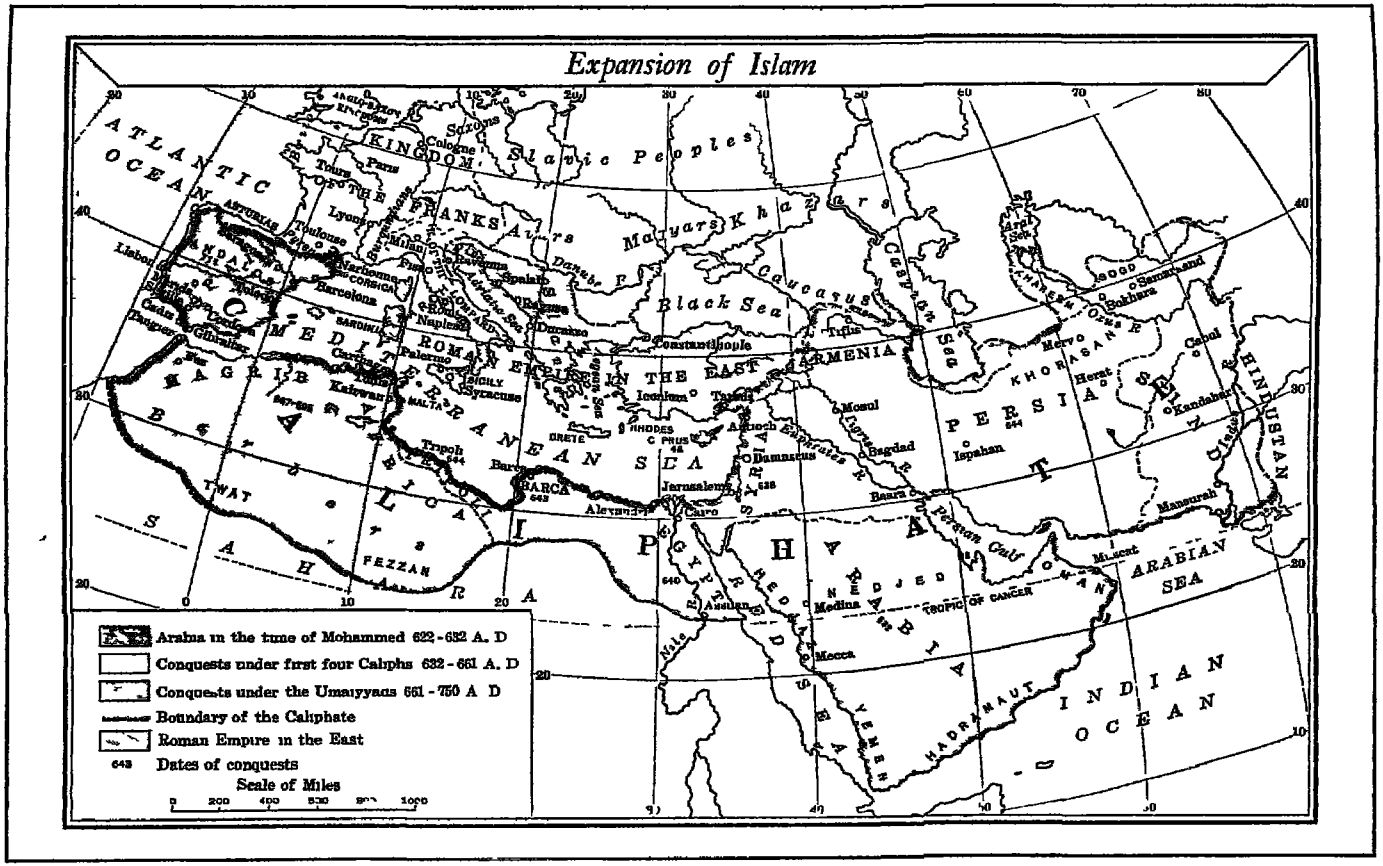
The Arabs of Mohammed's time were ready for a conquering career. He had begun to unite them and make them feel one people, had ended their intertribal warfare, had aroused their racial pride, and, as the result of his own successful campaigns, had opened before them the prospect of infinite plunder to be gained in foreign lands. For untold generations the tribes of Arabia had been fighting, raiding, and robbing one another; henceforth they were to turn their aggressive energies against infidels. Who can blame them for embracing with enthusiasm a religion which promised rich booty for those who fought and won and heaven for those who fell?

The most extensive conquests of the Arabs were made within ten years after Mohammed's death. During this brief period the Moslem warriors, though wretchedly armed, ill-disciplined, and in every battle much outnumbered, won a series of amazing victories over both Rome and Persia. From the Roman Empire in the East they tore away Syria and Palestine, with the famous cities of Damascus, Antioch, and Jerusalem. They seized the Tigris-Euphrates valley (Iraq, as it is now known) from the Persian Empire and then began the subjugation of Iran. From Iran they were later to press into the lands beyond the Oxus and into northwestern India. Egypt was also subdued by these irresistible horsemen who had so suddenly ridden out of the desert to build an empire. The Arabs removed the capital of Egypt from Alexandria to a military camp not far from the site of ancient Memphis; here grew up the great city of Cairo.

The conquests of the decade 632–642 were soon followed by the annexation of Armenia and the islands of Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes in the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, the Arabs threatened to capture Constantinople. The first attempts against the city were made by sea and were repulsed, but in 717–718 it had to face a combined attack by an Arab army and navy. The eastern emperor, Leo III (called the Isaurian), conducted a heroic defense, using with much effectiveness the celebrated "Greek fire." The stout resistance offered to them, the rigors of an uncommonly severe winter, and timely aid received by the eastern emperor from the Bulgars at length compelled the Arabs to give up the siege. Had Constantinople fallen at this time, all eastern Europe would have lain open to invasion, and the Jugoslavs, Russians, and Bulgars, then unchristianized barbarians, must have yielded to the influence of Islam. The failure of the Arabs gave the Roman Empire in the East another long lease of life and preserved eastern Europe for Christianity.

Having occupied Egypt, the Arabs began to overrun North Africa, which Justinian, little more than a century previously, had recovered from the Vandals. A few of the great cities held out for a time, but after the capture and destruction of Carthage in 698 Arab rule was soon established over the entire African coast as far as the Atlantic. Islam made in North Africa one of its most permanent conquests. Rome had never completely Romanized this region nor had Christianity ever won there a complete victory; outside of the cities its pastoral Berber tribes maintained their own speech, manners, and heathen religion. The Berbers soon accepted Islam.

The conquest of Spain and Portugal came next. In 711 an army of Arabs and Berbers under the leader Tarik crossed the strait to the famous rock which still bears his name (Gibraltar, Gebel Tarik, "the mount of Tarik"), moved inland, and with lightning strokes overthrew the Visigothic kingdom. Within a few years the invaders had subdued the entire peninsula except a strip of the northwestern coast which always remained Christian and unconquered. They soon penetrated the Pyrenees, captured many of the old Roman cities in the south of Gaul, and then advanced northward, attracted, apparently, by the booty to be found in Christian churches and monasteries. Somewhere between Poitiers and Tours they encountered the army which Charles Martel, the chief minister of the Frankish king, had gathered to oppose them. The Battle of Tours (732), as it is usually called, seems to have continued for several days. Of the details we know nothing, though a Spanish chronicler tells us that the heavy infantry of the Franks stood "immovable as a wall, inflexible as a block of ice" against the desperate


Expansion of Islam
ATLANTIC OCEAN
KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS
Slavic Peoples
Avars
Magyars
Khazars
Black Sea
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST
ARMENIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Constantinople
Rome
Naples
Palermo
Syracuse
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Malta
Tripoli
Barca
Alexandria
Cairo
Jerusalem
Damascus
Antioch
Iconium
Tarsus
Mosul
Baghdad
Basra
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
PERSIA
Ispahan
Merv
Herat
Kandahar
Kabul
Khorasan
Transoxiana
Samarkand
Bokhara
Oxus R.
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
HINDUSTAN
Indus R.
Mansurah
Muscat
Persian Gulf
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
ARABIA
Medina
Mecca
Red Sea
Nile R.
Aswan
Hadramaut
Yemen
Hejaz
Nejd
Tropic of Cancer
Libya
Barca
Fezzan
Tripoli
Twat
Sahara
Algeria
Tunis
Morocco
Fez
Tlemcen
Algiers
Tangier
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Lisbon
Toledo
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Saragossa
Barcelona
Pamplona
Toulouse
Lyons
Paris
Cologne
Saxons
Danish Pirates
Arabia in the time of Mohammed 622-632 A. D
Conquests under first four Caliphs 632-661 A. D
Conquests under the Umayyads 661-750 A. D
Boundary of the Caliphate
Roman Empire in the East
643 Dates of conquests
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000

charges of the Arab horsemen. When the Franks, after the last day's fight, prepared to renew the struggle, they found that the enemy had fled, leaving a camp filled with the spoils of war. The defeat of the Arabs in this engagement was scarcely as significant as their repulse, fourteen years before, at Constantinople. It is doubtful whether the Arabs ever contemplated the permanent annexation of Gaul; their expedition seems rather to have been a plundering raid. Not long afterward the Frankish ruler Pepin the Short expelled them from southern Gaul and drove them across the Pyrenees to Spain. It should be added, however, that during the ninth and tenth centuries the Arabs managed to establish themselves for a time in Sicily, where, as in Spain, they developed a brilliant civilization.

The Arab Empire

The creation within a single century of an empire more extensive than that of Rome was an achievement for which history affords few parallels. The Arabs spread over much of the civilized world with the swiftness of a desert whirlwind. Their success cannot be explained as due to overwhelming numbers, any more than in the case of the Germans, or to extraordinary fighting ability, though they were splendid soldiers and were often superbly led. It was not so much the strength of the invaders as the weakness of their adversaries that made possible the Arab Empire. A militant Islam faced Rome and Persia exhausted by the long wars between them. Both empires were really too large; in each were provinces remote from the capital and difficult to defend. Among the subjects of the Roman Empire in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt there was also widespread discontent, a consequence of heavy taxation by the government at Constantinople and severe persecution of heretical sects by the Greek Church. The imperial officials and orthodox ecclesiastics in these provinces were disliked far more than the Arab invaders, who promised relief from burdensome taxes and complete religious freedom. The situation was much the same in North Africa, where the Roman provincials made only a half-hearted stand against the Arab armies. In Spain the progress of the invaders after the first battle was likewise very rapid, so deeply hated was the oppressive rule of the Visigoths. Persia offered a more stubborn resistance, and that land never became so completely Arabicized as the other countries of the Near East.

The waging of a "holy war" (*jihad*) against unbelievers was one of the most important obligations laid by Mohammed upon his followers. The heathen Arabs were to be converted to Islam by the sword if neces-

sary; all other peoples were to be compelled to submit to Moslem masters. But the extension of Moslem rule beyond Arabia did not involve the forced conversion of Jews and Christians, for there are passages in the Koran expressly protecting them in the exercise of their religion. As a matter of fact, the Arabs discouraged the conversion of Jews and Christians and of Zoroastrians in Persia, since those who accepted Islam did not pay the poll taxes levied on non-Moslems. The tolerance of early Islam, though dictated by selfish considerations, affords a refreshing contrast to the intolerant attitude of early Christianity toward Jews, pagans, heathen, and heretics. Eventually most of the conquered peoples accepted Islam, in order to acquire the legal privileges of Moslem citizens.

The Arabs conquered more widely than they colonized. Outside of Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Egypt — that is, the lands adjacent to Arabia — the Arabs were never numerous. They formed a small minority in Persia and a very small minority in North Africa, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily. In North Africa they mingled to some extent with the Berbers; in Spain, Portugal, and Sicily they have disappeared altogether. What the Arabs accomplished was less the infiltration of new peoples into old lands than the extension of a religion, language, and social system originating in Arabia over a vast territory in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Most of this territory retains their impress still.

The Caliphate and Its Dismemberment

Immediately upon Mohammed's death in 632 Abu Bakr was chosen to succeed him as caliph, the civil and military leader of the Moslems. The office conferred upon its possessor no spiritual authority; Islam, having no priesthood, could have neither patriarch nor pope. After Abu Bakr, who ruled only two years, came Omar, originally an opponent of Mohammed but later one of his chief advisers. Able, energetic, farseeing, Omar ranks as the true founder of the Arab Empire. The great conquests in the Near East were all made during his tenure of the caliphate. He was the first to assume the title "Commander of the Faithful." After Omar came Othman, a weak ruler. He was assassinated by partisans of Ali, whose own services as well as his close relationship to Mohammed seemed to give him the best claim to the caliphate.

But Ali's title was, in turn, disputed by Muawiya, the cousin of the murdered caliph and governor of Syria. After Ali's death this usurper succeeded in becoming the recognized head of the Moslem world. Muawiya made the caliphate a hereditary, instead of an elective, office

and established the dynasty of the Umaiyyads, so called from the Meccan family to which he belonged. Their accession to power was signalized by the transfer of the capital from Medina to Damascus. The descendants of Mohammed's family refused to recognize the Umaiyyad Dynasty as legitimate, and in 750 the Abbasids, named after an uncle of Mohammed, revolted and established a new dynasty.

The fifth of the Abbasid caliphs and the most celebrated was Harun al Rashid (Aaron the Just) a contemporary of Charlemagne, to whom the Arab ruler sent several presents, including an elephant, the first to be seen in western Europe for many centuries, and a water clock which struck the hours. The stories of Harun and his court, in the so-called *Arabian Nights*, reflect the luxurious life of the Abbasids as taxes, tribute, and booty piled up wealth in the empire. They removed their capital from Damascus to Bagdad on the Tigris, at the point where that river approaches most closely to the Euphrates. A canal twenty-five miles long connected the rivers. From Sumerian times there had always been an important city here or close at hand, for the site was a natural center of the caravan trade and of river-borne commerce. After the extinction of the Abbasid caliphate Bagdad declined in prosperity, but it is still the chief city of the Tigris-Euphrates valley and the capital of modern Iraq.

The Umaiyyads had ruled a united Moslem world, but this was not true of the Abbasids. They were never acknowledged in Spain, where one member of the Umaiyyad family, having escaped the general massacre of his kinsfolk by the victorious Abbasids, set up at Cordova a separate dynasty. Early in the tenth century this became the caliphate of Cordova. About the same time North Africa and Egypt were united in the caliphate of the Fatimids, who traced their descent from Fatima, Mohammed's daughter. Still other states, at first vassal then finally independent, arose elsewhere in the empire. The process of dismemberment continued unchecked, until the time came when the authority of the Abbasid caliph hardly extended beyond the walls of Bagdad and he himself was a puppet in the hands of his mercenary soldiers, the Seljuk Turks. In 1258 Bagdad was captured by the heathen Mongols from central Asia. These barbarians plundered the city, slaughtered many of the inhabitants, and put the caliph to death. The rule of the Abbasids became formally, as it had long been actually, extinct.

The Crusades

The rapid expansion of the Arabs in the seventh century had carried their arms over Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, and in

the eighth and ninth centuries the left horn of the encroaching crescent had spread over Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean. During this period the peril of a Moslem conquest of Europe was almost continually present. The advance of Islam began again in the eleventh century, and now the right horn of the crescent moved forward. The Seljuk Turks, at first the mercenaries and then the masters of the Abbasid caliphs, won almost the whole of Asia Minor from the Roman Empire and even threatened Constantinople. It was under these circumstances that the emperor Alexius I appealed to Pope Urban II for help from western Christendom. The appeal fell on willing ears. Urban summoned a great council of clergy and nobles, mostly French, to meet at Clermont, France, in 1095; and there, in an address which measured by its results was the most momentous recorded in history, he launched the first of the military expeditions undertaken by the Christians of Europe for the purpose of expelling the hated "infidels" from the Holy Land.

Seven or eight chief crusades are usually enumerated. To number them, however, obscures the fact that for two hundred years there was a continuous movement of crusaders to and from the Moslem lands. Nor is it possible to weigh with accuracy the strength of the various motives which impelled the crusaders: the desire of acquiring merit in heaven by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the most distant and most sacred of holy places; the assurance that those who died fighting for the cross entered immediately upon the joys of paradise; the prospect of adventure; finally, the hope of winning riches, fame, and power in the glamorous Orient. However much adulterated by baser motives, there was always a strong element of religious revivalism in the crusades; and the peoples of western Europe, without this spiritual enthusiasm, would never have made the sacrifices which the crusading movement involved.

The First Crusade resulted in the capture of Jerusalem (1099) and the setting up of a Latin kingdom in the Holy Land. Three other small states, centering about Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa, were also established. The depleted ranks of the crusaders were constantly filled by fresh bands of pilgrim knights who visited Jerusalem to pray at the Holy Sepulcher and to have some experience of fighting. In spite of constant border warfare much trade and friendly intercourse prevailed among Christians and Moslems. They learned to respect one another as both foes and neighbors. The Holy Land thus became a meeting place of East and West, much as were Spain and Sicily under Arab rule. The crusading movement ended with the end of the thirteenth century, for by this time the old idea of the crusade as the "way of God" had lost its spell. The Moslems in 1244 recovered Jerusalem, destined to remain in their hands until after the outbreak of the World War; Acre,

the last Christian post in Syria, fell to them in 1291. Cyprus and Rhodes remained in Christian hands, and these islands long served as a barrier to Moslem expansion over the eastern Mediterranean.

Broadly speaking, the crusades must be accounted a failure. After two hundred years of conflict, after a vast expenditure of wealth and human life, the Holy Land was not liberated. It is true that the First Crusade did help to check the advance of the Seljuk Turks toward Constantinople, but this benefit was more than undone by the so-called Fourth Crusade (1204), which resulted in the capture of Constantinople by Christian freebooters and gave a mortal blow to the Roman Empire in the East. To some extent the waste of social energy in the crusades had its compensations, for Christians if not for Moslems. The crusades brought the peoples of western Europe into closer relations with one another, with their fellow Christians in eastern Europe, and with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The intercourse between Christians and Moslems so far as it was peaceful was particularly stimulating, because the Near East at this time surpassed western Europe in the arts of civilized life. The crusaders went out from their rude castles, mean towns, and meaner villages to see great cities crammed with luxuries and refinements; they returned with finer tastes, broader ideas, and wider sympathies. The prize brought back by Europeans from the crusades was not the liberation of the Holy Land; it was renewed acquaintance with the higher culture of the Near East, the "vestibule of paradise."

Islamic Civilization

The Arabs of Mohammed's time had been for the most part rude and illiterate, even semibarbarous, but they learned quickly from the more advanced peoples conquered by them; as absorbers and transmitters of civilization they played a notable role in history. Their assimilative capacity far exceeded that of the Germans, so that the Arab conquests introduced, not a Dark Age, but a Golden Age. At a time when so much of the Christian world cared little whether the lamp of learning went out or not, the Moslem world nurtured the arts and sciences and carried these to new heights of splendor.

The greatest debt of the Arabs was to Hellenism, which, interfused with Christianity, lived on in the Near East before and after the Arab conquests. Almost all the Greek classics of philosophy and science were eventually translated into Arabic. Aristotle became for Moslems no less than for Christians "the master of those who know"; the mathematics of Euclid and Archimedes and the geography and astronomy of

Ptolemy had authority in Islam as well as in Christendom; and Moslem physicians to this day invoke the names of Hippocrates and Galen. It is significant, however, that few versions were ever made of Greek literature — poetry, drama, oratory, and history — so that the Arabs missed a more intimate acquaintance with the inner spirit of Hellenism. They wanted information, not inspiration. The Persian influence on the Arabs was also great, especially after the removal of the caliphate from Damascus to Bagdad; for Persia had a proud imperial past and a cultural tradition reaching back to the days of Cyrus and Darius. The borrowings of the Arabs were facilitated by their possession of a language understood from the Indus to the Pyrenees and so rich and flexible that it provided a ready instrument for the translation of Greek and Persian books.

But the Arabs were more than simple borrowers of a culture higher than their own. Themselves so keen for knowledge, they stimulated to an extraordinary degree the intellectual energies of the Greeks, the Syrians, the Persians, the Berbers, the Spaniards, and the Hindus, who formed the bulk of their subjects, and supplied them with enthusiasm and directive power. Islamic civilization, or Saracenic civilization, as it is sometimes called — in the Middle Ages the Moslems were known to their Christian foes as Saracens — thus represents a mingling of many cultural streams. The "Arabs," the bearers of this civilization, might be Moslem or non-Moslem in religion, natives of Arabia or of one of the dozen provinces of the empire, conquerors or conquered, but they all spoke Arabic and enjoyed the protection and the patronage of the caliphs. There now took place for over four centuries such a fusion of alien peoples and alien cultures as had occurred in the Near East after Alexander's conquests and in western Europe after those of Rome. Islam supplied a new force to bind together much of the world.

Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce

Islamic civilization spread over lands where rainfall is inadequate or uncertain and where, consequently, resort must be had to irrigation and intensive tillage. The Arabs not only adopted the agricultural methods long used in the Near East but also improved upon them. Iraq, under the Abbasid caliphate, remained the fruitful agricultural country which it had been in antiquity, until the Mongol hordes in the thirteenth century deliberately broke down the irrigation works and converted the valley of the Two Rivers into a waste of steppe suitable only for pastoral nomads. Andalusia, or southern Spain, where the Umaiyyads continued to rule, was another land of gardens. The Arabs practiced

rotation of crops, used fertilizers extensively, studied plant diseases and insect pests, and understood how to graft and produce new vegetables, fruits, and flowers. Through them European peoples became acquainted with cotton, buckwheat, rice, sugar cane, coffee, asparagus, spinach, beans, oranges, lemons, apricots, plums, strawberries, dates, bananas, roses, and many other products found or developed in eastern lands.

The standards of fine craftsmanship which had so long prevailed in the Near East were ably maintained by the Arabs. They excelled in the manufacture of articles of luxury demanded by the court and the wealthy classes — sumptuous silks and brocades, tapestries, vessels of brass or bronze inlaid with precious metals, glassware such as the huge hanging lamps of the mosques, pottery, and carved and painted ivories. Damascus was famous for its blades of tempered steel, Toledo for armor, and Cordova for leather. Those brilliant flowers of the loom, Oriental carpets and rugs, spread the fame of Merv, Bokhara, and other Persian cities. The European names of some products commonly in use recall the Arabic sources from which they were first derived: damask (Damascus), muslin (Mosul), gauze (Gaza), grenadines (Granada), cordovan, a kind of leather (Cordova), and morocco leather. The Arabs knew the secrets of dyeing; the aniline dye, now so important, is named from the indigo plant with which they became familiar in India. They also learned, perhaps directly from the Chinese, how to make rag paper, and factories for its fabrication were set up in many cities of the empire. Fragile papyrus and costly parchment now began to be supplanted by the new writing material, first in Eastern lands and then in Moslem Spain, where it was introduced during the twelfth century.

Islam arose among the mercantile communities of Arabia, and Mohammed, himself a successful businessman, had encouraged trade as being pleasing to God. The merchant occupied an honorable social position, and the bazaar, or trading quarter, had a place in every Moslem city. The pilgrimages to Mecca and other holy cities promoted travel and also led to the establishment of fairs and caravanserais, or hotels, at pilgrim centers. The geographical setting of the Arab Empire facilitated its commercial development, for now a solid block of Moslem territory stretched from the Atlantic eastward into the heart of Asia. The Arabs controlled the old caravan roads along which the products of inner Africa and the Far East reached the Mediterranean. Such cities as Cairo, Damascus, and Bagdad owed much of their prosperity to a favorable position at the intersection of important trade routes.

Commerce by water was even more important than by land. All the Moslem cities of the southern Mediterranean coast traded with one

another, and commercial relations, when not interrupted by Moslem or Christian pirates or by crusaders, extended to the northern shores of the Mediterranean, particularly to Italy. The Arabs also made trading expeditions down the Atlantic coast of North Africa, perhaps as far as the mouth of the Senegal River. But the Indian Ocean was the great area of Islamic commerce, almost an Arab lake. The Arabs sent their ships to Ceylon, India, China, the East Indies (Java and Sumatra), and the eastern coast of Africa; in many of these regions they founded colonies of traders. Someone has said that there is a strong smell of the ocean in the *Arabian Nights*, with its tales of Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea. Our English vocabulary contains not a few words Arabic in origin and reflecting the Arab maritime supremacy, such words, for example, as admiral, cable, caravel, shallop (sloop), bark, arsenal, and monsoon.

Geographical Knowledge

The trade, wide conquests, and pilgrimages of the Arabs much increased their knowledge of the world. Geographical studies flourished among them. An Abbasid caliph, son of Harun al Rashid, had the Greek *Geography* of Ptolemy translated into Arabic and enriched the book with illuminated maps. A librarian of Bagdad compiled a gazetteer of names of places, with their positions, on the Ptolemaic model. Numerous descriptive works dealing with the provinces of the caliphate and with the chief trade routes were prepared. One of the best was by Al Biruni, who went to India, remained there for many years, and wrote a most valuable account of that country as it was in the eleventh century. Careful researches were undertaken to determine latitudes and longitudes, with such success that the meridianal distance between Toledo and Bagdad was calculated with an error of only three degrees. Al Idrisi, who lived at the court of the Christian king of Sicily in the twelfth century, prepared for his royal master a description of the known world and a world map engraved upon a silver plate. Arab work in geography does not seem to have made much impression on European thought during the Middle Ages, doubtless because of Christian scruples against a branch of learning which apparently contradicted Biblical statements about the earth and the universe as a whole.

Education

Elementary schools were numerous in the Moslem world by the time of the Umaiyyads. Girls as well as boys attended them and rich and

poor alike enjoyed the same privileges. The community paid the schoolmaster. The curriculum was as meager as it still is in eastern lands — simple exercises in reading and writing, based on the Koran, and the rudiments of arithmetic. Under the Abbasids universities were established in Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo, and other cities of the Near East. Al Azhar at Cairo, founded during the tenth century, is now the largest university in the Moslem world. Cordova in Spain was the seat of another great institution of learning. Besides theology and philosophy, the studies included law, mathematics, and the natural sciences. Since the universities were usually placed in the mosques, every Moslem had free access to them. Academic work was of the simplest sort. The professor sat in the hall or courtyard of the mosque, with his pupils gathered about him, and delivered a lecture based usually on one of his own treatises. Any pupil might interrupt with questions, and the professor who could not answer them to the satisfaction of his audience was forthwith discredited. There was perfect freedom to teach and to learn, no degrees, examinations or other formalities being required of either lecturer or lectured. Salaries were seldom paid, so that teachers usually had some outside employment. Many cities possessed libraries, sometimes very extensive. The royal library of Cordova is said to have consisted of 400,000 volumes. Constantinople has still more than eighty mosque libraries containing tens of thousands of manuscripts. When the contents of these treasure houses have been made accessible to Western scholars, it will be possible to gain a much better appreciation of Islamic learning.

Mathematics and the Sciences

At a time when the peoples of western Europe were still employing the awkward Roman numerals, the Arabs had taken over from India what Al Biruni calls "the most beautiful form of the Indian figures," those simple signs which make it possible to work out easily the most elaborate calculations in arithmetic. Among these was the zero sign, the *sifr* ("empty"), allowing figures to be kept in a row (units, tens, hundreds, etc.) instead of in separate columns as on the counting board, or abacus, that device of wires and beads still used by Chinese merchants and found in our kindergartens. In plane geometry Arab scholars added little to Euclid, but they did good work in trigonometry, both plane and spherical. Algebra owes much to them; an Arab treatise on algebra long formed the textbook of the subject in European universities; the very name is Arabic in origin. It is impossible to rate too highly the mathematical work of the Arabs and that of their prede-

cessors, the Hindus and the Greeks; for on mathematics rests the whole structure of modern science.

Since time immemorial stars had been the guide of the desert nomads of Arabia; they knew them as familiar friends. After Islam arose, the religious practices demanded of Moslems made it necessary to determine which way believers must turn during prayer in order to face Mecca. Furthermore, to fix the exact date for feasts and fasts, close watch had to be kept of the motions of the moon. The Moslem year was, and still is, the lunar year of 354 days. Old astrological superstitions, derived remotely from Babylonia, added a special interest to the study of the heavens, particularly to the prediction of eclipses. For these reasons considerable progress took place in astronomy. Observatories were set up in various centers of the Arab empire; a long series of observations were taken, in some cases extending over twelve years; and such instruments as the sextant and the gnomon were invented or perfected. Great catalogues of the stars were drawn up, the first to be made since the days of the Greeks. Various astronomical terms of Arabic origin, such as zenith, azimuth, and nadir, and many star names, especially those beginning with the prefix *al-* (the definite article in Arabic), testify to the indebtedness of medieval Europe to Arab astronomy.

The Arabs were relatively skillful chemists, for they discovered a number of new compounds, such as nitric and sulphuric acid (the only acid known to the ancients was vinegar), and corrosive sublimate. They knew vitriol, alum, saltpeter, the salts of mercury, and many other substances not heard of before their time. They practiced the chemical processes, such as distillation, calcination, and filtration. Physical researches were by no means neglected. The Arabs employed the pendulum for time measure, tabulated the specific gravities of metals, and investigated the laws of optics, particularly those dealing with reflection and refraction. In zoology they seem to have accomplished little; they did more in botany because of its importance to medical science. One student gathered botanical specimens from the entire Moslem world and described no less than fourteen hundred plants. In general, Arab scientists shone as patient observers and industrious collectors of facts rather than as generalizers and theorists. Strong in analysis but weak in synthesis, they never really tried to build up a systematic account of the world of nature. More important than their actual contributions to knowledge was their service in preserving and spreading abroad the scientific lore of Greece.

In medicine the Arabs built upon the Greek achievement, but went

beyond it. There were more than thirty hospitals in the cities of their empire, staffed by eminent physicians and attracting medical students from all parts of the Moslem world. The pharmacopoea created by the Arabs includes some of the commonest drugs in use today, such as nux vomica and camphor as stimulants, henna and calomel as purgatives, and aconite and opium with their effects on the nervous system. The earliest systematic treatise on diseases of the eye, so common in the Near East, was an Arab production; another treatise gave the first clear account of smallpox, measles, and scarlet fever; and another announced the pulmonary circulation of the blood three centuries before this was independently described by a European investigator. Ibn Sina (Avicenna), writing in the eleventh century, combined the whole of Greek medical knowledge and the Arab contribution into a gigantic encyclopedia, the *Canon of Medicine*. This was translated into Latin and Hebrew, was printed many times in western Europe, and is still used in Oriental lands. Probably no other medical work has exerted so wide an influence. The Arabs would doubtless have made as much progress in surgery as in medicine had they not been prevented by religious scruples from performing autopsies or practicing vivisection on animals. Nevertheless, they studied Galen's anatomical works and acquired sufficient knowledge to perform surgical operations, sometimes of a daring sort, and to devise many surgical instruments.

Theology and Philosophy

The simplicity of Islam as a religious system did not encourage such theological and philosophical speculations as involved Christian thinkers in prolonged and often heated arguments over subtle questions of belief. Most Moslems remained satisfied with the Koran and the traditions of the prophet, all taken literally. No need existed for adding man-made doctrines to divine revelation; was not philosophy "wisdom mixed with unbelief"? Nevertheless, as Islam spread abroad, it could not but feel the impact of Greek thought, for the Arabs had access, in translations, to Aristotle's works and a large number of Platonic and Neoplatonic writings. Under the patronage of one of the Abbasid caliphs an academy was founded in the ninth century for the translation and interpretation of the Greek classics, and for a long time philosophy really came into its own in Bagdad. New and rather startling ideas were broached, for instance that the Koran was created in time, instead of having always existed; that the human soul has three parts, vegetable, animal, and human; and that the world had no begin-

ning and, presumably, would have no end, this last an idea as repugnant to Islam as to Christianity. A Moslem inquisition finally suppressed such heretical views.

The most eminent of Arab philosophers in the Near East was the physician Avicenna. The philosophic thought of the Near East passed across the Arabic-speaking world to Spain and culminated during the twelfth century in Ibn Rushd (Averroës) of Cordova. This philosopher asserted the eternity of matter and denied the immortality of the soul; his general attitude seems to have been pantheistic rather than theistic. He did not argue, however, that faith and reason were irreconcilable; on the contrary, he held that revealed religion and philosophy were both true and that when they seemed to conflict with each other the error lay in the interpretation. This comfortable doctrine did not find favor with the authorities, and Averroës was banished from the court of the Spanish caliph. His original writings and commentaries on Aristotle, when translated into Latin, exercised a considerable influence on medieval philosophy. Influential, also, was the work of Jewish thinkers living in Arab lands, among them the great Maimonides (1135–1204). Latin translations of his writings were familiar to Christian theologians, especially at the University of Paris.

Literature and Art

Written in a language little studied in Western lands and expressive of a culture so alien to our own, Arabic literature remains almost a sealed book to us. The Koran we know, and something of Mohammed's genius in creating a prose style semilyrical in character and often of great power and beauty. For Moslems the Koran is not only inimitable in its content but also in its literary expression. We have known the *Arabian Nights* (more accurately the *Thousand and One Nights*) ever since the early eighteenth century when Antoine Galland turned part of that huge work into French and adapted it to the taste of a European audience. In its present form the book seems to have been put together in Egypt as late as the fifteenth century. It is a composite production, containing tales of Indian and Persian origin as well as those derived from Arabic sources. There have been more than three hundred editions of the *Nights* in all the languages of Europe. Another work, more familiar in England and America than in the country of its birth, is the *Rubáiyát* of the astronomer-poet of Persia, Omar Khayyam, who wrote about the beginning of the twelfth century. His little collection of quatrains, translated and much amplified by Edward Fitzgerald, has become an English classic. Like Horace, Omar voiced a

polished hedonism: pleasure is the sole or chief good in life; let us live for the day; who can tell what the morrow will bring forth?

> Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
> Before we too into the Dust descend;
> Dust into Dust, and under Dust to lie
> Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and — sans End!

Though nominally a Moslem, Omar wrote not in Arabic but in Persian. Among prose writers the fourteenth-century Ibn Khaldun holds an important place. He composed an extensive account of Islamic peoples and dynasties and prefaced the work with a sketch of universal history before the rise of Islam. Giving up the traditional annalistic approach to his subject, he dealt with the whole life of man in society and hence had much to say about the influence of economic and social factors in shaping the course of human events. In short, Ibn Khaldun produced what deserves to rank as the first philosophy of history.

Painting and sculpture owe little to the Arabs, for one of Mohammed's laws forbidding idol worship was subsequently expanded by religious teachers into a prohibition of the representation of human or animal figures in art. Except in the mosques the prohibition was not always observed, however; Arabic wall paintings of human figures have been found in castles, and the Alhambra contains a famous Court of the Lions.

Arab architecture, both religious and secular, reached a high level of excellence. It is characterized by the use of the pointed and of the "horseshoe" arch, both so well adapted to the light and airy nature of the buildings. Characteristic, also, are the cupolas and domes, the vaulted roofs, porches, and colonnades. Buildings were richly ornamented with encrusted marbles, glazed tiles, glass mosaics, and carvings based on intricate geometrical designs and known as arabesques — "geometry in blossom." The Arabic script, an exquisite ornament in itself, formed another favorite design. It is true that most of the construction and decoration was done for the Arabs by the Persians, the Byzantines, and the Copts (the Christian natives of Egypt) whom they commonly employed; it is also true that this rude people, who in Arabia had no real architecture, were not only anxious to preserve the artistic monuments of the past but also to raise up new monuments worthy of a victorious Islam.

The mosque, always the typical and principal Arab structure, went back in plan to Mohammed's simple mosque at Medina. It consists essentially of a rectangular court surrounded by porticoes. At the farther end is the "house of prayer," having a flat roof supported by

many columns. This end is supposed to be oriented toward Mecca, and in its wall is placed the *mihrab*, or prayer niche. The mosque contains a pulpit (*mimbar*) for the leader of the congregation and, near the entrance, a fountain for ablutions. Outside rises the minaret, whence the call to prayer is sounded. After the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the architectural grandeur of St. Sophia, which they turned into a mosque, led to the building of mosques with a massive central dome. These were chiefly in Constantinople. Damascus and Cairo have several magnificent mosques; the Great Mosque of Cordova (now the cathedral) is second in size only to St. Peter's at Rome. Among the Arab secular buildings that still survive are the Alcázar of Seville, the Alhambra at Granada, a fortress without and a palace within, and the Taj Mahal near Agra in India, this last surely the loveliest building in all the world. The Arab architectural style was copied by the Spaniards and by them was carried to the New World to flourish anew in Latin America. Architects of the United States have now begun to appreciate the utility and charm of this style, so well adapted to the clear atmosphere, brilliant sunshine, and wide vistas of our southwestern states.

Influence of Islamic Civilization

The rise of Islam brought into the current of history a people who, compared with their neighbors, had lagged behind culturally and whose land, inaccessible, inhospitable, shrouded in mystery, the great conquering powers had passed by. Suddenly the Arabs appear as the founders of a religion destined to prevail over vast tracts of Asia and Africa; almost as suddenly they appear as the patrons and bearers of a great civilization which for hundreds of years surpassed anything to be found in western Europe. Both the religion and the civilization in time declined. The one became more intolerant, more bigoted; the other tended to become stereotyped and unprogressive. Islam, tied to a sacred book which enjoyed the authority of divine revelation, did not adapt itself to the changing needs of a changing world. Had conditions been favorable to peaceful development, perhaps it might have done so. They were not favorable. Besides constant fratricidal strife between the Moslem dynasties, there was much warfare with foreign foes. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christian crusaders harried the Arab countries, inflicting untold miseries on the inhabitants and bringing cultural development to a standstill. Hardly had the Moslems recovered in some measure from this attack than the terrible Mongol invaders descended upon them like an avalanche and involved in a common devastation and ruin the great Arab cities of western Asia.

Finally most of the Arab dominions came under the control of the Ottoman Turks, who, though Moslems, have never been distinguished for encouragement of learning and the arts. The stagnant condition of the Moslem world during recent centuries must be ascribed in large measure to its Turkish conquerors and rulers.

The Golden Age of Islam drew to a close, but not before some reflections of its splendor lighted up the darkness of the early Middle Ages in western Europe. Christian scholars began to visit Spain, where, under the tolerant Moslem rule, they enjoyed complete religious freedom. They learned Arabic, visited the libraries and universities, and translated into Latin the works of philosophy and science which the Arabs themselves had taken directly or adapted from the Greek. After Toledo, the greatest center of Moslem learning in Spain, fell before the Spaniards in 1085, Christian scholars resorted to that city in increasing numbers. Such works as Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and many of Aristotle's writings, together with Arabic treatises on algebra, medicine, and other subjects, were now introduced into western Europe through Latin versions. Not only Spain but also Sicily had a share in this transmissive process after the island passed from Moslem into Christian hands. Palermo, its half-Arabic capital, was captured by the Normans in 1072 and under the patronage of the Norman rulers that city vied with Toledo as a seat of intellectual culture and the arts. Thus through the Arabs western Europe first became aware of the legacy of Hellenism.

The formation of the Arab Empire and the diffusion of Islam within its borders brought about a permanent severance in religion and culture as well as in government between the Christian Occident and the Moslem Orient. Later developments, especially the recovery of the Iberian peninsula by the Spaniards and the conquest of Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula by the Turks, made still more definite and complete the separation of the two worlds which Rome and Christianity had made one. The unity of Mediterranean culture disappeared. Henceforth two rival civilizations, each aspiring to be dominant, stood face to face. The old contrast of East and West, of Asia and Europe, was revived in a new form, and in this new form it has continued to appear until the present day.

XXI

The Christian Commonwealth

The Roman Church

WESTERN Europe during the Middle Ages was "a camp with a church in the background"—the Roman Church. At the height of its power the church prevailed in Italy and Sicily, Spain and Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, and the British Isles. Membership in the church was not a matter of free or conscious choice, for all people except Jews belonged to it by baptism, a rite performed in infancy, and remained in it for life. Everyone was expected to conform, at least outwardly, to its doctrines and ceremonies, and anyone questioning its authority was liable to punishment as a heretic. The church recognized no political boundaries. Priests and monks were subjects of no country, but were "citizens of heaven," as they sometimes called themselves. Men of all nationalities entered the priesthood and joined the monastic orders. Even differences of language counted for little in the church, for Latin was the universal language of its officers. The church thus truly formed an international state, a Christian commonwealth, the heir of the universal sway of imperial Rome. In the quaint language of a seventeenth-century writer it was "the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof."

The church in the Middle Ages performed a double task. On the one hand, it gave the people religious and moral instruction and watched over their conduct; on the other hand, it took an important part in secular affairs. The church thus combined ecclesiastical and civil functions. It wielded an authority both spiritual and temporal. It ruled both the souls and the bodies of men.

Church Doctrine

Unquestioning acceptance of the doctrinal teaching of the church was essential for salvation. The Christian must have complete faith

in the revelation of God as found in the Scriptures and interpreted, not by the unaided human reason, but by the divinely established, divinely guided church. The theology which it taught was that which had found systematic exposition in the creeds and in the writings of the Church Fathers, especially St. Augustine (354–430). There were, first, the distinctively Christian doctrines of a triune God and the Incarnation and, second, those doctrines derived from antecedent Judaism, including the belief in the fall of man through the sin of Adam, in a personal devil, in angels and archangels, in the resurrection of the body, in a last judgment, and in a heaven and a hell. The few went to heaven; the many — all non-Christians, all heretics, and all Christians who died in a state of mortal sin — went to hell. The future life, so vague and shadowy in pagan thought, was real indeed to the medieval mind, and the hold of the church over its children lay very largely in the fact that it could promise them so much in the way of eternal bliss and threaten so much in the way of eternal ill. Over the main portal of a cathedral the last judgment was the scene most often represented, with the dead rising from their graves, angels bearing aloft the souls of the saved and demons dragging below the souls of the damned.

The theology of the church was always based on the Bible, this being regarded as inerrant and literally true in every statement. The written word had to be understood in the light of "tradition," that is, the unwritten definitions and formulas preserved by oral transmission from supposedly apostolic times. It was in the appeal to tradition rather than to express Scriptural authority that the church found justification for such beliefs and practices as those relating to purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the saints.

Purgatory was represented as a place or state of probation for the souls of those dead who in life were guilty of no mortal sins which would condemn them to hell, but yet were burdened with venial sins which prevented them from entering heaven. Their time of purgatorial torment might be shortened by the prayers of the living, and hence the custom arose of praying for the dead. Masses were also said for the repose of souls in purgatory. The Virgin Mary came to be regarded as an intercessor for suffering humanity before the glorified Christ; as such she was exalted to a rank far above the apostles. Everywhere churches arose in her honor, and no cathedral or monastery lacked a chapel dedicated to Our Lady. Devotion to her satisfied the need for a feminine ideal in the religious consciousness. The saints were also invoked as intercessors with God for supernatural help and blessings. Their number multiplied prodigiously, until every trade, every

profession, every district had its heavenly protector; even countries possessed saintly patrons, as St. George for England and St. Martin for France. The earliest saints were the Christian martyrs, who sealed their faith with their blood, but in time many other persons, both men and women, renowned for pious deeds or for miracles were raised to sainthood. In order to put limits to the multiplication of saints the papacy, ever since the twelfth century, has reserved to itself the right of canonization after a most searching investigation of the candidate's claims to sanctity. The cult of saints extended to relics, their bones or shreds of their garments, and to such objects as the wood or nails of the cross on which Christ suffered. Relics were not simply mementos; the faithful supposed them to possess power to heal diseases, ward off danger, and bring good fortune. A similar wonder-working power was often ascribed to the numberless pictures and statues which crowded the churches, as once they had crowded the pagan temples. All these beliefs and practices developed during the early centuries of Christianity. With the exception of the doctrine of purgatory, they were, and still are, as characteristic of the Greek Church as of the Roman Church.

The Sacramental System

For the Christian to accept the doctrinal teaching of the church was not enough; there were also certain acts, the sacraments, in which he must participate if he was not to be cut off eternally from God. By the twelfth century the sacraments were recognized as seven in number, seven symbolizing completeness or perfection. Four of these marked critical stages in human life from the cradle to the grave. Baptism cleansed the child from the taint of "original sin," the consequence of our first parents' fall, and admitted him into the Christian community. The idea that those who died unbaptized could not enter heaven led to the baptism of infants as soon as possible after birth; so important was the rite that in case of necessity it could be performed by any lay person of adult years and sound mind. Confirmation, coming when the child had reached the age of discretion, admitted him to full church fellowship. By this rite he formally renewed or confirmed the vows made for him by his godparents at baptism. Matrimony united husband and wife in holy bonds which might never be broken. Extreme unction, the anointing with oil of one mortally ill, purified the soul and endowed it with strength to meet death.

The sacrament of penance wiped away sins which a man had committed after baptism and for which, therefore, he had incurred re-

sponsibility. The Christian must privately confess his sins to a priest at least once a year. If he seemed to be truly contrite, the priest pronounced words of absolution and then imposed upon him some penance, which varied according to the seriousness of the offense. One might be required to fast, to attend so many Masses, to give alms, to make a contribution for the support of the church, or to go on a pilgrimage to a sacred shrine. The more distant and difficult a pilgrimage, the more meritorious it was, especially if it led to some very holy place such as Rome or Jerusalem. This system of penitential discipline converted mortal sins into venial sins; the latter, if not completely atoned for by "good works," remained to be expiated in purgatory. The sacrament of ordination, or Holy Orders, admitted to the priesthood. According to the teaching of the church the rite had been instituted by Christ when he chose the apostles and sent them forth on their mission. From the apostles, who ordained their successors, the clergy in all later times received their divine authority; hence the term "apostolic succession."

The seventh sacrament was the Eucharist, or Mass as it came to be called. Commemorating the Last Supper of Christ with the apostles, it was a rite whereby the communicant believed himself to receive the body and blood of Christ in the shape of bread and wine. The doctrine that these physical elements when duly consecrated are miraculously changed in substance is known as transubstantiation. The doctrine was first formally authorized by the church in the thirteenth century, but the belief in the "real presence" of Christ in the Eucharist may be traced back to the early days of Christianity. Already in the second century the Eucharist was called the "potion of immortality." As a means of miraculous union with divinity, whereby the participant renewed his spiritual life much as the body is renewed by food and drink, the celebration of this sacrament became the central feature of public worship.

All the sacraments formed channels of heavenly grace; they saved man from the consequences of his naturally sinful nature and filled him with the "fullness of divine life." With the exception of baptism and matrimony, they could be administered only by a properly ordained priest. Their efficacy depended not at all on the personal character of the minister; had it so depended, one would have no assurance that the sacrament which one received was truly efficacious for salvation. By the sacramental system the church thus presented itself as the necessary intermediary between God and man. It was the only "gate of heaven."

Church Jurisdiction

When Christianity in the fourth century became the legal religion of the Roman Empire, the church, as the whole body of orthodox believers everywhere, entered into close relations with the imperial government. The autocrat in Constantinople called general councils, made ecclesiastical laws, named and removed the higher clergy, and tried to repress heretics with the same zeal that he tried to preserve his dominions from foreign foes. In the East the emperor was always supreme over the Greek Church. Doubtless he would have been equally supreme in the West had not the empire fallen apart as the result of the barbarian invasions. The collapse of the imperial government throughout western Europe meant that henceforth the clergy of the Roman Church could regulate their own affairs. It also meant more, for under the prevailing chaotic conditions the clergy took over many responsibilities for the preservation of law and order. Strong in their organization and conscious of their complete intellectual and moral superiority to the invaders, the clergy were able to gain a place of first importance in the new Germanic kingdoms, in the empire of Charlemagne, and later in the feudal principalities. The result was that the clergy conducted the schools, wrote the books, framed the legislation, served as royal officials and judges, and, in general, acted as leaders and molders of medieval society. We think of the state as the natural guardian of the secular interests of its subjects, but in the Middle Ages the state was too ill formed, too rude and undeveloped, for the performance of many duties which it undertakes today. Not so much the ambition of ecclesiastics as the force of external circumstances led the church to assume activities that seem far removed from those of a religious organization.

The church had regular courts and its own "canon law," based largely on Roman law, for the trial of offenders against its regulations. Since marriage was considered a sacrament, the church took upon itself to decide what marriages were lawful. It forbade the union of first cousins, of second cousins, and of godparents and godchildren. It refused to sanction divorce for whatever cause, if both parties at the time of marriage had been baptized Christians. The church dealt with inheritance under wills, for a man could not make a legal will until he had confessed, and confession formed part of the sacrament of penance. All contracts made binding by oaths came under church jurisdiction because an oath was an appeal to God. The church tried those who were charged with any sin against religion, including heresy, blasphemy, the taking of interest (usury), and the practice of witch-

craft. Widows, orphans, and the families of pilgrims and crusaders also enjoyed the special protection of the ecclesiastical courts.

The church claimed the privilege of judging all cases which involved clergymen. No layman, it was declared, ought to interfere with one who, by the sacrament of ordination, had been dedicated to God. The demand of the church to try its own officers according to its own mild and intelligent laws seems not unreasonable when we remember how rude were the methods of feudal justice. In England the common law courts recognized "benefit of clergy" so far as to abandon the death penalty assigned to some offenses, when the person convicted was a cleric; in such cases, however, a secondary punishment had to be inflicted. The partial exemption thus secured by the church did not apply to the more atrocious crimes, which came therefore to be described as "unclergyable." Benefit of clergy was abolished in England only in the nineteenth century.

A medieval church building, like a pagan temple, formed an asylum where the lawbreaker enjoyed for a limited time, forty days at least, a safe refuge. It was considered a sin against God to drag even the most flagrant criminal from the altar. The most that could be done was to deny the refugee food, so that he might come forth voluntarily. The right of sanctuary was not without social usefulness, for it gave time for angry passions to cool, thus permitting an investigation of the charges against an offender. Various restrictions of the right were gradually introduced by both secular and ecclesiastical legislation. English law in the sixteenth century took away the protection of sanctuary from persons guilty of murder, rape, burglary, highway robbery, and arson. Finally it was denied altogether to criminals.

Disobedience to the regulations of the church might be followed by excommunication, a coercive measure enforced by a bishop within his diocese or by the pope anywhere. In the milder form it excluded an offender from the Eucharist; in the severer form it cut him off completely from Christian fellowship. He could neither attend religious services nor share in the sacraments; if he died excommunicate, his body could not be buried in consecrated ground. By the law of the state he lost all civil rights and forfeited all his property. No one might speak to him, feed him, or shelter him; he was a social outcast. Sentence of excommunication was usually imposed only after the sinner had been formally tried and had spurned all entreaties to repent. If at length he made his peace with the church, the sentence was removed and absolution granted.

The interdict, another coercive measure, was directed against a whole locality for the fault of some of the inhabitants who could not

be reached separately. Upon its imposition the priests closed the church buildings and neither married the living nor buried the dead. All the inhabitants of the afflicted district were required to fast, as in Lent, and to wear mourning garb. This "strike" of the clergy also stopped the wheels of government, for courts of justice were shut, wills could not be made, and public officials were forbidden to perform their duties. In a few cases the church went so far as to lay an interdict upon an entire kingdom whose ruler had not bowed to ecclesiastical authority.

The Secular Clergy

Medieval writers sometimes recognized three classes of society: the peasants who worked, the nobles who guarded, and the clergy who prayed. The clergy consisted of secular priests leading active lives in the world (Latin, *saeculum*) and of regular priests, or monks, living in accordance with a monastic rule (Latin, *regula*). An account of the secular clergy may begin with the parish priest, who had charge of a parish either rural or urban. This, the smallest ecclesiastical area, usually contained at least ten families. No one could act as priest without the approval of the bishop, but the actual appointment to the position was made by the "patron," lay or clerical, who had built or endowed the church or for other reasons held the privilege of appointment. In rural parishes the patron was ordinarily a noble, the lord of the manor in which the church lay. For support the priest had the proceeds from any endowments of the church, tithes (practically an income tax on each parishioner), and voluntary contributions. Of this revenue the bishop took a large share and the patron another large share, so that the average priest received very little and lived about as simply as the members of his flock. Almost always he belonged to the non-noble class and had slight hope of preferment, for the higher ranks of the secular clergy were reserved to the aristocracy. The priest was the one church officer who came continuously in touch with the common people. He baptized, married, and buried his parishioners, celebrated Mass at least once a week, heard confessions, and imposed penances. He watched over all the deeds of his people on earth and prepared them for the life to come. His was the "cure of souls" (*cura*, "care").

A group of parishes formed a diocese, over which a bishop presided. It was his business to look after the property belonging to the diocese, to hold the ecclesiastical courts, to visit his priests and see that they did their duty. Only the bishop could administer the sacraments of confirmation and ordination. He also consecrated a new church edifice or shrine and conducted services in the cathedral church contain-

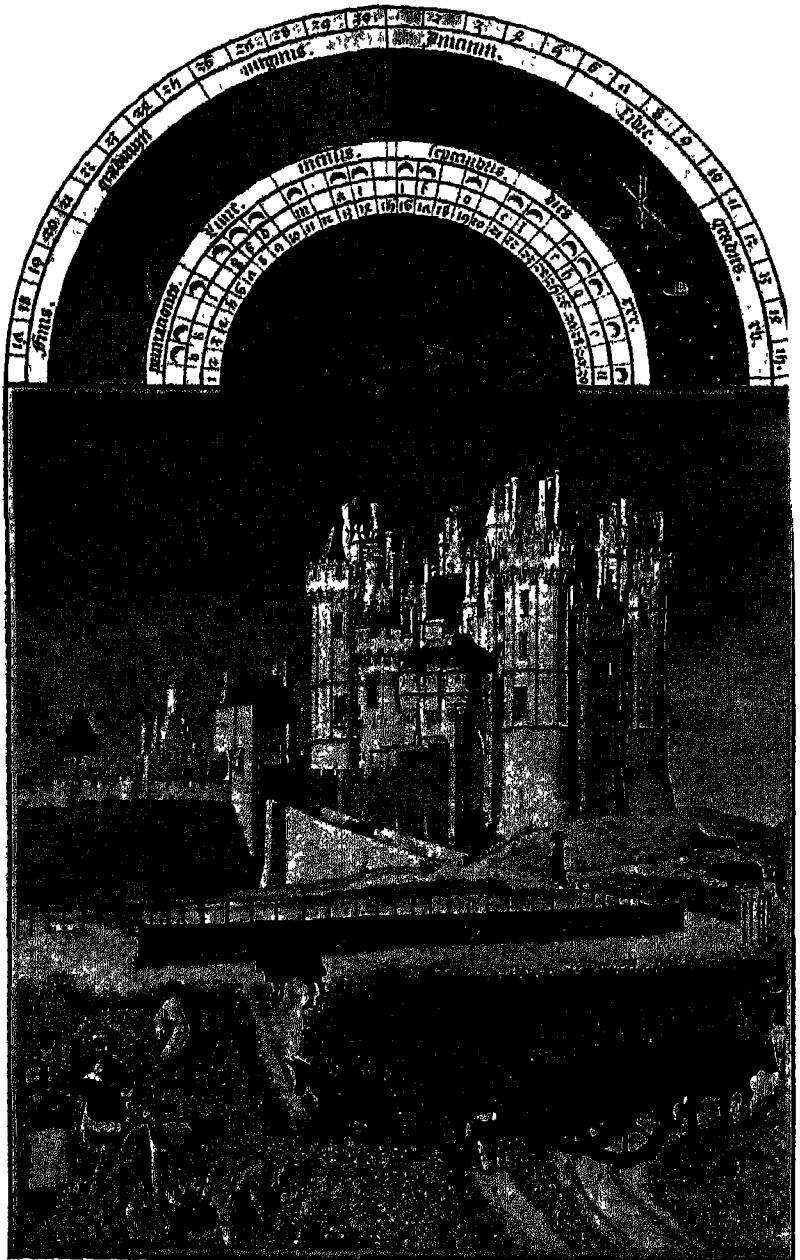


CONWAY CASTLE, CARNARVONSHIRE, WALES
13th Century. *Page 479.*



BATTLE OF KNIGHTS AT AURAY, 1364
Pages 476, 477.

PLATE XV



SEPTEMBER: PEASANTS AT WORK IN VINEYARD, FROM POL DE LIMBOURG, BOOK OF HOURS. *Page 488.*

PLATE XVI

ing his official seat or throne (Latin, *cathedra*). As symbols of his power and dignity he wore on his head the miter and carried the shepherd's crook, or crosier. Since the church held estates on feudal tenure, the bishop was a territorial lord, owing a vassal's obligations to the king or to some powerful noble for his land, and himself ruling over vassals in different parts of the country. A group of dioceses formed the province of the archbishop. In Germany the archbishops helped to elect the emperor; in France they were trusted counselors of the king. England had two archbishops, one residing at York and the other at Canterbury. The latter, as "primate of all England," was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the country.

The Regular Clergy; Benedictines

The monastic system, which originated in the East, became established in the West as early as the fourth century. Its great organizer was the Italian St. Benedict. While yet a young man he had tried to escape from the vice about him by retiring to a cave in the Sabine Hills near Rome. Here he lived for three years, shutting himself off from human intercourse, wearing a hair shirt, and rolling in beds of thistles to subdue "the flesh"—austerities reminiscent of those practiced by the ascetics of Egypt and Syria. St. Benedict's experience of the hermit's life seems to have convinced him that there was a better road to religious peace of mind when recluses lived and worked together behind monastery walls. His fame as a holy man had attracted many disciples, and he now began to group them in communities under his own supervision.

St. Benedict's most important monastery was at Monte Cassino, midway between Rome and Naples. For its government he drew up, probably in 529, a Rule or constitution. With the exception of the Bible there is probably no book which has more profoundly influenced the course of European history. Brief, concise, practical, it aimed with success to preserve the spiritual benefits of the monastic life without going to extremes of asceticism. Pope Gregory the Great, who had been a Benedictine, gave the Rule his support in Italy; the monk Augustine carried it to England; another monk, Boniface, introduced it into Germany; and in France, by the time of Charlemagne, it had supplanted all other monastic rules. By the tenth century it prevailed everywhere in western Europe. At one time there were no less than 37,000 Benedictine monasteries. Included in the number were the nunneries organized for women according to an adaptation of the Rule for men. While the church, like most religious organizations, denied to women

a share in its offices and emoluments, it opened the monastic life freely to them, and the convent of nuns formed a characteristic feature of Roman Christianity.

A Benedictine monastery, or abbey, was presided over by an abbot, whom the monks elected for life and to whom they pledged implicit obedience. Any freeman, rich or poor, noble or commoner, might become a monk, but only after a year's probation intended to test the candidate's fitness for the monastic career. All members of the community were on terms of perfect social equality, for no consideration might be given to claims of superior birth or family on the part of any inmates. We are told of a Frankish ruler, an uncle of Charlemagne, who entered Monte Cassino and was promptly employed on a scullion's duties in the kitchen to prove the genuineness of his zeal for monkhood. The monks lived under a strict discipline. They could have nothing of their own, for all the fruits of their labor swelled the common property administered by the abbot; they could not go beyond the limits of the monastery without the abbot's consent; and the amount of their food and clothing was determined for them by the abbot. A violation of the regulations brought punishment in the shape of private admonition, exclusion from common prayer, whipping, and, in extreme cases, expulsion.

St. Benedict defined a monastery as "a school for the service of the Lord." The monks under his Rule occupied themselves with a regular round of worship, reading from the Bible and the Church Fathers, private prayer, and meditation. For most of the day, however, they worked with their hands, doing the necessary washing and cooking for the monastery, raising the necessary supplies of vegetables and grain, and performing all the other tasks required to maintain a large establishment. Thus the monks were kept constantly employed: work was for the sake of work, the idle man had most to fear from the Devil's wiles. "Idleness is an enemy of the soul," said St. Benedict.

The principal buildings of a Benedictine monastery of the larger sort were grouped around an inner court or cloister. They included a church, a refectory (dining room), a kitchen, a dormitory, and a chapter house for the transaction of business. There was also a library, a school, a hospital, and a guest house, besides barns, bakeries, laundries, workshops, and storerooms for provisions. Beyond these buildings lay vegetable gardens, orchards, grain fields, and often a mill if the monastery was built on a stream. A high wall and a ditch gave the monks the necessary seclusion and, in time of danger, protected them.

The Benedictines cultivated their lands carefully and set an example of good farming everywhere. They entertained without charge

pilgrims and travelers at a period when there were few inns. They fed the hungry and cared for the sick who were brought to their doors. They trained boys for the priesthood and sometimes also for secular careers. They copied the manuscripts of Latin authors and thus preserved for posterity the literature of old Rome. By keeping records of the most prominent events of their time they acted as chroniclers of medieval history. Finally, they worked as missionaries among the heathen, carrying into the dark places of western Europe both the Christian religion and the arts of civilization.

The extraordinary multiplication of monastic establishments in western Europe during the early Middle Ages testified to the widespread appeal of the monastic life. The studious and thoughtful turned naturally to the monastery as a secure retreat. The friendless and the disgraced often took refuge within its walls. Above all, the monastic life appealed to spiritually minded men who sought in a complete withdrawal from the world, from its temptations and its transitory pleasures, the means of devoting themselves wholly to the service of God. The monk was always *religiosus*, "the religious man," as distinguished from both the layman and the ordinary cleric. The regard in which monks as a class were held, as contrasted with more worldly minded prelates, gave them great honor and influence, and they often rose to the highest positions in the church. Some of the most eminent popes had been monks before their elevation to the papal throne.

Every Benedictine monastery formed an isolated community, self-governing, self-supporting, subject only to the regulations of its abbot, and without any responsibilities to society at large except those which the monks' own consciences dictated. Freedom from all social obligations put too great a strain on weak human nature; inevitably, as the monasteries prospered and became rich through gifts from nobles and kings (for the good of their souls), the discipline relaxed, luxury and worldliness crept in, and the vows of poverty, chastity, and humility were often forgotten. Always a snake lurked in the monastic paradise. And then, quite as inevitably, came efforts to restore the purity and simplicity of earlier days. A great reform movement began with the foundation in 910 of the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy. The Cluniac monks observed the Benedictine Rule in all its strictness. Their enthusiasm and devotion were contagious, and before long their influence spread into one European country after another. All the monasteries accepting the Cluniac reforms were organized in a "congregation," or association, subject to the authority of the abbot of Cluny. The abbot visited them regularly, appointed their heads, and required every monk to live for several years at Cluny. By the middle

of the twelfth century upwards of a thousand monasteries looked to Cluny for inspiration and guidance, and its abbot, next to the pope, was the most prominent ecclesiastic in western Europe.

When, in process of time, Cluny itself declined in moral and spiritual fervor, other efforts were made to revive and even to intensify the observance of the Benedictine Rule. New monastic orders appeared, among them the Cistercian order. Founded in 1098 at Cîteaux, not far from Cluny, this order grew rapidly and became the parent of many daughter houses in France, England, and other countries. The Cistercians lived lives of the utmost simplicity, never eating flesh, wearing garments of the coarsest wool, having very unpretentious buildings and furniture, and devoting themselves chiefly to manual labor. Western Europe owes even more to them than to the earlier Benedictines for their pioneer work in the wilderness; like our American frontiersmen they cut down the forests, drained the swamps, and prepared the fields that have supported later generations. They were the best farmers and cattle breeders of the time. "The Cistercians," declared a medieval writer, "are a model for all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the indolent."

The Friars: Franciscans and Dominicans

Monasticism had its limitations. The monks, so far as they remained faithful to their vows, lived apart from their fellow men and sought chiefly the salvation of their own souls. Their charitable, educational, and missionary activities, however important, were subordinate to the grand purpose of preparing themselves for the next world after "life's fitful fever" should be over. This had always been true of monasticism, whether exemplified by the early hermits who retired to the desert for prayer, meditation, and bodily mortification, or by monks who followed the Rule of St. Basil in the East and the Rule of St. Benedict in the West. Another conception of the religious life arose in the thirteenth century when St. Francis, an Italian, and St. Dominic, a Spaniard, founded the orders of friars, or "brothers."

St. Francis was the son of a prominent merchant of Assisi. The young man had before him the prospect of a fine career, but he put away all thought of riches and honor, deserted his gay companions, and, choosing "Lady Poverty" as his bride, set out to minister to the poor and lowly. His earnestness and charm of manner drew about him many followers, whom he formed into an order devoted to a literal imitation of the life of Christ. The Franciscans (Gray Friars) increased so rapidly that even in the founder's lifetime there were several thou-

sand members in Italy and other European countries. St. Dominic was a student of theology. After being ordained he served for ten years as a missionary among the numerous heretics in southern France. The order of Dominicans (Black Friars) grew out of the little band of volunteers who aided him in this work. St. Dominic sent them into the world to fight heresy everywhere. So successful were they that at the founder's death the Dominicans had as many as sixty friaries in various European cities.

Both Franciscans and Dominicans were mendicants who possessed no property and lived on the alms of the faithful or the proceeds of their daily labor. Like the apostles they went out to spread the gospel without gold or silver, without shoes or staff. The Franciscans worked especially in the slums of the cities, the crowded inhabitants of which could not be cared for properly by the parish priests. The Salvation Army and similar organizations might, in this respect, be called their modern equivalents. The Dominicans were very active as missionaries, not only among heretics and Jews, but also among the heathen in non-European lands. Both orders laid much stress on popular preaching in the language of each country visited by them, so that they might bring the gospel truths home to the people. As time went on, the Franciscans and Dominicans relaxed the rule of poverty, became very wealthy, and fell victims to the same luxury and worldliness that had corrupted the monastic orders. But during the thirteenth century, when their ideals remained high, these barefoot, coarsely dressed friars who demonstrated in their own persons the hard things they taught others, who served God by serving their fellow men, did a great deal to call forth a religious revival. The friars also helped to strengthen the papal authority. Both orders had the sanction of the pope; both received many privileges at his hands; and both looked to him for direction. The pope employed them to raise money, to impose excommunications and interdicts, and to act as his representatives on all kinds of missions. The Franciscans and Dominicans were the agents of the papacy.

Rise of the Papacy

A church in Rome must have been established very early, for in 54 or 55 St. Paul addressed to Roman Christians one of his Epistles. Later, St. Paul was taken to Rome for trial before the imperial court, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles, and at Rome he is said to have suffered martyrdom. Christian tradition, very ancient and very generally received, declared that St. Peter also labored in Rome and died a martyr there. The Roman Church thus derived a peculiar

sanctity from its association with the two greatest apostles and its possession, so the pious believed, of their tombs and most holy relics. Rome was an apostolic church, a doubly apostolic church, and the only one in the West to be so honored. Rome was also a "mother church," which in the second and third centuries had planted many Christian communities in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa. And Rome was always an orthodox church, the custodian of a pure tradition supposed to go back to the beginning of Christianity, the champion against many heresies of the "faith once delivered to the saints." After Arianism and other heretical doctrines had been condemned, orthodox Christians were all the more ready to accept the guidance of Rome on disputed questions of theology and ritual. Quite apart from these considerations, nothing could be more natural than that the church established in the capital of the Roman Empire should be looked upon as the capital church of Christendom. All roads led to Rome, led to the papacy.

The Petrine Supremacy

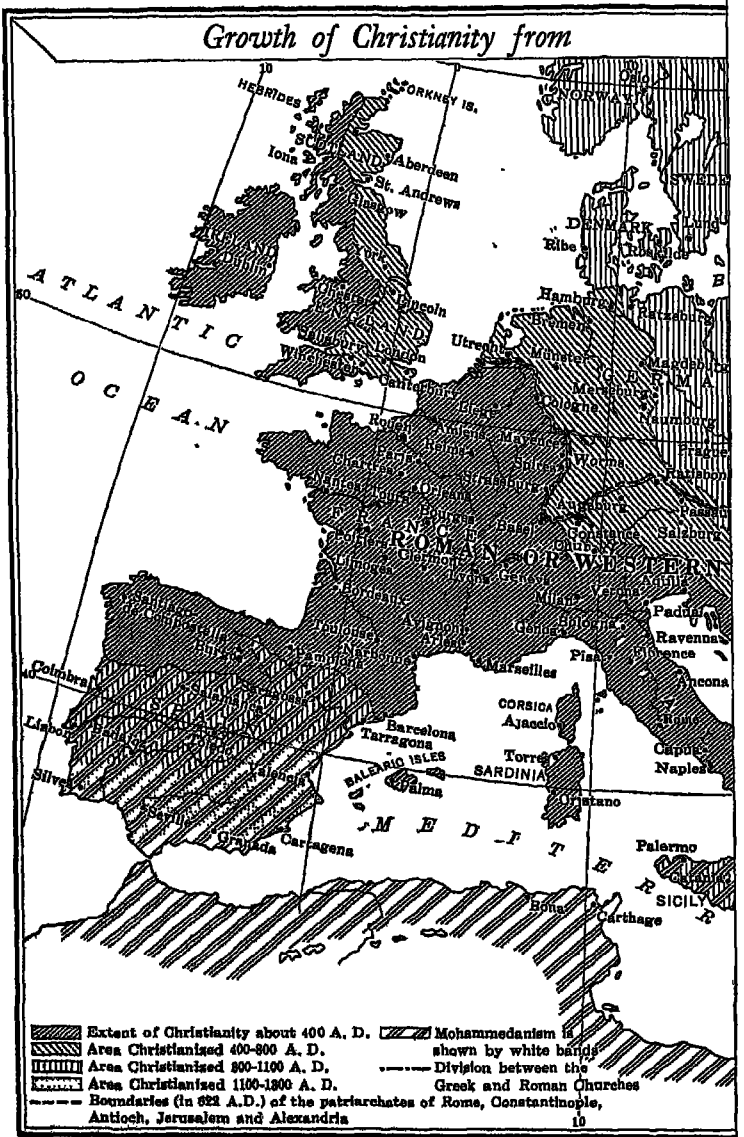
Many causes thus conspired from the outset to give the Roman Church exceptional dignity and importance, and already in the second century there was claimed for it a spiritual supremacy over the other churches. The claim had a double basis. First, certain passages in the New Testament where St. Peter is called by Christ the rock on which the church is built (Matthew xvi, 18), the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven (Matthew xvi, 19), and the pastor of the sheep and lambs of the Lord (John xxi, 15–17), and another passage in which Christ says to St. Peter, "Stablish thy brethren," (Luke xxii, 32) were understood to imply St. Peter's primacy over the other apostles. Of these proof texts the most important and the most quoted — the *Tu es Petrus* — is inscribed in sonorous Latin for all the world to see around the great central dome of the Vatican cathedral: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock (*petram*) I will build my church; and the gates of Hell (Death) shall not prevail against it." The greatest pun in history these words have been called. Second, according to the Christian tradition already mentioned, St. Peter founded the Roman Church, served as its first bishop, and before his death transferred to his successor in the episcopal office his rights and prerogatives. These, by "apostolic succession," descended to all later popes in an unending line. As St. Peter was first among the apostles, so the popes were first among bishops. The theory of the Petrine supremacy became the foundation of the whole papal structure, the basis of the demand of the Roman Church to be obeyed as the only true church of Christendom.

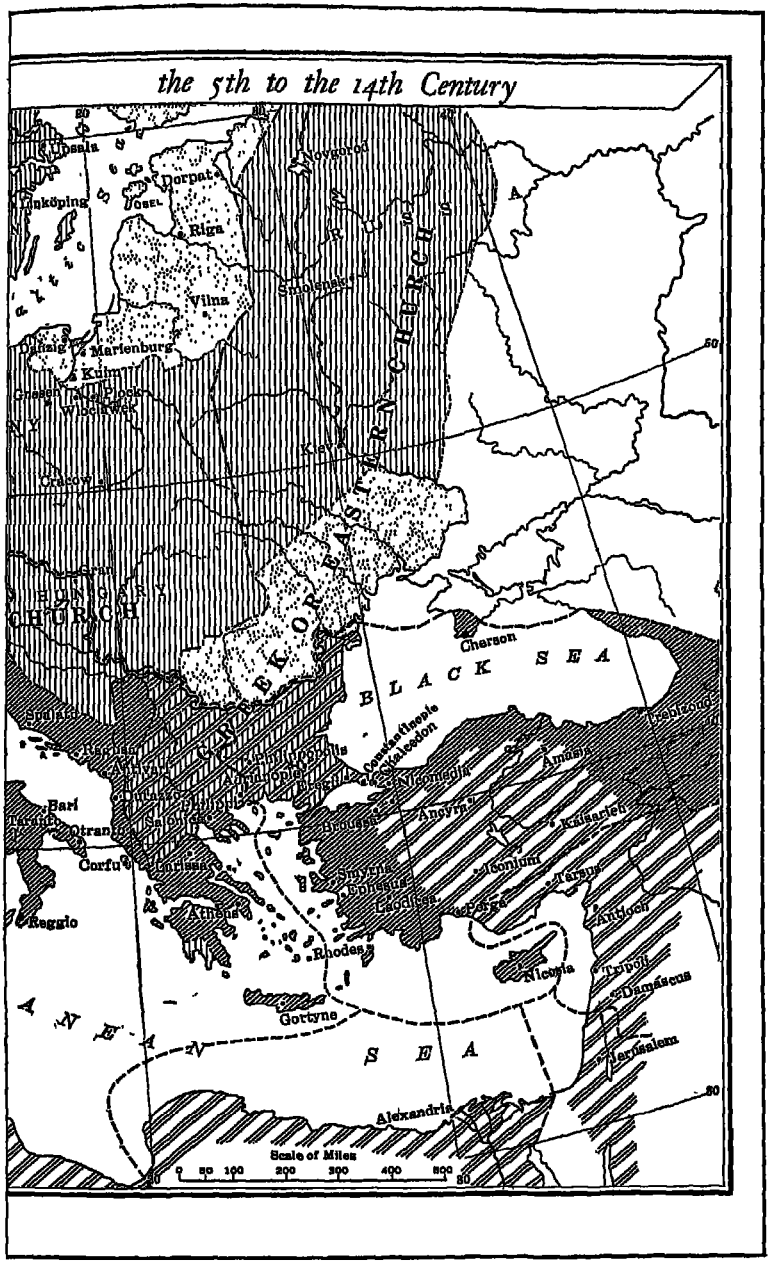
Those who reject the Petrine theory urge various considerations. None of the proof texts, they point out, supporting St. Peter's primacy are found in Mark, the oldest of the Gospels; in Mark, St. Peter is prominent but by no means the "Prince of the Apostles." The *Tu es Petrus* passage is regarded as an interpolation, since the use of the word "church" (*ecclesia*) for the Christian Church as a whole reflects later custom; elsewhere in the New Testament the word refers to a local congregation. While the belief that St. Peter worked and suffered in Rome has much to commend it, that he actually established the church there is rendered doubtful by the silence of St. Paul. In writing to the Romans St. Paul throws no light on the introduction of Christianity among them and does not mention St. Peter as one of the brethren to whom he sends greetings. Nor is there anything in the Acts of the Apostles connecting St. Peter with Rome. St. Peter could never have been a "bishop" of Rome, for in the first century the episcopal system had not yet developed, except possibly at Jerusalem. Even had there been bishops in St. Peter's lifetime, his office was that of an apostle, never that of a bishop. Lastly, the Petrine theory, singling out the Roman Church for pre-eminence, ignores the superior position of the church at Jerusalem. As the first community of Christians, established in a sense by Christ himself, Jerusalem, not Rome, had the better right to be regarded as the premier church of Christendom. Such are the arguments put forward.

For the popes to assert a universal supremacy was one thing; to enforce it was quite another thing. The papal claims were never fully acknowledged by Christians in the East, and the attempt of the popes to compel their recognition there was one of the reasons for the break between Rome and Constantinople in the eleventh century. Rome still regards the Greek Church as schismatic, since the latter refuses obedience to the vicar of Christ on earth. But by Christians in the West the papal claims came to be accepted without question during the Middle Ages.

Growth of the Papacy

Among the historical events contributing to the growth of the papacy was the removal of the capital of the Roman Empire from the Tiber to the Bosporus by Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor. The bishops of Rome, freed from the close oversight of the imperial officials, gained greater independence of action, greater prestige, greater authority than they had ever possessed before; they now joined in their own persons the majesty of the successors of St. Peter and the glamour of the Caesars.


Growth of Christianity from
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
Aberdeen
St. Andrews
Iona
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Dublin
Lincoln
London
Canterbury
Utrecht
Bremen
Hamburg
Elbe
DENMARK
SWEDEN
NORWAY
GERMANY
Cologne
Mainz
Worms
Strasburg
Augsburg
Basel
Constance
Salzburg
Ratisbon
Passau
Linz
Vienna
Milan
Verona
Padua
Ravenna
Florence
Pisa
Genoa
Ancona
Rome
Capua
Naples
Marseilles
CORSICA
Ajaccio
SARDINIA
Oristano
Barcelona
Tarragona
BALEARIC ISLES
Palma
Torres
Granada
Cartagena
MEDITERRANEAN
Palermo
SICILY
Bona
Carthage
Coimbra
Lisbon
Seville
Toulouse
Narbonne
Arles
Avignon
Bordeaux
Poitiers
Tours
Rouen
Reims
Amiens
Metz
Treves
Orleans
Paris
Chartres
Rheims
Limoges
Clermont
Lyons
Geneva
Brittany
Normandy
ROMANO-WESTERN
Extent of Christianity about 400 A. D.
Area Christianized 400-800 A. D.
Area Christianized 800-1100 A. D.
Area Christianized 1100-1300 A. D.
Boundaries (in 622 A.D.) of the patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria
Mohammedanism is shown by white bands
Division between the Greek and Roman Churches


the 5th to the 14th Century
Upsala
Linköping
Dorpat
Oesel
Riga
Novgorod
Smolensk
Vilna
Marienburg
Kulm
Gnesen
Plock
Wlodawek
Cracow
Kiev
GREEK EASTERN CHURCH
HUNGARY
CHURCH
Cherson
BLACK SEA
Spalato
Ragusa
Durazzo
Salonica
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Nicomedia
Amasia
Trebizond
Bari
Otranto
Corfu
Anchialus
Apyrus
Kaisarieh
Smyrna
Ephesus
Laodicea
Miconium
Tarsus
Perga
Attalea
Reggio
Athens
Rhodes
Nicosia
Tripoli
Damascus
Gottyne
SEA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500

Not less important was the collapse of the empire in the West under the assaults of the Germanic invaders. When the emperors at Constantinople failed them, Christians in the western provinces looked for help to the papacy, which stood out in those troubled times "like a lighthouse in a storm." The popes took over the duties of government in Rome and Italy, raising armies, executing the laws, imposing taxes, and entering into treaties with the barbarians. It was a pope, Leo I, the Great (440–461) who, according to tradition, diverted Attila the Hun from Rome and, when the Vandals sacked the city, intervened to prevent its destruction. It was another pope, Gregory I, also called the Great (590–604), who opposed the Lombards and, largely by his own efforts, prevented their conquest of central Italy. During the period which followed the invasions by far the most decisive influence on the growth of the papacy was its alliance with the Frankish kingdom. The leaders of Christendom in the West and the most powerful of the German rulers henceforth worked together, and the result of their work appeared when in 800 the pope crowned Charlemagne as successor to the old Roman emperors.

Meanwhile, in the direction of the great campaign which won western Europe to Christianity, the Roman Church took the principal part. Pagan Rome had never made a complete and permanent conquest of the barbarians; Christian Rome did so, and its missionaries renewed and surpassed the triumphs of the legions. One by one the barbarian peoples who settled in Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Italy, together with those who remained in the German homeland, came under the sway of the Roman Church and of its head, the pope. During later centuries Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and the Scandinavian countries were also Christianized from Rome, until at length the Eternal City formed the one center of church life for all the inhabitants of western Europe.

It must be emphasized that this exaltation of the papacy met the needs and the demands of the age. With medieval Europe divided among many separate states, an obvious danger existed of western Christendom breaking up into a multitude of local churches, each one weak, each one exposed to oppression by the secular rulers, and each one likely to strike out on its own lines in matters of belief and ritual. Submission to the Roman pontiff meant keeping western Christendom together, meant the preservation of religious unity even though political unity had disappeared with the fall of Rome. As there was one flock, so there was to be one shepherd.

The States of the Church

To their spiritual authority the popes very early began to add some measure of temporal authority. They owned extensive properties in Rome and its neighborhood presented to them by rich Roman nobles who, dying, were anxious to lay up treasures in heaven in exchange for those left on earth. Landholding carried with it the usual duties of a proprietor to protect his estates and the people on them against oppression; the pope, of necessity, became a territorial lord. The "Patrimony of St. Peter," as it was known, already comprised a very considerable territory by the time of Gregory the Great. It was much increased by gifts of the Frankish kings. In 756 Pepin the Short, to secure the papacy against the Lombards, granted to Pope Stephen II a district lying between Rome and Ravenna. Pepin might have returned it to the emperor at Constantinople, to whom it had belonged before the Lombards seized it, but the Frankish ruler decided to bestow his conquests on St. Peter's representative, the pope. This "Donation of Pepin" was subsequently confirmed and enlarged by Charlemagne and Otto the Great. The States of the Church remained in the hands of the popes until 1870, when they were added to the newly formed kingdom of Italy. A vestige of them remains, however, in the tiny Vatican City, over which the pope reigns as an independent sovereign. To Roman Catholics it seems only reasonable that the head of an international church, which is also in some measure an international state, should be free from the control of any secular power.

The Investiture Controversy

In 962 Otto I, the Great, a successor of Charlemagne, restored imperial rule in the West, thus founding what in later centuries was known as the Holy Roman Empire. Otto made Rome the imperial capital, deposed a pope disobedient to him, and on his own initiative appointed another pope. At the same time, he exacted from the people of Rome an undertaking never to recognize any pope to whose election he had not consented. Otto's successors repeatedly interfered in papal elections. One of them, Henry III, the "pope-maker," set aside three rival claimants to the papacy, named a German bishop pope, and on three subsequent occasions filled the throne of St. Peter with his own nominee. The papacy, it seemed, would become simply an imperial office and be merged in the empire. Henry's death, which left the empire to the youthful Henry IV, under the regency of his mother, afforded the papacy an opportunity of escape from bondage to the secular power.

A church council held at the Lateran Palace in 1059 provided for the election of the popes by the cardinals, leaving to the other clergy and the people of Rome only the formality of assent to the action taken and excluding the emperor from any share in the choice of the supreme pontiff.

Now that the papacy had secured independence, it began to deal with a grave problem which affected the church at large. With the growth of feudalism many bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries had become vassals, holding their lands as fiefs of princes, kings, and emperors and subject to the usual feudal obligations. The lords expected the clergy to perform the ceremony of homage before "investing" them with the lands attached to the bishopric or monastery. Thus the lords really dictated the selection of bishops and abbots, since they could always refuse to invest those who were displeasing to them. The result was that the high positions in the church were often occupied by religiously unworthy persons. Lay investiture seemed intolerable to reformers. The lords, on the other hand, believed that as long as bishops and abbots held vast estates on feudal tenure they should continue to carry out the duties imposed by vassalage. The difficulty of the situation lay, of course, in the fact that bishops and abbots were both spiritual and temporal rulers, were servants of both church and state.

The throne of St. Peter was occupied at this time by the former Benedictine monk Hildebrand, who, on becoming pope, had assumed the name of Gregory VII (1073–1085). Gregory issued a decree forbidding investiture of a clergyman by any layman (1075). The decree was a general one applying to all states of western Europe, but circumstances were such that it mainly affected Germany. Henry IV, the emperor at this time, did not refuse the papal challenge. He wrote a letter to Gregory, describing him as "no pope but false monk," telling him Christ had never called him to the priesthood, and bidding him "come down, come down" from St. Peter's throne. Gregory, in reply, excommunicated Henry, deposed him, and freed his subjects from their allegiance. The sentence made a profound impression; Henry's supporters fell away and it seemed probable that the German nobles would elect another ruler in his stead. Henry decided to make abject submission. Hastening into Italy he found the pope at the castle of Canossa in the Apennines; there, clad in the shirt of a penitent, he admitted his guilt, expressed contrition, begged forgiveness, and at length received absolution at the pope's hands (1077). A strange spectacle, this of Canossa, revealing the tremendous authority which the church exercised over the minds of men.

The investiture controversy dragged on for many years thereafter, but in the end the opposing parties agreed to what is called, from the old German city where it was signed, the Concordat of Worms (1122). This agreement drew a distinction between ecclesiastical and lay investiture. The emperor gave up investiture by the ring and crosier, emblems of spiritual authority, and permitted bishops and abbots to be freely elected by the clergy and confirmed in office by the pope. On his side the pope recognized the emperor's right to be present at all elections and to invest bishops and abbots by the scepter, emblem of temporal authority, for whatever lands they held within his dominion. A similar arrangement was adopted in France, England, and other countries. A compromise in form, designed to spare either party the humiliation of defeat, the Concordat of Worms was really a victory for the papacy. The secular power was now excluded from any control over the choice of the principal church officers, as it had been previously excluded from the choice of popes. The papacy remained the master of the field.

Relations of Church and State

The investiture controversy raised the whole problem of the relations of church and state. Theoretically, there seemed to be no basis for conflict between the two institutions since each possessed a separate sphere of action. God had made the pope, as the successor of St. Peter, supreme in spiritual affairs and the emperor, as heir to the Caesars, supreme in secular affairs. The former ruled men's souls and the latter, men's bodies. The two sovereigns thus divided on equal terms the government of the world. A ninth-century mosaic still to be seen in the church of St. John Lateran at Rome represents their relations in allegory: Christ sitting enthroned gives to the pope on his right the keys of heaven and to the emperor on his left the banner symbolic of earthly dominion. The trouble with this simple and engaging theory was that no one could tell in advance where the authority of the pope ended and where that of the emperor began. When both claimed the same powers, who was to decide between them? The church said "the church"; for the church was superior to the state and men owed their primary allegiance to the Christian commonwealth. The pope, as its head, consequently stood above all secular sovereigns; he controlled them and could even dethrone them when they neglected their duties, became tyrannical, or disobeyed the mandates of the church.

The popes after Gregory VII continued to press upon the secular rulers their claims to overlordship. Under Innocent III (1198–1216)

the papacy reached its height. The eighteen years of his pontificate were one long effort, for the most part successful, to make the pope the arbiter of western Europe. Innocent set forth in no uncertain language his conception of the relations of church and state. "As the moon," he declared, "receives its light from the sun, and is inferior to the sun, so do kings receive all their glory and dignity from the Holy See." This meant, according to Innocent, that the pope had the right to judge the conduct of secular rulers in its moral and religious aspects. "God," he continued, "has set the Prince of the Apostles over kings and kingdoms, with a mission to tear up, plant, destroy, scatter, and rebuild."

Innocent's words were not an idle boast. When Philip Augustus, king of France, divorced his wife and made another marriage, Innocent declared the divorce void and ordered him to take back his discarded queen. Philip refused to do so, and Innocent put France under an interdict. From that hour all religious rites ceased. The church doors were barred; the church bells were silent; the sick died unshriven; the dead lay unburied. Philip, deserted by his followers, was compelled to submit. On another occasion Innocent ordered John, king of England, to accept as archbishop of Canterbury a man of the pope's choosing. When John declared that he would never allow the papal appointee to set foot on English soil, Innocent replied by excommunicating the king and imposing an interdict on all his kingdom. John also had to yield and went so far as to surrender England and Ireland to the pope, receiving them back again as fiefs, for which he promised to pay a yearly rent. This tribute money was actually paid, though irregularly, for about a century and a half.

The successors of Innocent III were involved in a long and ultimately successful struggle with the Holy Roman emperors, who wanted to take over the States of the Church and unite all Italy under German sway. The popes naturally opposed such a program, which would have meant their complete dependence upon a secular and a foreign power. At length Rudolf of Hapsburg, who had been chosen emperor in 1273, gave up all pretensions to rule in Italy and recompensed himself by the conquest of Austria. It was in this way that the German Hapsburgs became an Austrian dynasty.

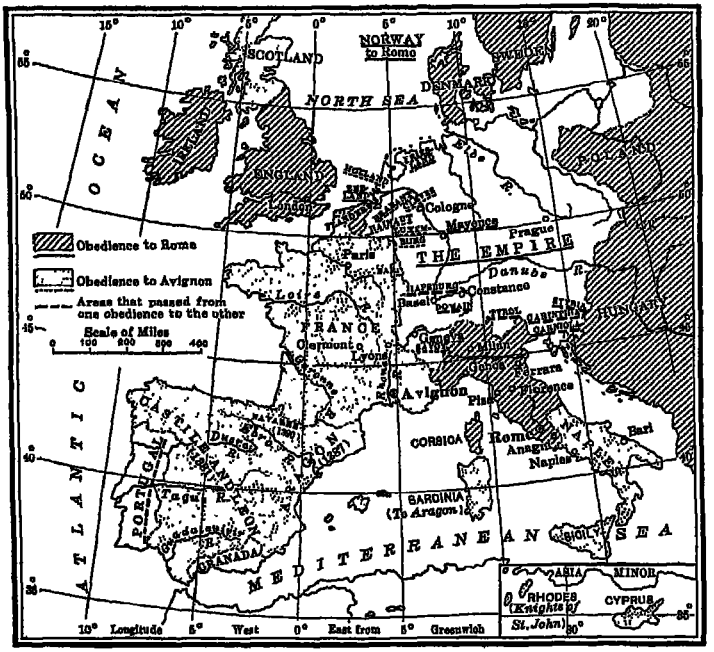
The papacy put forth its most extensive claims under Boniface VIII (1294–1303). The character of these claims is shown by two bulls which he issued. The first bull, known from its initial words as *Clericis laicos*, forbade secular rulers to levy taxes on church lands and other ecclesiastical property except by permission of the pope. Philip the Fair, king of France, answered it by putting an embargo on the export

of gold and silver, thus stopping the flow of money from France to the coffers of the papacy. Deprived of valuable revenues, Boniface gave way and acknowledged that Philip, in case of necessity, might tax the French clergy without the consent of Rome. Another dispute soon arose, however, as the result of the imprisonment and trial by Philip of an obnoxious French bishop. Boniface now decreed that lay courts had no jurisdiction over clerics, and he issued the second bull, *Unam sanctam.* This was the strongest official assertion of the papal supremacy ever made. "Submission to the Roman pontiff," declared Boniface, "is altogether necessary to salvation for every human being." The French king replied by sending his emissaries into Italy to arrest the pope and bring him to trial before a general council of the church to be held in France. A band of soldiers stormed the papal palace at Anagni, near Rome, and made Boniface a prisoner. The citizens of Anagni soon freed him, but the shock of the humiliation broke the old man's spirit and he died soon afterward. The poet Dante in the *Divine Comedy* writes with awe of the outrage: Christ had been again crucified among robbers and the vinegar and gall had been again pressed to his lips. Philip was the "new Pilate."

The Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism

Philip now succeeded in having the archbishop of Bordeaux chosen as head of the church and the papal court removed to Avignon in Provence, a city just outside the French frontier of those days. The popes lived there for nearly seventy years (1309–1377), a period usually described as the "Babylonian Captivity" of the church in allusion to the exile of the Hebrews from Palestine. The long absence of the popes from Rome lessened their authority, and the suspicion that they were the puppets of the French kings seriously impaired the reverence in which they had been held.

Shortly after the return of the papal court to Rome an Italian was elected pope as Urban VI. The cardinals in the French interest refused to accept him, declared his election void, and chose Clement VII as pope. Clement withdrew to Avignon, Urban remained in Rome, and western Christendom was divided in allegiance between them. This spectacle of the two rival popes, each holding himself out as the only true successor of St. Peter and each with his attendant cardinals, continued for about forty years (1378–1417). The schism was finally healed at the Council of Constance (1414–1418). There were three "phantom popes" at this time but they were all deposed in favor of a new pontiff. The Roman Church again had a single head. It was not



The Great Schism

easy, however, to revive the former loyalty to this head as Christ's vicar on earth.

The universal recognition of the divine authority of the papacy enabled it during much of the Middle Ages to enforce upon the rulers and peoples of western Europe its religious and moral judgments. Today, when the state asserts an unlimited sovereignty, the papal theories recede into the background; the state is all in all. The ideal of the divine governance of the world no longer appeals to the modern man, and claims of national patriotism override those of a Christian commonwealth founded on the Bible and the traditions of an infallible church. It is for the future to tell whether the development of international law and of such agencies as the League of Nations and the World Court will provide an acceptable substitute for the medieval papacy.

The Papal Monarchy

The word pope (Latin, *papa*, "father"), a title of affection and honor, seems to have been applied at first to all priests, as is still the case in the Greek Church. In the Roman Church it came to be espe-

cially applied to the bishops of Rome and at length confined to them. The pope was addressed as "Your Holiness." As the successor of St. Peter he possessed the "keys of the kingdom of heaven" with the power "to bind and to loose," to admit or to refuse admittance to heaven (Matthew, xvi, 19); these keys were always represented in the papal arms, together with the tiara, or headdress with triple crowns, worn by the pope in processions. The pope went to solemn ceremonies sitting in a chair supported on the shoulders of his guard. He gave audiences from an elevated throne, and all who approached him kissed his feet in reverence. "I do not find," said St. Bernard, "that St. Peter ever appeared in public loaded with gold and jewels, mounted on a white mule, surrounded by soldiers, and followed by a brilliant retinue. In the glitter that environs thee, rather wouldst thou be taken for the successor of Constantine than for the successor of St. Peter." These were the words of the most distinguished churchman of the twelfth century.

The pope was the supreme legislator for the church. He made new laws by his bulls, and by his dispensations in particular cases he could set aside old laws such as those forbidding first or second cousins to marry or monks to obtain release from their vows. The pope was also the supreme judge of the church, for all appeals from the lower ecclesiastical courts came before him for decision. As the supreme administrator of the church the pope confirmed the election of bishops, deposed them when necessary, or transferred them from one diocese to another. No archbishop might perform the functions of his office until he had received from the pope the *pallium*, a narrow band of white wool worn around the neck as a symbol of the Petrine supremacy. The pope also exercised some oversight of the monastic orders and the orders of friars. Finally, he called general councils of the church, presided over them, and enforced their decrees.

The papal court, or *curia*, formed a large body of officials headed by the College of Cardinals, the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, the "hinges" (Latin *cardines*) upon which the church rested and moved. These were appointed for life by the pope, at first only from the churches of Rome and the vicinity; but in course of time the cardinalate was opened to prominent ecclesiastics in all countries. The number of cardinals is now fixed at seventy but the college is never full; there are always vacant "hats," as the saying goes. The cardinals served as the pope's chief advisers and upon his death or resignation chose, by a two-thirds majority, his successor. Usually the pope had been a cardinal himself; almost always he was, and still is, an old man when elected. The pope's authority abroad was exercised by his legates

stationed at various European capitals. A similar function is now entrusted to the papal ambassadors known as nuncios.

The revenues of the papacy grew with its ever growing power and splendor. There were many sources of income: feudal dues from the States of the Church; payments made by bishops, archbishops, and abbots when the pope confirmed their election to office; and the fees exacted of litigants in the papal court. Then there was Peter's Pence, a tax of a penny a hearth, paid by Christian householders and collected every year in England and some Continental countries until the close of the Middle Ages. A penny, it may be observed parenthetically, was a coin very much more valuable in medieval times than today. Peter's Pence is now a voluntary contribution by Roman Catholics in all countries. The many pilgrims visiting Rome every year also made contributions which in the aggregate amounted to a large sum. The Jubilee celebrated by Boniface VIII in 1300 commemorating the thirteen-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Christ brought two hundred thousand worshipers to the capital of the papacy, and the offerings were so generous that two clerics stood day and night by St. Peter's altar to receive them. The pope's annual income in the thirteenth century vastly exceeded that of any secular ruler; according to some authorities it exceeded the combined revenues of all the sovereigns of western Europe at this time. The pope was the greatest banker and financial magnate of Christendom. If the church kept its head in heaven, "it always kept its feet upon the ground."

The Roman Church and Medieval Society

During the Middle Ages the church had no rivals such as it has had since the appearance of Protestantism. It controlled completely and for many centuries the religious and moral life of western Europe. What account could it give of its stewardship? How far did it fulfill the supreme task of making a better world? The task was one of incredible difficulty. The pagan and heathen peoples accepted Christianity, but only superficially; their habits of thought and standards of conduct were little assimilated to the inner spirit of Christian teachings however much they conformed outwardly to the observances of the new religion. The church ministered to a half-barbarous society, and its clergy were not angels but men drawn from that very society. They were men of their age, and their age was one of ignorance, grossness, sensuality, and inhumanity. Such being the case, the wonder is not that the church exhibited many shortcomings, but that as a teacher of religion and morals and as an agency of government it accomplished

so much. To deny this is, as has been said, to make a miracle of its duration.

In the first place, the church propagated the gospel, taught the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, set high standards of right and wrong, and through the penitential discipline and the ecclesiastical courts did its best to enforce these standards upon laity and clergy alike. Humility, pity, generosity, sexual purity, and temperance were always extolled; pride, hardheartedness, avarice, fornication, and intemperance were always condemned. The ideals of the church remained high, however much in practice both laity and clergy fell short of realizing them. As the great advocate of peace, justice, and order, the church strove to abolish blood feuds and blood revenge, to substitute legal remedies for ordeals and judicial duels, and to suppress the great evil of private warfare. Yet the church did not carry its pacific policy so far as to condemn attacks upon heretics and infidels; such enemies of God deserved to be exterminated.

In the second place, the church supported a vast program of charitable work. It multiplied such institutions as hospitals, orphanages, and asylums, all the more necessary at a period when warfare was so common and pestilence and famine were practically endemic. Poor relief came almost entirely in charge of the church, and from the doors of the monasteries the poverty-stricken, the sick, and the infirm were never turned away. Charity, it was thought, benefited him who gave as well as him who took; it was a most pious act with power to remove the sin of the donor or of his dead relatives in purgatory. The indiscriminate giving too often produced a crop of lusty beggars and vagabonds who might better have been sent to a medieval equivalent of a concentration camp. It is for this reason that in modern times the secular authorities have tended more and more to replace the ecclesiastical authorities in the treatment of mendicancy and destitution.

In the third place, the church upheld the lamp of learning and preserved what intellectual culture could be preserved during the darkness of the early Middle Ages. The first medieval schools arose in the monasteries and cathedrals; the medieval universities began as ecclesiastical foundations. The services of the Benedictines in copying the literary masterpieces of antiquity were invaluable, and without their patient labors the Latin classics must have perished or have reached us in a fragmentary condition. The clergy formed the only class with any pretensions to an education. The word "clerk" (Latin, *clericus*) was originally limited to churchmen, since they alone could keep accounts, write letters, and perform other secretarial duties.

In the fourth place, the church helped to promote the cause of

human freedom by insisting on the natural equality of all men in the sight of God. "The Creator," wrote one of the popes, "distributes his gifts without regard to social classes. In his eyes there are neither nobles nor serfs." The higher clergy was largely recruited from the aristocracy; yet bishops, cardinals, and even popes from the lower classes were not unknown. This equalitarian principle was found especially in the monasteries, where low birth formed no bar to preferment. However humble his origin, a monk of piety and ability might become an abbot and perhaps be drafted from the monastic life to the highest positions in the secular hierarchy. It is remarkable how many popes were originally monks who had come from the common people. With the highest ecclesiastical careers open to men of talent, irrespective of birth or social condition, the church naturally attracted to its service the keenest minds of the age.

Finally, the church provided a home of spiritual life. It satisfied the longings for goodness and truth on the part of the best men of the time; in communion with it they found their fullest satisfaction; it was a strong tower in which they placed all their hopes of present welfare and future felicity; it was the City of God, the Heavenly Jerusalem, descended upon earth.

XXII

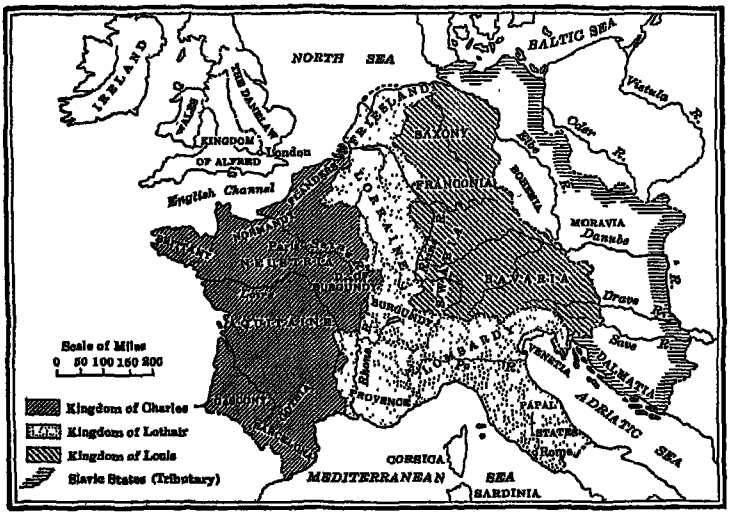
Feudalism and the Aristocracy

Dissolution of the Carolingian Empire

BUILDING upon the foundations laid by Charles Martel and Pepin the Short, Charlemagne had arrested the social disintegration which resulted from the invasions of the Germans and had united their tribes and peoples under something like a centralized government. Charlemagne's dominions passed to his only legitimate son, Louis the Pious (814–840), a weak ruler, better fitted for the quiet life of a monastery than for a throne. He could not control his rebellious sons, who even during his lifetime fought bitterly over their inheritance. The unnatural strife, which continued after the emperor's death, was temporarily settled by a treaty concluded at Verdun in 843. Lothair, the oldest brother, received a long central strip of territory extending from Rome to the North Sea, together with the imperial title. Louis and Charles, the other brothers, secured kingdoms lying to the east and west, respectively, of Lothair's territory.

The arrangements made at Verdun foreshadowed the future map of western Europe. The East Frankish kingdom of Louis, inhabited almost entirely by Teutonic-speaking peoples, was to become modern Germany. The West Frankish kingdom of Charles, inhabited mainly by descendants of Romanized Gauls speaking Romance languages, was to become modern France. Lothair's kingdom never became one national state. Without either geographical or linguistic unity, it was to be broken into fragments and to be fought over for centuries by its stronger neighbors. Part of this territory now forms the countries of Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and Switzerland; another part, known as Alsace and Lorraine, has remained until our day a bone of contention between Germany and France.

Even had Charlemagne been followed by strong and able rulers, it would have been difficult to hold his immense empire together in



The Frankish Empire, Showing the Division of 843

face of the fresh series of barbarian invasions which now began. Moslem pirates ravaged the coasts of southern France, Sicily, and Italy. Slavic-speaking peoples whom Charlemagne had defeated but not subdued pressed into eastern Germany. The Magyars, a people of Asiatic origin, planted themselves in Hungary and carried their depredations far and wide. And, worst of all, the Northmen profited by the turmoil of the times to make their destructive attacks on every part of the empire. The barbarian invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries had ushered in a Dark Age for western Europe, but darker still were the ninth and tenth centuries, when each locality had to organize for its own protection, organize or perish. In these circumstances of dire necessity feudalism took root, developed, and saved western Europe from complete dissolution.

Rise of Feudalism

Feudalism may be briefly described as a system of government under which local rulers exercise the powers which we customarily think of as belonging only to an emperor, king, or other central authority. The feudal system was, indeed, anything but systematic; it was rather "confusion roughly organized." It grew up spontaneously and unplanned, in response to the needs of the time. It was not a unique development in medieval Europe, for many parallels to it are known. Whenever the central authority breaks down, anarchy must result un-

less powerful men in each locality undertake the chief governmental functions, assume the burden of their own defense, and protect those weaker men who seek their aid. Such was the situation in early China, in Egypt after the Pyramid Age, in the Roman Empire in the East during periods of decline, and in the later Arab Empire.

European feudalism arose in the countries which had formed the Carolingian Empire, that is, in France, Germany, and northern Italy. It spread to the Christian states of Spain and in some degree to Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. The Normans transplanted various features of it into England, southern Italy, and Sicily. The Scandinavian countries also became more or less feudalized. Taking definite shape in the ninth and tenth centuries, feudalism flourished for several hundred years, but became decadent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Yet survivals of it were found in the modern period; indeed, its imprint on the laws and customs of European society may still be plainly traced.

Under feudalism there were no states such as developed in western Europe in late medieval and modern times. There was no national army or navy, no national treasury, no body of national officials, not even a national coinage. A French king or a German king did not rule a realm the inhabitants of which were bound to serve as his soldiers, to accept the judgment of his tribunals, and to pay such taxes as he might impose. The three sovereign powers — the military power, the judicial power, the financial power — instead of being combined in one central government, were parceled out among a number of local governments. The feudal nobles sometimes usurped the royal authority, but more often their rights and privileges were expressly granted to them by weak rulers who saw no other way of maintaining a semblance of law and order in their dominions. Thus it resulted that the king came to be less a sovereign than a noble among nobles, "the first among his peers" (*primus inter pares*).

As a governmental system feudalism rested on the tenure of land and on contractual relations between the landholders. It had, therefore, a property element and a personal element. The one was the fief (Latin, *feudum*). The other was vassalage.

The Fief

The economic depression which settled on western Europe during the early Middle Ages involved the decay of manufacturing, commerce, and other forms of business enterprise. There could be no easy flow of sales and purchases when the channels of trade had dried up. The production of exchangeable goods and the accumulation of

capital had steadily declined. The early Middle Ages lacked an adequate supply of coined money or substitutes for coined money in the shape of banknotes and checks such as we possess. But the land remained. Land, with whatever was on it, including buildings, tools, livestock, and human cultivators, was the main and almost the only source of wealth. The king, in theory the owner of the soil, would reward his nobles with grants of land in lieu of salaries. A noble would divide his lands among his followers, in exchange for military aid and other services. Sometimes a powerful and unscrupulous noble seized the lands of his neighbors and compelled the latter to become his dependents. More often a small landowner who could not defend his property or his family would seek out a neighboring great landowner, clerical or lay, to whom he surrendered title to the land and pledged his personal services. In return, he received protection and the right of cultivating the land during his lifetime. The model for this arrangement seems to have been found in the Roman *precarium* (Latin, *precor*, "to pray"), because it came about through the prayer or petition of an inferior to a superior.

Not all the land was thus held, however; in every country of western Europe a part of the land continued to be held alodially, that is, as one's own property, without being subject to any rent, service, or obligation to a superior save only the king. Some alods were free even of royal control. With the growing feudalization of society freeholds of this sort declined in number, until it became measurably true, as the lawyers declared, that there was "no land without a lord."

An estate in land which a person held of a lord was called a fief. The recipient of the fief had it at first only for a specified term of years, or for his lifetime, but eventually it became inheritable. In England the oldest son took the whole of his father's estate, not because of a desire to enrich himself by disinheriting his brothers but with the idea that the united kinsfolk would live upon the land and defend it under him as head of the family group. The rule of primogeniture was less strictly observed in France; in Germany a fief might be and frequently was divided among all the sons. If a man died without legal heirs, the fief went back ("escheated") to its lord; if a man proved disloyal, the fief might be forfeited to its lord. While a fief was normally a tract of land, it was sometimes an office with lucrative fees, or a monopoly such as the right to levy tolls at a bridge, or a sum of money paid yearly by the lord to his retainers — the equivalent of wages or a salary. From the thirteenth century onward the lord thus hiring retainers was frequently the king, who in this way built up an army which he could call out at any time and for any length of time. His

mercenaries enabled him to overawe the great nobles and eventually to destroy the whole fabric of feudalism.

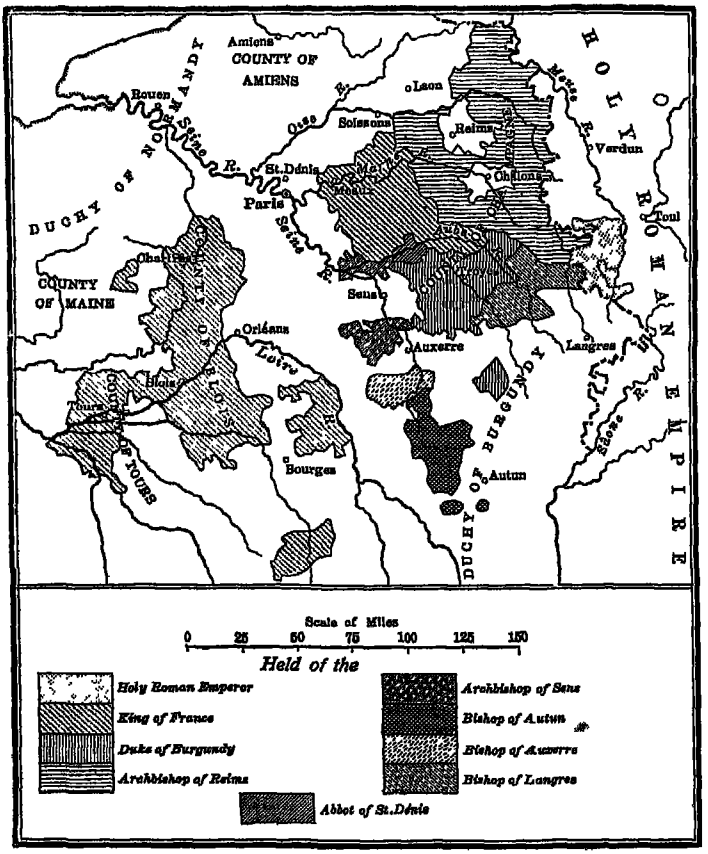
Vassalage

The tie binding the man who accepted a fief to the lord who granted it was called vassalage. At the base of the feudal pyramid were the knights, whose estates were considered to be too small for subdivision; above them were the lesser lords, or barons; above them were the greater lords, or peers of the realm (counts or earls, marquises, and dukes in the ascending order); and at the apex of the feudal pyramid stood the king, the supreme landlord, who was supposed to hold his land from God. Actually no such regular hierarchy could be found anywhere. A knight might hold all his lands directly of the king; a greater lord, for some of his lands, might be the vassal of a lesser lord; there were cases where a man was both lord and vassal to the same person for different lands. When a man held several fiefs granted by different lords, it must have taxed the ingenuity of feudal lawyers to apportion to each lord his proper share of the vassal's allegiance.

One who proposed to become a vassal and hold a fief came into the lord's presence, bareheaded and unarmed, knelt down, placed his hands between those of the lord, and promised henceforth to be his "man" (Latin, *homo*). The lord kissed him and raised him to his feet. This was the act of homage. The vassal then placed his hands upon the Bible or upon sacred relics and swore to remain faithful to his lord. This was the oath of fealty or fidelity. Finally came the ceremony of investiture. The lord gave the vassal some object — a stick, a clod of earth, a lance, or a glove — in token of the vassal's possession of the fief. What the lord transferred in this way was not the ownership of the fief, but only the use of it; the lord remained its legal owner. While vassals generally held fiefs, homage did not always involve landholding. A good many of the lord's retainers lived with him in his castle, content to receive food and lodging and occasional gifts or money in return for their attendance and service.

Certain aspects of vassalage, such as the act of homage and the oath of fealty, together with the strong tie binding lord and man each to each, may probably be traced back to the relationship which in Germanic antiquity existed between the tribal chief and his followers in the retinue known as the *comitatus*. The relationship of patron and client (*patrocinium*) which had come down from Roman times seems also to have influenced the development of vassalage.

One might suppose that under the feudal regime there would be no



The Fiefs of the Count of Champagne (12th Century)

place for children and women, since the contract of vassalage seemed to bind men only, particularly fighting men. Nevertheless, children and women could be heirs of lords and heirs of vassals. A child, being a minor, had a male guardian to act for him until he became of age. A woman, if a lord, could govern her fief in person; if a vassal, she was only required to provide a male substitute for the service of the fief. Thus the daughter of a noble shared with his sons all the privileges of inheritance except the privilege of primogeniture.

A general responsibility rested on the vassal not to wrong the lord in any way, whether in person, family, property, or honor. The vassal also owed various services to the lord: in wartime to fight for him and defend his castle; in time of peace to judge or give counsel at the lord's court and to attend the lord on ceremonial occasions and enter-

tain him and his suite. The vassal was further required, under certain circumstances, to make money payments. When he inherited a fief he had to give his lord a sum fixed by custom; in northern France the sum was equivalent to one year's revenue from the estate. This "relief" was sometimes payable when a new lord succeeded the old. If the vassal sold the fief, the lord, before consenting to the transaction, received a large sum from the purchaser. Vassals were also expected to raise money for the lord's ransom in case he was made prisoner of war, to meet the expenses connected with the knighting of his eldest son, and to provide a dowry for his eldest daughter (but only when she was married for the first time). Such exceptional payments went by the name of "aids."

The lord was bound to the vassal quite as much as the vassal to the lord. The vassal must be secured in the enjoyment of the fief, must be guarded against enemies, and in all ways must receive fair and honorable treatment. Support, protection, justice, the faithful vassal might expect from the faithful lord.

The obligations created by feudal tenure lay far more heavily on the lord's "man" than on the lord; the vassal owed so much that, as has been said, he only half belonged to himself. Consequently, the lord aimed to secure as many vassals as possible by granting fiefs. The more vassals he had, the greater leader he could be. Thus was formed the feudal group composed of the different vassals of the same lord, to whom he stood as protector, benefactor, and friend. Such a group must be thought of as essentially self-governing: an army by virtue of the vassals' service in war; a tribunal of justice, through their judicial service; and a council, through their advisory service. It is true that lords and vassals often broke their engagements when it seemed profitable to do so, had many quarrels, and indulged in much petty warfare. Nevertheless, feudalism was preferable to anarchy. Hard-riding, hard-hitting nobles drove back the pirates and hanged the brigands and enforced what laws there were, as no feeble king could do in those troubled ninth and tenth centuries. Feudalism provided a rude system of government for a rude society.

Feudal Justice

Legal cases affecting vassals were tried in the court of their lord. The latter presided, but the actual decision was delivered by other vassals acting as judges. The noble always claimed the right to be judged by his peers, his social equals. Such a court did not act in the public interest, as with us, but waited until the plaintiff requested its service.

Nor, as a rule, did it summon witnesses and hear their testimony in order to reach a decision based on knowledge of all the facts of the case. Proof, evidence, reason, equity had little place in a feudal court.

Resort was had instead to some form of the appeal to the judgment of God. The plaintiff might assert the truth of his charges, or the defendant declare his innocence of them, under oath, a solemn proceeding by which a man called down upon himself divine punishment if he swore falsely. Besides oaths there were ordeals, the most common being those by fire or by hot water. The accused walked barefoot over burning logs, or carried a piece of red-hot iron for a certain distance, or plunged his hand into boiling water. If the wound healed after a few days, God had made it heal; the accused was obviously innocent. Ordeals were chiefly for women and infirm men. Able-bodied nobles preferred to settle the question at issue by means of the judicial duel, or wager of battle. The accuser and the accused fought with each other and the conqueror won the case. God had given him victory because he had right on his side. When one of the adversaries could not, or would not, fight, he secured a champion to take his place. The judicial duel went out of use in the courts, but it long continued to be employed privately as a means of settling disputes which involved a man's honor.

Oaths, ordeals, and duels formed an inheritance from Germanic antiquity. They offered a sharp contrast to Roman legal procedure, which acted in the public interest, balanced evidence, and sought only to get at the truth. After the middle of the twelfth century the revival of Roman law, as embodied in Justinian's code, led gradually to the abandonment of most forms of appeal to the judgment of God. The kings, at the same time, became powerful enough to take into their own hands the administration of justice.

Feudal Warfare

The vassal had to follow his lord to war, either alone, if his fief supported no more than himself and his horse, or with a certain number of men according to the size of the fief. This assistance was limited. A vassal served for a definite period, ordinarily forty days a year, and then only within a reasonable distance from the lands for which he did homage. These restrictions made it difficult to conduct a long campaign or one far removed from the vassal's fief, unless mercenary soldiers were employed.

The feudal army, as a rule, consisted entirely of cavalry. Swiftly moving assailants, such as the Northmen and other barbarian invaders,

could best be dealt with by mounted men who could bring them to bay, compel them to fight, and overwhelm them by the shock of the charge. Mailed horsemen thus came to prevail on the battlefields of western Europe as on those of eastern Europe.

The armor used in medieval times was gradually improved until the knight became a living fortress. He wore at first a cloth or leather tunic covered with iron rings or scales, and an iron cap with nose guard. Later he wore chain mail, with a hood of the same material for the head. Finally armor was made of jointed steel plates, completely protecting the body; a helmet with a visor which could be raised or lowered protected the head. Thus encased in metal, provided with shield, lance, straight sword or battle-ax, and mounted on a powerful horse, also closely armored, the knight could ride down almost any number of foot soldiers. Not until the development of missile weapons — the longbow and afterward the musket — did infantry resume its full military importance. The feudal age by this time was drawing to a close.

War between the nobles was the rule and peace the exception in the feudal age. A vassal might fight with the various lords to whom he had done homage, in order to secure independence from them; with his fellow vassals whom he disliked for any reason; and with his own vassals. And, of course, he might fight with lords to whom he had no feudal relationship; if strong enough, he might fight with even his king. Fighting became almost a form of business enterprise, which enriched the lords and their retainers through the sack of castles, the plunder of villages, and the ransom of prisoners. Every hill became a stronghold and every plain, a scene of conflict. Battles were seldom very bloody. The armor of the knights protected them against mortal blows; moreover, the victor preferred to spare the vanquished, hold him captive, and secure a ransom for him. We read of one engagement in which nine hundred knights took part; only three were killed. but one hundred and forty were taken prisoners.

The church lifted a protesting voice against this constant warfare. It proclaimed in various ecclesiastical provinces a "Peace of God," which forbade attacks on defenseless people such as priests, monks, pilgrims, merchants, and peasants. Such measures had little effect. The nobles could not be prevented from attacking one another, even though they were threatened with the eternal torments of hell. The church then began to proclaim a "Truce of God," which applied at first only to Sunday, but eventually included the whole period from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week, the season of Lent, and various holy days. The truce would have prevented hostilities for about two hundred and forty days each year — a "closed season"

for fighting, so to speak — but it seems never to have been strictly observed except in limited areas. The kings, as their power increased, tried to stop fighting in their dominions. The Norman rulers of Normandy, England, and the Two Sicilies restrained their vassals with a strong hand. Elsewhere peace came later; in Germany, "fist right" (the rule of the strongest) prevailed until the end of the fifteenth century.

The Nobles

Just as land formed the main source of wealth under feudalism, so the landholders formed the aristocratic or noble class. It may be said, broadly, that all who held land by feudal tenure, that is, on condition of performing some "honorable" service, were nobles. The nobleman is the fiefholder; the commoner is the man who pays the holder of the fief a money rent or performs for him services regarded as dishonorable, for instance, manual labor. Here lay a fundamental distinction between the fighting class and the working class, a distinction characteristic of the entire medieval period. The workers, whether in country or town, were outside the feudal system, though they supported it and alone made it possible.

Nobles might be rulers of extensive districts who possessed sometimes hundreds of villages and could lead perhaps thousands of vassals to war. Much more numerous were the knights, whose domains possibly contained only a single village or a part of a village. To be a knight a man had to have an income at least sufficient to keep him and his horse without working — honor forbade that. Below the knights came the squires, including those of gentle birth who were not old enough to be made knights or not rich enough to support the knightly life. In England almost all gentlemen were content to remain squires. There the title of "esquire" became practically meaningless, being given to any well-to-do person, especially a landowner. As a mere title of courtesy it has followed the same democratic course as the English "master," originally conferred on a person of some social standing but now become simply "mister" (Mr.). And now, too, the "grand old name of gentleman" no longer has reference to birth or property but signifies — when it signifies anything — a distinction of education and manners varying with every class of society that uses it. The growth of modern democracy is as clearly traceable in our language as in our laws.

Bishops, archbishops, and abbots, though not warriors by profession, also ruled estates subject to feudal services. Many of them lived like laymen and often warred like laymen at the summons of their

overlord. We hear of one archbishop who, in order to avoid shedding blood (forbidden to a cleric), fought with a club. As a rule only clerics of noble birth, particularly younger sons where primogeniture prevailed, held the ecclesiastical dignities. Their interests and obligations thus identified them with the aristocracy.

Nobles enjoyed special privileges, such as partial exemption from royal taxation; and, as time went on, they became more and more sharply separated from commoners, whether peasants in the country or artisans and businessmen in the towns. Nobles refused to mix with non-nobles; no one not the son of a noble could become a knight; the daughter of a commoner might not marry a noble. Nobility passed at first only in the male line, but later it became the rule that the noblewoman could convey the noble quality to her descendants by union with a commoner. Such was the hereditary aristocracy of landholders, with its surnames derived from the names of country estates, its armorial bearings, and its heraldic devices indicating superiority of birth. It was the dominant element in medieval society.

Life of the Nobles

Ordinarily the noble resided on his country estate in a manor house or mansion (Latin, *manere*, "to inhabit"). This was situated near the village where lived the free peasants and serfs who worked on the estate. When fortified, as was usually the case, the manor house became a castle (French, *château*). A rich noble might possess several castles, because he had many estates requiring protection. In its earliest form the castle was simply a wooden blockhouse placed on a mound and surrounded by a stockade; later, the nobles began to build in stone, which would better resist fire and the assaults of besiegers. At first a single square or round tower, with thick walls, few windows, and often only one room to each story, the castle developed into a group of towers connected by outer and inner walls and covering a wide area.

The siege engines employed included movable towers from which the enemy crossed over to the walls, battering-rams, and the trebuchet (seemingly invented in the twelfth century), which displaced the ancient catapult as a device for hurling stones and bolts with great force. Since these engines could best be used on firm, level ground, it was customary to erect a castle on a high cliff or hill, or on an island, or in the center of a swamp. A castle without such natural defenses would be surrounded by a moat, often filled with water. If the besiegers could not batter down or undermine the walls, they adopted the slower method of a blockade and tried to starve the garrison into surrender-

ing. It was difficult, however, to capture a well-built, well-provisioned castle.

A visitor to a medieval castle crossed the drawbridge over the moat and approached the narrow gateway which was protected by a tower on each side. If he was admitted, the iron grating (portcullis) rose slowly on its creaking pulleys, the heavy wooden doors swung open, and he found himself in the courtyard commanded by the great central tower (keep) where the lord and his family lived, especially in time of war. On the summit of the keep rose a platform where a sentinel surveyed the country far and wide; below, two stories underground, lay the prison, dark, damp, and dirty. A castle usually contained a hall for the lord's residence in time of peace, a chapel, an armory, a kitchen, and stables, as well as accommodations for the lord's servants and pens where the peasants, when danger threatened, could keep their livestock.

Castle life was dull. There were some games, especially chess, which the nobles learned from the Arabs. There were the pleasures of the table. The lord and his retainers sat down to a gluttonous feast and, as they ate and drank, watched the pranks of a professional jester, or "fool," listened to the songs and music of minstrels, or, it may be, heard with wonder the tales of far-off lands brought by some returning traveler. There was hunting in the forests and game preserves attached to every estate. Deer, bears, and wild boars were hunted with hounds; for smaller animals trained hawks, or falcons, were employed. But the nobles found in fighting their chief occupation and pastime. "To play a great game" was their description of a battle.

Knighthood and Chivalry

The prevalence of warfare in feudal times made the use of arms a profession requiring special training. A nobleman's son served for a number of years, first as a page (French, *valet*), then as a squire in his father's castle or in that of some other lord. He learned to ride a horse, to climb a scaling-ladder, and to wield sword, battle-ax, and lance. He also waited on the lord's table, assisted him at his toilet, followed him in the chase, and attended him in battle. This term of service usually lasted from five to seven years. When the young noble became of age, he might be made a knight if he deserved the honor and he or his father could afford the expense. The ceremony of conferring knighthood became very elaborate. The candidate fasted, took a bath — the symbol of purification — and passed the eve of his admission in prayer. Next morning he confessed his sins, went to church,

and listened to a sermon on the duties of knighthood. This ended, his father, or the noble who had brought him up, girded him with a sword and gave him the "accolade," that is, a blow on the neck or shoulder, at the same time saying, "Be thou a good knight." The youth, clad in shining armor and wearing golden spurs, then mounted his horse and exhibited his skill in warlike exercises. If a squire, for valorous conduct, received knighthood on the battlefield, the accolade by stroke of sword formed the only ceremony.

The all-absorbing passion for fighting led to the development of mimic warfare in the shape of jousts and tournaments. These formed the medieval equivalent of the Greek athletic games and the Roman gladiatorial shows. The joust took place between two knights and the tournament between two bands of knights. The contests were held in a railed-off enclosure called the "lists," about which the spectators gathered. Each knight wore upon his helmet the scarf or color of his lady and fought with her eyes upon him. Victory went to the one who unhorsed his opponent or broke, in the proper manner, the greatest number of lances. The beaten knight forfeited horse and armor and had to pay a ransom to the conqueror. Sometimes he lost his life, especially when the participants fought with real weapons and not with blunted lances and unpointed swords. The church now and then tried to stop these performances, but they remained universally popular until the close of the Middle Ages.

As Christian teaching began to affect feudal society, knighthood developed into chivalry (French, *cheval*, "horse"). The church, which opposed the warlike excesses of feudalism, took the knight under her wing and bade him be always a true soldier of Christ. The "good knight" was he who respected his sworn word, who never took unfair advantage of another, who defended widows and orphans against their oppressors, and who sought to make justice and right prevail in the world. Needless to say, the "good knight" appears more often in romance than in sober history. Such a one was Sir Lancelot in the stories of King Arthur and the Round Table. As Sir Lancelot lies in death, a former companion addresses him in words which sum up the best in the chivalric code: "Thou wert the courtliest knight that ever bare shield; and thou wert the truest friend of thy lover that ever bestrode horse; and thou wert the truest lover among sinful men that ever loved woman; and thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword; and thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights; and thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies; and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest."

The code of chivalry produced some improvement in manners; the very word "courtesy" refers to the conduct befitting the lord and his wife in their court. It had much to do with arousing the sentiment of romantic love. Rare in classical times and almost unknown for many centuries thereafter, that sentiment became characteristic of chivalry and forms one of the most persistent legacies of the Middle Ages to our day. The knight was not expected to love his wife, since marriages were generally arranged by the parents for business reasons, but custom required him to have a chosen lady to whom he gave his devotion and in whose behalf he performed brave deeds in the tournament and on the battlefield. Similarly, every lady might be expected to have both a husband and a lover. Absurd as the exaltation of "gallantry" seems to us, it fostered greater regard for women (though only for those of the upper class), and in time the love of man and maid came to be more often joined with marriage than opposed to it. Finally, the code of chivalry developed the idea that "rank confers obligation" (*noblesse oblige*), in other words, the idea that a person must act honorably and generously toward his associates, his fellow nobles. But the knight despised and strove to keep in subjection the common people in country and town upon whom rested the burdens of feudal society.

Decline of Feudalism

An institution which had lasted so long that those who lived under it must have believed it would last forever at length became decadent and disappeared. Politically, feudalism tended to pass away when kings grew strong enough to put down private warfare, execute justice, and maintain order everywhere in their dominions. Economically, feudalism could not withstand the great changes of the later Middle Ages, when reviving industry and commerce led to an increase of capital, the growth of markets, and the substitution of money payments for payment in services. Flourishing cities arose, as in the days of the Roman Empire, freed themselves from the control of the nobles, and became the homes of a powerful middle class of traders, manufacturers, bankers, and professional men. The middle class was always antifeudal.

Deprived of its political and economic supremacy, the nobility continued to retain and even to enlarge its privileges; in France, "social dynamite" — a revolution — was required to get rid of them. England, democratic in government, has still its House of Lords, mainly composed of hereditary landowners whose estates, acquired without any effort on their part, enable them to lead an easy existence and set the

social fashion for the whole country. The military side of feudalism long survived in the exclusive control by the nobility of commissioned offices in the army; before the French Revolution the officers in both England and on the Continent were always members of the titled class, and they are so yet to some extent. Orders of knighthood still exist, although these have lost all significance except as honorary distinctions. Feudal ideas and principles also remain as the foundation of English and American law of real property, that is, landed property. And the common words and expressions which feudalism has left in our language tell their own story of its long dominance: "homage," "fealty," "vassal," "knight," "esquire," "chivalry," "my lord," "my man."

Significance of Feudalism

"Feudal" is now a term of reproach, standing for aristocratic privilege and oppression. But feudalism in its time, an iron time, performed a necessary task. It did what Rome had failed to do against the Germans and what the later Carolingians had not done against the Northmen and other barbarians: it organized local resistance to the invaders and at length freed western Europe from the barbarian menace. The feudal army of mailed knights was the most efficient fighting force of the age. The feudal castle protected not only the lord and his retainers but also the humble peasants beneath the ramparts; that of Carcassonne in southern France gave peace and security for nearly three centuries to the whole surrounding district. Feudalism thus had usefulness during the terrible ninth and tenth centuries, but passed ere long into a system of exploitation of the weak by the strong, of the great majority of the people by a small noble class. Europe has paid a heavy price for the feudal aristocracy; to some extent Europe continues to pay that price. As a system of government feudalism was about the worst possible. Under it the kings lost touch with the great mass of the people and had direct relations only with their highest vassals. The independence and local sovereignty prevailing under feudalism thus encouraged the constant civil war between lord and lord or even between lord and king. One wonders how society managed to hold together in the days when monarchs were weak and nobles were turbulent and strong.

A local and an aristocratic institution, feudalism stood in sharp relief against the other great institution of the Middle Ages, namely, the Roman Church. It is true, as has been already noticed, that the church was enmeshed in the feudal system. The higher clergy, as officers of

the church, ruled over extensive estates bestowed upon them by the piety and generosity of the faithful. Archbishops, bishops, and abbots held their fiefs as vassals of kings and emperors and, in turn, had vassals from whom they demanded the usual services and dues. Nevertheless, a church which did not recognize the principle of hereditary succession to its offices, which wielded an authority having no necessary connection with the tenure of land, and which included all the people was in essence the very opposite of feudalism.

XXIII

The People in Country and Town

The Manor

IT is time to turn from clerics and feudal lords to the immensely larger body of workers who supported this upper stratum of medieval society. The workers lived mainly in the country. Towns were few and small, for the breakup of the Roman Empire and the inroads of the barbarian peoples had proved well-nigh fatal to manufacturing and trade and hence to the places where those activities centered. In the early Middle Ages probably nine-tenths of the inhabitants of western Europe drew their livelihood from farming, herding, fishing, and hunting, that is, from the extractive industries. Ruralism, with all that it implies in the way of cultural stagnation and resistance to cultural change, generally prevailed.

The European countryside at this period was far from presenting the well-settled, attractive aspect which impresses the traveler today. It was rather a wilderness of forest, moor, and swamp, with few trails and roads, and with only occasional evidences of human habitation. Here and there, for instance in hilly and mountainous districts, the free farmer, herdsman, or forester lived on a lonely homestead or in a hamlet consisting of a few families. But most of western Europe, from England across France and Germany to the plains of Hungary and Russia, was occupied by large estates varying in size from several hundred acres to a thousand or more. Nobles, bishops, and abbots possessed them and their dependent tenants worked them. A noble had at least one estate; he could not be a noble without a revenue sufficient to keep him, and ordinarily this revenue came from land. Great nobles might have scores of estates, usually scattered throughout the country; the king had many more to supply his needs and those of his court. Such an estate was called a manor or a vill in England, a *seigneurie* in France, and by other names in other countries.

Organization of the Manor

Every manor consisted of two parts of unequal extent. The smaller part formed the lord's "demesne," his domain. It always included the gardens and orchards surrounding the manor house or castle and a certain proportion of the arable land. The lord's holding might be a solid block of land adjacent to the manor house, but more often it lay in strips among the holdings of the peasants. What the demesne produced belonged to the lord. The larger part of the manor was distributed among the tenants and what this produced, aside from their contributions, belonged to them and supported them. Just as the feudal contract imposed mutual obligations on the grantor of a fief and its recipient, so the manorial contract involved obligations on the part of the lord to give his tenants the use of the land and on the part of the tenants to render to their lord some return in the shape of services and dues.

This system of landholding and landworking had come down from imperial Rome. When the Germans entered the western provinces, they found almost everywhere large estates (villas) owned by wealthy men and farmed in part by slaves but in greater part by serfs. Serfdom had developed in two ways. Slaves became serfs when they were treated no longer as human chattels but were attached to the land and might not be sold off it. Freemen became serfs when for any reason they lost title to their farms but still remained on them and cultivated them for the proprietor. For former slaves serfdom represented a step upward in the economic scale; for former freemen it represented a step downward. The whole process involved a leveling off of rural society. The Germans seem to have made little change in farming methods and forms of labor; they merely took over some of the land and stepped into the places of the rich Roman magnates. Thus the villa and its serfs persisted under the new masters of the soil, the villa becoming the medieval manor and the serfs continuing in their serfdom. It should be added that during the early Middle Ages the serf class was recruited from the ranks of the Germans themselves, these being sometimes war captives and sometimes poor, defenseless settlers who because of the disturbed conditions of the time exchanged freedom for the support and protection of a lord.

Whether or not a lord lived on the manor, almost invariably he did not attend to it himself; his one honorable occupation was the practice of arms. The lord entrusted the task of management to an overseer or bailiff; if the lord owned several manors, he also employed a steward (seneschal) to visit them several times a year and exercise general

supervision. The peasants had their officials as well: the reeve, a sort of foreman, whom they chose to act for them in dealings with the bailiff; and the constable, whose duty it was to carry messages around the village, to summon the inhabitants to meetings, and to enforce the orders of the reeve. Other officials included the poundkeeper, who seized straying animals; the watchman, who guarded the flocks by night; the shepherd; the swineherd; and the cowherd. In return for their services these men received an allowance of land, which the peasants cultivated for them.

A manorial court was held at frequent intervals in the manor house or parish church. The steward or bailiff presided. The peasants attended in the capacity of jurors and gave judgment according to the "custom of the manor"; every manor had its own customary regulations. In form at least this was a democratic arrangement, but the steward or bailiff imposed the actual sentence and in most cases his will prevailed. The court dealt with such minor offenses as neglect of duty, poaching, assaults, and quarrels between two peasants. The heavy fines imposed swelled the lord's coffers. "Justice is great profit," declared a legal maxim. The court also had criminal jurisdiction and, for murder, arson, rape, even larceny, could impose the death penalty or banishment and confiscation of goods. As a rule, manorial justice seems to have borne heavily on the peasants, for while feudalism prevailed the state was too weak to protect them from cruelty or oppression. Between the tenant and his lord, said a French jurist of the thirteenth century, "there is no judge but God."

The Village and the Villagers

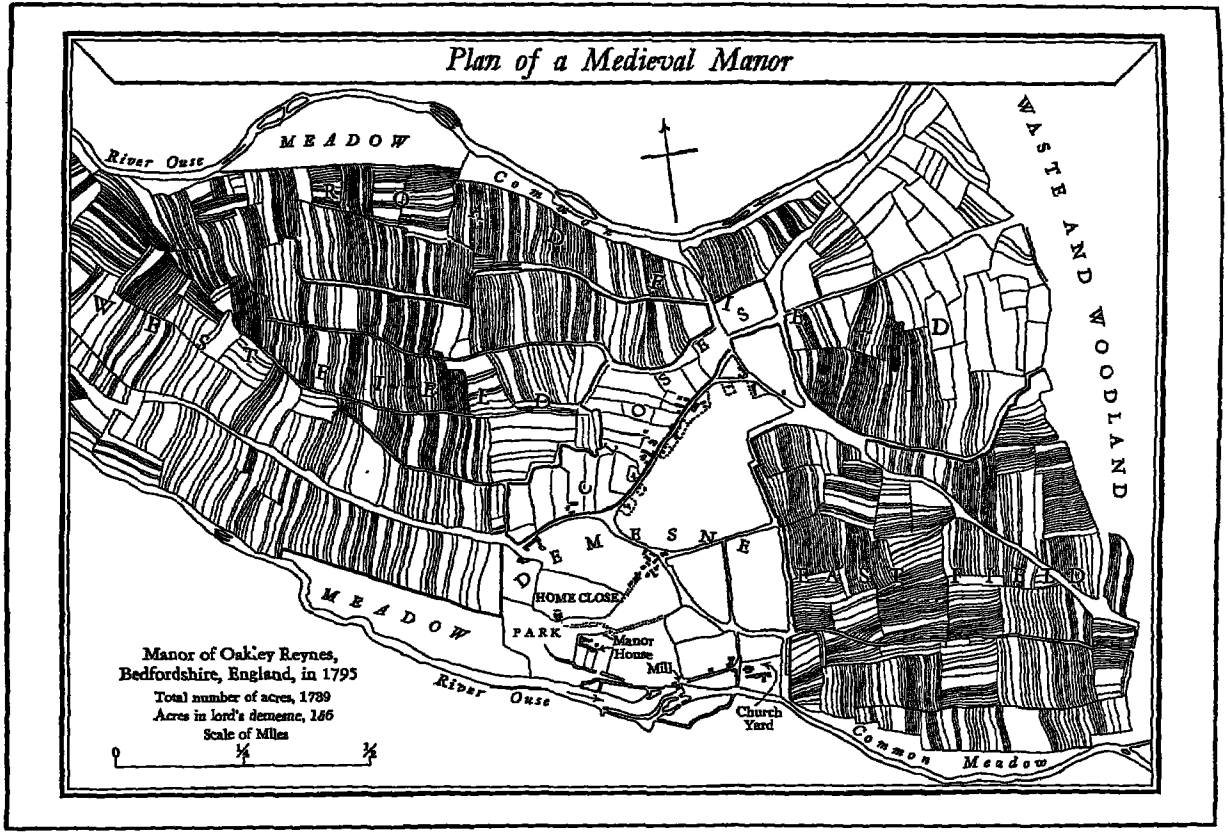
The peasants lived close together in a village, which was usually not far from the manor house and at a junction of roads. Their small, single-roomed dwellings, each one with its yard or garden, stood in rows on either side of the street or clustered irregularly about the parish church. The houses were built of posts covered with a framework of rods and plastered with clay or mud. Chimneys and windows were long unknown, the floor was of hardened earth or of stone, and the roof was covered with straw thatch. The only important buildings in the village were the parish church, often large for the size of the place because it served as a public hall; the parsonage; and a mill, if a stream ran through the manor. Villages varied in size, of course; in eleventh-century England the average population was about one hundred and fifty persons. Such compact settlements of the cultivators of the soil are still characteristic of many parts of western Europe.

The most striking feature of a medieval village was its economic self-sufficiency. The inhabitants tried to produce at home everything they required, in order to avoid the uncertainty and expense of trade. The land gave them their food; the forest provided them with wood for houses, furniture, and fuel. They made their own clothes of flax, wool, and leather. Their meal and flour were ground at the village mill and their farm implements were manufactured or repaired at the village smithy. The chief articles needing to be brought from some distant market included salt, used to preserve for winter use the farm animals killed in autumn, iron for various tools, and millstones. These would be obtained in exchange for cattle, horses, hides, wool, and surplus grain of the manor. In other ways too the village was self-sufficing: the inhabitants looked to their lord for the protection of life and property and they looked to their parish priest for spiritual aid and comfort. In this little isolated world with its own name, territory, officials, and customs a few hundred people passed their lives.

The peasants labored from sunrise to sunset, enjoyed few creature comforts, and suffered from frequent famine and pestilence. They were often helpless prey of the feudal aristocracy. If their lord happened to be a quarrelsome man given to fighting with other lords, they might see their lands ravaged, their cattle driven off, and their village burned; they themselves might be slain. Even under peaceful conditions the narrow, shut-in life of the village was anything but stimulating. Yet if the peasants had a just and generous lord, their condition was not intolerable. Except when crops failed, they had enough to eat and perhaps more than enough wine, beer, or cider to drink. They shared a common life in the work of the fields, in the sports and dances on the village green, and in the services of the parish church. They enjoyed many holidays (holy days); it has been estimated that besides Sundays about eight weeks in the year were free from work. Festivals at Christmas, Easter, and May Day, at the end of plowing and at the completion of harvest relieved the monotony of the daily round of labor.

Agricultural Methods

The peasants cultivated their holdings of arable land according to the "open-field" system. A farmer instead of having all his land in one piece had it split up into a number of long, narrow, parallel strips (usually an acre or half an acre each) scattered over the manor and separated from his neighbors' strips, not by fences or hedges, but by banks of unplowed turf. The appearance of a manor when viewed


Plan of a Medieval Manor
MEADOW
River Ouse
Common
WASTE AND WOODLAND
HOME CLOSE
PARK
Manor House
Mill
Church Yard
MEADOW
River Ouse
Common Meadow
Manor of Oakley Reynes,
Bedfordshire, England, in 1795
Total number of acres, 1789
Acres in lord's demesne, 186
Scale of Miles
0
½
½

from the air has been likened to a vast checkerboard or a patchwork quilt. The reason for the intermixture of strips seems to have been to make sure that a man shared equally with his fellows the good, the fair, and the poor land, as well as what was near the village and what was far away. This open-field system made it necessary for a man to sow the same kinds of crops as his neighbors and to till and reap them when they did. He had also to spend much time in going from strip to strip, from field to field, but doubtless contiguous strips were often cultivated in a block and the harvest was then divided among the owners in proportion to their acreage.

Farmers did not know how to keep all the land in use by means of a proper rotation of crops. Hence each year they cultivated only part of the land, letting the rest lie fallow that it might recover its fertility. Sometimes there were only two fields, with a simple change from grain to fallow in alternate years. More commonly there were three fields: one sown to winter grain (wheat or rye), one to spring grain (barley or oats), and one lying fallow. In the next year the fallow field would become the winter grain field, the winter grain field would become the spring grain field, and the spring grain field would become the fallow field — and so on in succession through the centuries. Thus only a half or, at best, two-thirds of the arable land was ever under cultivation at one time. The yield was scanty, since farmers had no artificial fertilizers and not enough manure. The lack of winter fodder for the cattle made it necessary to kill them in large numbers after they were taken from the summer pastures. Farm animals were small, for selective breeding had not yet begun. Farm implements were few and clumsy; it sometimes took five men a day to reap and bind the harvest of two acres. However backward, these agricultural methods provided sufficient food to support an ever increasing population in western Europe during the Middle Ages and early modern times.

Besides his holding of arable land, which in England averaged about thirty acres (as much as a man and his family could till properly with two oxen), each peasant had certain rights over the nonarable land of the manor. He could cut a limited amount of hay from the meadow. He could turn out so many farm animals — cattle, sheep, swine — on the "waste." He also enjoyed the privilege of taking so much wood from the forest for fuel and building. The extent of the peasant's rights of common depended upon the amount of his holding. A man with thirty acres, furnishing his two oxen to the great plow team of eight oxen which went over the fields, would normally have twice the interest in the nonarable land possessed by his poorer neighbor with

only fifteen acres and only one ox to contribute to the co-operative plowing.

Slaves, Freemen, and Serfs

The few slaves that might be found on a manor were employed in the lord's household or on his demesne. From their master they could claim simply the minimum in the way of food, shelter, and clothing; to their master belonged all the profits of their labor. Slavery had come down from Roman and primitive German times, but long before the close of the Middle Ages it was a decadent institution. In England slavery disappeared by the thirteenth century, the slaves becoming serfs, but it survived longer in Mediterranean lands. Not much better off than the slaves were the cottagers, men with houses in the village but no holdings in the common fields or with holdings not large enough for their support. The cottagers lived by working for the villagers whenever they could and for whatever they could get. They formed the medieval equivalent of the casual "farm help" of today.

There were usually freemen on the manor. These might be described as renters in perpetuity, paying the lord for the use of their land an annual rent either in money or in kind. Sometimes they paid instead a percentage of the product, as in our farming on shares. Freemen were also required to do some work for the lord, especially at the busy seasons of plowing and harvesting, and to serve in his military force. Unlike farm renters now, they enjoyed a privileged position; the lord could neither take back their land nor increase their rent nor, ordinarily, require extra labor from them. And, being freemen, they could leave the manor at will and seek their fortunes elsewhere. This class formed at first a small minority of the peasants, but from the thirteenth century it increased rapidly in number and at the end of the Middle Ages had become the largest part of the population of western Europe.

Most peasants on a manor were serfs. A serf had a higher status than a slave, for in most cases he could not be sold apart from the land nor could his holding be taken from him. He was "fixed to the soil," as the legal phrase expressed it. On the other hand, a serf ranked lower than a freeman because he could not leave the manor, could not marry outside the manor, could not become a priest or a monk, and could not sell or bequeath his tenure or his goods without obtaining the lord's permission and making a payment for it. If he fled the manor, he might be brought back by force and punished; if he could not be found, his holding of land reverted to the lord. He might not serve in the

lord's army nor had he any standing as against the lord in the manorial court. From the serf the lord could exact anything in the way of contributions and compulsory labor, restrained only by his moral sense, his self-interest, and his willingness to abide by the long-established "custom of the manor." The serf, in short, had no rights which the lord was bound to respect, only such rights as the lord was pleased to grant. The contempt of the feudal aristocracy for the serf explains how his technical name of "villein" (villager) has come down to us as "villain." There was a pretty general agreement among nobles and among ecclesiastics as well that "rustic folk are best when they weep, worst when they rejoice."

The serf owed the lord various personal services. He must labor on the demesne two, three, or even more days a week at any task to which he might be set ("week work"), and in spring and autumn when the fields had to be cultivated and the crops gathered in he must do extra "boon work." At least half his time was usually demanded by the lord — a burdensome requirement unless the serf had able-bodied sons to satisfy it for him. The serf was also obliged to make regular payments, either in money or more often in grain, poultry, honey, eggs, and other produce. Then there were his occasional payments for the use of such "public utilities" on the manor as the lord's flour mill, bake oven, brewery, and wine press. This "service charge" was also collected from the free peasants. And both serfs and free peasants paid dues to the parish priest, especially tithes, a tenth part of the products of agriculture.

Serfs were exploited, no doubt of that, but there was a limit to their exploitation. Treated too harshly, they might flee to some other lord who offered them easier conditions and would protect them. In the later Middle Ages, when the lords were competing for laborers on their estates, serfs were frequently attracted from one manor to another. They might also go to a neighboring town where artisans were needed. The rule prevailed that a serf who had lived in a town for a year and a day, unclaimed and unpursued by his lord, became a free man. "Town air makes free," so ran a German proverb. Instances of wanton oppression of serfs were probably rare. The lord had to take care of them as he took care of his cattle; if he was to get the most from his estate, he needed strong, healthy, and willing workers. And it must be always remembered that if the serf was bound to the soil the soil was also bound to him. The lord could not dispossess him except for refusal to give the customary services and dues, and his holding regularly descended to his oldest son, or to all his sons, upon the payment of a fee to the lord. Thus the serf was fairly certain

of at least a bare subsistence as long as he lived, and his family was provided for after his death. He had what in our day is called social security. He had it at the expense of liberty, as was also true of his predecessor the slave. Whether the worker can get social security and at the same time preserve his liberty is a problem which our modern age has yet to solve.

Serf Revolts

To the unfree peasants as to their lords serfdom seemed a part of the established social order. They accepted its burdens as they accepted natural disasters, bad seasons, and the ever present danger of death by pestilence or war. Few serf revolts of any consequence occurred, and those which did take place were quickly crushed. One of these "green" risings, as they have been called in contrast with the "red" revolutions of the city proletariat, was the Jacquerie in northern France (1358). The name comes from Jacques (James), a common term for French peasants. At this time the peasants suffered not only from ill treatment by the lords but also from the brigandage and general disorder into which France had fallen in the course of the long Hundred Years' War with England. The Jacquerie lasted only a few weeks. The peasants raged through the land in armed bands, destroying castles and sometimes murdering the inmates. The movement had scarcely any reasonable purpose; it was an outburst of blind passion. "When they were asked," wrote the chronicler Froissart, "for what reason they acted so wickedly, they replied they knew not, but they did so because they saw others do it; and they thought that by this means they should destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world." The nobles and gentlemen avenged themselves by a wholesale slaughter of the revolters.

Not long after the Jacquerie the so-called Peasants' Revolt occurred in England (1381). Here, as in France, the Hundred Years' War strained the financial resources of the kingdom and led to heavy taxation which, as usual in a government controlled by landlords and rich merchants, bore most heavily on the poorer classes. The imposition of a poll tax on every person over twelve years of age was the spark causing all the pent-up discontent of the common people to flame up in revolt. Among the leaders of the movement was a poor priest, John Ball, who for many years had gone about the country preaching social equality. "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" asked John Ball quoting a doggerel couplet popular at the time. There were outbreaks in several counties, but the one in Kent had most importance. Led by a certain Wat Tyler, the peasants

marched on London and presented their demands to the youthful king, Richard II. He promised to abolish serfdom and to give them a free pardon, promises never kept. Wat Tyler was treacherously murdered, the revolters were rounded up by the royal troops, and John Ball and more than a hundred of his followers were hanged.

Disappearance of Serfdom

In spite of such setbacks, serfdom in western Europe gradually passed away during the later Middle Ages. Among the many reasons for its disappearance the most important was the development of town life from the eleventh century onward. The town provided the inhabitants of a manor with a market for surplus agricultural products and, in turn, supplied them with clothes, tools, and other articles which they had formerly made for themselves. The exchange of goods took place at first chiefly by barter, but with the growth of civic industry and trade more and more money came into circulation. The serf who had saved something from the sale of his products was able to offer and the lord to accept money payments in lieu of personal services. Both parties gained by the transaction, the serf because he could now devote himself entirely to the cultivation of his holding, the lord because hired labor was much more efficient than forced labor. With money, also, the serf could buy relief from the vexatious contributions expected of him; with money he could buy even his freedom. Thus the manorial lord developed into the modern landlord and his former serfs became free tenant farmers.

In England a few thousand wealthy men, chiefly members of the nobility, still own most of the land and receive from their tenants a money rent. The *métayer* system prevails in some parts of the Continent; the landlord usually takes half the yield but supplies the tenant with stock, tools, and seed — our familiar "share-cropping." In France and other countries the great estates have been broken up into small farms owned and cultivated by the peasants. Peasant proprietorships became very common in western Europe as the result of the agrarian reforms introduced by the French Revolution.

By 1500 serfdom was virtually extinct in England, France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, and most parts of Germany, but in Prussia, Austria, and Russia it continued until the nineteenth century. The emancipation of the peasants from the burdens which had rested so heavily on them for a thousand years is a great chapter in the history of human freedom, and here the student finds one of the most important dividing lines between the medieval and the modern world.

The Civic Revival

Nothing indicates more strikingly the backwardness of the early medieval period than the absence of large and prosperous cities throughout western Europe. The "glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" really centered in the classical cities which, like those of our own day, dominated business and cultural life. Their decline had set in and gone far long before the Germans, with no fondness for city life and its restraints, entered the Roman Empire and established village communities. Little advance in civilization could be made as long as there was no society outside the church where non-fighting men could find scope for their interests and talents. Hence the importance of the civic revival beginning in the eleventh century. By 1000 western Europe had begun to settle down; the era of the great invasions of Germans, Northmen, Magyars (Hungarians), Slavic-speaking peoples, and Arabs had closed; and with the increasing orderliness of society trade and industry — the economic activities which create and support cities — were able to develop as they never could develop during the Dark Ages.

A number of cities stood on the sites and even within the walls of Roman municipalities. Particularly in Italy, Spain, and southern France it seems that a number of ancient *municipia* escaped destruction by the Germanic barbarians and the still more barbarous Northmen. These cities preserved their Roman names, streets, aqueducts, amphitheaters, and churches, and doubtless to some extent their Roman traditions. Such were Milan, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Toledo, Cordova, Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Paris. In northern France and the Rhine lands some cities of Roman origin survived the invasions, but in the Netherlands, most of Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and the British Isles the cities were new foundations. Villages sometimes developed into cities because of a favorable site. A place by a bridge (Cambridge), where a river could be forded (Oxford), where trade routes converged, or where a good harbor existed became naturally a resort for settlers. More often cities developed from manorial villages clustering about a castle which offered both protection and employment to the common people. The French word for town (*ville*) was once synonymous with that for castle (*château*); from the German *Burg*, a fortress, comes *Bürger*, a townsman. Monasteries also attracted artisans and merchants in search of better conditions. "There is good living under the shadow of the cross" declared a medieval proverb.

The cities arose upon the territories of feudal lords — kings, nobles, bishops, abbots — and owed obedience to them. The inhabitants pos-

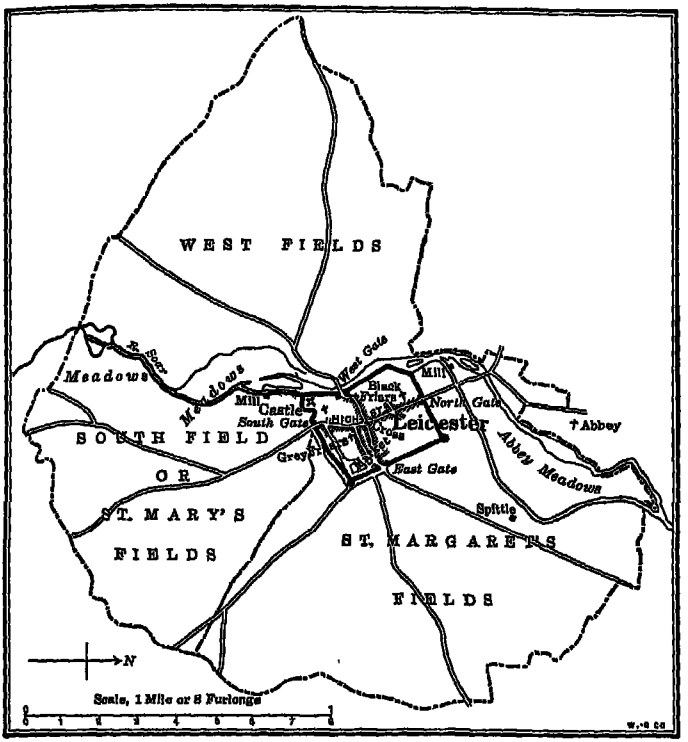
sessed no rights, for their lords collected taxes, appointed officials, kept order, and punished offenders. There came a day, however, when they demanded of their lords guarantees against arbitrary treatment and exemption from manorial obligations. A movement for the emancipation of the cities began and went on for more than two hundred years.

Emancipation was sometimes the result of an actual insurrection in which the merchants, with the assistance of the artisan class, won out by force of arms. More often it proceeded peaceably and without dramatic incidents. Lords always needed money to keep their retainers and fit out contingents for feudal warfare; the townsfolk had the money, and the lords granted the concessions for cash in hand. Some lords, again, took a liberal attitude toward the townsfolk, less from generosity than from self-interest: a prosperous city on their domains would contribute to their own prosperity. In one way or another the inhabitants of the cities gained the right to commute service dues for a fixed money rent, to have a weekly market and possibly a yearly fair, to form guilds, or associations of merchants and artisans, to raise militia for local defense, to elect their own magistrates, to hold their own courts, and to make their own laws. These rights, whether extorted or freely granted, were almost always set forth in a charter, a written and formal contract between the city and the lord.

Such privileged cities arose everywhere in England, France, and Spain. In northern Italy, western Germany, and the Netherlands the weakness of the central government permitted many cities to secure complete independence, so that they became true republics resembling the Greek city-states or those in Italy before the rise of Rome. Thus by the end of the twelfth century the map of feudal Europe came to be dotted with privileged or with independent communities, and to their number were added the many new towns planted by kings and nobles. Western Europe began to be urban once more, as under the Roman Empire.

City Life

A medieval city was surrounded, not by grimy suburbs, but by arable fields which belonged to some of the citizens and by green pastures which were common to all. The approaching visitor saw the city clear in the sunlight, unobscured by coal smoke. From without it looked like a fortress, with walls, towers, gateways, drawbridges, and often a moat. Beyond the fortifications would be seen the spires of the churches, the roofs of the larger houses, the city hall, and the dark, frowning mass of the castle. The visitor entered to find narrow,



A Medieval Walled Town — Leicester

crooked, and ill-paved streets, dark during the day because of the overhanging houses and with little illumination at night. The chief open space was a small market place. The water supply came from streams and wells, and these were always likely to become polluted. The street-cleaning, when it existed, left very much to be desired. There were no sidewalks, consequently the townspeople wore overshoes when they went out; even the saints in the pictures were represented wearing them. Wealthy people went in sedan chairs to avoid the mud and filth. The living were crowded together in many-storied houses, airless and gloomy. The dead were buried close at hand in crowded churchyards. The high death rate could only be offset by a birth rate correspondingly high and by the constant influx of country people. The whole city was cramped by its walls, which shut out light, air, and view and prevented expansion into the countryside. Medieval London, for instance, covered an area of less than one square mile.

Numerous petty regulations restricted the private life of the inhabit-

ants. The civic authorities sometimes decided how many guests might be invited to a wedding and how much might be spent on presents, what different garments might be owned and worn by a citizen, and what jewelry, if any, he or his wife might possess. Nuremberg regulated the style of bathing suits, Mainz laid a ban on a new style of shoe, and Leipzig forbade long dresses reaching to the ground. Each citizen had to serve his turn as watchman on the walls or in the streets at night. When the great bell in the belfry of the city hall sounded the curfew at eight or nine o'clock, this was the signal for everyone to extinguish lights and go to bed. In spite of precautions, destructive fires often broke out in the densely packed wooden houses. The municipal authorities spent little or nothing on police protection, so that street brawls, robbery, and murder were not infrequent. Severe punishments — hanging, drowning, beheading, cutting off hands and ears, branding — were inflicted; the public executioner and torturer was always busy.

Cities in few cases had as many as ten thousand inhabitants. Their small size simplified the problem of governing them. Those that were not ruled by royal officials or by local nobles were generally controlled by the wealthy citizens to the exclusion of the poorer elements of the population. In some cities the head magistrate (burgomaster, mayor) and the council of aldermen were chosen by the guilds. These had many functions and held a most important place in municipal life.

Merchant and Craft Guilds

The Anglo-Saxon word "guild," which means "to pay," was applied to a club or society whose members made contributions to a common fund. This form of organization is very old. Some of the guilds in imperial Rome had been established in the age of the kings, while not a few of those which flourish today in China and India were founded before the Christian era. As associations for protection and defense of the members, guilds existed in western Europe as early as the time of Charlemagne, but it was not until after the beginning of the eleventh century that they had any connection with business or occupations.

The merchant guild might be described as a sort of chamber of commerce, but with more authority than its modern successor. It grew up when those who bought and sold goods in a city united to safeguard their interests. The membership often included artisans as well as regular traders, for in medieval times a man might sell in the front room of his shop the goods which he and his assistants made in the rear rooms.

The chief duty of a merchant guild was to preserve for its members control of retail trade. "Foreign" merchants, meaning those from another city, whether in the same country or not, had to accept the conditions imposed by the guild; they must pay special dues, confine their dealings to guildsmen, and as a rule sell only at wholesale. This attitude toward outsiders is understandable, considering what efforts the citizens had usually made to secure their privileges.

The artisans engaged in particular occupations also formed associations of their own. Such craft guilds rapidly multiplied with the growth of trade and industry. Cologne at one time had eighty; Paris and London each had more than a hundred. There were guilds of weavers, shoemakers, tailors, bakers, carpenters, masons, and the like, even those of barbers, doctors, judges, and other professional men. The members of a particular guild usually lived in the same street or quarter of the city, not only for companionship, but also for better supervision of their labor. The guild names came to be used as the surnames of the guildsmen; no one was ashamed to be called Smith, Cooper, Fuller, Potter, or Chandler after his homely occupation.

The merchant guild monopolized civic trade; the craft guilds monopolized civic industry. A man was not allowed to practice a craft unless he belonged to the appropriate guild, nor could he change from one craft to another. He might not work elsewhere than in his shop, because of the difficulty of supervising him; he might not work by artificial light, lest he turn out badly finished articles. Everything made by him was carefully inspected to see if it contained shoddy materials or showed poor workmanship. Failure to meet the test meant a heavy fine and repeated offenses entailed expulsion from the guild.

Like the institution of chivalry, with its pages, squires, and knights, the craft guild formed a three-fold hierarchy of apprentices, journeymen, and masters. An apprentice served for a long period, in England seven years, to some master who agreed to support him and teach him all the secrets, or "mystery," of the craft. Strict rules limited the number of apprentices whom a master might take on; the result, of course, was to keep down the number of journeymen and ultimately of masters, thus limiting competition among the guild members. Having completed his term of service, the apprentice became a journeyman, that is, a day laborer in the employment of a master. The working day was long, in summer as much as sixteen hours, but numerous church holidays and Sundays brought welcome rest and relaxation. Wages, as expressed in terms of money, were low, but frequently the master lodged and boarded his journeymen. Strikes for shorter hours, higher pay, and better food were not uncommon; these were generally settled by medi-

ation of the city officials. The labor market was not overstocked in the Middle Ages, and there seems to have been little idleness as the result of unemployment. When a journeyman had passed an examination testing his knowledge of a craft and had saved or borrowed enough to set up in business, he became a master, acquired a few apprentices, and hired a few journeymen, himself working with them. The medieval guild was thus unlike the modern trade union in that it included both employers and employees, both capitalists (on a small scale) and wage-earners.

No impossible gulf separated the three grades of guild members; every apprentice looked forward to the time when he would become a journeyman and every journeyman looked forward to the time when, as a fully qualified craftsman, he would take his place among the masters. At least in the early days of the guild system there was a real community of interests among the members; they were all guild brethren. The guilds well illustrated the great principle of medieval society — "inequality between classes, equality within classes."

As in ancient Rome, the craft guilds were benefit societies raising funds for the relief of members or of their widows and children. Each one had its private altar in the church, or often its own chapel, where Mass was said for the repose of the souls of deceased members, and where on the day of its patron saint religious exercises were held. The guildsmen met frequently for a banquet in the guild hall. In some cities they entertained the townsfolk with an annual play or procession. The civic parade in London on Lord Mayor's Day is the last survival in England of these yearly shows.

Markets and Fairs

Nearly every town of any consequence held a weekly or semiweekly market in the market place or in the churchyard. Sunday was a favorite time for marketing in spite of ecclesiastical censure of the practice; the Sunday market is still a feature of many European cities. Outsiders who brought cattle and farm produce for sale paid tolls for the privilege either to the municipal authorities or sometimes to a neighboring noble. The tolls survive in the *octroi* collected at the gates of cities on the Continent, for instance, in France and Italy. Many towns also held fairs once or twice a year; these often lasted for a month or more. The merchants from other towns or from foreign countries who visited them were granted various privileges, such as the right to sell at retail and to have their disputes settled expeditiously by a special court. In England the court was called that of Piepowder, from the dusty feet of those who frequented it.

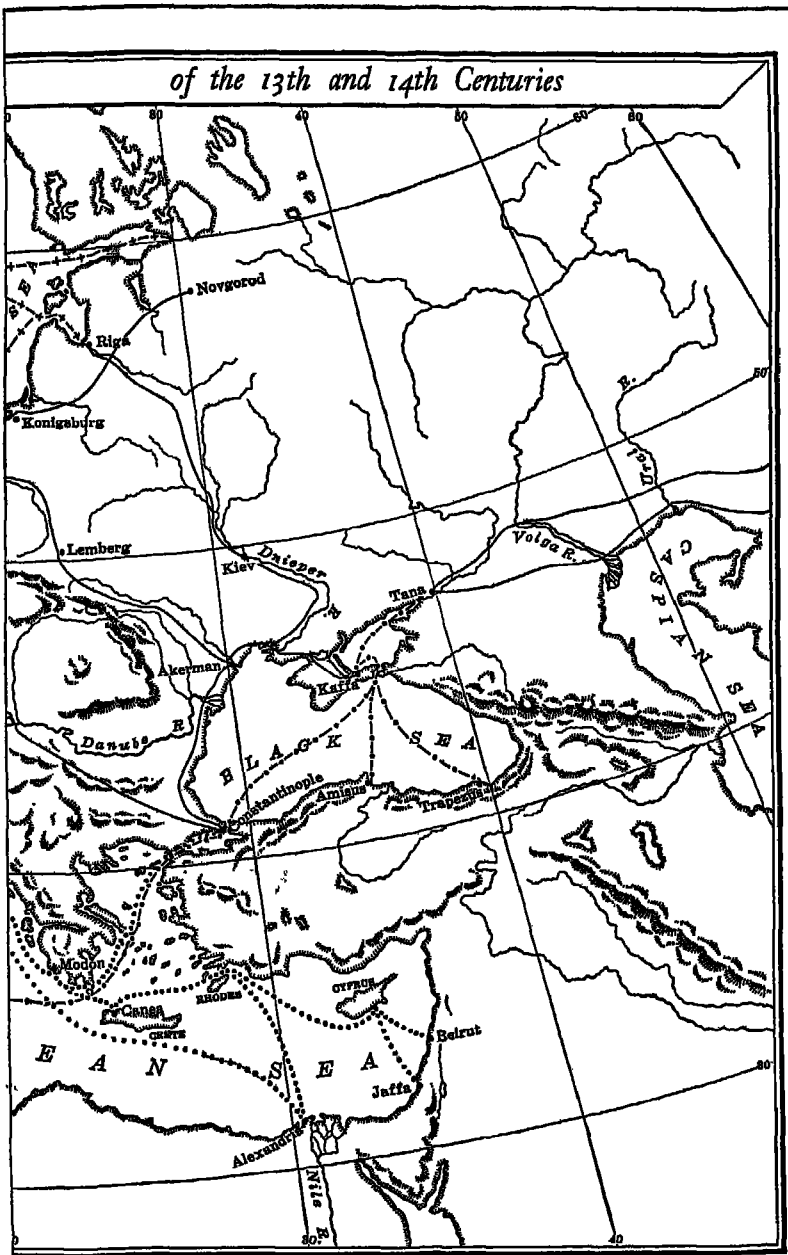
Fairs were especially necessary during the Middle Ages because merchants did not keep large quantities or many kinds of goods on their shelves, nor could intending purchasers afford to travel far in search of what they wanted. A fair at an English town such as Stourbridge or Winchester might attract Venetians and Genoese with silk, pepper, and spices of the East, Flemings with fine cloths and linens, Spaniards with iron and wine, Norwegians with tar and pitch from their forests, and Baltic merchants with furs, amber, and salted fish. Similarly, the six annual fairs held in the cities of Champagne under the patronage of its counts provided an opportunity for the exchange of Oriental products for those of northern European lands. Fairs serving precisely the same purpose as those of medieval times are still found in continental Europe, but their importance has dwindled with the development of transportation and communication. To some extent their place has been taken by the modern "exposition."

That the price level should be determined by supply and demand, with unrestricted competition in an open market, was an idea intolerable to the medieval mind. Goods ought to be sold at their "just price," that is, at a price fair to producer and consumer alike. Accordingly, the municipal government often fixed prices — or rather tried to fix them, for its efforts proved to be generally unsuccessful. When prices were set too low, producers did not offer goods for sale; when they were set too high, consumers did not buy goods. Bread, being a necessary of life, was often required to be sold by a sliding scale according to the market price of wheat, and the same system was applied to beer, which also counted as a necessary. National governments sometimes tried their hand at price regulation; thus in 1315 Edward II of England issued an ordinance intended to fix market rates throughout the country. Many efforts were also made to cope with the "profiteers" of the day, such as the forestallers who bought commodities on the way to a market or fair in order to get them more cheaply, and the engrossers, who bought them in such large quantities as to restrict the supply and thus force up prices. But it was as difficult in the Middle Ages as now to prevent the "cornering of the market" by shrewd and unscrupulous traders.

Commerce and Trade Routes

Little commerce survived the barbarian invasions, and what did survive met many obstacles. The merchant who went by land from country to country might expect to find bad roads, few bridges, and poor inns. Goods were transported more often on pack horses than in wagons. Highway robbery was so common that travelers carried arms and united in bands for better protection. The feudal lords, them-


Commercial Towns and Trade Routes
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC
MEDITERRAN
To Iceland
Bergen
Stockholm
Wisby
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Danzig
Stettin
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Breslau
Nuremberg
Vienna
Munich
Basel
Strasbourg
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Antwerp
Ghent
Boulogne
Cologne
Mayence
London
Bristol
Southampton
Rouen
Calais
Dieppe
Lyon
Chalon
Geneva
Milan
Verona
Venice
Genoa
Bologna
Pisa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Ragusa
Messina
Syracuse
Tunis
Marseilles
Narbonne
Bayonne
Bordeaux
Barcelona
Lisbon
Cordova
Granada
Venetian Galleys in the 11th Century
Land Routes
Water Routes
Venetian
Genoese
Hanse
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600


of the 13th and 14th Centuries
Novgorod
Riga
Konigsburg
Lemberg
Kiev
Dnieper
Volga R.
Tana
Akerman
Kaffa
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Amisus
Trapezus
CASPIAN SEA
Modon
Candia
RHODES
CYPRUS
Beirut
Jaffa
Alexandria
Nile R.
EAN SEA

selves often not much better than highwaymen, demanded tolls at every bridge and ford and on every road. If the merchant proceeded by water, he must face in addition to the ordinary hazards of wind and wave the danger from the ill-lighted coasts and from attacks by pirates. According to the so-called strand laws the cargo of a wrecked ship became the property of the owner of the coast where it was driven ashore; as a result, ships were often deliberately wrecked by false beacons. It is not surprising that with all these risks and perils commerce languished in the early Middle Ages and lay chiefly in the hands of Byzantines and Arabs. Some trade, particularly with eastern lands, had long been carried on by the cities of Italy and southern France, and the crusades, which widened the market for Oriental goods among Europeans, greatly increased the volume of this trade. In time the renewed commercial activity extended to all countries of western Europe.

Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the fifteenth century the luxury products of India, China, and the East Indies reached Europe by the three main routes followed in ancient times. The central route led up the Persian Gulf and Tigris River to Bagdad, from which city goods were sent by caravan across the Syrian desert to Mediterranean ports. The southern route gained the Mediterranean by way of the Red Sea and a caravan journey across Egypt to Cairo and Alexandria. The northern route, entirely overland, went to ports on the Black Sea and thence to Constantinople and the Mediterranean. This route traversed high mountain passes and long stretches of desert and so could be profitably used only for the transport of valuable articles small in bulk.

From the Mediterranean numerous routes, starting at Genoa and Venice, threaded the Alpine passes and gained the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube. The Rhône also formed a very important artery of commerce, and Marseilles at its mouth ranked with Genoa and Venice as a distributing center. In the fourteenth century Genoa and Venice began to utilize the sea route through the Strait of Gibraltar and up the coasts of Spain and France to Flanders. Every year the Venetians sent a freight fleet to Bruges in Flanders, a city which was the depot of trade with Germany, England, and Scandinavia. As the northern countries increased in wealth, a thriving commerce also developed on the North Sea and the Baltic.

Money and Banking

A great hindrance to commercial enterprise in medieval times was the inadequate supply of money. From the beginning of the Chris-

tian era to the eleventh century there seems to have been a steady decrease in the amount of specie in circulation, partly because so much moved to the Far East in payment for silks, spices, and other luxuries, and partly because the few mines in western Europe went out of use during the period of the barbarian invasions. The scarcity of money helped directly to build up both feudalism and the manorial system, since salaries, wages, and rents could be paid only or largely in personal services and in produce. The money supply increased during the later Middle Ages, but it did not become at all sufficient for the needs of business until the discovery of the New World enabled the Spaniards to tap the wealth of the silver mines in Mexico and Peru.

Money was not only inadequate in amount but was also faulty in character. While feudalism prevailed, many great nobles had the privilege of maintaining a mint; in France alone there were nearly two hundred mints during the twelfth century. The coins which were issued passed at their full value only in the lord's dominions, so that a merchant had to be constantly changing his money as he went from one district to another even in the same country. Cities, also, issued their own coins for local circulation. The annoyance and expense to which the traveler in Europe is today subjected by reason of its many currencies are almost trivial compared with those of the medieval merchant. Even after coinage became a royal prerogative, the kings, when in want of ready money, often debased the currency by putting silver into the gold coins and copper into the silver coins. Every debasement lowered the purchasing power, in other words, raised prices unexpectedly and unreasonably. And much counterfeit money circulated, to the constant impediment of exchange. Some of the faults in the monetary system might perhaps have been remedied by the issuance, under proper restrictions, of paper money; but this invention, familiar to the Chinese as early as the twelfth century, was not introduced among the duller-witted peoples of Europe until the seventeenth century.

The prejudice against "usury," as any lending of money at interest was called, formed another hindrance to commercial enterprise. It seemed wrong for a person to receive interest since money, as Aristotle had declared, is barren: gold and silver do not breed like animals. To lend money and receive back anything more than the sum lent was explicitly prohibited in the Bible, and the scriptural prohibition was reinforced by numerous ecclesiastical laws making the receipt of interest a mortal sin. Moneylending, denied to Christians, fell into the hands of the Jews, who were so generally excluded from agriculture and industry.

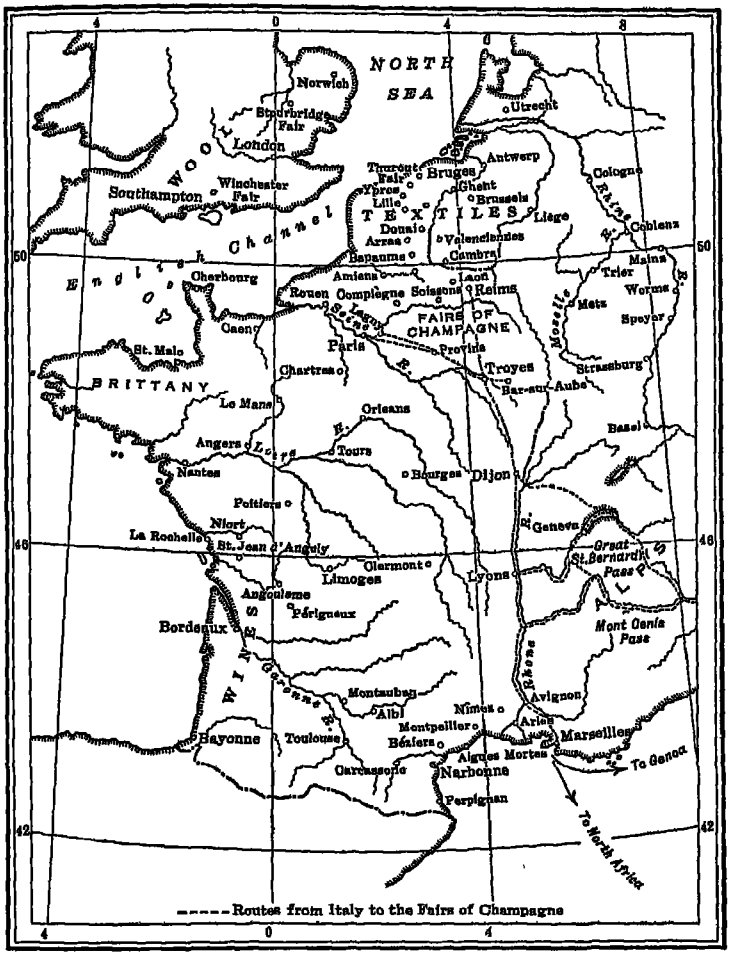
Eventually Christians found a means of engaging in moneylending

without encountering the condemnation of the church. Canon law allowed a lender to charge something for the use of his money could he show that he had suffered any loss by not having it, as would be the case if the loan was not repaid on the due date. A penalty clause imposing a heavy price for nonpayment within the specified time was therefore added to the contract, and the borrower, needing the money, agreed that a time limit should be set earlier than he could possibly make repayment. Interest, usually at a very high rate, was thus virtually legalized. Shylock's agreement with Antonio in the *Merchant of Venice* was of this character, though in Shakespeare's play Antonio forfeits to the Jew not money but his person. In time people began to distinguish between interest that was moderate in amount and an excessive charge for the use of money, and the latter alone was prohibited as usurious. There are still usury laws fixing the legal rate of interest, laws easily evaded however.

The chief rivals of the Jews as financiers were the Italians. In the thirteenth century Florence, Genoa, and Venice formed the moneyed centers of western Europe. Florence at one time had no less than eighty banks with numerous branches in foreign countries. Lombard Street in London, the "Wall Street" of England, received its name from the Florentine and other Italian bankers who settled there. The banks bought bullion, accepted deposits, and extended credit to customers, but did not issue notes which passed as money from hand to hand. They were all privately owned and controlled. The first public bank was established in Barcelona (1401) and the second, the Bank of St. George, in Genoa (1407). These were forerunners of the great state banks of modern times. Accounts between bankers or merchants in different countries were balanced by means of bills of exchange; these were especially useful at a period when so many risks attended the shipment of the actual currency. Much of the business at the great European fairs, for instance, those of Champagne, was transacted on the basis of such credit devices. Bookkeeping by double-entry, an Italian invention, also came into use during the later Middle Ages.

German Cities; the Hanseatic League

The trade routes leading northward from Italy into the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube were largely responsible for the prosperity of many fine cities in southern and central Germany, such as Augsburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, and Cologne. The feeble rule of the Holy Roman emperors compelled the cities to form several con-



Commercial Towns of France, Flanders, and the Rhine Valley in the 13th and 14th Centuries

federations for the purpose of resisting the extortionate tolls and downright robberies of the feudal lords so numerous in Germany.

It was the Baltic commerce which brought the cities of northern Germany into a league (German, *Hanse*). Originating in the thirteenth century with an alliance between Lübeck and Hamburg, the Hanseatic League included in the fourteenth century, the period of its greatest power, upwards of one hundred cities and practically monopolized trade on the Baltic and North Seas. It had trading posts at Novgorod in Russia, Bergen in Norway, Bruges in Flanders, and Lon-

don. The league did much to suppress piracy and to encourage the art of navigation. Its merchants were also pioneers in half-barbarous Russia and Scandinavia, where they founded towns, fostered industry, and introduced comforts and luxuries previously unknown. The league declined in importance during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the new sea powers, England, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, became strong enough to compete with it and break its commercial monopoly. City after city withdrew from membership, until only Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen remained. They are still called Hanse cities, though now included in the German Reich.

The Cities of Flanders

The Netherlands in the later Middle Ages contained a number of feudal states, among them the county of Flanders. The inhabitants were partly of Germanic extraction (the Flemings) and partly akin to the French (the Walloons). Flanders was a commercial center, as we have learned; it was also an industrial center, especially celebrated for woolen manufactures. A medieval writer declared that the whole world was clothed in English wool made up by the Flemings. The most important Flemish city was Bruges, the great mart where the trade of southern Europe, controlled by the Venetians, and the trade of northern Europe, controlled by the Hanseatic merchants, came together. Ghent and Ypres were scarcely less prosperous. In the fourteenth century Flanders was annexed by France. The Flemish cities fought hard for liberty, and on more than one occasion the levies of their citizens, who could handle the pike and sword as well as the loom, defeated the French knights, thus demonstrating that feudal tactics were becoming obsolete and that foot soldiers could be a match for mailed cavalry. Had the forty communities of Flanders been able to form a strong league, they might have preserved independence, but the bitter rivalry of Bruges and Ghent led to foreign domination lasting until the nineteenth century.

The Third Estate

The inhabitants of a medieval city (burgesses, burghers, bourgeois) comprised a middle class between clerics and nobles on the one side and peasants on the other side. The class of city folk had almost entirely disappeared in the declining days of the Roman Empire and in the early Middle Ages. Its revival during the later Middle Ages is another great chapter in the history of human freedom. In the thirteenth century

the kings of England, France, and some other countries began to summon the representatives of this hitherto despised social order to sit in the national parliaments as the third estate, along with the clergy and the nobility who formed the first two orders or "estates" of the realm. Henceforth the third estate, distinguished as it was for wealth, intelligence, and enterprise, led the way toward modern industrialism and played an increasingly important part in making the civilization of western Europe.

XXIV

National States

State-making

THE frontiers of European states coincide only in part with those fixed by geographical conditions. The British Isles until recently made up a single political unit, as nature seems to have intended, but Ireland was always a very unwilling member of the United Kingdom. The Iberian peninsula, shut in on the north by the wall of the Pyrenees, seems to form another natural political unit, yet it has long been divided between Spain and Portugal. Italy, though marked off from the rest of the Continent by the Alps, did not become one state until the nineteenth century. The Scandinavian peninsula forms perhaps the best example of the influence of geographical conditions, for it is entirely occupied by the two kingdoms of Norway and Sweden, one on each side of the central backbone of mountains. On the whole, however, such great ranges as the Alps, Carpathians, and Balkans, and such great rivers as the Rhine, Danube, and Vistula have failed to provide permanent frontiers in Europe.

Racial boundaries are still more difficult to trace. Peaceful migrations and armed invasions, beginning long before the dawn of recorded history, have led to much mixture of peoples. For example, there is no physical difference between the average Englishman and the average North Frenchman, Fleming, Dutchman, Dane, or North German; all are Nordic in type. On the other hand, a marked physical difference exists between the Nordic North German and the Alpine South German and between the Nordic North Frenchman and the Mediterranean South Frenchman. These instances out of many that might be cited show how complicated is the ethnical situation in Europe. Nor is every European state one in language. France includes Brittany, where a Celtic speech prevails, and Provence with its Provençal speech. In Belgium the Walloons use French and the Flemings Flemish, a Teutonic language. Switzerland has French-speaking, German-speaking, and Italian-speaking cantons. In the British Isles one may still hear

Welsh (Cymric), Gaelic in the Scottish Highlands, and Irish (Erse), all Celtic languages.

History rather than geography, race, or even language explains the grouping of European states. At the end of the fourth century, on the eve of the barbarian invasions, western Europe was still Roman, with one government, one law, one official language, and one common loyalty to the emperor at Rome. A hundred years passed, and Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Franks, and Anglo-Saxons had set up independent kingdoms. The process of state-making continued during the Middle Ages, principally as the result of renewed invasions of the barbarians (Northmen, Magyars, and Slavic-speaking peoples), but by the end of the medieval period many countries of western Europe had taken the form and acquired the position which they hold at the present time. Some of them, particularly England, France, and Spain, were national states, that is, states whose inhabitants, possessing interests, aspirations, and ideals in common, felt themselves to be one nation.

Feudalism and National States

These national states were the successors of the feudal system. The complete establishment of that system in any country involved, as has been seen, its division into numerous principalities, each one with an army, law court, and treasury. A king might be little more than a figurehead, equaled or perhaps surpassed in power by some of his own vassals. The sovereigns were naturally opposed to the feudal system, and during the later Middle Ages they began to get the upper hand of the nobles. With armies of mercenary troops they overawed their rebellious vassals, suppressed private warfare, and finally insisted that all military service should be rendered to themselves and not to the lords. They replaced the feudal courts, which followed local rules and customs, with a uniform system of law administered by their own judges. They developed a revenue system with the taxes collected by royal officials and deposited in the royal treasury. Strong-handed sovereigns thus created unified and centralized governments, which all their subjects feared, respected, and obeyed.

A king usually found allies in the Roman Church and the third estate. Both clerics and townsfolk looked to him for protection against the rapacity of the nobles. The church did its part by exalting the conception of royalty. At his coronation a king was crowned by an archbishop, anointed with holy oil, as in ancient Israel Saul had been solemnly consecrated by the prophet Samuel, girt with a sacred sword,

and clothed in robes like those of a priest. He ruled "by the grace of God" (*Dei gratia*, a medieval phrase). Even more important than the support of the church was that of the rising middle class or third estate. The townsfolk were the chief sufferers from feudal confusion. What they wanted was a government able to keep peace, punish crime, and foster industry and trade. The ruler who could secure these blessings was assured of their material aid, their money and credit, in his contest with the nobles. The towns were steppingstones by which royalty mounted to power.

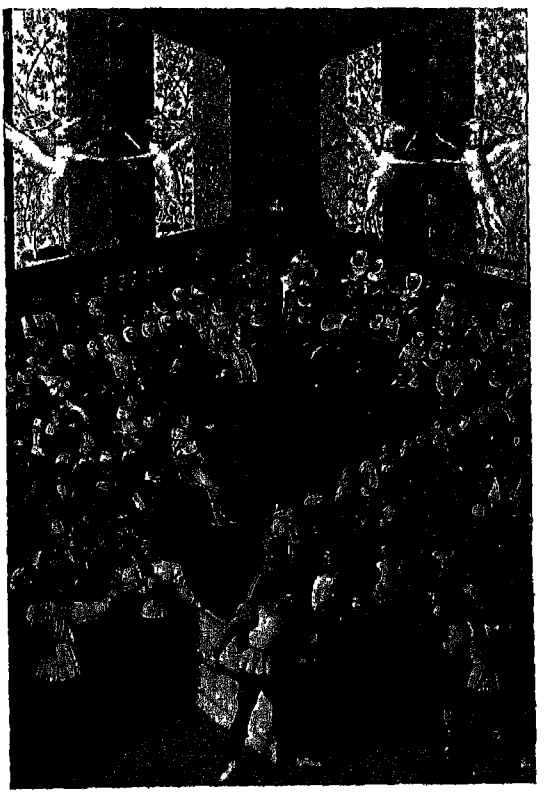
Every extension of the king's authority at the expense of the feudal lords lifted him higher than his subjects and tended to make him an absolute sovereign with the supreme right to legislate, to administer, to tax, and to judge. "To us alone is given and is due the general governance of the realm," declared a French monarch in the fifteenth century. Personal rule of this sort had been unknown in Europe since the age of imperial Rome. At the time of the great invasions the barbarian "kings" were merely heads of confederate tribes with little power, and after the Germans established themselves in the Roman provinces such successful military leaders as Alaric the Visigoth, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, and Clovis the Frank, on becoming kings, did not become all-powerful. The royal office was not at first hereditary, and only gradually was the rule established that the oldest son should succeed to the father, the rule of primogeniture. It was always the theory that the king reigned as the freely chosen representative of his people, that his authority rested upon an agreement between him and his people, and that he was just as much subject to the law as were his people. Rulers who broke their coronation oaths to observe time-honored customs and maintain even-handed justice were tyrants, and because they were tyrants they might be dethroned. Such was the conception of political authority until the strong monarchies arose and crushed not only the privileges of clergy and nobles but popular rights as well.

The Sentiment of Nationality

Under feudalism a man's "country" was the neighborhood where he lived. His duties were owed, not to his sovereign, but to his lord. There was personal loyalty but no patriotism. Differences between peoples were largely obscured by the existence of the Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire, both international agencies, and by the use of Latin as the common language of all cultivated persons. The new monarchies, by breaking down feudalism, promoted the growth of nationalism. Allegiance to the sovereign and to the state that he



THE TOWER OF LONDON, SHOWING KEEP OF 11TH CENTURY. *Page 513.*



ROYAL COURT IN THE MIDDLE AGES: TRIAL OF THE DUC D'ALENÇON BEFORE CHARLES VII OF FRANCE, 1458
Page 520.

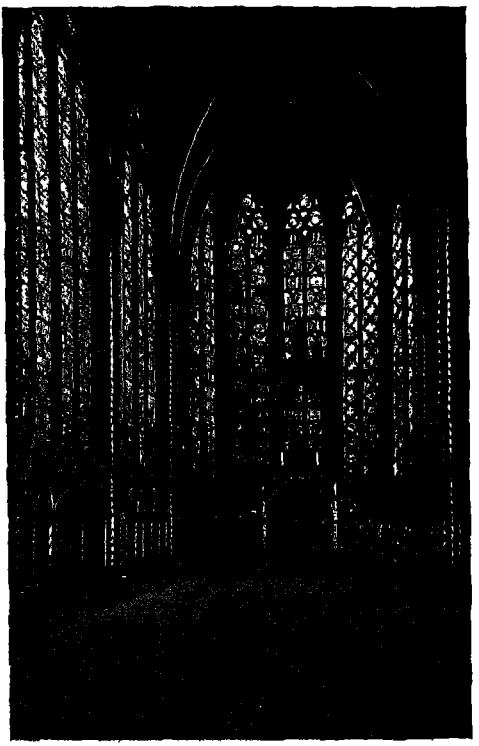
PLATE XVII



ABBAYE-AUX-DAMES, CAEN, FRANCE, *c.* 1070 A.D., SHOWING MASSIVENESS OF ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE. *Page 549.*



TOMB EFFIGY, KING EDWARD III OF ENGLAND (1327–1377) *Pages 521, 551.*



SAINTE CHAPELLE, PARIS, 13TH CENTURY SHOW-

represented gradually replaced allegiance to the feudal lord. Clergy, nobles, city people, and even peasants began to think of themselves as having a common "fatherland," and the sense of corporate national life was immensely strengthened by the development of English, French, Spanish, and other vernacular tongues. Another very important influence in arousing national self-consciousness in England and France was the long struggle between these two countries known as the Hundred Years' War, and in Spain the contest of the Christian states with the Moslems brought about a similar result. Patriotism always thrives in wartime.

England

Already in the Anglo-Saxon period England had begun to be centralized, under the leadership of the kings of Wessex, but the Danish invasions weakened the monarchy and increased the power of the local lords. England might well have fallen apart into a number of principalities, as did France, but for the Norman Conquest. William the Conqueror won England by force of arms; he ruled it by force of arms. To prevent uprisings he built a castle in every important town and garrisoned it with his own soldiers. The great central keep of the Tower of London still stands as a memorial of the days of the Conquest. He confiscated the estates of those who had fought against him and gave them to Normans and submissive Anglo-Saxons. Himself the chief landholder, he kept in his own hands forty per cent of all England. In 1086 he summoned before him at Salisbury "all the landowning men of substance there were over all England, whosesoever men they were," as the chronicler puts it, and made them swear direct oaths of fealty "that they would be faithful to him against all other men." On the Continent a king had little or no control over the vassals of his great nobles; in England William established the principle that every vassal owed his first duty to the king and not to his immediate lord. If a noble rebelled and his vassals followed him, they were to be treated as traitors. Rebellion proved to be a difficult matter, because in granting fiefs William took care that a man's lands were not all in one district but were scattered about the kingdom. He thus preserved his newly won dominion from some of the evils of undiluted feudalism.

The extent of the Conqueror's authority is shown by the survey which he caused to have made of the taxable property of the kingdom. Royal commissioners went throughout the length and breadth of England to find out how much land there was in every county, how many landholders there were, and what each man possessed in land,

serfs, and farm animals. The reports were set down in the famous Domesday Book, perhaps so called because one could no more appeal from it than from the last judgment. A similar census of population and property had never before been taken in the Middle Ages.

The centralizing policies of William I were continued by his two sons, William II and Henry I, but during the weak reign of Stephen (1135–1154) the great nobles covered England with castles, waged war with one another, coined money, exercised rights of justice, and, in general, did much as they pleased without fear of royal vengeance. This period of feudal anarchy when, as the chronicler put it, men said openly that "Christ and his saints were asleep," ended with the accession of Henry II, a great-grandson of the Conqueror and the first of the Plantagenet kings. Henry II (1154–1189) spent most of his time abroad looking after Normandy and his other possessions on the Continent, but this fact did not prevent him from giving England good government. Both the English judicial system and the common law began to take shape in his reign.

Royal Justice and the Common Law

In order to establish his authority firmly and avoid all excuse for the private warfare which plagued the Continent, Henry developed the royal court of justice (*curia regis*). This had been simply the court of the king's chief vassals corresponding to the local court possessed by every feudal lord. Henry added to it a permanent group of legal experts and at the same time opened its doors to all his subjects except serfs. Henry also sent judges on circuit throughout England to try cases in the king's name.

The royal court owed much of its popularity to the fact that it did not rely on the old oath-swearing, ordeal, and judicial duel as means of ascertaining the truth. When a case came before the circuit judges, they were to select twelve men of landed property, usually neighbors of the parties engaged in the dispute, to make an investigation and give a verdict as to which side was in the right. These selected men bore the name of "jurors" because they swore to tell the truth. Thus arose the "petit jury," or trial jury, at first only for civil cases but eventually for criminal cases also. Henry made another important innovation. Before his time many offenders went unpunished, especially if they were so powerful that no private individual dared accuse them. It was now provided that when the judges came to a county court a number of selected men should be put upon their oath and required to name any persons whom they knew or believed to be guilty

of crimes. This "grand jury," or indictment jury, thus had the public duty of making accusations whether its members felt any personal interest in the matter or not.

The jury as a body of neighbors bound by oath to tell the truth can be traced back at least to the time of Louis the Pious, successor of Charlemagne, and from the Carolingian Empire it passed to Normandy and thence to England. As a substitute for appeals to God in the form of the oath, the ordeal, and the judicial duel the jury system represented a victory for reason over superstition and force. It also enabled the people themselves to share in the conduct of justice, and the habit of sitting on a jury did much to instruct Englishmen in knowledge of, and reverence for, the law.

The law of England as of every other country was founded upon customary observances, in this case, the customs of the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of Britain. Under the Norman kings it still remained largely unwritten and varied much in different parts of the realm. Henry II and his judges took over some of the old Anglo-Saxon customs and with these combined principles derived from Roman law and from Frankish and Norman practice. The legal rules followed in the royal court were then applied by the judges when on circuit, becoming in time the common law, so called because it grew out of such customs as were common to the realm, as distinguished from those which were purely local. The common law, from Henry II's reign, became so well established that it could not be replaced by the Roman law followed on the Continent. Beginning in the fourteenth century, it was supplemented by equity, a body of rules which grew up in the king's court of Chancery for the relief of suitors whose grievances could not be redressed at common law. Both the common law and equity were carried by English colonists across the seas, so that they now prevail throughout a great part of the world, the only rival, in their wide diffusion, of the law of Rome.

The Great Charter

Henry II was followed on the throne by his son Richard, the lion-hearted crusader, and Richard, after a short reign, by his brother John. Contemporary writers describe John as cruel, treacherous, tyrannical, the "very worst" of kings; certainly he was among the most unsuccessful. He had one quarrel with Philip Augustus of France and lost Normandy and other French possessions in consequence. He had another quarrel with Innocent III, suffered a humiliating defeat, and became the pope's vassal. Finally, his oppressive rule led to a rebellion of the

English nobles, who renounced their allegiance on the ground that he had proved faithless to his feudal obligations. Matters came to a crisis in 1215, when the nobles, supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, laid their demands in writing before the king. John refused to make any concessions. Thereupon they prepared to wage war, formed the "army of God and the Holy Church," and occupied London, thus ranging the townspeople on their side. Deserted by all except the hired troops he had brought from the Continent, John had to yield. At Runnymede on the Thames not far from London he set his seal to the famous document known as Magna Carta.

Magna Carta does not profess to be a charter of rights for all Englishmen. Most of its sixty-three clauses merely guarantee to each member of the coalition against John, that is, nobles, clergy, and townspeople, those special privileges which Henry II and his sons had tried to take away. Only one statement in this long document refers to the serfs, who made up the bulk of the population in the thirteenth century. There are, however, three clauses of Magna Carta (XII, XXXIX, XL), affirming cardinal points of feudal law, which came to have a most important part in the history of English freedom. The first declared that the nobles should not be required to grant to the king any money — besides the three recognized feudal "aids" — except by their own consent when assembled in council. After England had developed a national legislature this clause was understood to imply the illegality of taxes not expressly authorized by the people's representatives in parliament. The second set forth that no freeman was to be arrested, imprisoned, or punished in any way except by the "judgment of his peers" and in accordance with the law of the land. "Judgment of his peers" did not refer to a jury, but to the trial of a vassal by his fellow nobles in a feudal court; in later times, when the English people were struggling against the tyranny of their rulers, this clause was understood to guarantee jury trial to the ordinary citizen. The third said simply that to no one should justice be sold, denied, or delayed. This clause was interpreted to mean that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

Magna Carta thus contained the germ of great legal principles which have protected Englishmen, and Americans after them, from oppression and abuse of power by their rulers. It has been called a selfish baronial document, as in many respects it was, yet the fact remains that it forms the most notable protest against bad government which had ever been made up to that time in any country. Not less than thirty-eight distinct confirmations of it by sovereigns subsequent to John are recorded. Magna Carta set a precedent for the future.

Parliament

It had long been customary for the Anglo-Saxon kings to seek the assistance in government of the Witenagemot, an assembly of nobles and the higher clergy. The Witenagemot did not disappear after the Norman Conquest, but continued to meet from time to time as the great council of the realm. During the reign of John's son, Henry III, this feudal body began to be transformed into a parliament representing the nation. On one occasion (1254), when the lords refused to vote any money, the significant step was taken of calling to the council two knights (men of property) from each county to declare what aid their constituents were willing to grant. The knights, so ran the royal summons, were to come "in the stead of each and all," in other words, they were to act as representatives of the counties. Then in 1265 when the lords were at war with the king, a second and even more significant step was taken. Their leader, Simon de Montfort, summoned to the council not only two knights from each county, but also two burgesses or citizens from each of the more important towns. The custom of selecting certain men to act in the name and on the behalf of the community had existed in local government during Anglo-Saxon times. Representatives of the counties had been employed by the Norman kings to assess and collect taxes. The "juries" of Henry II also consisted of such representatives. The English people, in fact, were quite familiar with the idea of representation long before they began to apply it on a more comprehensive scale to parliament.

Simon de Montfort's parliament included only his supporters and hence did not form a truly national assembly. Thirty years later Edward I, the son of Henry III, summoned to meet at Westminster a parliament which included all classes: from the nobility, earls and barons; from the clergy, bishops and abbots; and from the commoners, two knights representing each county and two citizens representing each town. Representatives of the lower clergy were also present, but they dropped out of subsequent parliaments, leaving the commons an entirely lay body. Edward's so-called "Model Parliament" of 1295 deserved its name, for since then commoners have always been represented along with the nobility and higher clergy in the national assembly of England. The division into two chambers, the House of Lords and the House of Commons, took place during the fourteenth century.

Parliament in its early form was not a law-making but a tax-voting body. The king would call the two chambers in session only when he needed their sanction for raising money. Parliament would grant supplies only when the king had corrected abuses in the administration


The Unification of the British Isles
Dominions of William the Conqueror, 1066-87
Incorporated with England by Henry VIII, 1536
United with England, 1707
United with Great Britain, 1801
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
OUTER HEBRIDES
INNER HEBRIDES
IONA
SCOTLAND
Moray Firth
Aberdeen
Montrose
Dundee
Firth of Tay
Perth
Firth of Forth
Dunbar
Berwick-on-Tweed
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Firth of Clyde
Dumfries
Solway Firth
NORTH SEA
Durham
Stamford Bridge
York
Marston Moor
Lincoln
Donegal Bay
Belfast
ISLE OF MAN
IRISH SEA
CONNAUGHT
Drogheda
Dublin
Galway Bay
Galway
ANGLESEY
Chester
Nottingham
Bosworth
Naseby
Norwich
Worcester
Edge Hill
Cambridge
Evesham
Oxford
London
Limerick
Kilkenny
Waterford
Wexford
Channel
Cork
Queenstown
Kinsale
St. David's
Gloucester
Bristol
Windsor
Canterbury
Dover
St. George's
Bristol Channel
Salisbury
Winchester
Hastings
Clarendon
Exeter
ISLE OF WIGHT
Portsmouth
Strait of Dover
St. Valery
Land's End
English Channel
NORMANDY
MAINE
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 100
60
56
52
48

or had removed unpopular officials. This control of the public purse enabled parliament to gain other powers. It became an accepted principle that royal officials were responsible to parliament for their actions, that the king himself might be deposed for good cause, and that bills, when passed by parliament and signed by the king, were the law of the land.

Expansion of England

The dominions of William the Conqueror included neither Wales, Scotland, nor Ireland. Their inhabitants, except in the Scottish Lowlands, were Celtic-speaking peoples whom the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain had never attempted to subdue. Unification of the British Isles began with the conquest of Wales by Edward I near the close of the thirteenth century. He also annexed Scotland, but his weakling son, Edward II, whom the Scots defeated, abandoned all claims to the country, and it long remained an independent kingdom. The English first entered Ireland in the second half of the twelfth century, but held only a small district about Dublin known as the Pale. The conquest of Ireland was not completed until the seventeenth century.

Unification of France

Mountains and seas form the natural boundaries of France except on the northeast, where the frontier is not well defined. In spite of geographical unity, political unity was long delayed. Whereas in England the fundamental fact from the Norman Conquest onward was the power of the monarchy as against the nobility, in France the kings at first were weak and the great lords exercised all the functions of independent rulers, even those of coining money and of engaging in private feuds.

In the twelfth century the country that forms modern France contained about forty feudal principalities. A few belonged to the higher clergy; the majority were under counts or dukes. Among these principalities was the duchy of France, including Paris and the region about that city. When in 987 the Carolingian ruler of the West Franks died without issue, the nobles chose as king, Hugh, duke of France, called Capet from his practice of wearing the cape, or cope, as lay abbot of a monastery. Hugh Capet's possession of the royal dignity did not increase his authority over the rulers of such regions as Brittany, Normandy, Flanders, Champagne, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, the lands of great lords each of whom surpassed the king in military power and extent of territory. They did homage to him for their

fiefs and performed, or promised to perform, the usual feudal services, but otherwise they regarded themselves as independent in their own domains.

To unify France and at the same time to exalt the royal authority formed the twofold purpose of the Capetians century after century. Theirs was a long-lived dynasty, and for over three hundred years son followed father on the throne without a break in the succession. By hook or crook, by conquest, by fraud, by marriage, by inheritance, by forfeiture, they drew all the separate sovereignties into their own hands, until at length their possessions had become indeed identical with a kingdom embracing most of the territory between the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the sea. The Capetians created modern France.

Hugh Capet's duchy, though small in extent, held a central and dominating position in relation to the valleys of the Seine, the Loire, and the Meuse; it made a natural nucleus for a great state. The most considerable additions to the royal domain, that is, the territory directly under the king's control, were those of Philip II, called Augustus (1180–1223). King John of England was Philip's vassal for Normandy and other French territories north of the Loire River. As we have learned, a quarrel between the two rulers enabled Philip to declare John's fiefs forfeited by feudal law and to take them himself. These and other annexations enlarged the royal domain to three times its former size.

During the long reign of Philip's grandson, Louis IX (1226–1270), a wide area west of the Rhône was added to the royal domain. This king, whose Christian virtues led to his canonization, was distinguished as an administrator. He secured the abolition of private warfare everywhere in the kingdom and within his own territory abolished the judicial duel. St. Louis also provided that important cases could be appealed from feudal courts to the royal court, which sat in Paris and whose decisions followed the principles of Roman law. Furthermore, he decreed that the money issued by feudal lords should circulate only within their own domains, while the money coined by the crown should be legal tender throughout the kingdom.

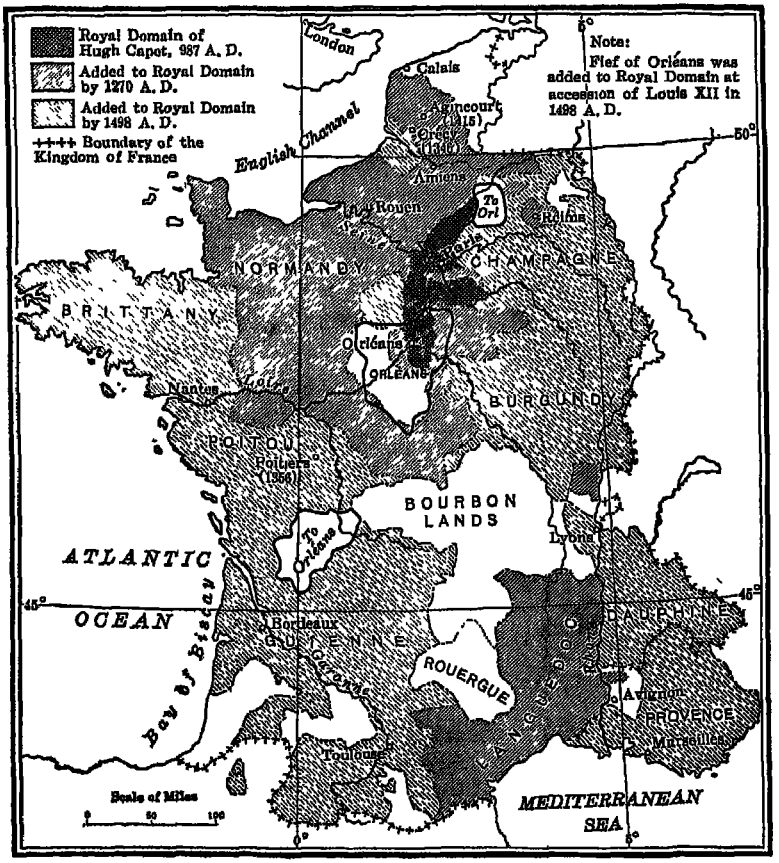
Philip IV, the Fair (1285–1314), the grandson of Louis IX, did much to establish a financial system. Now that France had become so rich and powerful, the old feudal contributions were insufficient to pay the salaries of the royal officials and support a standing army. Philip resorted to new methods of raising revenue by imposing taxes and by requiring the nobles to substitute payments in money for the military service due from them. Philip also called into existence the States-General, an assembly in which the clergy, the nobles, and representa-

tives from the commons (the third estate) met as separate bodies and voted grants of money. The States-General arose almost at the same time as the English parliament, to which it corresponded, but it never gained the great authority of that body. The kings of France became in time so powerful that they managed to rule without once summoning the nation in council. The French did not succeed, as the English had done, in founding political liberty upon the control of taxation by a representative assembly.

The Hundred Years' War

The task of unifying France was interrupted by a war between that country and England. The war continued, including periods of truce, for over a century (1337–1453). The pretext for it was found in a disputed succession. In 1328 the last of the three sons of Philip IV died, and the direct line of the Capetian dynasty came to an end. The English ruler, Edward III, whose mother was the daughter of Philip IV, considered himself the next lineal heir. The French were naturally unwilling to receive a foreigner as their king, and the States-General gave the throne instead to a nephew of Philip IV. This decision was afterward justified on the ground that, by the old law of the Salian Franks, a woman could neither inherit landed property nor transmit it to a son. Hence the designation "Salic law" applied to the rule excluding women from succession to the French throne.

The fundamental cause of the war must be sought in the determination of Philip VI, the new French ruler, to complete the unification of his kingdom by acquiring those territories which the English still kept in southwestern France and in the equal determination of Edward III to keep and defend his foreign possessions. Besides the clash of political interests, there was the clash of economic interests, particularly in Flanders. England during the Middle Ages raised great flocks of sheep, but, lacking skilled workmen to manufacture the wool into fine cloth, sent it across the Channel to Flanders. The wool trade made Flanders an ally of England, and the Flemings received English support in their efforts to free themselves from dependence on France. Under these circumstances Edward III, who at first had accepted Philip VI as the rightful king and had done homage to Philip for his French fiefs, revived his claim to the throne and prepared by force of arms to make the claim good. Henceforth it was a question whether both France and England were to form a united state under an English king or whether the English were to be completely expelled from France. The Hundred Years' War finally settled this question.



The Unification of France during the Middle Ages

Edward led his troops across the Channel and at Crécy in 1346 gained a complete victory over the knighthood of France. Ten years later his son, the Black Prince, so called from his black armor, at Poitiers almost annihilated another French army much superior in number. These two battles were won mainly by foot soldiers equipped with the longbow, in the use of which the English excelled. Ordinary iron mail could not resist the heavy arrows which carried four hundred yards and fell with murderous effect upon the bodies of men and horses alike. Henceforth infantry when properly armed and led were to prove themselves in many a bloody encounter more than a match for feudal cavalry. The French refused more engagements in the open field and retired to their castles and walled towns.

The war almost ceased for many years after the death of Edward III.

It was renewed early in the fifteenth century by Henry V. The battle which he won over the French at Agincourt in 1415 was even more surprising than the victories of Crécy and Poitiers, for his soldiers were outnumbered six to one. The English now gained possession of almost all France north of the Loire, except the important city of Orléans. Had they taken it, French resistance must have collapsed. That they did not take it was due to Joan of Arc. Joan was a peasant girl, quite uneducated, a native of the village of Domremy in the northeast of France. Always a devout and imaginative child, she early began to see visions of saints and angels and to hear mysterious voices. At the time of the siege of Orléans the archangel Michael appeared to her, so she declared, and bade her go forth and save France. Joan obeyed, and though barely seventeen years of age made her way to the court of the French king. There her piety, simplicity, and evident faith in her mission overcame all doubts. Clad in armor, girt with an ancient sword said to have been wielded by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours, and with a white banner borne before her, Joan was allowed to accompany an army for the relief of Orléans. She inspired the French with such enthusiasm that they quickly compelled the English to raise the siege. Joan then led her king to Reims and stood beside him at his coronation in the cathedral there. Joan was soon afterward captured by the English, who burned her as a witch at Rouen. She had not lived and died in vain, however, for she became a national heroine, the "godmother" of the French people, and her example nerved them to further resistance. The English gradually lost ground, and in 1453, the year of the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks, abandoned the effort to conquer a country much larger than their own. They kept of the French territories only the port of Calais and the Channel Islands. Calais was later restored to France.

After the Hundred Years' War

Shortly after the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War the two branches of the English royal family became involved in a contest for the throne. The contest was called the War of the Roses, because the House of York took as its badge a white rose and the House of Lancaster, a red rose. The contest lasted until 1485, when the Lancastrians conquered and their leader, Henry Tudor, assumed the crown as Henry VII. Henry married a Yorkist wife, thus uniting the two factions, and founded the Tudor dynasty. The War of the Roses arrested the progress of English freedom which had begun so auspiciously with the winning of the Magna Carta. Nearly all the great

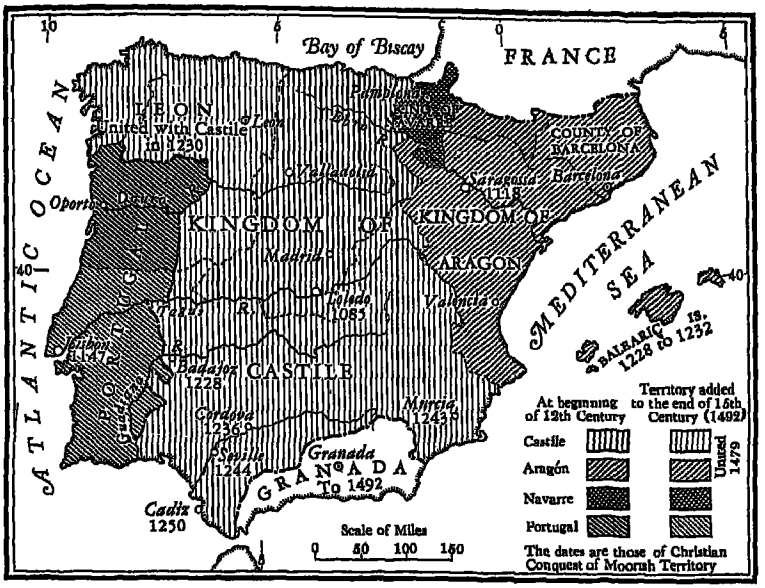
noble families had been drawn into the struggle; it reduced their numbers and their wealth and made them far less able to stand against an imperious monarch than in the days of King John. Moreover, the war created a demand among the middle class of the towns for a strong monarchy which could restore order in the land. The Tudors met that demand and for more than a century after the accession of Henry VII enjoyed almost despotic power.

A similar movement toward despotism took place in France. Strengthened by their triumph over the English, the French kings were able to reduce the nobility to impotence. Feudalism as a political force practically disappeared with the Hundred Years' War, although the nobles retained their social rank and privileges until the French Revolution. Meanwhile the kings, especially Louis XI (1461–1483), steadily enlarged the royal domain, until by the end of the fifteenth century the unification of France was almost complete.

Unification of Spain

The geography of the Iberian peninsula has clearly molded its history. The Pyrenees, lofty, forbidding, and provided with few passes, interpose a barrier between it and the rest of Europe far more effective than that of the Alps for Italy. On the other hand, only a narrow strait separates the peninsula from North Africa, with which its relations have always been intimate. The interior of the peninsula is broken up into separate districts by a succession of mountain ranges which run from east to west, and these are not cut by waterways flowing from north to south and facilitating communication. Isolation and localism seem to be prescribed for the inhabitants of the country. Not only do Spaniards differ from Portuguese, but the Spaniards themselves form several distinct groups unlike in speech, ways of living, and mental outlook.

The first settlers in the peninsula of whom we know anything were Neolithic men, the Iberians. They may have come from North Africa. After them Celtic-speaking tribes from central Europe overran the country and intermingled with the earlier inhabitants, thus forming the mixed people called Celtiberians. The peninsula in later times was conquered by the Carthaginians, who left few traces of their occupation; by the Romans, who thoroughly Romanized it; by the Visigoths, who founded a Germanic kingdom; and lastly by the Moors (Arabs and Berbers), who introduced Arabic speech and culture together with Islam. These invaders were not numerous enough greatly to affect the population, in which the Celtiberian strain predominates.



The Unification of Spain during the Middle Ages

The Moors never wholly conquered a fringe of mountain territory in the extreme north of Spain. Here arose a number of small Christian states, León, Castile, Navarre, and Aragón, while in the west there was Portugal, a border fief of León. Acting sometimes alone and sometimes in concert, they fought to expel the infidel and enlarge their boundaries; it was a crusade blessed by the pope and supported by the chivalry of Europe. Before the middle of the thirteenth century Moorish Spain had been reduced to the little kingdom of Granada at the southern extremity of the peninsula. The same century saw the union of León and Castile into the one kingdom of Castile, so named because its frontiers bristled with castles against the Moors. The next important step in the making of Spain was the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragón to Isabella of Castile, and this led in 1479 to the union of the two kingdoms. Granada surrendered to the new sovereigns in 1492, and Moorish rule in Spain ended.

Ferdinand and Isabella achieved more than the final unification of Spain. Like the contemporary sovereigns of England and France they worked with success to put down feudalism. Private warfare was forbidden, castles might not be erected without the royal consent, and much land which the nobles had appropriated was reclaimed for the government. The centralizing policies of the two monarchs were further revealed by their efforts to codify the mass of laws that had

descended from earlier times, to build up a standing army in place of feudal levies, and to bring the church under their control. Nor was the authority of the Spanish rulers limited by a national parliament. It is true that both Aragón and Castile had representative assemblies in the Cortes, or Courts, which, like the French States-General, embraced the several estates of the realm. But Ferdinand and Isabella rarely summoned them, and then only to vote supplies; for the work of legislation they were not needed. The power of the crown in Spain as elsewhere repressed popular liberties.

By the end of the fifteenth century Spain ranked as one of the great states of Europe. Its importance was increased by the marriage of a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella to the heir of the Austrian Hapsburgs. Charles I, who was born of this marriage, became the Holy Roman Emperor (as Charles V), and by virtue of his enormous possessions in both Europe and America the mightiest monarch of the age.

Austria and the Swiss Confederation

The Hapsburgs were originally feudal lords of a small district in what is now Switzerland. Count Rudolf was the real maker of the family fortunes. Elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1273, he abandoned the futile efforts of the German rulers to win dominions in Italy, turned eastward down the Danube valley, and soon conquered the archduchy of Austria with its capital Vienna. By war, marriage, and inheritance his successors were able to acquire Bohemia, part of Hungary, the Tyrol and adjoining districts, the Free County of Burgundy (Franche Comté), and the Netherlands. These territories were not only widely scattered but were inhabited by a great variety of peoples, united only in the person of their common sovereign. In spite of defects of organization, the Hapsburg realm—"Austria" for short—ranked next to France and Spain among Continental states. The imperial title also came to be confined to the Hapsburgs. This meant that the seven German princes, who formed a sort of electoral college for the choice of a king-emperor, always chose the archduke of Austria for that glittering, though rather empty, honor.

The little mountain communities of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden on the shores of Lake Lucerne in Switzerland were possessions of the Hapsburgs. In 1291, the year of Count Rudolf's death, these three "Forest Cantons" came together in a defensive league against their Austrian overlords. Additional cantons joined the league, which now entered upon a long struggle for independence. Nowhere did the old methods of feudal warfare break down more conspicuously than in

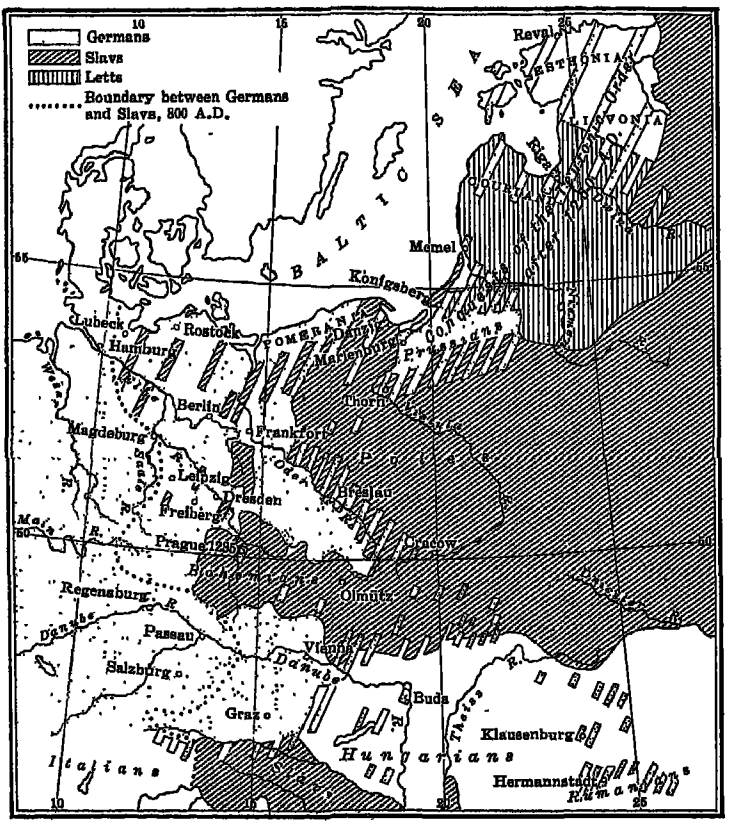
the battles gained by Swiss pikemen over the knighthood of Austria. The struggle closed at the end of the fifteenth century, when Switzerland became virtually a free state. The twenty-two cantons which now make up the Swiss Confederation differ among themselves in religion (Roman Catholic or Protestant) and in language according to their proximity to Germany, France, or Italy. It is remarkable that a people whose chief bond of union was a common hostility to the Hapsburgs should have established a federal government so well-knit and so enduring.

Germany; the Holy Roman Empire

Feudal decentralization reached its height in medieval Germany. Here the Carolingian line of East Frankish rulers died out as early as 911, and henceforth the great German nobles proceeded to choose their own kings, to whom, however, they yielded a very uncertain obedience. Germany in the tenth century included five large feudal principalities, namely, Saxony, Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia, and Lorraine. These so-called stem duchies might perhaps have been formed into one national state, a Germany as united and strong as France became, if the German kings had addressed themselves to the task of centralization with the energy, perseverance, and foresight of the Capetians. But the rulers of Germany pursued the will-o'-the-wisp in Italy. Their Italian policy was initiated by Otto I, whom history knows as Otto the Great. As a reward for assistance given the pope against the latter's enemies, he was crowned Roman emperor at Rome in 962, thus reviving the imperial title, which had become extinct less than half a century after the Treaty of Verdun, and bringing Germany and North Italy into a loose political union.

The coronation of Otto the Great seemed to his contemporaries a necessary and beneficial act. They still believed that the Roman Empire was suspended, not extinct, and that now, one hundred and sixty-two years after Charlemagne's coronation, the occasion was opportune to restore the name and power associated with the golden age of the first Frankish emperor. The restoration involved, however, the constant interference of Otto's successors in the affairs of Italy. Many a German army descended through the Brenner Pass into fertile Lombardy, there to dispute its possession with the north Italian cities or with the pope. Immersed in dreams of empire, the rulers of Germany failed to consolidate their own dominions or to keep a strong hand upon their powerful feudal lords.

The empire of Otto the Great was considerably smaller than Charle-



German Expansion Eastward during the Middle Ages

magne's, since it included only Germany and part of Italy, together with Burgundy, which was bound to it by feudal ties. Nevertheless, Otto and his successors held themselves out to be the heirs of Charlemagne and as German Caesars to rank as the superiors of kings. The new empire came to be called the Holy Roman Empire, the word *Holy* in the title expressing its intimate connection with the papacy. After the time of Rudolf of Hapsburg it led but a shadowy existence, but its formal extinction was delayed until 1806, when Napoleon Bonaparte reorganized central Europe.

Expansion of Germany

The Germans, when descending upon the Roman Empire, abandoned much frontier territory to Slavic-speaking peoples. By Charlemagne's time the latter had occupied nearly all the region between

the Elbe and Vistula rivers. To win this back for Germany took several centuries of hard fighting. The Slavic-speaking peoples were heathen and barbarous, so that warfare with them took on the aspect of a crusade. It was also a business enterprise because of the need for free land. The hope of gain thus combined with religious zeal and the spirit of adventure to stimulate emigration into the "Great East" of medieval Europe.

Henry the Fowler, father of Otto the Great, began the reconquest of the region between the Elbe and Oder rivers, where arose the mark of Brandenburg. This region was to furnish Germany in later centuries with the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns. The district between the Oder and the Vistula also came eventually under German control. The Slavic-speaking inhabitants were exterminated or reduced to slavery. Their place was taken by German colonists who introduced Christianity, built churches and monasteries, cleared the woods, drained the marshes, and founded many cities destined to become centers of German trade and culture.

Along the Baltic coast beyond the Vistula lay the lands of the heathen Prussians (Borussi) and the Letts. Their conquest and conversion were accomplished by the military-religious order of the Teutonic Knights, which had been founded in Palestine at the time of the crusades. The decline of the crusading movement had left the knights with no duties to perform, and so they transferred their activities to the Prussian frontier, where there was still a chance to engage in a holy war. They made Prussia a thoroughly German land in speech, customs, and religion. The Prussian landed aristocracy (Junkers) descended from these fierce, cruel knights. The order flourished throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, until its grand master ruled over the entire Baltic coast to the Gulf of Finland. The knights later had to give up much of their territory, save Prussia, to Slavic-speaking peoples.

Interstate Relations

The end of the Middle Ages found the process of state-making well advanced in western Europe. England, France, and Spain reached very nearly their present limits; each country possessed a centralized, autocratic government; and the people of each country were animated by a growing sense of nationality. In all this development neither Germany nor Italy had a part. Germany, so long neglected by its rulers, split into more than three hundred duchies, counties, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and free cities, none large, some extremely small, and all practically independent of the king-emperors. Italy likewise

remained disunited and lacked even a common monarch for its different divisions. Both countries had to wait nearly four hundred years for the unification which England, France, and Spain had achieved by the fifteenth century.

The relations of the European states one with another henceforth became more intimate. The necessity of intercourse between them produced diplomatic arrangements, resident embassies at the capital cities, and the exchange of communications by sovereigns or foreign ministers. The adjustment of their disputes gave rise to a treaty system and to public or international law. Henceforth, too, their political history becomes largely a record of rivalries and antipathies, alliances, coalitions, and struggles to maintain a precarious balance of power. Western Europe at the close of the fifteenth century thus wore a very different aspect from the Europe of the Holy Roman Empire and innumerable feudal principalities. Feudalism as a governmental system had largely disappeared and the Holy Roman Empire was little more than a name, but the monarchs waxed ever more powerful and the national states which they created are among the dominant political entities of today. In the emergence of national states the historian finds another great dividing line between the medieval and the modern world.

XXV

Literature, Learning, and Art
(XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth Centuries)

Early and Later Middle Ages

THE term "Middle Ages" originated in the seventeenth century, when men of letters first used it to denote the period between the downfall of classical civilization and the period of great literary and artistic activity commonly known as the Renaissance. For them the whole medieval epoch was synonymous with ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. No conception could be more unhistorical. It really applies only to the early Middle Ages, an era of turmoil and disorder inaugurated by the Germanic invasions in the fourth and fifth centuries, intensified by those of the Northmen and other invaders, and culminating in the anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries. Population declined, cities decayed and disappeared, and society became predominantly rural in character. The six hundred years of the early Middle Ages (400–1000) formed a cultural interregnum in western Europe. Men's energies were devoted to securing a little decent order and peace; during those iron times it was enough for them that they lived.

The tide commenced to turn by the millennial year of the Christian era with the cessation of the barbarian invasions, and since the opening of the eleventh century cultural activity has been uninterrupted by any major catastrophe — unless the first World War and the second World War prove to be such a catastrophe. The later Middle Ages (1000–1500) were for western Europe a time of more settled government, increasing knowledge, and steady progress in many fields of human activity. "An ice-bound world was now thawing." The various national or vernacular languages began to assume their present form and became the medium of much fine literature. Respect for liberal learning grew apace and led to the foundation of great universities. Renewed appreciation of art flowered in the building of

magnificent cathedrals. The medieval epoch thus presents to the historical eye not a level stretch of a thousand years and more with mankind stationary, but rather first a downward and then an upward slope.

Latin and the Vernacular Languages

Latin continued to be an international language throughout the Middle Ages. The Roman Church used it in the liturgy – the hymns and the prayers – and to some extent in the sermons, for all official documents, and as the medium of the canon law. Latin is still the predominant language of the Mass from end to end of Christendom and St. Jerome's Latin version of the Bible, made in the fourth century and commonly known as the Vulgate, is still read throughout the Catholic world. In medieval times Latin was also the language of the literate class everywhere in western Europe. University professors lectured in Latin, students spoke Latin, lawyers addressed judges in Latin, diplomats used Latin in their negotiations, and merchants in different countries wrote Latin letters to one another. All learned books were composed in Latin until the close of the sixteenth century, and this practice has not yet been entirely abandoned by scholars. Medieval Latin literature contains some notable productions, especially the hymns. These made use of rhyme, then something of a novelty, and thus helped to popularize this poetic device.

The Latin spoken by the Romanized inhabitants of western Europe naturally lacked the elegance of literary Latin, and the differences between the two became still more marked after the barbarian invasions. In medieval France the colloquial Latin of the Gallo-Romans gave rise to two groups of languages which shade insensibly into each other: those of the *langue d'oc* (using *oc* for "yes") and those of the *langue d'oïl* (using *oïl* for "yes"). It was customary to designate a language by the word in it which expressed assent. The former group is represented by Provençal, still a living tongue in southern France, and the latter by various dialects in northern France. The unification of the French kingdom under Hugh Capet and his successors gradually made the dialect used at the royal court – Parisian French – the official and literary language of the entire country. It contains less than a thousand words introduced by the German invaders of Gaul, while the words of Celtic derivation number scarcely more than half a dozen.

In medieval Spain the expansion of the kingdom of Castile brought about the predominance of Castilian; by the end of the fifteenth century it had crowded out the other Spanish dialects and had become the national speech. Among the many dialects in medieval Italy that of


Language Frontiers in Western Europe
GAELIC
Edinburgh
Glasgow
NORTH SEA
SWEDISH
Gothenbagen
DANISH
Belfast
ENGLISH
Manchester
Liverpool
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Dublin
IRISH SEA
Bremen
LOW GERMAN
Berlin
WELSH
Birmingham
Amsterdam
DUTCH
Thames R.
London
FLEMISH
Brussels
Cologne
Rhine R.
WALLOON
HIGH GERMAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
English Channel
Seine R.
Paris
Munich
Strasbourg
Brest
BRETON
LANGUE D'OÏL
Loire R.
RHAETO-ROMAN
Nantes
Bern
Geneva
Milan
Po R.
Lyons
Turin
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
LANGUE D'OC
ITALIAN
Genoa
Garonne R.
Toulouse
BASQUE
Marseilles
GALLEGAN
CORSICA
Ebro R.
Oporto
Barcelona
Madrid
CATALAN
SARDINIAN
Tagus R.
SPANISH
Lisbon
Guadiana R.
Valencia
BALEARIC IS.
PORTUGUESE
Seville
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cadiz
Teutonic
Celtic
Romance
Basque
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200

Tuscany, particularly that of Florence, became the literary language, not by reason of political conditions, as in France and Spain, but because of the popularity enjoyed from the fourteenth century onward by Dante's poem, the *Divine Comedy*, and the prose *Decameron* of Boccaccio. When Italy became a nation in the nineteenth century, Florentine Italian was accepted as the national language.

The Teutonic-speaking peoples who remained outside what had been the limits of the Roman Empire continued to use their native tongues during the Middle Ages, and from these have developed modern German, Dutch, Flemish, and the various Scandinavian languages. In Germany there are two great linguistic divisions, High German and Low German. The boundary between them has shifted very little since the early medieval period. In the sixteenth century Luther's translation of the Bible in the dialect of Saxony, which combined both High German and Low German characteristics, helped to fix for Germans the form of their written and cultural language. The great Protestant reformer thus prepared the way for the political unification of Germany in the nineteenth century; the pen began the work which the sword completed.

Britain was the only Roman province in western Europe where a Teutonic language — the rough guttural Anglo-Saxon — took root and maintained itself. After the adoption of Christianity, Roman priests and monks introduced many Latin terms for church offices, services, and observances. The Danes, besides contributing some place names, gave us that most useful word *are*, and also the habit of using *to* before an infinitive. The coming of the Normans deeply affected Anglo-Saxon, for Norman-French influence ridded it of the cumbersome declensions and conjugations which it had in common with the other Teutonic languages. Many Norman-French words also crept in as the hostility of the conquered toward the conquerors gradually disappeared.

By the middle of the fourteenth century Anglo-Saxon had become English, and that form of it spoken and written in London, the capital city, had become the national language. A law of Edward III in 1362 substituted English for Norman-French in the law courts, and the following year it was adopted as the language of parliament. In the poems of Chaucer (1340?–1400), especially his *Canterbury Tales*, English wears quite a modern aspect, though the reader is often troubled by the old spelling and by many words not now in use. The changes in the grammar of the language have been so few since the end of the fifteenth century that any Englishman of ordinary education can read without much difficulty a book written more than four hundred years ago.

Vernacular Literature

During the early Middle Ages the few authors were clerics, and their works (all in Latin) were chiefly on theology and related subjects. In the eleventh century the languages of the people began to replace Latin as a literary vehicle and secular interests to find expression in both poetry and prose. Much of the literature produced during the later Middle Ages reflects the pursuits and ideals of feudal society. Such are the songs of the troubadours, whose verses, composed in the Provençal language, were sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, often the lute. Romantic love and feats of arms were the themes which most inspired the troubadours. They made use of rhyme and devised intricate metrical forms, with such success as to become the teachers of western Europe in lyric poetry. The minnesingers (German, *Minne,* "love") and mastersingers of Germany formed another class of lyrists and musicians.

The twelfth century in France, Spain, and Germany produced three famous epics, all by unknown authors. The French *Song of Roland* recounts the exploits of Roland, one of the twelve peers of Charlemagne's court. When leading the rearguard of the emperor's army out of Spain, he is suddenly attacked by the Moors. He slays the enemy in heaps with his good sword and, only after nearly all the Franks have perished, sounds his horn to summon aid. Charlemagne, fifteen leagues distant, hears the notes and returns quickly, but before help arrives Roland has fallen. He dies on the field of battle, with his face to the foe and a prayer on his lips that "sweet France" may never be dishonored. The *Song of Roland* is the first definite expression in French literature of nationalism and patriotism. In Spain the achievements of Christian warriors against the Moors were celebrated in the *Poem of the Cid.* The real Cid was a bandit who fought sometimes for Christians and sometimes against them, according as the pay was good; in the poem, the Cid stands out as the pattern of religious zeal and the embodiment of every knightly virtue. He became the national hero of Spain. The German *Nibelungenlied* tells of the love of the Frankish hero Siegfried for the Burgundian princess Kriemhild, and of the vengeance which she took upon the "grim" Hagen, who had treacherously slain her husband. The poem is a mixture of heathen mythology, folklore, and more or less historic traditions, the whole reshaped under the influence of Christianity and chivalry. Richard Wagner founded some of his greatest musical dramas upon the "Song of the Nibelungs."

The Arthurian prose romances also reveal the more glittering aspects

of feudal society – the tournaments, the deeds of daring, the pageants and festivals enjoyed by the nobles. Arthur is said to have been a British chieftain during the sixth century and to have fought against the Anglo-Saxon invaders. In the romances he and his Knights of the Round Table are quite fabulous figures who rescue distressed damsels, kill monsters, and lead gallant lives as lovers and warriors. The Normans, themselves largely a knightly aristocracy, had a special liking for these narratives and helped to popularize them in western Europe. Toward the end of the fifteenth century Sir Thomas Malory brought many of them together in the *Morte d' Arthur*, which contains "joyous and pleasant histories and noble and renowned acts of humanity, gentleness, and chivalry." It was one of the first books to be printed in England, and from it Tennyson, in the *Idylls of the King*, and other modern poets have drawn inspiration.

Folktales are common to all peoples; man has been defined as a tale-telling animal. Some of the stories current during medieval times were worked up in the twelfth century by an unknown literary artist into a long Latin composition, *Reynard the Fox*, and this, with many additions, was later turned into the chief languages of western Europe. The characters are animals: Reynard, crafty and audacious, who outwits all his foes; Chanticleer the cock, Bruin the bear, Isengrim the wolf; and many others. They are animals in name only. We see them worship like Christians, ride on horseback, debate in councils, and amuse themselves with hawking and hunting. Satire often creeps in, as when the Fox confesses his sins to the Badger or vows that he will go to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage. The special interest of *Reynard the Fox* lies in the fact that it expressed the feelings of the common people under feudalism, when for all but clerics and nobles life was a hard struggle for existence, when brute force prevailed, and cunning formed the only remedy against tyranny. If the book has a moral, it is that cunning may be even more successful than force.

The same spirit of revolt against the aristocracy found expression in the old English ballads of the outlaw Robin Hood. Robin Hood is said to have flourished in the second half of the twelfth century, when Henry II and Richard the Lionhearted reigned over England. Robin and his merry men live in Sherwood Forest, where they hunt the king's tall deer and perform feats of archery. Bishops, sheriffs, and gamekeepers are the outlaw's only enemies; for the common people he has the greatest pity and robs the rich to give to the poor. Courtesy, generosity, and love of fair play are some of the characteristics which made him a popular hero. If King Arthur was the ideal knight, Robin Hood was the ideal yeoman. The ballads about him were sung or recited by countryfolk for hundreds of years.

Elementary Education

Of education, in the sense of book learning, there was very little during the early Middle Ages; how could there be much in that "glacial age of the spirit"? The secular schools of the Roman Empire had disappeared, and their place had been taken in the new Germanic kingdoms by schools in cathedrals and monasteries, where boys were trained for the priestly or the monastic life. They learned writing, enough Latin to read religious books, if not always to understand them, and enough music to follow the services of the church. They also studied arithmetic by means of the awkward Roman notation, dabbled in geometry and astronomy, and sometimes got a smattering of philosophy. The textbooks were brief, juiceless compends that had come down from the last centuries of classical antiquity, and not much could be learned from them. Outside of the church, few people were able to read or write; so generally was this the case that an offender could prove himself a clergyman, thus securing "benefit of clergy," if he showed his ability to read a single line. Even rulers were illiterate; an English king was called "Beauclerk" because of his literacy. Instead of writing their names on documents, people affixed the figure of the cross; that is why we still speak of "signing" instead of "subscribing."

During the later Middle Ages there was a steady growth of literacy among the inhabitants of the towns. The church multiplied cathedral schools and opened them to boys who never had any intention of becoming priests. Kings, ecclesiastics, and other wealthy men founded such famous grammar schools as Winchester College (1382) and Eton (1440) in England. Similar institutions were also established by the guilds. Many towns, particularly in the industrial centers of western Europe, made provision for instruction of boys, though not of girls. Medieval society had no place for educated women, and most girls had to be content with what they learned at home. A complete picture of elementary education at this period would include the chivalric training of the young noble, as well as the system of guild apprenticeship for artisans.

Higher Education; the Universities

Western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries felt the thrill of a great intellectual revival. This was stimulated by intercourse with cultivated Arabs and Jews in Spain, Sicily, and the Near East and with the Greek scholars of Constantinople throughout the crusading era. The works of Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy the geographer and astronomer, and the physicians Hippocrates and Galen, became accessible in

Latin translations from the Arabic and the Greek, and those texts of Roman law which had lain hidden in earlier times were read again. This new knowledge burst the bonds of the church schools, with their meager course of studies, and created the universities.

The older universities, particularly Paris, Oxford, and Bologna, were not founded by the church or the state, but arose spontaneously as the outcome of the enthusiasm which drew students of every class and country to sit at the feet of the man who could give them the learning which they craved and enable them, in their turn, to become teachers, theologians, lawyers, and physicians. How readily a university might grow up about the personality of some eminent teacher is shown by the career of Peter Abélard (1079–1142). The eldest son of a noble family in Brittany, he would naturally have entered the career of arms, but he chose instead the life of a scholar and the contests of debate. He came to Paris, attended the lectures given by a master of the cathedral school of Notre Dame, and at the age of twenty-two himself set up as a lecturer. Few teachers have ever attracted so large and so devoted a following as the crowd of youths and men who sat in Abélard's classroom under the shadow of the great cathedral.

Abélard's reputation led to an increase of masters and students at Paris and so paved the way for the development of the cathedral school there into the university later in the twelfth century. At the time of its greatest prosperity the university had an enrollment of about five thousand and became so celebrated for theology and philosophy that a medieval writer referred to it as "the mill where the world's grain is ground and the hearth where its bread is baked." All the universities of northern continental Europe and England were modeled upon the University of Paris. Those of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and southern France found a model in the University of Bologna. Between 1150 and 1500 at least eighty universities were established in western Europe. Some speedily became extinct, but there are still about fifty institutions of learning which date from the latter part of the Middle Ages. They were largely attended at this period; indeed, their enrollment was not surpassed in later times until the nineteenth century.

University Organization

The term *universitas* was originally applied to any corporate group, and only in time was it limited to associations of teachers or students. These naturally took the guild form, in order to provide mutual protection and assistance for the members. At Paris the teachers con-

trolled the guild; at Bologna the students long controlled it, hired the teachers, and kept them on their mettle and in their place. Bologna was that ideal institution, a students' university.

As in the industrial guilds, the educational process consisted of three stages. The student (apprentice) began with elementary subjects and became a "bachelor of arts" (journeyman) after passing the required examination. Upon the completion of the full course, usually six years in length, the bachelor took his final examination and, if successful, received the coveted degree of "master of arts." Doubtless few students had the means, the patience, or the ability to proceed to the master's degree and fewer still went on to advanced work in theology, law, or medicine. The layer of higher education was spread thin.

The universities were under the patronage of the church, and both masters and scholars enjoyed some of the privileges of the clergy, including exemption from taxation and military service. They were subject only to the jurisdiction of the university court, an especially valuable privilege considering how often students got into trouble with the municipal authorities. The sober annals of many a university are relieved by tales of truly Homeric conflicts between town and gown. When masters and scholars were dissatisfied with their treatment in one place, they might make off in a body to another. The use of Latin for all instruction and intercourse made it easy for students to go from one university to another, seeking the special knowledge for which each one was renowned. Such "wandering scholars" were often idlers. Far from home, careless and pleasure-loving, light of purse and light of heart, they frequented taverns as well as lecture rooms and knew the wine bowl even better than books. Their songs of love, of dancing, drinking, and gaming, reflect the more unconventional aspects of medieval life.

Special accommodations for students were at first unknown. They "roomed" and boarded in private homes or in lodging houses endowed by charitable persons. In many Continental universities such hospices developed into colleges, where the students shared a common life. There were sixty-eight at Paris by the close of the medieval period, but all were swept away during the French Revolution. At Oxford and Cambridge the colleges have survived to our day, whispering from their towers "the last enchantments of the Middle Age," each one with its chapel, library, dining hall, and dormitory, its own tutorial staff, and its privilege of self-government. In these two old English universities the colleges well-nigh absorbed the university, the latter becoming chiefly the body which set examinations and conferred de-

grees. Harvard and Yale, with their "houses" and "colleges" for groups of undergraduates, have recently adopted a modified form of the English collegiate system.

The Curriculum

The students learned whatever there was to learn. The "cultural" subjects were grouped under what came to be called the faculty of arts, because it taught the "seven liberal arts," which had formed the course of study of Roman rhetoric schools and, in a very elementary form, of the cathedral and monastery schools. Grammar, rhetoric, and logic made up the *trivium* and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy comprised the *quadrivium*. These subjects covered more ground than their names indicate. Grammar included literature, rhetoric included history, geometry included geography, and astronomy included physics, while music was to a large extent the mathematical and physical study of musical sounds. One might say, then, that the *trivium* dealt with language, literature, and philosophy, while the *quadrivium* was concerned with mathematics and science. Theology, law, and medicine were taken up after the completion of the arts course. The conception of a general training, as the necessary preliminary to professional studies, is one of the contributions of the medieval university to modern education.

The early university had no buildings of its own, no libraries, laboratories, or museums, none of the apparatus of scholarship. It was "built of men." All that the professors required were classrooms, either in their homes or in halls which they hired. The rooms might be provided with desks, but students often sat on the straw-strewn floors. Because of the great cost and consequent scarcity of manuscript books, much of the teaching consisted of formal lectures and dictations. Students took careful notes, memorized them, and then duly repeated them to their instructors.

In theology and philosophy Abélard popularized the so-called scholastic method of disputation through his little book *Sic et Non*, or *Yea and Nay*. The method was simplicity itself: a statement of the topics for debate and then a citation of the authorities on the one side and the other. The book contains one hundred and fifty-eight topics, some theological in character, for instance, whether to God all things are possible or not, and others concerned with morals, such as the lawfulness or unlawfulness of homicide. Abélard presented the divergent opinions of the authorities and did not attempt to reconcile them. There is no indication, however, that he supposed them to be incapable

of reconciliation. Abélard's successors took pains to bring the authorities into some kind of agreement, so that the scholastic method always involved the solution, or attempted solution, of every problem that was raised.

With no opportunities for original research, everything was studied in books. Theologians relied on the Bible, the Church Fathers, and the ancient philosophers, especially Plato and Aristotle; law students depended upon the code of Justinian; and medical students learned anatomy and physiology from translations of, and commentaries upon, the Greek and Arabic works. Even science was studied in encyclopedias and compendiums. Thus the literary, bookish type of education, which had prevailed in the Roman schools, was perpetuated in the medieval universities.

Scholastic Philosophy

Of all the subjects in the arts course of the universities logic and metaphysics, that is, philosophy, received most attention. Scholasticism, the name given to medieval philosophy, goes back to the eleventh century, but its golden age was the thirteenth century, when the philosophic thought of Aristotle acquired an extraordinary predominance over men's minds. Christian Europe read him at first chiefly in Latin translations from the Arabic, but versions were later made directly from the Greek. In 1255 all of his works, as then known, were prescribed at the University of Paris for the degree of master of arts. So great was his influence that the later scholasticism might be described as a sort of "Aristotelian Christianity."

The "schoolmen" accepted without question the theological teaching of the church, but they also felt a keen interest in speculation and sought to rationalize theology, to reconcile it with reason. Thus St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (*c.* 1033–1109), argued that the existence of God was capable of proof: God, being perfect, must exist, for reality is an attribute of perfection. His famous principle, "I believe in order that I may understand," opened the door to rationalism. Abélard opened the door wider when he declared that constant questioning is the first key to wisdom. "Through doubting we come to inquiry, and through inquiry we perceive the truth."

For the earlier schoolmen no opposition existed between reason and faith; each path led to the same goal. In the thirteenth century there was less confidence that all the doctrines of the church could be established by purely intellectual processes. Albertus Magnus (*c.* 1193–1280) and his greater pupil, Thomas Aquinas (*c.* 1225–1274), held that while

reason can demonstrate fundamental truths, for example God's existence and human immortality, such dogmas as the Trinity and the Incarnation are beyond the power of the unaided human intellect to formulate and establish. Up to a certain point reason (represented by Aristotle) may be trusted; after that the devout Christian must rely on revelation and accept on faith. Aquinas, a Dominican friar, who taught at Cologne, Paris, Rome, and Naples, died comparatively young, but left behind him no less than eighteen folio volumes, including the famous *Summa Theologica,* which, as the name indicates, summed up all the theological learning of the Middle Ages. The Roman Church has placed him among her saints and requires his writings to be studied as the foundation of sound theology.

The system of Aquinas found a keen critic in a Franciscan friar, Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who taught chiefly at Paris and Cologne. A pupil of Scotus, William of Occam (d. 1349), went further than his master in criticism of Aristotelian Christianity as represented by Aquinas. According to William none of the truths of religion could be demonstrated by reason; they could be apprehended solely by faith. The conclusion was drawn that while theological truth rests on divine revelation, for all other kinds of truth man must rely on himself. Acceptance of such ideas meant the failure of the effort to combine Aristotelianism with Christianity, and they have never become the official teaching of the Roman Church.

Another subject which engaged the interest and perplexed the understanding of the schoolmen was the nature of "universals." Have general, or universal, ideas, such as "man," "house," a real existence of their own? So the Realists taught. Or are they mere names, mere devices to classify together actually existing individuals or objects? So the Nominalists taught. The metaphysical problem thus raised goes back to the Greeks, for Plato asserted and Aristotle denied the reality of "universals." Platonists hold that what is perceived by the senses offers but an imperfect image or shadow of the eternal ideas behind and beyond them. Aristotelians hold that the things of sense are what they appear to be; our minds are so constructed as to provide us with a true account of the external world. The problem is a vital one for philosophy, and it continues to divide philosophers into opposing camps. Nowadays, however, the belief about the reality of general ideas is called "idealism," while "realism" means the view that particular individuals and objects are also real. We are all either idealists or realists in our thinking – though we know it not.

It is easy to depreciate the schoolmen. But to condemn their work as barren means to condemn all speculative philosophy, ancient and

modern as well as medieval. If there is to be any ordered, logical thinking about the nature of God and of the soul, about human conduct and human destiny, then scholasticism, especially as represented by Aquinas, was a great achievement, worthy of a place beside the philosophic systems of Plato and Aristotle. The schoolmen were not arguing about unessentials; they were renewing after the long darkness of the early Middle Ages the interest in the things of the mind which had distinguished their Greek predecessors. Thus their work forms a landmark in intellectual history.

Roman Law and Canon Law

If Paris was celebrated for scholastic philosophy, Bologna was celebrated for Roman law. That law, as codified under Justinian, had been studied to some extent in Italy throughout the early Middle Ages. Beginning in the late eleventh century, there was a marked revival of legal studies associated with the jurist Irnerius (*c.* 1070–1130), who taught and wrote at Bologna. Hitherto law had been treated as merely a branch of rhetoric and as part of a general education. Irnerius used the complete text of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* as the basis of instruction, thus providing enough material for several years' work and making law a distinctly professional subject. The University of Bologna grew out of his law school, which thousands of students attended, and from Bologna the Roman system of jurisprudence spread beyond the Alps to France, Germany, Spain, and other countries. It became a powerful influence, not only by reason of the improvements which it introduced into the customary law of western Europe, but also because, being the law of imperial Rome, it provided European sovereigns with rules and maxims upholding centralized, autocratic government. Roman law thus had much to do with the creation of the strong monarchies of the later Middle Ages.

Not long after the death of Irnerius the monk Gratian, also of Bologna, made a compilation of the law followed in ecclesiastical courts. His *Decretum*, with later additions, became the accepted textbook of canon law, and this subject, like the civil law, was henceforth added to the university curriculum as a professional study.

Medicine

Salerno, about thirty miles below Naples, had a medical school as early as the middle of the eleventh century, and under the Norman rulers of southern Italy and Sicily it flourished greatly. From this

"city of Hippocrates," long in close contact with the Moslem world, the Greek knowledge of medicine, which the Arabs had preserved and enlarged, first began to percolate into western Europe. Works on the rational treatment of disease were translated from the Arabic or composed afresh by the Salernitan doctors, among whom, it seems, were even women practitioners specializing in gynecology. The earliest law for the regulation of the practice of medicine was issued by Frederick II in 1240 or 1241 for his kingdom of the Two Sicilies; among its very "modern" provisions was one requiring a man, before practicing as a physician, to first pass a public examination in the school at Salerno. Medical learning centered there for about two hundred years, and was inherited by the schools of Bologna, Padua, and especially Montpellier in southern France.

A beginning had been made in the scientific study of medicine; it was only a beginning. The practice of dissection encountered opposition, so that for a long time anatomy could be learned only from books. Priests and monks, who generally united the functions of soul-curer and body-curer, put much reliance on prayers, relics, and holy water for the treatment of human ills; faith healing flourished in the Middle Ages. The primitive belief in demoniacal possession as the explanation of epilepsy and other mental disorders still prevailed unquestioned, and the church had, and still has, ceremonies for the exorcism of demons. Because of popular ignorance, much medical treatment consisted in the use of incantations, charms, and old wives' remedies, these being often based on the principle that "like cures like"; thus red beads worn around the neck would stop nose-bleeding and the amethyst, as its Greek name implies, would prevent drunkenness. Because of the lack of proper sanitation, villages and towns were repeatedly swept by pestilences. The most terrible of all was the Black Death, so called because among its symptoms were dark blotches on the body. After ravaging most of the Continent, it entered England in 1348 and within two years produced so great a mortality that the living were scarcely able to bury the dead. The pestilence seems to have been essentially the same as the bubonic plague, still endemic in the Orient.

Natural Science

A real interest in natural science marked the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when western Europe began to recover some of the Greek contributions to knowledge which had been almost completely lost during the Dark Ages. One of the pioneer students of nature was Adelard of Bath. He studied in Moslem lands, translated into Latin



THE BIRTH OF VENUS, BY BOTTICELLI (1447–1510). *Page 571.*

PLATE XIX



THE COLONNA ALTAR, BY RAPHAEL (1483–1520). *Page 571.*

PLATE XX

Arabic versions of Greek scientific works, and did much to introduce the new learning in the West. His original work, *Natural Questions*, which appeared in the first half of the twelfth century, reveals an inquiring mind and a disposition to set reason above the "halter" of authority. Adelard's contemporary, William of Conches, displays much the same scientific temper. In one of his books William comments on those unreasonable people who will not listen to any explanation of natural phenomena mentioned in the Scriptures. Themselves ignorant of nature, they would like everyone else to remain equally ignorant. It is enough for them to say, "We do not know how this is, but we know that God can do it." "You poor fools," retorts William, "God can make a cow out of a tree, but has He ever done so?"

Medieval interest in natural science is represented, above all, by the Englishman Roger Bacon (*c.* 1214–1292). Bacon studied at Oxford and lectured at Paris, his attainments winning for him the title of "Wonderful Doctor," and subsequently entered the Franciscan order. At a time when Aristotle's influence was unbounded, Bacon turned away from scholastic philosophy to mathematics and the sciences. While no epochal discoveries can be credited to him, he did good work in optics, his textbook on the subject being used for two centuries; constructed astronomical tables; pointed out the errors of the Julian calendar, which he calculated gained one day for each one hundred and thirty years; and estimated the size of the earth and supported the theory of its sphericity by arguments that may have influenced Columbus. Bacon further considered the possibilities of applied science. He thought that in time there might be great ships guided by a single person and moving more swiftly than if they were full of oarsmen, carriages propelled without animals to draw them, and flying machines "wherein a man sets revolving some engine by which artificial wings are made to beat the air after the manner of the flight of birds."

Such forward-looking students as Adelard, William of Conches, and, above all, Roger Bacon, pointed the way to scientific progress, but their actual achievement was not great. Neither observation nor experimentation, though often advocated and sometimes practiced, was really congenial to the medieval mind with its reverence for the written word. Men learned their science in the library rather than in the laboratory, from books rather than from life. No one in the Middle Ages observed that a fly has six legs instead of the eight which Aristotle had assigned to it; and when Aristotle reasoned that a heavy body must fall more rapidly than a lighter body, no one tried to show by experiment that such was not the case. Moreover, the conceptions prevailing among educated men about the world did not conduce to first-hand study of

nature and of nature's ways. The world was very evil; it would come to an end before long; its phenomena were far less worthy of investigation than were the spiritual truths of religion. Even Roger Bacon, with all his love of inquiry, made theology the "queen of the sciences." While the opposition of the medieval church to scientific research has been often exaggerated, the fact remains that nothing considered contrary to the Catholic faith could be taught in the universities, which were under ecclesiastical control. The human intellect was not in prison during the Middle Ages, but it wore fetters.

Alchemy and Astrology; Occultism

Medieval students were interested in chemistry; they were much more interested in alchemy. Western Europe got this pseudoscience from the Arabs, as the name indicates, and the Arabs took it from Greek and Persian sources. Egypt may have been its original home — or possibly China; there were Chinese alchemists as early as the third or fourth century B.C. Alchemists in the Middle Ages engaged in two great quests: the search for the philosopher's stone by which base metals might be converted into silver and gold; and the search for an "elixir of life," which would confer, if not immortality, at least longevity. Alchemy appealed to some of the strongest of human motives — the love of wealth, the fear of death — and it found many practitioners, some merely "confidence men" but others serious investigators. In laboratories and pharmacies the alchemists developed the experimental method and made useful discoveries, such as new chemical compounds and medical remedies. Their notion that base metals in the earth undergo a natural and spontaneous change slowly converting them into gold, the perfect metal, anticipated modern knowledge of the transmutation of the elements, while their effort to prolong the span of human life by artificial means has been renewed in our day along strictly scientific lines. The alchemists builded better than they knew.

The Babylonians, the Greeks, and the Arabs had made weighty contributions to astronomy, but this subject continued to be mixed up with the pseudoscience of astrology. It was astrology rather than astronomy which appealed to medieval students, for whom the earth was the center of the universe. While the heavenly bodies were no longer regarded as divine or as the abode of divinities, they were still believed to control the course of nature and consequently the affairs of men. On its practical side astrology became the method of casting a horoscope, of reading a person's fate in the position of the heavenly bodies at the time of birth or even at the time of conception. Simple

analogy had much to do with the spread of this delusion. Because the planets continued to be called by the names of the old deities with whom they had been once associated, they acquired the characters of their namesakes — Mars, a warlike disposition; Venus, amorousness, and Jupiter, "joviality." And because astronomers had divided the sun's course into the imaginary signs of the zodiac, astrologers credited these with an effect on human beings: a child born under Leo (the Lion) will be courageous; one born under Cancer (the Crab) will not go forward well in life; one born under Libra (the Scales) will have a well-balanced mind; and so forth. Astronomy did not begin to part company from astrology until the geocentric conception of the universe was overthrown by Copernicus and his successors. It is a curious fact that just as the progress of chemical science has rehabilitated some of alchemy, so recent physical science, with its discovery of cosmic rays beating on the earth from remote depths of space, has in a way justified the old belief in the "influence," that is, the inflow, from the stars.

Alchemy and astrology were not the only instances of medieval credulity. The most improbable stories found ready acceptance. Roger Bacon, for instance, thought that "flying dragons" still existed in Europe and that eating their flesh lengthened human life. Works on natural history soberly described the lizardlike salamander, which dwelt in fire; the phoenix, a bird which, after living for five hundred years, burned itself to death and then rose again full-grown from its ashes; and the unicorn, whose single horn may have been suggested by that of the rhinoceros. Various plants and minerals were also endowed with marvelous powers, especially in medicine.

The Middle Ages inherited from antiquity the observance of unlucky days. These went under the name of "Egyptian days," so called because it was thought that on one of them the plagues had been sent to devastate the land of Egypt and on another Pharaoh and his host had been swallowed up in the Red Sea. At least twenty-four such days in the year were regarded as dangerous, if not fatal, for undertaking anything at all important. Eventually they lost their unlucky character and left behind them only a general prejudice against Friday. The belief in witchcraft was also held in medieval times, but the widespread and terrible witch hunts came in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As there were many kinds of magic, both good and bad, both "white" and "black," so there were many kinds of magicians. Oneiromancers took omens from dreams, cheiromancers read fortunes in the palms of the hand, and necromancers raised departed spirits for

communications from the other world. Numberless were the ways by which the practitioners of magic made a living at the expense of the credulous. It is impossible to understand the Middle Ages without appreciation of the intellectual atmosphere in which the "occult sciences" found such wide acceptance. Men had scarcely begun to uncover the secrets of the world about them; the triumphs of natural science lay in the womb of futurity.

Mathematics and Invention

The knowledge of mathematics, which the Arabs owed to the Greeks and the Hindus and then enlarged by their own investigations, first entered western Europe through the medium of Latin versions from the Arabic. A pupil of Adelard of Bath translated Euclid's *Elements* and another eager student similarly introduced an Arab work on algebra as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. It was from this time that the "Arabic" numerals, with their symbol for zero, began to replace the Roman numeration and the use of the abacus. But mathematical study did not proceed very far during the medieval period. Even Roger Bacon, though he fully realized the importance of mathematics for scientific research, showed little ability in its pursuit, and Aquinas, the acutest thinker of the age, did not concern himself with the subject at all.

Some practical inventions, worked out in the later Middle Ages, include magnifying glasses (for spectacles), mechanical or balance clocks marking the passage of time with fair accuracy, and mirrors of polished glass. A rude form of the compass was known to mariners at least as early as the opening years of the thirteenth century. An English schoolman in a book written about this time has preserved the earliest European notice of the magnetized needle, "which is whirled round in a circle until, when its motion ceases, its point looks direct to the north." The art of paper-making, originated by the Chinese and disseminated by the Arabs over the Moslem world, entered Christian Europe during the later Middle Ages; there were paper mills in Italy before the end of the thirteenth century. They were subsequently introduced into other European countries.

The secret of the composition of gunpowder (saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur) was known to Roger Bacon and others in the thirteenth century. They regarded it as merely a sort of fireworks producing a sudden and brilliant flame and did not suspect that in a confined space the expansive power of its gases could be used as a propellant. Small brass cannon hurling stone or iron balls began to be cast in the four-

teenth century, but for a long time the new artillery made more noise than it did harm, and only slowly were the longbow, the crossbow, and the pike displaced by the musket. Gunpowder was to make possible bigger if not better wars; in contemplating the effects of its discovery the philosophic student, according to his temperament, "will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind."

Romanesque Architecture

A noble, creative, original art could not arise during the centuries when western Europe was overrun by successive hordes of barbarians. Up to about the year 1000, medieval art so far as it was not barbaric was a slavish copying of Byzantine models in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Very few of its productions have survived: some churches raised at Ravenna by Theodoric and his successors; Charlemagne's palace chapel at his capital, Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle); and imitations of ivories, enamels, metal work, mosaics, and miniatures produced in Constantinople. The great city by the Bosporus was the schoolmaster of western Europe in things artistic throughout the early Middle Ages.

The revival of art, which began with the eleventh century, found expression chiefly in church-building. A new architectural style developed, the Romanesque, so called and well called because of its affinities with Roman principles of construction. It was characterized by the use of the vault in place of the flat, timbered roofing (so liable to destruction by fire) found in the basilican churches of Italy and the West. The Romans had built vaulted roofs and domes in concrete, which forms a rigid mass and rests securely upon the walls like the lid of a box. Romanesque architects, however, built in stone, which exerts an outward thrust and forces the walls apart. It was necessary, therefore, to make the walls so thick and solid that they would support the weight of the vault, and at the same time to reduce the width of the vaulted spaces. A Romanesque church, by comparison with the earlier basilican church, is narrow, and because of the few apertures in the walls it is also ill lighted. The round arch was used for the vaulting, windows, and doorways, as in the ancient Roman monuments. The introduction of transepts, giving the Romanesque church the form of a Latin cross, the erection of a tower or dome over the junction of nave and transepts, and the enlargement and extension of the apse into the choir were other modifications of the basilican plan.

Among the masterpieces of Romanesque architecture are the cathedrals of Mainz, Worms, Bamberg, and Speyer in Germany, the cathedral of Pisa in Italy, and Durham cathedral in England. This architec-

tural style, distinguished for massiveness and simplicity, prevailed in western Europe for about two centuries (1000–1200), and its adoption greatly stimulated church-building. A medieval chronicler declared that the whole world was throwing off its old rags and tatters and arraying itself in the "white robes of the churches."

Gothic Architecture; the Cathedrals

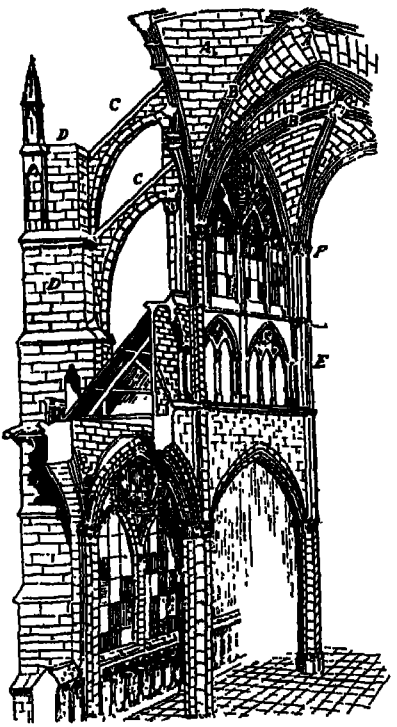
After Romanesque came Gothic, which flourished for about three hundred years (1200–1500). "Gothic" is of course a misnomer, having been applied to this architectural style by writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, who regarded everything non-classical as barbarous and who associated this style with the barbarian Goths. During these centuries there was scarcely a single author, no matter what were his religious affiliations, who did not refer to Gothic architecture with unqualified contempt—a strange commentary on the fallibility of aesthetic judgments.

Gothic architecture first flourished in the region about Paris at a time when France had begun to take the lead in European affairs, and from France it spread with various modifications to England, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Italy, and other countries. The architects of a Gothic church wanted to retain the Romanesque vaulted construction but at the same time to obviate the necessity for the thick, solid walls which left so little window space. They solved the problem by the use, in the first place, of a great number of stone ribs which rested on the piers of the side aisles and on buttresses set in the walls, thus gathering the weight of the vaults at a few selected points. In the second place, the walls were reinforced by means of arched props called flying buttresses, which rested on solid masses of masonry outside the building. These devices made possible higher roofs spanning wider areas than in Romanesque edifices. Relieved from the outward thrust of the vaulting, the walls now became a mere screen, as in a modern steel skyscraper; they could be made of light materials and opened up with high, wide windows. The exquisite Sainte Chapelle at Paris, erected for Louis IX (St. Louis) in the thirteenth century, reveals perfectly the ideal toward which the Gothic architects strove; here the wall space has been reduced to a minimum and the interior is a blazing glory of stained glass.

Gothic architecture is also characterized by the use of the pointed arch. The semicircular or round arch can be only half as high as it is wide, but the pointed arch may vary greatly in its proportions and hence may be used to bridge over different widths at any required

height. The origin of this light and graceful form is uncertain. According to a plausible theory, pilgrims and crusaders brought it back from the Near East where it had long been used in Moslem buildings.

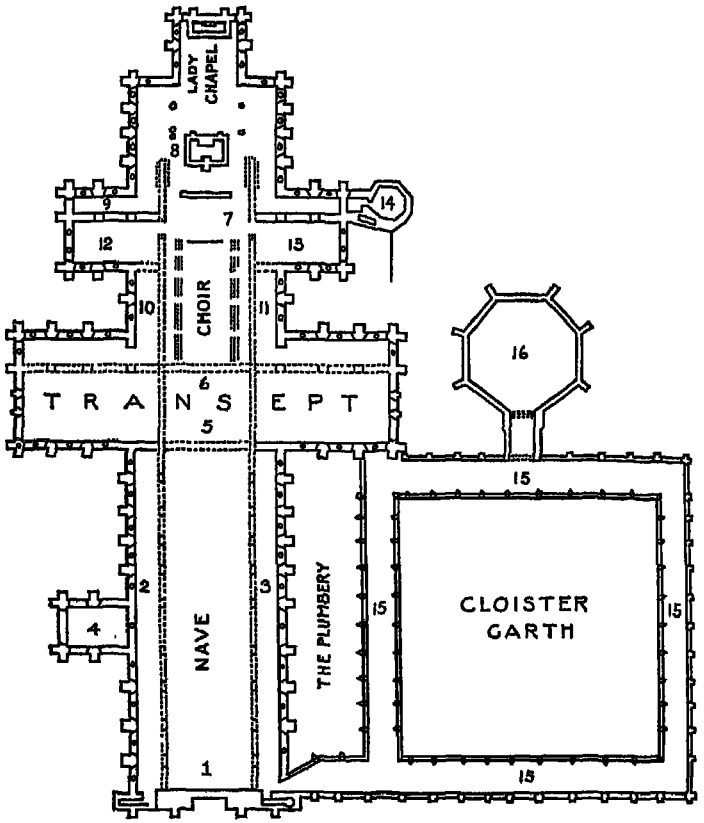
The labors of the Gothic architect were admirably seconded by those of other artists. The sculptor cut figures of men, animals, and plants in great profusion and with a lifelike appearance. The woodcarver made beautiful choir stalls, pulpits, altars, and screens. Master workmen filled the stone tracery of the windows with stained glass which has never been excelled. There was almost no fresco painting, however, since there was little wall space upon which to execute it. The interior of a Gothic cathedral, with its vast nave rising arch by arch to the vaulted roof, its clustered columns, and glorious windows, is "infinity made imaginable." In religious impressiveness the cathedrals are not surpassed, many would say not equaled, by the mighty domed churches of later Renaissance architecture.



Cross Section of Amiens Cathedral

A. Vaulting
B. Ribs
C. Flying buttresses
D. Buttress
E. Triforium
F. Clerestory

During the Gothic period nearly every important town of western Europe was building a great cathedral, and this at a time when towns were far smaller and townsfolk far poorer than today. Within a single century eighty cathedrals and nearly five hundred large churches were erected in France alone. Such building was a community enterprise, for which priests and laymen, nobles, burghers, and peasants, men and women lavished their gifts or, when money was lacking, contributed their labor. If the character of an age can be judged by its art, then the age which produced the cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, Reims, Beauvais, Bourges, Strasbourg, and Paris; of Canterbury, Lincoln, Winchester, Salisbury, and York; of Cologne; of Antwerp; of Vienna; and of Milan must be judged one of the supremely creative epochs of human history.



Ground Plan of Salisbury Cathedral

1. Principal west door
2, 3. Aisles of nave
4. North porch
5. Tower
6. Pulpit
7. Throne
8. Altar
9. Font
10, 11. Choir aisles
12, 13. Choir transept
14. Sacristy
15. Cloister
16. Chapter house

The triumphs of Gothic architecture were not confined to cathedrals or to magnificent abbeys such as Mont-Saint-Michel in France and ruined Melrose, Tintern, and Fountains in England. Among the most beautiful monuments of the secular Gothic are the town halls of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and other Flemish cities; of Arras and Rouen in France; and of Lübeck and Danzig in Germany. Guildhalls, palaces, and hospitals were built in the Gothic style, which even inspired the interior arrangements and decoration of castles and manor houses. It was also employed for the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and the "collegiate Gothic" modeled upon them finds expression in American university architecture, most notably at Princeton. The nine-

teenth century saw a Gothic revival for both ecclesiastical and secular building, and this has not yet spent its force.

Medievalism

During the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries the institutions which we regard as typically medieval — feudalism, chivalry, serfdom in the country and the guild system in the towns, the Holy Roman Empire, the Roman Church — reached their fullest development. The same centuries witnessed the rise of a rich vernacular literature which found expression in minstrel poetry, epics, and romances; a revival of learning which gave birth to the universities, with their emphasis on scholastic philosophy, theology, and law; and the production of monumental works of art in the Romanesque and Gothic styles. All this too was typically medieval.

But what is " medievalism " and how is it opposed to " modernism "? No sharp boundaries between the two can be drawn, of course, for much which the Middle Ages created underlies the civilization of our time. Nevertheless, in certain salient characteristics medieval culture contrasts somewhat definitely with modern culture. First, the Middle Ages were distinguished for a corporate consciousness. Individual thinking and action held only a subordinate place; men thought and acted as members of a group, such as the village community, the guild, the priesthood, the monastic order, and the student or professorial fraternity. Society was organized on co-operative rather than on competitive lines; group welfare and not individual welfare formed the main consideration. Hence, for example, there was little pride of authorship in literary or artistic work. We do not know who wrote the *Song of Roland*, the *Nibelungenlied*, or *Reynard the Fox* any more than we know who designed and built the Gothic cathedrals.

Second, the Middle Ages were distinguished for cosmopolitanism. The papacy, the monastic orders, chivalry, the universities, Roman and canon law, the Latin language — all were cosmopolitan or international.

Third, the Middle Ages were distinguished for religious authoritarianism. The church was the sole repository of spiritual knowledge, the one guide to the Heavenly Jerusalem. The uncontested dominance of the church may be explained partly by the fact that the clergy almost monopolized education and learning. For the great mass of the people, nobles, burghers, and peasants, the knowledge preserved in Latin books was nonexistent; seldom were they able to read or write their native language. An uninstructed people could be easily dominated. The disposition to submit to ecclesiastical control was

further strengthened by the fact that the ritual and doctrines of the church entered more intimately into the lives of common folk than is the case at the present time. The otherworldliness of the "Age of Faith" may be easily exaggerated. There were many in those days who looked upon the world and found it good, many like Aucassin in the thirteenth-century tale of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, who cared not to miss paradise but would willingly go to hell if only he had Nicolette by his side. For to hell go the fair knights and the courteous ladies, "and there pass the gold and the silver, the ermine and all rich furs, harpers and minstrels, and the happy of this earth."

Lastly, it seems true to say that the Middle Ages were relatively static. The tempo of social change was far slower than now because of the lack of those facilities for communication and transportation which we possess. Yet social change there was along many lines. Few historic periods have seen a greater development of the most important elements of civilization than the period covered by the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

XXVI

Literature, Learning, and Art
(XIVth and XVth Centuries)

The Transition to Modern Times

EVERY period of history is transitional from an earlier to a later phase of social evolution; with society, as with the individual, to live is to change. There are certain periods, however, when the passage from the old to the new appears more obvious than at others; when dissolution and reconstruction proceed more rapidly; and when institutions and habits of life become more thoroughly unsettled, broken down, and remodeled. The third and fourth centuries, which witnessed the decadence of Graeco-Roman civilization and the replacement of paganism by Christianity, were such a period: they marked the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were another such period: they marked the transition from medieval to modern times.

Politically, these two hundred years saw the decline of the feudal system. Centralized, national states took and have since held the stage. Economically, they saw the decline of ruralism and the practical disappearance of serfdom. The cities grew in importance and the middle class, made strong by industry and trade, began to challenge the privileged position of the clergy and the nobility. Religiously, they saw the decline of ecclesiastical authority, as evidenced by the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism. The papal monarchy weathered the storms which descended upon it, but with diminished power and prestige; the Protestant Revolt was not far distant. With these changes must be coupled the results of great inventions and discoveries — the compass to open the ocean to commerce, gunpowder to revolutionize the art of war, and paper to make possible the printing press. Movements and events of such magnitude heralded the coming of a new era in the history of western Europe.

The Reaction against Medievalism

Men's beliefs, aspirations, and mental outlook could not fail to be affected by the changes taking place about them. There was an increased sense of dissatisfaction with the medieval scheme of things — the trammels on individual initiative, the restrictions on thought imposed by ecclesiastical authority, the absorption in religious concerns, the asceticism and monastic spirit. Other interests begin to emerge, stressing the importance of personality rather than corporate or class consciousness, self-expression rather than self-denial, and worldliness rather than otherworldliness. Greater significance came to be ascribed to the worth of human achievement, to man, that creature of infinite talents and infinite capacities. In short, a growing secularism characterized the thought of the age. This was not something quite new. The medieval epics and romances, the troubadour poetry, and the verses of the "wandering scholars" also reveal a frankly secular attitude toward life.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with an indefinite extension into the sixteenth century, have long been known as the age of the Renaissance. The word is French, derived from the Italian *rinascimento*, meaning rebirth or revival. The term was invented by Italians who hated medievalism and naively assumed that they had emerged from a Gothic night. According to their propaganda, nothing worth while proceeded from the Middle Ages; their task was the restoration of classical civilization, ruined by the Goths and other barbarians. Yet if any period of European history deserves to be described as one of rebirth or revival it is surely the period covered by the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which gave to Europe her universities and cathedrals. The cultural impulses then set in motion have been continuously operative to our own day, and the so-called Renaissance represents no more than the intensification of these impulses in certain fields of literature, learning, and art. The men of that time only continued the work of recovering the antique heritage of thought and beauty. The so-called Renaissance formed no fundamental revolution in culture; it was the ripe fruit of a long antecedent growth.

The Classical Tradition

Latin literature continued to be read and enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages. Benedictine monks on the Continent and in England copied the works of pagan as well as Christian authors, and in Ireland, before that island came under the influence of Roman Christian-

ity, the monks of the Celtic Church preserved much classical learning. In later centuries there were many devoted students of the classics – for instance, at the cathedral schools of Chartres and Orléans and the monasteries of Tours and Reims. Such a twelfth-century scholar as John of Salisbury, who had studied under Abélard, was thoroughly familiar with Latin literature and not unacquainted with Greek literature so far as it could be learned through Latin versions. He despised logic and metaphysics: to wear out life in the wordy battles of the schoolmen was "to work, teach, and do nothing."

The aesthetic interest in the classics, the love of them as masterpieces of literary art, declined in proportion as scholastic philosophy and theology more and more occupied men's minds. The philosophers and theologians read Latin books, but as a means to an end; they were concerned with what an author said rather than with his style. It was the work of the fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century humanists, as they are called, to awaken men's minds to the cultural value of the classics. They criticized what they considered the barren and dogmatic curriculum of the universities. Neglecting the great edifice of speculation raised by earlier ages, they turned back to Latin and Greek literature and in the pages of Cicero, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, and later of Homer and Plato, they discovered a wealth of fresh and original ideas, a new world of thought and fancy. The classics became for them truly "humane letters" (*litterae humaniores*), because, as a humanist said, "they perfect and equip the man."

Rise of Humanism in Italy

Italy was the original home of the humanist movement. There it first appeared, there it found widest acceptance, and there it reached its highest development. The reasons are not far to seek. Italians lived in the land that had nurtured the great Latin authors and felt themselves to be their direct descendants. The Italian language more nearly resembled Latin than the other Romance vernaculars; in a peculiar sense Latin was the Italians' own language. Moreover, Italy at this time ranked as the most wealthy and progressive country of western Europe. The feudal land system had never struck deep roots in the peninsula; the Italian cities had never disappeared during the Dark Ages; and with the revival of industry and commerce many of them won independence and became self-governing city-states. A medieval writer points out that whereas in the regions beyond the Alps the "knights and noble ladies" live on their estates in rural isolation, in Italy the upper classes have homes in the cities and there spend

most of their time. Rich, leisured, and comparatively well educated, the nobles appreciated scholarship and supported the teachers, librarians, secretaries, and writers who were the early humanists. The same thing was true of the large middle class in the industrial and commercial centers — Florence, Milan, Venice, and the rest. At Florence the ruling family of the Medici, a family of bankers and merchants, maintained in the fifteenth century a steady patronage of both literature and the arts. As the humanist movement spread, it also found a powerful patron in the church, for bishops, cardinals, and popes were often more interested in things intellectual than in things ecclesiastical. Humanism, in fact, made a wide appeal to cultivated Italians, not simply as a revival of Latin literature, but also as a recovery of the mighty Roman past which had once been theirs. It assumed in Italy almost the character of a national or patriotic movement.

Reverence for the classics finds constant expression in the Florentine, Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), whose lifetime spans the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dante wrote much in Latin, but chose the vernacular Italian of Florence as the medium of the *Divine Comedy*. This is in rhyme, the first use of that device by an eminent literary artist. Dante called the poem a "comedy," partly by reason of its style and partly because, while the beginning was all gloom and terror, the end was all light and joy and the beatific vision of God, in whose will is "our peace." Virgil, the pattern of earthly knowledge, guides the poet through the underworld of hell and on the mount of purgatory until he meets his lady Beatrice, the personification of spiritual love, who leads him through paradise. The *Divine Comedy* epitomizes everything that medieval men knew and hoped and felt; it mirrors the Middle Ages. At the same time it draws much inspiration from classical sources. Athens, for Dante, is the "hearth from which all knowledge glows"; Homer is the "sovereign poet"; and Aristotle is the "master of those who know." The great authors, statesmen, warriors, philosophers, and scientists of Graeco-Roman antiquity dwell in limbo, the first or uppermost circle of the infernal regions reserved for those who lived on earth before the advent of Christ or who had not received the sacrament of baptism. Theirs is no physical torment, indeed, but they have no hope of seeing God and their sighs, heard by Dante, "caused the eternal air to tremble." Though not a churchman, he was too much a child of his age to assign even his beloved pagans a place in heaven. An intellectual giant, familiar with all the learning of the schools, Dante ranks as a great poet as well as a great scholar. His philosophy and theology are medieval; his verse is timeless.

One of the most influential promoters of humanism was Petrarch (1304–1374). As a man of letters, he is remembered and still read for his exquisite odes and sonnets, composed in Italian and addressed to a lovely though somewhat nebulous "Laura." He himself set most store by his Latin poems, now happily forgotten. Petrarch's enthusiasm for the classics made him a mighty hunter of manuscripts, and he was fortunate enough to find two "lost" orations of Cicero and a collection of Cicero's letters. He kept copyists in his house, at times as many as four, and amassed a collection of nearly two hundred manuscripts, from which he would never be separated even when on a journey. "My tireless spirit pores over the pages," he writes, "until it has exhausted both fingers and eyes, and yet I feel neither hunger nor cold but seem to be reclining on the softest down. I labor while I rest and find my rest in labor." Petrarch knew no Greek. His copy of Homer, it is said, he often kissed, though he could not read it. To this devotee of the classics scholasticism was anathema and the study of logic only a form of mental gymnastics, useful for training the youthful mind but no occupation for mature men. As for the universities, they were "nests of gloomy ignorance." Petrarch exercised a sort of literary dictatorship in his time, and with him the humanist movement became fully launched on its career in Italy.

Petrarch's friend and disciple, Boccaccio (1313–1375), is chiefly known for his *Decameron*, a collection of merry tales supposed to be told by a company of ten ladies and gentlemen who, to escape the Black Death at Florence, retire to a villa in the country and while away the time with story-telling. The *Decameron* is one of the first important works of Italian prose and the source to which later writers, notably Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, have gone for ideas and plots. An enthusiastic humanist, Boccaccio undertook many journeys in search of manuscripts and in the monastery of Monte Cassino discovered a neglected text of Tacitus. To Boccaccio, also, western scholars owed their first acquaintance with Homer, by means of a Latin translation which he had made for his own use and for that of Petrarch.

The Reception of Greek Literature

Knowledge of Greek never quite died out in the West after the barbarian invasions. All through the medieval centuries it continued to be spoken and read by Byzantine scholars who came from Constantinople and settled in southern Italy and Sicily. Irish monks, living in a land where the German invaders never penetrated, retained an

acquaintance with the language and helped to spread it in the monasteries and schools which they established on the Continent. Some of the thirteenth-century schoolmen could read Greek, Roger Bacon for instance. But the language was not taught in the universities, even in Italy, and the masterpieces of Greek literature, so far as they were known at all, were known only in Latin translations.

One of the pioneers in spreading a knowledge of Greek literature in the West was Chrysoloras, who had been sent to Italy on a mission by the Eastern emperor. At the invitation of the magistrates of Florence, Chrysoloras about 1395 became professor of the Greek language in that city. He taught there and in other Italian cities for several years, translated Homer and Plato, and also aided the growth of Hellenic studies by composing a Greek grammar, the first one to be used in the West. His work was continued by other scholars who reached Italy from Constantinople during the half century which preceded its capture by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. This same half century also saw many precious Greek manuscripts brought from the threatened capital to a safe refuge in Venice, Florence, and Rome; these were copied and recopied, translated into Latin and Italian, and eventually printed. By 1453 practically all the Greek authors known today had been recovered. "Greece has not fallen," exclaims a humanist, "but seems to have migrated into Italy."

How much all this was to mean for Western civilization! The Middle Ages had been ignorant of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Plato, and the Attic dramatists — the writers most typical of the Greek literary genius. Even Arabic versions of their works were lacking; the Arabs cared not at all for Greek literature, as distinguished from Greek learning. The humanists in Italy and later beyond Italy brought the West into contact with the real Greek classics and enriched the world by renewed acquaintance with the first and perhaps the greatest of literatures. Greece truly lived again, and the spirit of Hellenism began to move in the modern world.

Spread of Humanism in Italy

Florence was the capital of humanism and from the city on the Arno it spread throughout Italy. A special feature of the movement was the foundation of libraries to house the ancient manuscripts for which the humanists searched so diligently in the cathedral and monastery libraries of Europe. Among the famous collections are the Laurentian Library at Florence, formed from the gifts of the Medici; the Ambrosian Library at Milan; that of St. Mark in Venice, tradi-

tionally founded by Petrarch's legacy of manuscripts; and, above all, that of the Vatican in Rome, which, besides thousands of early printed books, contains the greatest wealth of manuscripts in the world. The humanists also organized academies for the promotion of the new learning at Naples, Rome, and especially at Florence, where Plato's works and those of the Neoplatonists replaced the Aristotelian philosophy as subjects of study. With all this activity went much work in editing the newly found classics, purging them of errors, and establishing accurate texts.

One of the ablest scholars, Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457), applied his standards of criticism to Christian writings as well as to pagan literature. He was the first to question the medieval belief that the Apostles' Creed had really been composed by the apostles, each contributing one article. This shortest and best-known of the creeds was, in fact, based upon a baptismal confession used in the second century at Rome, whence it spread throughout western Europe. Valla also demonstrated the spuriousness of the so-called "Donation of Constantine," which purports to be a grant of temporal power made by that emperor to the papacy. The document seems to have been fabricated by Roman ecclesiastics in the eighth century, and after that time it was frequently cited as authority for the papal claims to supremacy. Valla pointed out that its barbarous Latin alone would suffice to prove it a forgery. In spite of this outspoken attack, a tolerant pope made the author one of his secretaries: humanism triumphed over orthodoxy. Valla ranks among the founders of modern historical criticism.

The enthusiasm of the humanists not seldom degenerated into a sort of "craze." They Latinized their own names, gave Latin names to their children, and looked down with contempt upon the Italian tongue. Petrarch censured Dante for composing in the vernacular and another humanist called Dante a "poet for barbers and cobblers." The *Divine Comedy* was indeed done into Latin a few years after the author's death. While the humanists learned to write excellent Latin, pedantry and shallowness described their output until they returned to their own language as a medium of literary expression.

Paper and Printing

The humanist movement received an extraordinary impetus when books printed on paper took the place of manuscripts laboriously copied by hand on parchment or vellum. The manufacture of rag paper, a Chinese invention, had been introduced by the Arabs into Spain and Sicily, and by the fifteenth century there were paper mills in Italy,

France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Though not so durable as parchment, paper was cheaper and less bulky; it made an admirable material for the printer's art.

The Chinese had long printed from woodcut blocks. Printing by movable metal type had also been practiced by them, but the enormous number of characters in their written language formed an obstacle to its extensive use and even now it has by no means superseded block printing in China. Some knowledge of the Chinese invention may have filtered into Europe by devious channels; so far as is known, however, printing by movable type arose independently in Europe. The date and place of the invention there are still matters of controversy. The Dutch assign it to a certain Lourens Coster of Haarlem, but Johann Gutenberg of Mainz more probably deserves the honor of being the earliest printer. The first printed book to come from his press was a Latin Bible, issued in 1456 but possibly set up in type two or more years before. A copy of this work is one of the treasures of the Library of Congress; the Morgan Library in New York possesses two copies, one printed on paper and the other on vellum.

German printers quickly spread the great invention throughout western Europe. It met an especially warm reception in Italy, where people were so keen for reading and instruction. By the end of the fifteenth century Venice alone had more than two hundred presses, among them the establishment of Aldo Manuzio (Latinized into Aldus Manutius) for printing Greek and Latin classics. The Aldine editions, handy in size and cheap in price, were a sort of Venetian "Everyman's Library." In 1477 William Caxton set up his press at Westminster, and from it proceeded the first books printed in England, including Chaucer's poems and Malory's *Morte d' Arthur*. Aldus, Caxton, and other early printers were also scholars, who edited the works which they produced and actively promoted their sale. It was not until the eighteenth century that such functions were generally taken over by publishing houses.

The books printed in the fifteenth century, the "cradle books" (*incunabula*), were issued in at least nine million copies; of these a large number are believed to be still extant. Many of them are set in heavy black-letter or "gothic" type, an imitation of the decorated characters popular in medieval times. This has always remained the favorite type in Germany, and now the present German government has made its use compulsory. The clearer and neater "roman" characters were an imitation of Italian script, which, in turn, went back to the beautiful handwriting of ninth-century scribes. (This page is printed in a modified form of the so-called Carolingian minuscule.)

The third of the great families of type, the "italic," was introduced by Aldus Manutius, who printed entire books in it, but outside Italy it found use mainly as a means of differentiating some printed matter, such as quotations and headings, from the body of the text.

These earliest books are generally fine examples of the typographical art: handmade paper of linen rags; durable ink; attractive type and make-up. The printer had to meet the exacting standards set by the scribes in medieval manuscripts. Moreover, he did not need to publish many books nor hurry them through the press, and he could charge high prices and still provide books which were incomparably less expensive than the cheapest manuscripts. As an art, printing started full grown.

The ancient system of dictating to a room full of scribes enabled books to be produced quite rapidly and cheaply, but the system formed no safeguard against mistakes by copyists. When books were manuscripts, there was never any uniformity between the original and the copy or copies, and sometimes there was great divergence. All the manuscripts that have come down to us are full of errors. With printing, any number of identical copies of a book could be struck off, so that scholars were now encouraged to take infinite pains in establishing standard texts. Printing thus gave assurance that the labors of the humanists in seeking everywhere for long-neglected manuscripts would not be in vain and that the literary heritage of antiquity, so far as it had been preserved to the fifteenth century, could be preserved forever.

As the presses multiplied books and pamphlets and the taste for reading them increased, the knowledge once confined to the church, the universities, and a few wealthy bibliophiles became accessible to common folk. By making possible popular education, public libraries, cheap literature, and, ultimately, newspapers, printing was to democratize culture. Combined later with radio and the motion picture, it was also to make possible the spread of propaganda for ill as well as for good, misinformation as well as information. It is the ultimate source of the mass mind. Printing originated as merely a labor-saving invention, but it created a revolution in intellectual history.

Humanism beyond Italy

After the middle of the fifteenth century, fire from the Italian altar was carried across the Alps. German, French, and English scholars, who now had the aid of the printing press, began the work of disseminating the classics throughout western Europe. Many of them

had studied in Italy, and they took back to their own countries the love of literature and the critical spirit which distinguished the Italian humanists. Such scholars were Johann Reuchlin of Stuttgart, a master of Hebrew as well as of Latin and Greek at a time when the literature of the proscribed and hated Jews was seldom studied; Jacques Lefèvre of Paris, whose work on the Greek New Testament influenced Luther; and John Colet, who lectured at Oxford on St. Paul's Epistles. With these men and some of their successors in the sixteenth century the humanist movement took on a religious character, contrasting sharply with what had been its character in Italy, where the scholars were not seldom pagans at heart, however outwardly orthodox. The northern humanists used their better knowledge of the classical languages, of Greek especially, to rid themselves of medieval church traditions and to restore what they thought were the simpler, purer teachings of primitive Christianity. Like the Italian humanists, but for another purpose, they aimed to get back of the Middle Ages.

Some of the northern humanists were much influenced by the work of a religious society known as the Brethren of the Common Life, which had been founded at Deventer, in the Netherlands, toward the close of the fourteenth century. The members of this organization included both clerics and laymen. They reacted against formalism in religion; they declared that the great thing in religion was to follow the example and accept the teachings of Christ. Their schools, scattered throughout the Netherlands, western Germany, and northern France, were very popular. Among their pupils was the German mystic, Thomas à Kempis (*c.* 1380–1471). In the seclusion of his monastic cell, filled with the presence and the business of God, he composed a little book which has become known to the whole Christian world and has been translated into more languages than any other work save the Bible — the *Imitation of Christ.* At a later date both Erasmus and Luther studied in the schools conducted by the Brethren of the Common Life.

No humanist of the time exercised more influence than Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536). Born at Rotterdam and brought up in extreme poverty, Erasmus as a young man became a monk. Finding the monastic career distasteful, he secured release from his vows and led henceforth the life of a scholar in many lands — in France and Belgium, in England and Italy, in Germany and Switzerland. His travels and extensive correspondence brought him into contact with the chief scholars of the day; more than three thousand letters written by him or addressed to him have been preserved. Erasmus gave his entire strength to study and writing. Besides numerous editions of classical

authors and the Church Fathers, he composed in Latin several works widely read by educated men, the best known being his *Praise of Folly*, a gentle satire on the temporal ambitions of ecclesiastics, the logic-chopping of the scholastics, and the reliance of the unlearned on pilgrimages, festivals, relics, and other aids to devotion. In this book, which went through twenty-seven large editions during the author's lifetime, the Protestant reformers found an armory of weapons for their attack upon the church.

Erasmus was no heretic but he believed that he could best serve the interests of the church by effecting its renovation. His most important contribution to Biblical scholarship was the publication in 1516 of the New Testament in the original Greek, the text being based on a comparison of ten manuscripts. Erasmus accompanied it with a new Latin version correcting many errors in the old version known as the Vulgate. All this study led to a better understanding of the Scriptures and prepared the way for their translation into the vernacular languages. "I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plow, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, and the traveler should beguile with their stories the weariness of his journey," wrote Erasmus. He dedicated the work to Leo X, and the pope was pleased to accept both the dedication and the book. The Greek New Testament had never been published before. At the very time Erasmus was working on it, Cardinal Ximénez and his collaborators at Alcalá (the Roman Complutum) in Spain were engaged in the Complutensian Polyglot, the first edition of the whole Bible in the original tongues. It did not appear until six years after the edition by Erasmus.

Humanist Education

Scholasticism never had much vogue in Italian universities, which were renowned rather for law and medicine. To these subjects the humanists soon added "rhetoric," covering the whole range of classical studies. The lecture rooms of the rhetoric professors were crowded with students from all parts of western Europe. But beyond the Alps the schoolmen, entrenched in the universities, looked askance at the new learning. Heidelberg, Cologne, and Leipzig shut their doors against it. The University of Paris, where logic and metaphysics had long reigned unchallenged, did so little for the humanists that in 1530 Francis I founded the institution which developed into the famous Collège de France, definitely for the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. At Oxford, when Greek was introduced, it met the denuncia-

tions of conservative ecclesiastics as being both "dangerous and damnable." Not until the close of the sixteenth century did the "humanities" win complete academic recognition and displace the scholastic philosophy which for generations had been regarded as the main staple of a university education.

The domination of the classics in European and American colleges and universities lasted well into the nineteenth century, to be in turn confronted with the demands of the natural sciences, history and the social studies, and the vernacular languages and literatures for a place in the curriculum. The modern university now tends to take in every branch of knowledge, new as well as old; it is distinguished for the breadth, if not always for the depth, of its instruction.

From the universities the study of the classics descended to the elementary schools. An Italian humanist, Vittorino da Feltre (d. 1446) was one of the first to make Latin and Greek the backbone of a liberal education. In his private school at Mantua, the "House of Delight," as he called it, Vittorino sought to develop at the same time the body, mind, and character of his pupils. Accordingly, much attention was devoted to athletics, music, and elocution, and along with book learning went constant instruction in morals and religion. It was the same ideal of the *mens sana in corpore sano* which had inspired the Greeks. Vittorino's name is not widely known today; he left no writings, preferring, as he said, to live in the lives of his pupils; but more than anyone else he is responsible for the educational system which has prevailed in the private schools of Europe and America to the present day. Colet's school, St. Paul's in London, where boys were to be "learned in good and clean Latin, and also in Greek if such may be gotten," became the model for many of the schools reorganized or newly founded in England during the sixteenth century. In Germany the *Fürstenschulen*, or schools for princes, were similar institutions. They all enrolled the sons of the wealthy and the well-born — boys who would grow up to be rulers, diplomats, courtiers, men of affairs, and leaders of society. Humanist education always exhibited an aristocratic tendency; it was never socialized; its message was to the elect. And so far as it succeeded in making Latin and Greek the sole instruments of culture (*humanitas*) and in regarding the classical scholar as the only educated man it stood for a bookishness and pedantry almost as barren as the scholastic education which it displaced.

The humanist, indeed, looked backward; his golden age was a past and not a future age. He proclaimed nothing new, but continued to uphold the cultural standards fixed by classical antiquity. He did little to emancipate reason from authority or to foster the spirit of

free inquiry. If he promoted scientific research he did so, as a rule, only indirectly, by making accessible to educated men all that the ancients had done in uncovering the secrets of nature. Humanism represented a return to the ideals of life which the Greeks and Romans cherished and expressed in their literature, and as long as humanism remained true to its spirit it stood for a reaction against medievalism. It was uninterested in theological speculation, impatient of ecclesiastical restraints, pleasure-seeking, beauty-loving, worldly-minded, in a word, secular. The same secular attitude found increasing expression in the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Art in Italy

There was a renewed enthusiasm for classical art as well as for classical literature. In architecture this led to the employment of Roman principles of design on a much more extensive scale than in Romanesque buildings. In sculpture it resulted in the creation of the free-standing statue and the general adoption of Roman decorative motives. Painting, however, was never directly affected by the antiquarian interests of the age. The easel pictures of the great Greek artists had perished and the frescoes of Pompeii had not yet been discovered; only the vase paintings, by obscure Greek or Roman craftsmen, remained to afford some idea of the pictorial art in antiquity. Italian painting in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries consequently moved on its own lines, developing naturally and gradually from that of earlier times. Even as regards architecture and sculpture there was no sharp break with medieval traditions, no "rebirth" or "revival" of art in Italy.

The artists continued to find themes in church history or legend, but the religious feeling which had inspired their predecessors sensibly declined. Like the humanists, they were filled with delight in life as men can live it now and here, with new perception of the loveliness and splendor of the world. Architects sought to restore the ideals of harmony, balance, and proportion as exemplified in ancient buildings. Sculptors returned to the creation of the naked human figure, discovering anew the beauty of the human body, which for medieval men was only a symbol of shame. Painters, even without Greek models, began to paint realistic landscapes and portraits which revealed personality. Biblical characters and Christian saints were represented in contemporary costumes and surroundings: Noah, as an Italian, becomes drunk in a Tuscan vineyard; Italian masons build the Tower of Babel; and the birth of Jesus is a domestic scene in Florence. The

time came when the artist pictured his mistress as the Madonna. This feeling for nature and human nature was by no means wholly due to classic influence. We find it also expressed, though not so strikingly, in the later medieval art of France, Germany, and the Netherlands, thus illustrating once more the principle of continuity in aesthetic development.

The wealthy, worldly society of the Italian city-states fostered art as it fostered humanism. Riches brought leisure, bred a desire for luxury and the refinements of life, and gave means for the gratification of that desire. Noblemen, bankers, and merchants wanted to possess beautiful pictures, statuary, furniture, palaces, and private chapels, and they often rewarded in princely fashion the artists who could produce such things. At Florence the patronage of Cosimo de' Medici and of his grandson, Lorenzo, called "the Magnificent," made that city the resort of the most illustrious artists, scholars, and men of letters of the fifteenth century. The civic governments and the great guilds were equally ready to expend their revenues on works of art such as may still be seen in Florence, Pisa, Siena, and Venice. The popes and prelates of the church were likewise liberal patrons of the arts, and in the early sixteenth century the Rome of Julius II and of his successor Leo X (a son of Lorenzo the Magnificent) replaced Florence as the artistic capital of Italy. Back of the patrons, lay and ecclesiastical, were common folk, the peasants in the country and the artisans and shopkeepers in the towns. Great art cannot flourish without a popular appreciation of it, and the greatness of Italian art reflects the refined taste of the Italian people. Under these circumstances every branch of art had an extraordinary growth in Italy for two hundred years; one must go back to Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. for a parallel to it.

Renaissance Architecture

The country which least assimilated Gothic architecture was Italy. The Byzantine style always continued to be followed in the south and the Romanesque at Rome. Gothic found favor only in the north and even there with so many modifications as to form almost an independent creation. The only really Gothic church of any importance in Italy is the cathedral of Milan, begun by German architects in 1386. As an outcome of the humanist movement of the fourteenth century, the Italians turned their attention to the Roman ruins which covered their soil, ruins long neglected or used only as quarries of dressed stone. A young Florentine artist, Brunelleschi (1377–1466), went to

Rome and there spent much time in studying and measuring the ancient monuments. He returned to Florence, filled with the desire of restoring the "grand manner" of building. His most distinctive work is found in some of the churches of Florence. He also began for a Florentine noble the Pitti Palace, which now houses a celebrated collection of Italian paintings.

The new style of building which Brunelleschi and his successors, such as Alberti and Bramante, gave to the world in the fifteenth century is known as "Renaissance" architecture, a designation not less inaccurate than "Gothic" architecture, but convenient and commonly accepted. It made use of Roman forms: the round arch and dome; the classic columns, capitals and pediments; colonnades; and the surface ornamentation of the Greeks and their Roman copyists. Not only churches but also public buildings and private residences were erected in this style. For the first time since the end of the Roman Empire civil architecture becomes more important than religious architecture. The most characteristic buildings are the fortresslike palaces of Florence, some of the lighter, more graceful palaces of Venice, and the luxurious villas of the nobles in every part of Italy. Architecture thus to no small extent deserted the houses of God for the houses of men. Churches were built, of course, and they were often beautifully proportioned and splendidly adorned, but they lack the religious appeal of the Gothic cathedrals. The mightiest church in Christendom, St. Peter's at Rome, which was started in the early sixteenth century but not completed for over two hundred years, well represents the absorption of the religious by the purely aesthetic and secular element in Renaissance architecture.

Sculpture and Painting

More ancient statues and decorative carvings survived in medieval Italy than elsewhere in western Europe. Their number was increased as a result of the humanist movement, which inspired an interest in archaeological discovery on the part of the Medici and art-loving popes. Eventually, many famous works of sculpture were brought to light from rubbish piles and ruined buildings. Italian sculptors, as was natural, found models in the antique productions but did not servilely copy them: their art was original. It may be said to have begun at Florence with Ghiberti (1378–1455). The two pairs of bronze doors, representing Biblical subjects, which he made for the baptistery of the local cathedral were a school for all Florentine sculptors. Michelangelo, who had studied them often as a lad, pronounced

the second pair of doors worthy to be the gates of paradise. Donatello, one of Ghiberti's fellow workers, ranks among the most important sculptors of the fifteenth century. His "David" at Florence was the first nude statue cast in bronze since classical times and the first free-standing figure of any merit to be made in more than a thousand years. His equestrian statue of Gattemalata at Padua is excelled – if it is excelled – only by a similar equestrian figure of Colleone at Venice, designed by his pupil Verrocchio. The work which made Michelangelo (1475–1564) the greatest sculptor since the Greeks was mainly done by him as a young man in the opening years of the sixteenth century. Though a Florentine by birth, he lived for most of his life in Rome, where he enjoyed the patronage of Pope Julius II. Rome possesses his colossal statue of Moses, seated and holding the tablets of the Ten Commandments, and the "Pietà," expressing "sorrow more beautiful than beauty itself." Florence has his "David," carved from a single marble block, and the sculptures which he made for the tombs of the Medici.

The statues of Gattemalata and Colleone represent *condottieri*, soldiers of fortune who sold their services to the highest bidder; Michelangelo's "David" looks like a youthful Greek athlete; and his "Pietà" (Mary holding the body of Jesus) might be any anguished mother with her dead son in her arms. The appeal of such works is not ecclesiastical or even religious; the appeal is to the humanity in man.

The mosaics and panel paintings which were imported from Constantinople or made in Ravenna, Venice, and other centers of Byzantine artistic activity provided the early Italian painters with models. Their work showed little knowledge of anatomy; faces might be fairly lifelike, but bodies were too slender and were out of proportion. The figures of men and women were posed in stiff, conventional attitudes. The perspective also was false; objects which the painter wished to show in the background seemed as near as those which he wished to show in the foreground. Nor was portraiture attempted. The first real departure from the traditional style came with the Florentine Giotto (d. 1336), a friend of Dante, of whom he made the only contemporary picture. Dante in the *Divine Comedy* refers to Giotto as the most famous painter of the age. Giotto's work betrays many crudities of drawing, but his frescoes in the Arena Chapel, Padua, and those at Assisi, illustrating the life of St. Francis, represent men and women with freshness, vigor, and dramatic power. Masaccio, another Florentine (d. 1428), picked up the torch lighted by Giotto and painted with still greater realism. The technical improvements which he introduced, especially in perspective and the treatment of light and shade, were quite

epoch-making and a source of inspiration to all later Italian artists. The fifteenth-century painters began to blend colors properly, to study anatomy and show the unclothed human figure with correctness, to choose mythological and allegorical subjects as well as religious subjects, to represent landscape backgrounds with fidelity to nature, and to make real portraits. And while painting continued to be mainly mural decoration — frescoes on the walls of churches — easel pictures on canvas or wood were being made before the end of the century.

Painting had now become the supreme expression of the Italian artistic genius. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), architect, sculptor, musician, inventor, engineer, and natural scientist, was also a painter and produced a few masterpieces of the highest rank. His fresco, the "Last Supper," at Milan, is much damaged, but good copies of it exist. Paris has his portrait of the Neapolitan wife of a wealthy Florentine, the "Mona Lisa," and his exquisite "Madonna of the Rocks." Michelangelo, who always regarded himself as primarily a sculptor, also won fame in architecture and painting. The dome of St. Peter's was finished after his designs. Having been commissioned by the pope to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, he painted a series of scenes presenting the Biblical story from the Creation to the Flood — frescoes unsurpassed for sublimity. The end wall of the same chapel he utilized for his representation of the Last Judgment, a marvelous picture. Raphael (1483–1520) died prematurely, but not before he had produced the "Sistine Madonna," now at Dresden, the "Transfiguration" in the Vatican Gallery, the "School of Athens" in the Vatican Palace, and the portrait of Julius II. With these great artists, painting remained in the service of the church, but more and more it became essentially secular in spirit.

Art beyond Italy

Some of the conditions which account for the development of the fine arts in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were present north of the Alps at this period. The church was no longer their sole patron; great princes, nobles, and wealthy merchants also patronized and subsidized them. The cities arising everywhere required adornment, and the civic guilds could supply skilled craftsmen who themselves often ranked as artists. No overpowering classic tradition survived, it is true, but the growing secularism of the age affected the art of northern lands as it affected that of Italy.

In architecture these centuries saw the building of the town halls and guildhalls which give such charm to the old cities of Belgium, France,

Germany, and other countries. In stone carving and metal work they produced the masterly productions still to be seen at Nuremberg, Innsbruck, and other German cities. Some of the northern painters likewise made noteworthy contributions to their art, especially the two Flemings, Huybrecht and Jan van Eyck (d. 1426, 1441). Huybrecht began and Jan completed a famous altarpiece at Ghent. Jan showed much skill in landscapes and very great skill in portraiture. The brothers were the first to perfect painting in oils, a process which Italian artists seem to have learned from them. The miniatures with which manuscripts were decorated often present scenes from nature and everyday life as well as ecclesiastical subjects. The same is true of the engravings on wood and copper made by German artists, for instance, Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528) and Hans Holbein the Younger (d. 1543). Artistically, this period was further distinguished for magnificent tapestries, many by Flemish and French weavers, which adorned not only churches but also public buildings and private residences. Their subjects were often taken from the romances of chivalry or from incidents of warfare and the chase. Thus north of the Alps, as in Italy, art manifested the new spirit that was abroad in the world.

Vernacular Literature

The humanist movement retarded for a while the growth of a vernacular literature in Italy, for the humanists considered Latin and Greek the only languages worthy of their attention. A return to the vernacular came with the spread of education and printing, which multiplied readers and enabled authors writing in the "vulgar" tongue to address ever larger audiences. Henceforth Italian literature could be more creative and original than was possible when authors merely imitated or translated those of classical antiquity. And, like art, it began to reflect all the varied phases of human life, to deal with every human interest. Dante in the *Divine Comedy* had pointed the way, for Dante, despite a medieval outlook, made man the hero of his great poem. Petrarch, with his lyric poetry, and Boccaccio, composing tales of very earthly men and women, also stand out as literary pioneers in the fourteenth century.

Italy in the fifteenth century produced several authors who exercised a wide influence. Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516), a romance in verse, became a favorite poem in European countries, as is evidenced by its many translations. Edmund Spenser took it as the model for the *Faerie Queene* and surpassed his model. Guicciardini's *History of Italy* ranks among the ablest historical works of early modern times.

Another Florentine historian, Machiavelli, is famous for his book, *The Prince* (1513). The author, as a patriotic Italian, deplored the divided condition of his country, where so many petty states were constantly at war, and he tried to show how a strong, despotic ruler could unify the peninsula. Such a ruler ought not to be bound by the ordinary principles of morality; he must act, if necessary, "against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion." The doctrine that in politics might makes right, that success justifies the means, and that the state is not subject to the moral constraints binding the individual citizen constitutes "Machiavellism." By studying men as he found them and human nature as he found it, Machiavelli brought down political philosophy from the clouds of medieval speculation.

Outside Italy the vernacular literature produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also expressed the secularizing spirit of the age. Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?–1400), who had traveled in Italy and had read the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio, shows the humanist influence very clearly in his poetry. In the *Canterbury Tales*, supposed to be told by a company of pilgrims as they journey from London to Canterbury, he describes freshly and with unfailing good spirits the life of the upper and middle classes. For the life of the lower classes we must turn to the poem *Piers Plowman*, usually attributed to a certain William Langland (*c.* 1330–*c.* 1400). The work is extant in upwards of fifty manuscripts, a fact which testifies to its great popularity. It reveals a very different picture from that of the holiday-making, merry England seen in the *Canterbury Tales*.

Jean Froissart (1337?–1410?) ranks as one of the founders of French prose. All the glamorous side of chivalry — the tournaments, battles, sieges, and feats of arms — is presented in his *Chronicles*, surely one of the most interesting books ever written. Froissart called himself a historian, but that appellation more properly belongs to another and later Frenchman, Philippe de Commines (*c.* 1445–1511). As a diplomat and royal minister, the latter became intimately familiar with political conditions in his day and left an account of them in his *Memoirs*. He was the first European historian who gave up the practice of merely narrating events and attempted, instead, to delineate the characters of men and the causes and consequences of their actions. François Villon (1431–?), vagabond and thief, was at the same time a truly great poet. Villon's fame as a lyrist grows more and more; as Swinburne, his English translator, has said, his songs are made "out of tears and fire." In its freedom from ecclesiastical influence all this literature strikes a modern note; its theme is what men felt and thought and did.

The Drama

To instruct their unlettered parishioners in the Bible story and the lives of the saints the medieval clergy presented the so-called "mysteries," or miracle plays. The actors were priests, taking both male and female parts; the dialogue was in Latin; and the stage was in the church itself. In course of time lay actors make their appearance, the vernacular language comes to be used, and the stage is transferred to an open space in front of the church. The civic guilds at length took over the performance of those plays, thus ending the clerical monopoly of the drama.

The guilds usually gave an annual exhibition, which might last for several days and have as many as fifty scenes, beginning with the creation and ending with doomsday. The miracle plays continued to be religious in character, but the introduction of a comic element, often descending into buffoonery, shows that popular taste had begun to demand some spice in the entertainment provided. In the old Chester play, *Noah's Flood*, the wife of Noah declares that the flood is a false alarm, refuses to enter the ark, and has to be put on board by main force. The miracle plays were followed by the "moralities," which dealt with the struggle between good and evil in the world. The characters were all allegorical — Charity, Faith, Prudence, Riches, Iniquity, Death. The theme was always simple and easily grasped; in the fifteenth-century *Everyman*, for instance, God sends Death for Everyman, who finds that none of his friends will accompany him save Good Deeds.

The modern drama, which appeared in the sixteenth century, was influenced by these rude shows, but its development was more directly affected by the humanist movement. Renewed acquaintance with Latin comedies and tragedies provided subjects for study and models for instruction. In Italy Ariosto and Machiavelli were among the first to write real plays, and their example was soon followed by the playwrights of France, Spain, and England. Thus the dramatic art, which in earlier times had been employed only for the service of religion, broadened into an art expressive of every secular interest. "All the world's a stage," said Shakespeare.

Private Life and Manners

The pre-eminence which Italy enjoyed in letters, scholarship, and the fine arts throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries continued to be largely hers long afterward. It was no mere chance that the first opera house was built in Italy, that the violins of Cremona

were so celebrated, that the word *piano* is Italian, that artificial flowers were known in Germany as "Italian flowers," that "Venetian glass" is still unsurpassed, that the lace manufactures of Murano (near Venice) were carried to France, that Italian landscape gardening was widely imitated, as in the parks of Versailles, that the Renaissance architectural style inspired the Louvre and many another royal palace, and that Italian artists were welcomed everywhere. Illustrating the extent of Italian influence was the European popularity of the book *The Courtier* (1516), by Raphael's friend, Count Castiglione. The courtier must be a good knight and loyal to his lord, but to the virtues of his medieval counterpart he must add those of a scholar and an amateur of all the arts; he must be a polished gentleman. When Milton defined a liberal education as that which "fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war," he was re-echoing Castiglione. The author of *The Courtier* championed the demands of women for educational opportunities, and as a matter of fact the gates of the kingdom of knowledge were open to Italian women at a time when their sisters elsewhere seldom received more than an elementary schooling. Many things which make for gracious living were introduced into northern Europe from Italy: starched linen, the pocket handkerchief, the napkin, forks, and table manners generally. The use of forks, it may be noticed, met much opposition from conservatives; why, said German preachers, should we rely on them when the Lord has given us fingers to eat with. In the refinements of life Italy was the teacher of Europe.

The Close of the Middle Ages

To mark off one historic period from another by precise dates is an arbitrary proceeding, most arbitrary when the period is so long, complicated, and ill defined as that of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages had no obvious close as they had no obvious beginning. Yet it is remarkable how many "climacteric" events occurred in the second half of the fifteenth century: the capture of Constantinople by the Turks and the end of the Hundred Years' War between England and France (both in 1453); the discovery of America (1492); and the opening up of a new sea route to the Far East (1498). The invention of printing and the extensive use of gunpowder also fall within this half century. By 1500 the national state had appeared, industry and commerce had revived, and the religious disruption commonly known as the Reformation was at hand. Finally, by 1500 the secular spirit had begun to be dominant in literature, learning, and art. Western Europe was breaking through medieval barriers to enter upon the modern age.

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Index

Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), 372, 394, 549
Abbasid dynasty, 429, 430, 432, 434, 435, 437
Abélard, Peter, 538, 540, 541, 557
Absolutism: in Chinese Empire, 91–92; of Alexander the Great, 195; in Roman Empire, 317, 323; in early Christian Church, 340
Abu Simbel, temples of, 168, 169
Abyssinia (Ethiopia). language, 22, 28
Academies, establishment of: at Athens, 244; at Bagdad, 437; humanist, in Italy, 561
Achaean League, 230, 231
Acre, captured by Moslems, 430
Acropolis, 226, 254
Actium, battle of, 285, 286
Adelard of Bath, 544–545, 548
Adrianople, battle of, 362
Aegean Age, 204–206; and Homeric, compared, 207, 212
Aeschylus, 237, 329
Aëtius, German general, 364, 366
Aetolian League, 230, 231
Afghanistan, 107, 190
Africa: linguistic families, 27, exploration of, 180, 181; Roman province of, 276, 363. *See also* Arabs; Carthage; Punic Wars; and names of countries and divisions
Agincourt, battle of, 523
Agriculture: Aztec, 78–79; Inca, 82. *See also* under countries
Airplane, development of, 10
Akkad, 128, 129, 133, 134, 137
Alaric, 362, 363, 376, 378, 512
Albertus Magnus, 541
Alchemy, 546
Aldus Manutius, 562, 563
Alexander the Great, 132, 194, 195, 247, 248; conquests of, 228–232, 330, 432; and Caesar, compared, 284; encouragement of Jews, 333
Alexandria, 231, 244, 248, 249, 285, 292, 300, 324, 333, 343
Alexius I, Roman Emperor, 430
Alfred the Great, 395, 396
Algebra, 145, 435
Algeria, 312
Alphabet: source of, 12; Brahmi (Indian), 115; Egyptian, 155; Phoenician, 178, 182, 194; Greek, 182; modern European, 182; Persian cuneiform, 194; Aramaic, 194; Roman, 297; Gothic, 361; Runic, 386; Cyrillic, of Slavs, 407
Alpines, racial and linguistic characteristics, 353
Alsace and Lorraine, 469
Altaic family of languages, 22, 27, 363
Amarna, 153, 165
Amiens, cathedral of, 551
Amorites, 128–129
Amphictyonies, Greek, 212
Anaximander, 247
Anesthesia, 248
Angkor, Buddhist temples of, 118
Angles, invasion of Britain by, 374. *See also* Anglo-Saxons
Anglo-Saxons, 21, 375, 378, 380
Animals: of Pleistocene Epoch, 32, 38, 39, 40; of Post-Pleistocene, 42; worship of, in Egypt, 165
Animism, 67, 96, 107, 108
Anselm, St., Archbishop of Canterbury, 541
Antigonid dynasty, 230
Antioch, 231, 300, 333, 337, 340, 344, 430
Antoninus Pius, Emperor, 289
Antony, Marc, 284, 285
Antwerp, 551
Apostolic succession, 454
Aqueducts, Roman, 308, 312
Aquinas, Thomas, 541, 542, 543, 548
Arab Empire: extent of, 427, 429–430
Arabia, 28, 153, 302, 416, 417, 425
Arabia Felix (Yemen), 417
Arabian Nights, 429, 438
Arabs, 14, 21, 99; language, 22, 28; contributions to knowledge, 115; defeat by French, 370, 371, 426; conquests in Asia, Africa, and Europe, 380, 403, 407, 425–426; manner of life, 416–417; pre-Moslem religion, 418; interest in alchemy and astrology, 546. *See also* Arab Empire; Crusades; Islam; Mohammed
Aragón, 525, 526
Aramaeans, 177–178, 425; language of, 28, 178, 335
Arbela, battle of, 228

Arcadius, Emperor, 320, 362, 378
Arch: Babylonian, 143; Egyptian, 167; Etruscan, 259; Roman, 311, 312, 324, 325; Romanesque, 549, 550; Gothic, 550
Archaeological discoveries: early history of, 31–32; in India, 103; in Babylonia and Assyria, 126, 127, 131–132; at Khorsabad, 131; by Schliemann, at Troy and in Greece, 203; in Crete, 203–204
Archimedes, 245, 431
Architecture. Mayan, 75; Toltec, 78; Aztec, 80; Inca, 81, 83; Chinese, 94; Sumerian, 128; Babylonian and Assyrian, 143–144; Egyptian, 167–168, 170; Persian, 194; Greek, 226, 252–254; Roman, 310–312; Arab, 439–440; Byzantine, 549, 568; Romanesque, 549–550, 568; Gothic, 550–553, 568; "Renaissance," 568–569
Argos, 213, 214, 220, 227
Arianism, 344, 361, 366, 368, 379–380, 454
Ariosto, 572, 574
Aristarchus of Samos, 246, 247
Aristophanes, 237, 239
Aristotle: quoted, 58; Lyceum of, 242, 244; contribution to biology, 247; influence on Arab culture, 431, 437, 438, 441, 537; influence on schoolmen, 541, 542
Armenia, 133, 175, 290, 426
Arminius (Hermann), 358
Art: prehistoric, 39; Renaissance, 567–572. *See also* Architecture; Painting; Sculpture; and names of countries
Arthurian romances, 535–536
Aryans, 28, 29; pre-, in India, 104; Indo-, 104–105, 190; in Iran, 190
Asia: migrations from, into Europe, 42; Neolithic period in, 47; physical geography, 84; Roman province of, 277, 297
Asia Minor: colonization from Greece, 206, 219, 232, 234; conquests of Alexander the Great in, 228; early Christian Church in, 338; conquest by Seljuk Turks, 404
Asoka, 112, 114
Assam, 103, 107
Assurbanipal, 130, 131, 142, 143
Assyria: language, 22, 28, 178; empire of, 129–131; religion, 140; architecture, 143; cultural influence of, 147; conquest of Egypt by, 154; conquest by Medes, 192; Greek cities of, 234. *See also* Babylonia
Astrology, 141, 145, 146, 546
Astronomy: Mayan, 77; ancient American, 83; Hindu, 115; Babylonian, 145, 245; Egyptian, 171; contribution of Greeks to, 245–247; contribution of Arabs to, 436
Athens: growth of city-state of, 216–217; as the first democracy, 217, 221–223; 5th-century culture of, 223–226; contribution to Hellenism, 233–257, *passim;* drama in, 236–237; Dante on, 558. *See also* Acropolis; Peloponnesian Wars; Persian Wars
Attila, 364, 458
Augustan Age, writers of, 309–310
Augustine, St., 443, 449; *The City of God,* 325
Augustus, 310, 315, 326, 334, 359; principate of, 287–289; expansion of empire under, 290; administration of provinces under, 293, 294; war with Antony, 316; coinage, 325; age of, *see* Augustan Age. *See also* Octavian
Aurelian, Emperor, 358, 361
Australia: aborigines of, 6, 22, 24, 26, 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 68, 70
Austria: archduchy of, 526; scattered empire of, 526
Autocracy, *see* Absolutism
Automobile, 11
Averroës (Ibn Rushd), 438
Avesta, 196–197, 331
Avicenna, 437, 438
Avignon, "Babylonian Captivity" of Church at, 463

Babylonia: cuneiform writing of, 8, 127, 132–133; language, 22, 28, 178; geography, 124–125; peoples of, 125–132; Assyrian conquest of, 129; Persian conquest of, 131; general culture, 133–144; progress in science, 145–146, 546; Greek cities in, 234; business methods of, 410; laws of, *see* Hammurabi, code of. *See also* Assyria
"Babylonian Captivity" of Church at Avignon, 463, 555
Bacon, Roger, 545, 546, 547, 548, 560
Bagdad, 124, 429, 432, 435
Ball, John, 493, 494
Baluchistan, 101, 104, 190
Banking: Babylonian, 138; medieval, 506
Bantus, stock language of, 22, 27

Barbarian invasions of Europe, 360–380. *See also* tribes and races by name
Barbarism, life in state of, 53–55, 63, 64, 68, 70
Basil, St., Rule of, 346, 452
Basilica, Roman, 311, 312, 341
Bedouin Arabs, *see* Arabs
Benedict, St., Rule of, 449, 450, 452
Benedictines, 449–452, 467, 556
"Benefit of clergy," 537
Berbers, 426
Bernard, St., quoted, 465
Bhutan, 101, 103, 114
Bible, translations of: Gothic, by Bishop Ulfilas, 361; Luther's, 543; Polyglot, 565. *See also* New Testament; Old Testament
Bithynia and Pontus, province of, 335
Black Death, 544
"Blood and iron," doctrine of, 60
Boccaccio, 572, 573; *Decameron*, 534, 559
Bohemia, 458, 471; conquered by Hapsburgs, 526
Bologna, 538, 539, 543, 544
Bonaparte, Napoleon, *see* Napoleon I
Boniface VIII, Pope, 380, 449, 462–463, 466
Book of the Dead, Egyptian, 163, 167, 174
Bookkeeping, invention of double entry, 506
Borobodur, Buddhist temples at, 118
Botta, Émile, 131
Brahmanism, *see* Hinduism
Brandenburg, mark of, 529
Bremen, as member of Hanseatic League, 508
Brethren of the Common Life, schools of, 564
Britain: successive invasions of, 20; early voyages to, 180, 249; Roman occupation of, 283, 290, 291, 292, 300, 302, 374; Anglo-Saxon, 374–375; development of language of, 534. *See also* England; Great Britain
British Isles, unification of, 519
Bronze Age, 31, 45, 386
Bruges, as medieval trade depot, 504, 507, 508
Brunelleschi, 568–569; architectural style of, 569
Buddhism: diffusion by missionaries, 11; in China, 99; in India, 107, 108, 110–114; outside India, 114; art and monuments of, 117–118
Bulgaria, 406; Greek Church in, 408
Bulgars, 22, 24, 405–407, 416
Burgundians, 363, 364, 368, 379
Burgundy, 526, 528
Burma, 84, 101, 103, 10 114
Bushmen, 7, 24, 27
Byzantium, 210, 218, 31 504. *See also* Constantinople

Cable, submarine, 11
Cadiz, 181, 300
Cadmus, founder of Thebes, 182
Caesar, Julius: as member of triumvirate, 282; campaigns, 282, 283, 290, 358; as virtual dictator over Roman Republic, 283–284; death, 284; *Commentaries*, 283, 309, 356, 357. *See also* Calendar, Julian
Cairo, 154, 425, 435
Calais, 523
Calendar: Egyptian solar, 12, 172, 284; Julian, 12, 284, 545; Chinese, 93, 145; Mayan, 77; Aztec, 79; Hindu, 115, 145; Babylonian, 142, 145, 172
Caligula, 289
Cambodia, Buddhist temples of, 118
Cambyses, 192
Canaanites, 28, 177, 182–183, 186, 425
Canals: in China, 85
Canon law, 506, 532
Canterbury, 375, 449, 551
Canton, 85, 88
Canute, King, 396
Cape of Good Hope, 181, 504
Capet, Hugh, king of France, 519, 520, 532
Capetian dynasty, 520
Caracalla, 294, 320; Baths of, 311
Carnac, Brittany, menhirs at, 45
Carolingian dynasty, 370
Carthage, 181, 201, 270, 274–275, 300, 324; destruction by Rome, 276; Vandal conquest of, 363, 365; destroyed by Arabs, 426; conquest of Iberian peninsula by, 524. *See also* Punic Wars
Caste system, in India, 106–107
Castile, 525, 526
Castle, medieval, 479–480
Cathedrals: Romanesque, 549–550; Gothic, 551
Catholicism, Roman: in China, 99; of Franks under Clovis, 368. *See also* Church, Christian; Papacy; Roman Church
Catullus, 309
Caucasoid race, 22, 23, 24, 28, 150
Cavalry, use in warfare, 362, 476–477, 522

Cave paintings, 39, 40, 69
Caxton, William, 562
Celtiberians, 524
Celts: language of, 22, 27; expansion of, 270
Ceylon, 103, 434; Buddhism in, 108, 111, 114
Chaeronea, battle of, 227, 238
Chaldaeans, 131–132
Châlons, battle of, 364
Charlemagne: reign of, 371–372; coronation at Rome, 372, 401, 407; conquest and conversion of Saxons by, 380; attacks by Northmen on, 394; break-up of empire of, 469; guilds in time of, 498
Charles Martel, 370, 380, 426, 469, 523
Chartres, cathedral of, 551, 557
Chaucer, Geoffrey, *Canterbury Tales*, 534, 559, 573
Chibchas, 80
China: during Dark Ages in Europe, 14; people, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 86–87; clan system in, 59; geographical aspects, 84; spoken language, 87–88; written language, 88, 100; economic system, 89; classes of society, 91; absolutism in, 91–92; culture, 92–100, 118–119; foreign trade, 302, 434. *See also* Religion, Chinese
Chinese Exclusion Act, 87
Chivalry, 553; code of, 481–482
Christianity: effect of Stoicism on, 243; adoption by Constantine, 318; influence on Roman Empire, 324; and mystery religions compared, 332–333; indebtedness to Judaism, 334, 336; faith of early, 334–339, progressive secularization of, 349–350; triumph over pagan standards, 350–351; influence on Islam, 421. *See also* Church, Christian; Jesus; New Testament
Chrysoloras, 560
Church, Christian: organization of early, 338–345; Greek Orthodox, 407–409. *See also* Roman Church; States of the Church
Church Fathers, 344, 443, 541
Church and state: conflict between, 461–463
Cicero, 306, 309, 557, 559; quoted, 283, 285
Cid, Poem of the, 535
City-states: Sumerian, 127; Babylonian, 133–134, 219; Egyptian, 151, 152, 164, 219; Greek, 212–214, 217, 219, 221–223, 226–227, 233; Rome as example of, 268, 272, 286; Italian, 568
Clan, 59, 75, 90
Claudius, 289, 304, 335; conquest of Britain, 290; extension of franchise to Gaul by, 294
Clement VII, Pope, 463
Cleopatra, 285
Clergy: of early Christian Church, 340; secular, 448–449; regular, or monastic, 449–452; privileges of medieval, 539; monopoly of learning by, in Middle Ages, 553
Clermont, Council of, 430
Climate: relation of culture to, 14–15; man's adaptability to, 20
Clisthenes, laws of, 217
Clotilda, 368
Clovis, 368, 512
Cluny: monastery of, 451; reforms of, 451
Cnossus: archaeological discoveries at, 203–204; destruction of, 204
Coinage: invention of, by Lydians, 176–177; Persian, 194; Greek, 257; Roman, 320, 325; imperial, of Constantinople, 410; feudal, by nobles, 505; of Louis IX, 520
Colet, John, 564
Collège de France, 565
Colleges: medieval, 539
Cologne, 300, 506, 565; craft guilds, 494; cathedral, 551
Colombia, 80
Coloni, see Serfdom, Roman
Colonies. Greek, 217–219, 259; Latin, 272–273
Columbus, Christopher, 74, 251
Commerce: in Babylonia and Assyria, 138; foreign, of Egypt, 160; Cretan, 205; in Middle Ages, 501, 504
Commines, Philippe de, *Memoirs*, 573
Commodus, 289
Communism: of early Christians, 350
Compass, 548, 555
Concordat of Worms, 461
Confucius, 91–99; works, 95; quoted, 95–96; life, 97–98
Constantine the Great, 320, 342, 351, 404; recognition of Christianity by, 318, 348–349; removal of capital from Rome to Constantinople, 318, 455; serfdom of *coloni* under, 322; decline in art under, 324–325; observance of Sunday under, 342
Constantine Palaeologus, Emperor, 404

Constantinople (Istanbul): establishment of capital at, by Constantine, 318; attacked by Northmen, 394; sacked by Crusaders, 404, 431; captured by Ottoman Turks, 404, 415, 575, 640; location of, 413; adornment by emperors, 413–414; cultural influence of, 415, 549
Cook, Captain James, discoveries in Pacific, 251
Copernicus, Nicholas, 11, 246, 247, 547
Copts, 156, 439
Cordova, 300, 433, 435; caliphate of, 429
Corinth, 213, 214, 218, 300, 324; destruction by Rome, 277
Corpus Juris Civilis, of Justinian, 296, 402–403, 543
Corsica, 259, 275
Cortés, Hernando, 80
Council of Constance, 463
Crassus, 282, 283
Crécy, battle of, 522, 523
Crete, 160, 180, 198, 201, 207, 212, 338; archaeological discoveries in, 203–204; Aegean Age in, 204–206; annexed by Arabs, 425
Croesus, King of Lydia, 176, 177, 192
Cromagnons, 17–18, 19, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42
Crusades, 430–431, 504
Culture, nature and diffusion of, 3–15
Cuneiform writing, *see* Writing, cuneiform
Curiales, Roman, 321, 323, 324
Currency: Aztec, 79; Babylonian, 138; Lydian, bimetallic, 177; Persian gold, 177, Roman bronze, 262; Roman imperial, 302; feudal, 505
Cuzco, 81, 82, 83
Cybele, rites of, 331
Cyprian, St., 345
Cyprus, 49, 160, 180, 205, 219, 338, 426, 431
Cyrene, 210, 219, 292
Cyrus the Great, 185, 192, 219, 238

Dacia, 290, 297, 303, 359, 361. *See also* Rumania
Damascus, 177, 300, 433, 435
Danelaw, 395
Danes: invasion of England by, 395, 396; war with King Alfred, 395
Dante Alighieri, *Divine Comedy*, 463, 534, 558, 561, 570, 572
Darius the Great, 133, 177, 192–193, 195, 219, 228
Dark Ages, 14, 470, 544
Darwin, Charles, 10
David, King, 184–185
Deccan, the, 102, 104, 114
Decius, Roman emperor, 348, 358
Deities: Hindu, 109; Babylonian, 140, 142, 163; Egyptian, 163, 164, 165, 166; Greek, 209; Roman, 265; Norse, 389
Delian League, 221
Delos, 212, 222
Delphi, oracle at, 210, 211
Democracy, defined, 62; Athens as the first, 217, 221–223
Democritus of Abdera, philosophical theories of, 240, 243
Demosthenes, 226, 238
Denmark: archaeological discoveries in, 31, 43; Cimbri and Teutones in, 358; Jutes of, 374; geography of, 385; conversion to Christianity, 389; invasion of England by, 395, 396
Der el-Bahri, temple of, 155, 158, 168
Dhammapada, 113
Diaspora, Jewish, 333
Dictatorships: examples of ancient, 214, 267, 281
Diocletian, 324, 411; governmental reforms of, 316–318; economic conditions under, 320–323; persecution of Christians by, 348
Diodorus, 150
Diophantus of Alexandria, contribution to algebra, 324
Dioscorides, medical and botanical work of, 248
Discovery, as a means to culture, 8–11, 12
"Divide and rule" policy, of the Romans, 359
Divorce, 90, 159, 305
Dolmen, 45–46, 183
Domesday Book, 514
Dominican order, 452
Domitian, 289, 291, 293, 310; persecution of Christians, 347, 348
Donatello, 570
"Donation of Constantine," 561
Dorian migration, 206, 214
Draco, code of laws, 216
Drama: Sanskrit, 116; Greek, 236–237; mystery and morality plays, 574
Dravidians, 24, 27, 103
Droysen, J. G., 232
Druids, 282
Dubois, Dr. Eugène, 18
Duel: trial by, 66, 476, 515
Duns Scotus, 542
Dürer, Albrecht, 572

East Indies: Arab trade with, 434
Eddas, of Northmen, 389, 391
Edict of Milan, as first step in religious toleration, 348
Education: Roman, 30, 306, 307; 5th-century Athenian, 225; aid of Church in, 467; lack of, in early Middle Ages, 537. *See also* Schools; Universities
Edward the Confessor, 396
Edward I, of England, 517, 519
Edward II, of England, 501, 519
Edward III, of England, 521–523, 534
Egbert, king of Wessex, 375, 395
Egypt: geography, 148–150; history, 150–155; hieroglyphic writing, 155–157; form of government, 157–158; family and social relations, 158–162; treatment of dead, 162–164; religion, 164–166; literature, 166–167; architecture, 167–168, 170; scientific progress, 170–173; contribution to civilization, 174; Hebrews in, 183–184; Greek cities in, 234; Roman rule over, 285, 292, 297, 302; Arab conquest of, 403, 407, 425, 426, 427
"Egyptian days," unlucky, 547
Egyptians, racial type and language, 150
Einstein, Albert, 9
Elam, 130, 139, 144, 190
Eleusinian mysteries, 349
Elixir of life, medieval search for, 546
Empedocles, 247
Emperor worship, 289, 314, 329
Endogamy, among primitive peoples, 55–56
England: Anglo-Saxon conquest of, 374–375; Danish raids on, 390, 395–396; Norman conquest of, 396–397; feudalism in, 471, 472, 478, 482, 483; development of national state in, 513–519; expansion of, 519; art and learning of Middle Ages in, 531–554, *passim*; literature, 535–536, 573, 574. *See also* Anglican Church; Mercantilism; and wars by name
English language, 22, 297, 534
Environment, in relation to culture, 4–6, 9
Eolithic Age, 35
Ephesus, 300
Epic poetry: Hindu, 116; Babylonian, 142–143; Greek, 235; Latin, 309; French, 535, 553; Spanish, 535; German, 535, 553
Epictetus, 307
Epicureanism, 307, 309
Epicurus, 243
Erasmus, Desiderius, 564; *Praise of Folly*, 565; publication of Greek New Testament, 565
Eratosthenes, 249, 251
Erik the Red, 391
Eriksson, Leiv, discovery of North America, 392
Esarhaddon, 130
Essenes, 345
Estonia, 22, 24, 27
Ethelbert, king of Kent, 375
Ethiopia, *see* Abyssinia
Ethnocentrism, among primitive peoples, 66
Eton, founding of, 537
Etruria, 270
Etruscans, 259, 262, 270
Euclid of Alexandria, 245, 431, 441, 537
Euric, king of the Visigoths, 379
Euripides, 237, 329
Europe: in Ice Age, 32–33; in Palaeolithic period, 37–42; in post-Pleistocene, 42; in Neolithic period, 43–47
Evans, Sir Arthur, excavations at Cnossus by, 204
Everyman, 574
Evolution: early Greek conceptions of, 247; theory of, 9, 10
Exchange, bills of, in Middle Ages, 506
Excommunication, 447
Exogamy: among primitive peoples, 55–56; in clan, 59
Eyck, Huybreckt and Jan van, 572
Ezekiel, prophet, 180

Fairs, medieval, 500–501; credit devices employed at, 506
Families, linguistic, *see* Language groups
Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, 429
Fatimids, caliphate of, 429
Federation, Achaean League as first, 230
Feltre, Vittorino de, school of, 566
Ferdinand of Aragón, *see* Ferdinand and Isabella
Ferdinand and Isabella, 525, 526
Festivals, Roman religious, 265–266
Feudalism: in ancient Egypt, 152; relation of Church to, 460; rise and extent of, 470–471; method of operation of, 471–476; methods of warfare under, 476–478; organization of society under, 478–482; decline of, 482–483; strength and weakness of, 483–484; coinage of money under, 505; as forerunner of national states, 511–512; effect of Hun-

dred Years' War on, 524; reflections of, in medieval literature, 535–536
Fief, 471–473, 474, 475
Finland, 392
Finno-Ugrian family of languages, 27
Fitzgerald, Edward, translation of *Rubáiyát*, 438
Flanders, 507, 508, 521
Flemings, 508
Flints, prehistoric, 31, 32, 34, 37, 39
Flood, Babylonian account of, 143
Florence, as medieval banking center, 506; as center of humanist movement, 560; Renaissance art in, 568, 569, 570
Folktales, medieval, 536
Fossil man, 16–19
France: Merovingian dynasty in, 368–370; Carolingian dynasty in, 372–374; Norman invasion and settlement, 394–395; formation of national state in, 519–524; unification of, during Middle Ages, 522; language of, 532. *See also* Gaul, and wars by name
Franche-Comté, conquest by Louis XIV, 526
Francis, St., of Assisi, 452–453, 570
Franks, 364, 365, 367; development of kingdom of, 368–370, 380; and other barbarian tribes compared, 370; conversion to Catholicism, 380; division of empire of, 470
Frederick II, King of the Two Sicilies, 544
Frere, John, 31
Friars: Franciscan, 452; Dominican, 452–453
Friars, orders of, 452–453
Froissart, Jean: *Chronicles*, 573; quoted, 493
Frontinus, 308
Fürstenschulen, in Germany, 566

Gaiseric, king of Vandals, 365, 376
Galen, 537; medical and botanical work of, 248, 432, 437
Galerius, Emperor, persecution of Christians by, 348
Galland, Antoine, translation of *Arabian Nights*, 438
Ganges River, 102, 103, 105, 109, 119
Gaul: Caesar's campaigns in, 282–283, 358; Roman occupation of, 292, 294, 300, 302, 316; early Christian Church in, 338; growth of monasteries in, 346; barbarian invasions of, 362, 363, 364, 368; rout of Attila at Châlons, 364; establishment of Frankish kingdom in, 368; Arab attacks upon, 426
Gauls, invasion of Italy by, 269, 270
Genoa, as medieval trading center, 504, 506; as medieval banking center, 506
Geography: Greek service to, 248–250
Geometry: Babylonian knowledge of, 145; Egyptian knowledge of, 171; Euclid's treatise on, 245
Germans: racial characteristics of, 353–358; relations with Rome before the migrations, 358–360; invasions of Italy and western Europe by, 360–365; Romanization of, 378–380. *See also* names of tribes
Germany. decentralization in feudal times, 527; union with Italy in Holy Roman Empire, 527; expansion in Slavic territories, 528–529; lack of unity in medieval, 529
Ghent, as medieval trading center, 508
Ghiberti, bronze doors by, 569, 570
Gibraltar, Straits of, 201, 202; Phoenician passage of, 180; meaning of name, 426
Giotto, 570
Giza, Pyramids of, 152, 162, 168, 169
Glacial Epoch, *see* Pleistocene Epoch
Gokstad, Viking ship at, 387
Gothic architecture: characteristics of, 550–557; modern revival of, 553
Gothic art, inaccuracy of terms, 550
Goths: sack of Rome by, 325; place of origin, 361. *See also* Ostrogoths; Visigoths
Gracchi, failure of reforms of, 279–280, 286
Granada, Moorish kingdom of, 525
Gratian, *Decretum*, 543
Great Britain: in Ice Age, 33; in post-Pleistocene era, 42. *See also* England; Ireland; Scotland
"Great Schism," 463, 464, 555
Great Wall of China, 84
Greece: Aegean Age, 202–206; Homeric Age, 206–212; development of city-states, 212–217, 226–227; colonial expansion in Mediterranean and Black Seas, 217–219; dialects, 234; epic poetry, 235–236; drama, 236–237; other literary forms, 237–239; philosophers of, 239–243; scientific achievements, 243–248, 546; architecture, 252–254; sculpture and fine arts, 255–257; Roman conquest of, 277, cultural debt of

Rome to, 307–309; barbarian invasion of, 362. *See also* Athens; Greek Church; Hellenism; Humanist movement; Macedonia; Persian Wars; Peloponnesian Wars; Sparta
Greek Church, 406, 407–409; and Roman, comparison of doctrines, 444; emperor as head of, 446
"Greek fire," 409, 426
Greek literature; lost to West, in medieval period, 559; recovery of, by West, 560
Greenland, migrations of Northmen to, 21; discovery and colonization, 391–392; Danes in, 392
Gregory the Great, Pope, 375, 449
Gregory of Tours, 376
Gregory I, Pope, 458, 459
Gregory VII, Pope, 460, 461
Grotefend, G. F., 133
Guicciardini, *History of Italy*, 572
Guilds: Chinese, 89, 105; Hindu, 105; Babylonian and Assyrian, 137; Roman, 303, 322; and trade unions contrasted, 303; in eastern Roman Empire, 411; medieval, merchant and craft, 498–500; miracle plays by, 524; as pattern for medieval universities, 538–539
Guiscard, Robert ("the Crafty"), 398
Guiscard, Roger, conquest of Sicily by, 398
Gunpowder, 548, 555, 575; invention of, by Chinese, 93
Gutenberg, Johann, first printed book by, 562

Hadrian, 289, 290, 291, 292, 307, 312; Perpetual Edict of, 296; Wall of, in Britain, 291, 374
Hamburg, as member of Hanseatic League, 507, 508
Hamitic family of languages, 22, 28
Hammurabi: code of, 66, 129, 135, 136, 137, 139, 146; reign of, 129, 134; social and economic life under, 136–139
Hanging Gardens of Babylon, 132
Hannibal, campaigns against Rome, 275–276
Hanno, 181; exploration of African coast, 181, 249
Hanseatic League, 507–508
Hapsburg dynasty, 526; Austrian branch, 462
Harold, king of Anglo-Saxons, 50, 396, 397
Harpalus, 248
Harun al Raschid, Caliph, 429; son of, 434
Hastings, battle of, 50, 397
Hatshepsut, 158, 168
Hebrews: aspects of culture of, 12, 13, 28, 58, 61, 66; exile of leaders by Nebuchadnezzar, 131; history, 183–185; religion, 185–187. *See also* Jews; Judaism
Heidelberg man, fossil remains of, 16, 19
Hejaz, 417, 420
Heliopolis, 151, 164
Hellenes, *see* Greeks
Hellenism, 231; defined, 233; character and diffusion of, 233–257; Arab debt to, 431; means of transmission in Dark and Middle Ages, 441, 560
Helots, Spartan, 215
Henry the Fowler, 529
Henry III (Holy Roman Emperor), 459
Henry IV (Holy Roman Emperor), 459, 460; penance at Canossa, 460
Henry I, of England, 514
Henry II, of England, 514, 516, 536; legal reforms of, 514–515
Henry III, of England, 517
Henry V, of England, 523
Henry VII (Tudor), of England, 523, 524
Heraclides, astronomical discoveries, 246
Heraclitus of Ephesus, philosophical theories of, 240
Heraclius, Emperor, 403
Herculaneum, wall paintings at, 256, 313
Heresy of Arianism, 344
Hero of Alexandria, inventions of, 245
Herod Archelaus, 334
Herod the Great, 334, 335
Herodotus, 50, 158, 162, 170, 181, 190, 194, 220, 221, 237, 248, 249, 259; quoted, 125, 219
Hesiod: *Work and Days*, 235; *Theogony*, 235; myths of, 329
Hieroglyphics: Aztec, 8; Egyptian, 155; Hittite, 176
Hildebrand, *see* Gregory VII, Pope
Himalayas, 101, 102
Hinduism (Brahmanism), 107, 108–110; and Confucianism, compared, 118
Hindustani (Urdu), as literary language of India, 103
Hipparchus, astronomical discoveries of, 246
Hippo, 181
Hippocrates, father of medicine, 247, 432, 537

Hiram, king of Tyre, 185
Hittites, 154, 175–176, 198
Hobbes, Thomas: quoted, 13
Hohenzollern dynasty, 529
Holbein, Hans, the Younger, 572
Holy Roman Empire, 327, 526; founding of, by Otto the Great, 459; decline of, 530
"Holy War," 427
Homage, under feudal system, 473
Homer, quoted, 58, 203, 213, 214, 276; age of, 206–209; translated by Boccaccio, 559. *See also Iliad; Odyssey*
Homeric Age, 206–208
Homo sapiens, 18, 19, 26
Honorius, emperor of Roman Empire in West, 320, 362
Horace, 234, 304, 306, 309, 417, 557; quoted, 51; *Odes*, 310; and Omar compared, 438–439
Hottentots, 22, 24, 27, 54
House of Commons, establishment of, 517
House of Lords, establishment of, 517
Huang Ho (Yellow River), 85, 119
Humanist movement: origin and spread of, in Italy, 557–561; effect of printing on, 561–563; outside Italy, 563–565, 571–572; in art, 566–572
Humanitarianism: evidences of, in Roman Empire, 306
Hundred Years' Wars, 493, 513, 521–523, 524, 575
Hungary: Christianization of, 458; peoples in, 470, feudalism in, 471; Hapsburg conquests in, 526
Huns, 361; migrations of, 21; place of origin, 363; in Hungary, 364
Hydraulics, Egyptian knowledge of, 170
Hydrodynamics, Frontinus on, 308
Hyksos, 153, 184; invasions of Egypt by, 375
Hymn to Aten, 165

Iberians, 524. *See also* Celtiberians
Ibn Khaldun, 439
Ice Age, *see* Pleistocene Epoch
Iceland, Northmen in, 21, 388, 389, 391
Iconoclasts, 408
Idealism, philosophy of, 542
Iliad, 180, 202, 203, 204, 235, 238; Homeric Age as reflected in, 206–209, 213–214
Illyricum, prefecture of, 316
Imhotep, 170, 173
Immigration, *see* Migrations
Incas, 14, 60, 75, 80–83, 158
India: peoples of, 102–105; caste system, 106–107; religions, 107–114; literature, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 113, 116–117; art, 117; civilization of, compared with China's, 118–119; Greek cities in, 234; discovery of water route in, 248; trade, 302, 434. *See also* Archaeological discoveries; Buddhism; Hinduism; Law
Indians, American, 63, 70; language, 7, 8, 28, 74; racial classification, 22, 24, 74–75; in Neolithic Age, 47, 48, 49, 54; tribal organization, 59, 62; as original inhabitants of America, 73–83. *See also* Aztecs; Chibchas; Incas; Mayas
Indo-China, Chinese in, 24, 87, 89, 114
Indo-European family of languages, 28–30
Indonesians, racial classification of, 22, 24
Indus, valley of the, 102, 104, 119, 190
Infantry, use of, in warfare, 508, 522, 527
Innocent III, Pope, 461, 462, 515
Interdict, use of, by Church, 447–448, 462
Inventions, mechanical; as a means to culture, 8–11, 12; Chinese, 93
Investiture controversy, 459–461
Ionians, migrations into Asia Minor, 206
Iran, 190, 234, 425. *See also* Persia
Iraq, 425, 432
Ireland: in Ice Age, 33; in post-Pleistocene era, 42; clan system in medieval, 59; added to map by Strabo, 251; Norse settlements in, 391; conquest by England, 519
Irene, Empress, 372
Irnerius, 543
Iron, early uses of, 49, 176, 206, 207
Iron age, 31, 386
Irrigation, in Egypt, 149, 159
Ishtar, Babylonian goddess, 140, 142
Islam, in China, 99; in India, 107, 109; religious aspects, 421–422, 424; social aspects, 422–424; spread, by Arabs, 427–428, 524; civilization of, 431–441; origin of, *see* Mohammed. *See also* Arab Empire; Arabs; Architecture; Crusades
Israel, kingdom of, 185
Issus, battle of, 228
Istanbul, *see* Constantinople
Italy: Greek colonies in, 218, 260–261; geography of, 258; early Etruscan civilization in, 259–260; period of small states in, 367, 529–530; spread of feudalism in, 471; language of, 534;

Humanist movement in, 557–575; literature (14th and 15th centuries), 558–559, 572–573; architecture, Renaissance, 568–569; sculpture (15th century), 570; painting (15th century), 571. *See also* Barbarian invasions; Roman Empire; Roman Republic; States of the Church
Jacquerie, peasants' revolt in France, 493
Jainism, 107, 108
Japan, 21, 23, 63; Buddhism in, 114
Japanese family of languages, 22, 27
Java: fossil man found in, 18, 19; Buddhist temples in, 118
Jerusalem: capital of Hebrew kingdom, 185; temple at, 185, 187; patriarchate of, 340; during the Crusades, 430
Jesus, 187, 188, 334–339
Jews: language of, 178; explanation of name, 187; literature, 189; distribution of, at time of Christ, 333; as medieval money lenders, 505; religion of, *see* Judaism. *See also* Hebrews
Joan of Arc, 523
John, king of England, 462, 520; reign of, 515–516
John of Salisbury, 557
Joint-stock companies, 279
Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 334
Judah, kingdom of, 185
Judaism: religion of Jews, 187–190; influence on Christianity, 333; as source of Islam, 421, 422
"Judgment of his peers," in Magna Carta, 516
Jugoslavia, 408
Jugoslavs, 405, 406, 407
Julian, Emperor, 349, 359
Julius II, Pope, 568, 570, 571
Julius Nepos, Emperor, 365
Junkers, of Prussia, 529
Jury, origin of, 514–515
Justinian, Emperor: *Corpus Juris Civilis* of, 296, 402–403, 476, 541; conquest of Ostrogoths in Italy, 367; reign of, 402; beautification of Constantinople by, 413
Jutes, invasion of Britain by, 374
Juvenal, Satires of, 310

Kaaba, 417, 422
Kalidasa, 116
Karli, temples of, 117
Karnak, temple of, 55, 168
Kashmir, 101, 103
Kassites, 129, 153, 375
Keller, Ferdinand, 44
Kempis, Thomas à, *Imitation of Christ*, 564
Khartum, 148
Khmers, Buddhist temples of, 118
Khorsabad, 144
Kiev, 394
Kish, 126, 127
Knighthood: in feudal age, 480–481; today, 483
Koran, 420, 422, 428, 435, 437, 438
Korea, Buddhism in, 114
Korean family of languages, 22, 27

Labor, in the Middle Ages, *see* Feudal System; Guilds; Manor
Lancaster, House of, 523
Langland, William, 573
Language: as means of transmitting culture, 7–8; families of, 22, 27–30; effect of racial contacts on, 26–27; variety of, among American Indians, 74; polysynthetic, 74; Chinese, 87–88; variety of, in India, 103; Hittite, 176; spread of Aramaic, 178; Greek, 234–235; Etruscan, 259; Latin, 294, 296–297, 314, 327, 379, 532, 539; English, 297; relation to nationalism, 513
Langue d'oc, 532
Langue d'oïl, 532
Lao Tzŭ, 98, 99. *See also* Taoism
Lapps, language group of, 22, 27
Latin language, *see* Language, Latin
Latin League, 261, 262, 269
Latin literature, 309–310; debt to Greece, 309; interest in, during Middle Ages, 556–557
Latium, 261, 262, 270, 296
Laurentian Library, 560
Law: of custom, in primitive society, 63–66; Hindu, 115; Mosaic, 188; Greek, 216–217; Roman, 295–296, 314, 379, 446, 476, 515, 520; Anglo-Saxon, 396; canon, 446, 506; common, of England, 515; feudal, 516; Salic, 521; code of, *see* Draco; Hammurabi; Justinian; Peter the Great. *See also* Ordeal; Taboo
Law schools, in Augustan Rome, 296
Layard, Sir Austen, 131
Lefèvre, Jacques, 564
Leibniz, Gottfried von, 10
Leiv, son of Eric the Red, 391
Leo III (the Isaurian), eastern Roman emperor, 426
Leo I, Pope, 365, 458

Leo III, Pope, 372
Leo X, Pope, 565
Leyden jar, 10
Libraries: at Nineveh, 131; at Lagash, 147; royal, at Cordova, 435; in mosques of Constantinople, 435; Renaissance, 560–561
Libyans, invasion of Egypt by, 154
Licinius, emperor of eastern Roman Empire, 318, 348
Lincoln, Abraham, 300
Lincoln, Cathedral of, 551
Literature: *see* Drama; Epic poetry; Lyric poetry; and names of countries
Livy, history of Rome, 310
Lombards, 378, 379, 380; invasion of Italy by, 367–368, 371, 403
Longbow, 522
Lothair, 469
Louis I (the Pious), of France, 389, 394, 469, 515
Louis IX (St. Louis), of France, 520, 550
Louis XI, of France, 524
Lübeck, as member of Hanseatic League, 507, 508
Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods*, 239, 329
Lucretius, 31, 329; *On the Nature of Things*, 309
Luther, Martin, 564; translation of Bible, 534
Luxor, temples of, 155, 168
Lyceum, at Athens, 244, 247
Lycurgus, laws of, 216
Lydia, kingdom of, 176–177, 192, 198
Lysippus, 256

Macedonia, 206, 219, 230, 277; period of supremacy, 227–232
Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 573
Magic, 69; medieval interest in, 547–548
Magna Carta, 523; signing of, 516
Magna Graecia, 218, 260–261
Magna Mater, *see* Cybele
Magnetic needle, discovery of, 92
Magyars, 22, 24, 27, 470
Mahabharata, 105, 109, 116
Maimonides, philosophy of, 438
Mainz, 300, 498, 549
Malay Archipelago: slavery in, 61; Buddhism in, 114
Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, 22, 27
Malory, Sir Thomas, *Morte d'Arthur*, 536, 562
Malta, 180
Mammals, prehistoric, in New World, 73
Man: fossil, 16–19; migrations, 20–21; races of, 22; prehistoric, 31–32, 54; in Palaeolithic age, 38–42; in Neolithic age, 47; primitive, in America, 73–83
Manchuria, 85, 87, 114
Manchus, 22, 27, 86, 92, 100
Manco Capac, Inca ruler, 81
Manor, defined, 485; divisions of, 486; management of, 486–487; administration of justice, 487; methods of agriculture, 488–491
Map-making: by Ptolemy, 251; by Al Idrisi, 434
Marathon, battle of, 219
Marcus Aurelius, 289, 303, 306, 315, 324, 358; *Meditations* of, 307
Marduk, god of Babylon, 132, 140, 142
Marius, 281, 282, 286, 316, 358
Markets, medieval, 500
Marseilles, 218, 300, 504
Masaccio, 570
Mastabas, Egyptian, 162, 167, 168
Mastersingers, of Germany, 535
Mathematics: Egyptian, 171; in classical Greece, 245; Arab contribution to, 435–436
Maximian, Emperor, 316, 318
Mayas, 8, 14, 75–77
Mecca, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 422, 436
Medes, 190–192
Media, 190, 192
Medici, Cosimo de', 568
Medici, Lorenzo de' (the Magnificent), 568
Medici family, 558, 560, 568, 569
Medicine, contributions to: Egyptian, 172–173; Greek, 248; Roman, 308; Arabic, 436–437; in Middle Ages, 543–544
Medievalism: characteristics of, 553–554; reaction against, 556
Medina, 416, 417, 419, 429
Mediterranean Sea: in Ice Age, 33; in post-Pleistocene era, 42; geography of, 201–202; western, as Carthaginian lake, 274; ancient Rome as mistress of, 276–278
Megaliths, 45–47
Mena (Menes), king of Egypt, 151, 170
Menander, 237
Mencius, 91; quoted, 98
Menhir, 45–46
Merovingian kings, 370
Metallurgy, origin of, 48
Metals, Age of, 37, 44, 51, 119
Métayer system, landholding, 494

Mexico, 74, 75; Aztecs and Toltecs in, 77–80; Spanish conquest of, 80
Mexico, City of, 80
Michelangelo, 569, 570
Microscope, invention of, 10
Middle Ages: *manner of life in, 485–509, passim;* explanation of term, 531; intellectual and artistic achievements of, 532–554; closing events of, 575. *See also* Feudalism; Medievalism
Migrations: of early man, 20–21; Dorian, 206; in Aegean age, 206
Milan, 300, 324, 551, 558, 560, 568
Minnesingers, of Germany, 535
Mints, feudal, 505
Missions, Christian, 11
Mithraism, 331–332, 342
Mohammed, 416, 417, 433; life of, 418–420; teachings of, 421–424; successors of, 424. *See also* Koran; *Sunna*
Monarchy, absolute, *see* Absolutism
Monasteries, establishment of, 345–346; Benedictine, 449–452; Cistercian, 452
Money: paper, 93, 505; *Egyptian, 161;* coined, 176; scarcity of, in Middle Ages, 504–505. *See also* Banking; Coinage; Currency; Exchange, bills of
Mongolia, 84, 85, 87, 114
Mongoloid race, 22, 23, 24, 74, 103
Mongols, 100, 429, 432, 440
Monogamy, 57
Monsoons, discovery of periodicity of, 248
Monte Cassino, 449, 450
Montfort, Simon de, 517
Montpellier, study of medicine at, 544
Moors, rule of, in Spain, 524, 525
Morality plays, 574
Morgan, Jacques de, 139
Moses, 184
Moslems, *see* Islam
Mosque, Arab, 439–440
Muawiya, 428
Municipalities, of Roman Empire, 297, 300–302, 323–324
Museum, at Alexandria, 244
Mycale, battle of, 221
Mycenae, 203, 204, 206
Myron, 255
Mystery plays, 574
Mystery religions: Eleusinian, 211, 330, 349; Orphic, 330, 332; Phrygian, of Cybele and Attis, 331, 332; Egyptian, of Isis and Osiris, 331, 332, 333; Mithraic, 331–332; and Christianity compared, 332–333
Naples (Neapolis), 218, 300
Napoleon I, 528
Nationalism, growth of sentiment in Middle Ages, 513, 555
Naucratis, 219
Navarre, 525
Neandertal man, 19, 24, 37, 39, 41, 113; fossil remains, 17; characteristics, 17
Nearchus, admiral, 248
Nebuchadnezzar, 131, 132, 134, 185, 187
Negritos, 22, 23
Negroes, 21, 22; African, 7, 26, 48, 54, 59; American, 21, 26
Negroid race, 22, 23–24
Neolithic period, 35, 41, 43–47, 73, 119, 183
Neoplatonism, 56, 324, 329, 437; influence on Christianity, 330
Nepal, 101, 103, 114
Nero, 289, 293, 315, 320, 338, 347
Nerva, 289
Netherlands: medieval cities of, 495, 496, 508; feudal states in, 508; Hapsburg conquest of, 526. *See also* Flanders; Flemings; Holland
New France, *see* Canada
New Testament: language of, 234, 343; quoted, 288; life of Jesus in, 335–336; books of, 342–343; translation of, 565
Nibelungenlied, 535, 553
Nicaea: Church council at, 344, 349; creed of, 344
Nicomedia, 324
Nile, the: importance to Egypt, 148–149
Nîmes, 300
Nineveh, 129; archaeological discoveries at, 130–131, 132; destruction of, 192
Nirvana, 111, 113
Nobles, in China, 91; under feudal system, 478–480; guarantees to, in Magna Carta, 516. *See also* Chivalry; Knighthood
Nomes, Egyptian, 152, 153, 157, 164; defined, 151
Nominalism, 542
Nordics, racial and linguistic characteristics of, 353
Norman Conquest, 396–398, 399, 513, 517
Normandy, seizure by Philip Augustus, 520
Normans, language, 26, 27; settlement in France, 394–395; conquest of England, *see* Norman Conquest
North Africa: migrations into Europe from, 42; Phoenician settlements in,

180; Arab conquest of, 426, 427. *See also* names of cities and countries
Northmen, 385–394; early visits to America, 74; literature, 388–389; mythology, 389; raids to westward, 390–392, 394–395, 470; raids to eastward, 392–393, 394; effect on Europe, 397, 398–400
Norway, 385–386, 389, 391
Novgorod, 392, 507
Nubia, 153, 154, 160, 168
Numbers, system of: Mayan, 77; decimal, 82, 115, 145, 171; duodecimal, 145
Numerals, Roman, 435; Arabic, 115, 435, 548
Nuremberg, 498, 506, 572

Oath, in feudal system of justice, 476, 515
Octavian, 285, 286. *See also* Augustus
Odovacar, barbarian ruler of Italy, 365, 366
Odyssey, 180, 202, 203; Homeric Age as reflected in, 206–209, 213–214
Olaf, king of Norway, 389
Old Testament: Higher Criticism of, 189; Septuagint version, 333
Oligarchy, defined, 62
Olympia, 254, 256
Olympic games, 211, 349
Omar, founder of Arab Empire, 428
"Open-field" system of agriculture, 488–489
Oracle, Delphic, 210, 211, 349
Ordeal, trial by, 65, 476, 515
Orders of Greek architecture, 252, 253
Orestes, German commander, 365
Origen, 338
Orléans: siege of, 523; cathedral school at, 557
Orphism, 330
Ostracism, 223; Greek method of, 217
Ostrogoths, 360, 361, 378; conquest of Italy under Theodoric, 366, 380; conquered by Justinian, 367, 402; conversion to Arianism, 379
Othman, caliph, 428
Otto I (the Great), 529; first Holy Roman Emperor, 459, 527
Ottoman Empire, *see* Turkey
Ottoman Turks: racial classification of, 22, 24; invasion of Balkan peninsula, 404; capture of Constantinople by, 404, 460; conquest of Arab cities, 441
Ovid, 557; *Metamorphoses* of, 310
Oxford University, 538, 539

Paganism, Graeco-Roman, 329, 332; triumph of Christianity over, 348, 351–352
Painting: Palaeolithic cave, 39, 40; Chinese and Japanese, 94, Egyptian, 160; Greek, 265–267; Roman, 256, 313; Italian (14th and 15th centuries), 567–568, 570–571. *See also* under countries
Palaeolithic Age, 35, 37–42, 73, 119, 183
Pale, district in Ireland, 519
Palermo, as cultural center, 441
Palermo Stone, 152
Palestine: geography of, 182–183; Canaanites in, 183; Hebrews in, 183–185; conquest by Rome, 282, 334; early Christian Church in, 338; conquest by Moslems, 403, 407. *See also* Crusades
Pali, language of Buddhist literature, 111
Panchatantra, Sanskrit animal stories, 116
Papacy, the: growth of authority of, 453–463, 465; Babylonian Captivity of, 463; Great Schism in, 463. *See also* States of the Church
Papal Court, 465
Paper: invention of, 93, 555; introduction into Europe, 548, 561
Papyrus, 156
Parchment, 194
Pariahs, *see* Untouchables
Paris, establishment as Frankish captial, 368
Paris, University of, 438, 538, 539, 541, 542, 543, 545, 565
Parliament, English: early history, 517
Parsis, in India, 107, 108; religion of, 196
Parthenon, 226, 255, 256, 312
Parthia, kingdom of, 290
Patriarchal system of society: among Hebrews, 58; in China, 90; early Roman, 264
Patricians, in Rome, 267
Paul, St., 243, 295, 337–338, 345, 453, 455
Pavia, Lombard capital at, 367
Peace of God, 477
"Peaceful penetration," of Roman Empire by Germans, 360
Peasants: of Roman Republic, 279; of Roman Empire, 322–323; medieval, 487, 488, 491
Peasants' Revolt (1381) in England, 493
Peiping (Peking), Mandarin dialect of, 88
Peking man, fossil remains of, 18, 19
Peloponnesian Wars, 226–227, 238
Pepin the Short, 370, 371, 380, 427, 469; "Donation of," 459
Pergamum, 230, 300

Periander of Corinth, 214
Pericles, 223, 224, 226, 238; quoted, 222
Periplus, 248
Persecution of Christians, 347–348
Persepolis, 194, 228
Persia: ancient empire of, 192–195; religion of, 195–197, 424; wars with Greece, 219–221; attacks on eastern Roman Empire, 315, 403; Arab conquest of, 424; as buffer state, 810. *See also* Iran
Perthes, Boucher de, 32, 33; quoted, 32
Peru, Incas in, 81
Peter, St., 453, 454, 455, 460, 461, 465
Peter's Pence, 466
Petrarch, 559, 561, 572, 573
Petrine supremacy, theory of, 454
Pharaohs, Egypt under, 152–174
Phidias, 255
Philae, temple of, 168
Philip II (Philip Augustus), of France, 462, 515, 520
Philip IV (the Fair), of France, 520, 521; disputes with Pope Boniface VIII, 462–463
Philip VI, of France, 521
Philip II, of Macedonia, 227–228, 238
Philistines, 184
Philosopher's stone, 546
Philosophy, Greek, 239–243; Roman, 307–308. *See also* Epicureanism; Scholasticism; Stoicism
Phoenicians, 178–181, 198, 201; alphabet, 182
Physics: Greek contributions to, 245
Pictographs, 8, 104
Picts, attacks on Britons, 374
Piepowder court, 500
Piers Plowman, 573
Pilate, 334, 335
Pile dwellings, 44–45
Piltdown man, fossil remains of, 17–18
Pindar, odes of, 236
Pirates: Mediterranean, 282, 312; Saxon, 374; Norse, 394; Moslem, 470; suppression of, by Hanseatic League, 508
Pisa, 549, 568
Pisistratus of Athens, 214, 217
Pitakas, 111
Pizarro, Francisco, 83
Plantagenet dynasty, 514
Plataea, battle of, 220
Plato, 241, 541, 543, 559; *Republic* of, 242; *Laws* of, 242; Academy of, 242, 244; quoted, 329
Plebeians, 267
Pleistocene Epoch, 16, 17, 19; Europe in, 32–33; post-, 42; America in, 73; northern Europe in, 386
Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 308
Pliny the Younger, 301, 310; mention of Jesus, 335
Plotinus, founder of Neoplatonism, 324, 329
Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* of, 239; quoted, 313
Poetry, *see* Epic poetry; Lyric poetry
Poitiers, battle of, 522, 523
Polyandry, 56, 423
Polybius, 239
Polyclitus, 255
Polyglot Bible, 565
Polygyny, 57, 158, 423
Polynesians, 22, 26, 54, 70; migrations of, 20; early visits to America, 74
Pompeii, 256, 300, 301, 313
Pompey, 281–283, 304, 334
Pontifex Maximus, 265, 328, 349
Pope, powers of the, 464–465. *See also* Papacy
Porphyry, 330
Praetorian Guard, 289
Praxiteles, Hermes of, 252, 256
Precepts of Ptahhotep, 167, 174
Priesthood: Egyptian, 157–158; early Roman, 265
Primogeniture, rule of, 512
Principate, *see* Augustus
Printing, 89, 93; history of, 562–563, 575
Prophets, Hebrew, 186–187
Protestant Revolt, 555
Provençal tongue, 297, 532, 535
Prussia: German conquest of, 529
Ptolemaic System, 246, 247
Ptolemies, dynasty of, 156, 230, 231, 285
Ptolemy of Alexandria, 434, 537; system of astronomy, 246, 247; *Almagest*, 246, 441; map of world by, 251
Punic Wars, 275–276
Punjab, 103, 104
Pygmies, 24
Pyramids: Mayan, 76; Toltec, 78; Egyptian, 152, 162, 168, 170
Pythagoras, geometrical discoveries, 245
Pytheas of Massilia, voyages of discovery, 249

Quadrivium, 540
Quintilian, 307, 310

Race: defined, 21; classification of peoples according to, 21–26; relation

between culture and, 26; types in western Europe, 378; black, *see* Negroid; yellow, *see* Mongoloid; white, *see* Caucasoid race
Ramayana, 105, 109, 116
Ramses II, of Egypt, 154, 155, 158, 169
Raphael, 571, 575
Rassam Hormuzd, 131
Ravenna, 44, 300, 324, 367, 549; removal of capital to, 362, 366
Rawlinson, Sir Henry C., 133
Realism, philosophy of, 542
Reformation, 575
Reims, 523, 551, 557
Relativity, theory of, 9
Religion: in Palaeolithic Age, 41; primitive, 67–69; of early American Indians, 75; Aztec, 79–80; Inca, 82; Chinese, 95–99; of India, 107–114; in Babylonia and Assyria, 140–141; of Egypt, 164–166; of Homeric Age, 209–212; of ancient Rome, 264–266. *See also* Christianity; Judaism; Mystery religions; Paganism; and sects by name
Religion, freedom of: Edict of Nantes as first step toward, 348
Renaissance: misuse of term, 556; architecture of, 567, 568–569; sculpture and painting of, 569–572. *See also* Humanist movement
Reuchlin, Johann, 564
Reynard the Fox, 536, 553
Rhodes, Island of, 206, 230, 296, 300, 426, 431
Richard I (the Lionhearted), of England, 515, 536
Richard II, of England, 494
Ricimer, German commander, 365, 366
Rig-Veda, 104, 209
River valleys, as seats of culture, 124
Roads: Persian military, 193; Roman, 273, 292, 308
Robenhauser, pile dwellings at, 44
Robin Hood, 536
Rollo, of Normandy, 394–395
Roman Church: as successor of Roman Empire, 327–328, 442; development of, in the Middle Ages, 442–468; religious and secular functions of, 442; doctrines and regulations, 442–448; clergy and friars of, 448–453; services to society, 466–468; and feudal system compared, 483–484. *See also* Church, Christian; Church and state; Monasticism; Papacy
Roman Empire: first two centuries, 287–314; later centuries, to the fall, 315–328; Roman Church as successor to, 327–328, 442; in the East, 401–415. *See also* Augustan Age; Architecture, Roman; Barbarian invasions; and names of rulers
Roman law: code of the Twelve Tables, 267, 295; development of, 295–296; survival of, in Middle Ages, 327; study of, at Bologna, 543
"Roman Peace," 292, 297, 315
Roman Republic, 266–286; government of, 266–269, 272, 283; expansion in Italy, 269–270, 276–278; social conditions in, 278–279; civil wars in, 280–282, 285; downfall of, 286; poets of, 309. *See also* Caesar, Julius; Punic Wars
Romance languages, 297
Romanesque architecture, 549–550
Rome: founding, 261; early kingdom, 262; beginning of republic, 262; expansion of authority over Italy, 269–270; as trade center of empire, 302; fall of, 325; burning of, 347; patriarchate of, 340; sack of, by barbarians, 362, 365; effect of barbarian invasion on, 376
Romulus, 262, 310
Rosetta Stone, 156–157
Round Table, Knights of the, 536
Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam, 438
Rubicon, Caesar's crossing of the, 283
Rudolf of Hapsburg, Holy Roman Emperor, 462, 526
Rūm, *see* Roman Empire in East
Rumania, 486
Runnymede, 526
Rurik, founder of Russian dynasty, 392
Russia: Swedish activities in, 392, 394; adoption of Christianity by, 406, 407

Sabaeans, 417
Sacraments of Roman Church, 444
Sagas, Norse, 388, 391
St. Mark's, Venice, 412, 413
St. Peter's, Rome, 569, 571
St. Sophia, Church of, 402, 404, 406, 408, 414, 440; and Pantheon compared, 412
Sainte Chapelle, 550
Sakuntala, 116
Salamis, battle of, 220
Salerno, center of medical learning, 543
Salic law, 521
Salisbury Cathedral, 551, 552

Sanctuary, right of, 447
Sanskrit, 29, 115
Santander, cave dwellings at, 39
Sappho, 236, 309
Saracens, *see* Moslems
Sardinia, 180, 205, 270, 275
Sardis, 176, 192, 193
Sargon, of Agade, 128, 134, 141
Sargon II, of Assyria, 130, 131, 144, 185
Saturnalia, Roman, 265, 341
Savagery: mode of life under, 53, 58, 63, 64, 68; disappearance of, 70
Saxons, 371, 374, 376, 380. *See also* Anglo-Saxons
Schliemann, Heinrich, archaeological discoveries of, 203
Scholasticism, 541–543, 553, 565
Schoolmen, medieval, 541–543
Schools: Athenian, 225, 244; Roman, 306, 310, 540, 541; elementary, in Middle Ages, 537; cathedral, 372, 537, 538, 540; monastery, 374, 537, 540; grammar, in England, 537; Roman rhetoric, 540, 541. *See also* Universities
Science, Greek progress in, 244
Scipio: Publius, 276, 278, 365; Aemilianus, 276
Scopas, 256
Scotland: medieval clan in, 69; Norse settlements in, 391; as independent kingdom, 519
Sculpture: Greek, 252, 254, 255; Egyptian, 169; Roman, 313
Seleucia, 231, 333
Seleucids, dynasty of, 230
Seljuk Turks, 404, 429, 431
Semitic family of languages, 28, 150, 153
Senate, Roman, 268–269, 287–288, 293, 300, 323
Seneca, 304, 306, 307; quoted, 313
Sennacherib, 130, 131
Serfdom: of Helots in Sparta, 215; Roman, 322–323, 327, 486; on medieval manor, 486, 491–493; decline of, 494, 555; revolts in, *see* Jacquerie, Peasant's Revolt
Seville, 300
Shell mounds, 43
Shiites, sect of, 424
Siam, 27, 114
Sicilies, Kingdom of the Two, 398, 544
Sicily, 270, 402; Phoenician settlements in, 180; colonization of, 218; as Roman province, 275, 276, 367; Arab conquests in, 427; feudalism in, 471
Sidon, 178, 180
Siena, Renaissance art in, 568
Silkworms, introduction into Europe, 410
Sinitic family of languages, 22, 27
Sinkiang, 85, 87
Slavery: an industrial development, 60–61; in Africa, 61; Aztec, 78; in Babylonia and Assyria, 136; in Egypt, 157; in Greece, 207, 217, 225–226; Roman, 293, 296, 303–304, 306, 323, 486; Mohammedan, 423; in Middle Ages, 486, 491
Slavs, 405, 470, 529
Smith, Joseph, founder of Mormonism, 419
Smyrna, 300
Snefru, 168
Society, classes of: in China, 91; in Babylonia and Assyria, 136; in Middle Ages, 448
Socrates, 241
Soissons, battle of, 368
"Soldier Emperors" of Rome, 315–316
Solomon, King, 185
Solon, legal reforms of, 217
Solutré, ancient burial place of horses, 38
Song of Roland, 535, 554
Sophists, Greek, 240–241
Sophocles, 237, 329
Spain: conquest of Mexico, 78, 79, 80; conquest of Peru, 81; Phoenician settlements in, 180; early Greek voyages to, 249; as Roman province, 276, 279, 300, 302; barbarian invasions, 362, 363, 402; Arab conquest of, 426, 427; rise of medieval cities in, 496; unification of, 524–526
Sparta, 214–216, 220; and Athens compared, 217, 226. *See also* Peloponnesian Wars
Spenser, Edmund, *Faerie Queene*, 572
States, formation of national: influences leading to, 510–511; in England, 513–519; in France, 519–524; in Spain, 524–526; in Austria, 526; in Switzerland, 526–527
States of the Church, 459
States-General, establishment of, 520, 521
Stephen, king of England, 514
Stephen II, Pope, 459
Stoicism, 243, 296, 307–308, 329, 343, 349; influence on Christianity, 243, 343
Stone Age, 34–47, 51, 119, 175
Stonehenge, 46
Strabo, 251
Strasbourg, 300, 506, 551
Stupas, of India, 117
Sturlson, Snorri, 389

Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 310, 335
Sueves, settlement in Gaul, 363
Suez Canal, 201
Sulla, 281, 286, 316
Sumer, 125, 126, 129, 133, 134, 137
Sumerians, 125–128, 129, 151
Sunna, traditions of Mohammed, 421, 424
Sunnites, sect of, 424
Supernaturalism, among primitive peoples, 69
Superstitions, 70. *See also* Magic; Witchcraft
Surgery, 248
Susa, 193, 194, 228
Swedes, raids to eastward, 392
Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 573
Switzerland: pile dwellings in, 43–44; revolt of Forest Cantons, 526; formation of confederation by, 527
Syagrius, 365, 368
Syracuse, 218
Syria: geography and peoples of, 177; formation of kingdom of, 230, Greek cities in, 234; as part of Roman Empire, 282, 292, 302, 334; early Christian church in, 338; Moslem conquest of, 403, 407

Taboo, 64
Tacitus, 39, 62, 310, 347, 559; reference to "Christus" in Annals of, 335; on Germans, 356–357, 359
Taoism, 98–99
Tasmania: aborigines of, 53, 70
Tatars, 86
Taurobolium, religious rite of, 331
Temples: Buddhist, 117–118; Egyptian, 155, 168–169; Greek, 252, 254; Roman, 311, 312
Ten Tribes of Israel, 185
Tenochtitlán, Aztec capital, 78, 80
Terremare, pile villages on dry land, 45
Tertullian, quoted, 338
Teutoberg Forest, defeat of Varus at, 358
Teutonic Knights, order of, 529
Thales of Miletus, 240, 245, 246, 247
Theater: Greek, open-air, 236–237
Thebes, in Egypt, 148, 154–155, 164
Thebes, in Greece: 182, 213, 220, 227; government of, 214
Theocritus, *Idylls* of, 239
Theodora, Empress, 402, 413
Theodoric, 366, 512, 549
Theodosius I, Roman emperor, 318, 326, 349, 362, 378; last ruler of united Roman Empire, 327
Theodosius II, 413
Theophrastus, 247
Thermopylae, battle of, 221
Thessaly, 216, 227
Third Estate, in Middle Ages, 508–509
Thrace, 219, 227, 362
Thucydides, 238; quoted, 226
Thule, 314, 385, 394; early Greek accounts of, 249
Tianhuanaco, Inca ruins at, 80, 81
Tiberius, Emperor, 289, 293, 303, 310, 335
Tibet, 22, 24, 27, 84, 85, 86, 87, 101, 114
Tigris-Euphrates valley, 190, 201, 290; description of, 124–125, 127; peoples of, 125–132
Tiryns, 204, 206; Schliemann's excavations at, 203
Titicaca, Lake, 80
Titus, Roman emperor, 289
Toledo, 399, 433; as Moslem center in Spain, 441
Toltecs, 77–78
Tombs: Babylonian, 127; royal Egyptian, 152, 155, 160, 162, 167–168; Etruscan, 259
Tools: of Stone Age, 35; of Palaeolithic period, 37; of early American Indians, 75; Mayan, 77; Sumerian, 127
Tournaments, medieval, 481
Tours: battle of, 370, 426, 523; monastery of, 557
Trade routes, medieval, 504, 506
Trajan, 289, 292, 310, 315, 335; campaigns in Asia, 290; persecution of Christians by, 347
Transportation, modern developments in: turnpike system, 77
Tripoli, 430
Triumvirate, Roman, 282
Trivium, 540
Troubadours, 535
Troy, Homeric, 204; Schliemann's excavations at, 202, 203
Truce of God, 477
Tudor dynasty, 523, 524. *See also* rulers by name
Tulsi Das, Hindu poet, 116
Tutankhamen, 155, 160, 165
Twelve Tables, laws of the, 306
Tyler, Wat, 493, 494
Type, movable; invented by Chinese, 93; varieties of, 562–563
Tyrants, Greek, 214, 217
Tyre, 131, 178, 180, 228

Tyrol, Hapsburg conquest of, 526
Tyrrhenians, *see* Etruscans

Ulfilas, Bishop, 361
Ulm, 506
Umaiyyad Dynasty, 429, 432, 434
Universities: Moslem, 435; medieval, 538–539, 540, 541, 553; guild form of organization of, 538–539; curriculum, 540, 541; methods of teaching, 540–541
Untouchables, of India, 107, 109
Upanishads, 110
Ur of the Chaldees, 126, 140, 183; archaeological discoveries at, 127
Urban II, Pope, 430, 463
Urdu, *see* Hindustani
Usury, medieval methods of, 505–506
Utica, 181

Valens, Emperor, 362
Valerian, Emperor, 348
Valla, Lorenzo, textual criticism of Christian writings, 561
Valleys, alluvial, as centers of early cultures, 14
Valmiki, Hindu poet, 116
Vandals: in Spain, 363; in North Africa, 363, 365, 368, 380, 402; sack of Rome by, 365, 458; conversion to Arianism, 379
Varus, defeat of, 358
Vassalage, feudal system of, 473, 474–477
Vatican Library, 561
Vedas, 104, 108, 110, 115, 197
Veddas, 24
Venice, 44; origin, 364; as medieval trade center, 504, 598; as medieval banking center, 506; as center of printing in 15th century, 562; Renaissance art in, 568
Verdun, Treaty of, 469, 527
Verona, 300
Verrochio, Andrea del, 570
Vespasian, 289, 310
Victory of Samothrace, 256
Viking Age, 386–390
Vikings, *see* Northmen
Villa, Roman, slaves and serfs in, 486
Village community, 58, 59, 105; medieval, 487; self-sufficiency of, 488
Villon, François, 573
Vinci, Leonardo da, 571
Vinland, discovery by Leiv Eriksson, 392
Virgil, 266, 557, 558; quoted, 263; *Aeneid*, 309
Vishnu, 109, 114
Visigoths, 358–359, 361, 364, 368, 376; conversion to Arian Christianity, 361, 379; crossing of Danubian barrier by, 362, in Balkan peninsula and Greece, 362; sacking of Rome by, 362; Spanish kingdom of, 362, 380, 427, 524; defeated by Clovis, 368. *See also* Alaric
Vitruvius, 308
Vladimir, Russian ruler at Kiev, adoption of Christianity by, 406
Vulgate, Latin version of Bible, 532

Wagner, Richard, 535
Wales, 519
Wallace, A. R., theory of evolution, 10
Walloons, 508
"Wandering scholars," medieval, 539, 556
War of the Roses, 523
William of Conches, 545
William of Normandy, *see* William I, of England
William of Occam, 542
William I (the Conqueror), of England, 50, 396, 397, 513, 514, 519
William II, of England, 515
Winchester College, founding of, 537
Witenagemot, 396, 397; transformation into parliament, 517
Woman, status of: in China, 90; in ancient India, 105; in Babylonia, 135; in ancient Egypt, 158–159; in Homeric Age, 208, in 5th-century Athens, 224; in ancient Rome, 263–264, 301, 307; under Islam, 423
Wŏolley, Sir Leonard, 127
Worsaae, J. J. A., 43
Writing: development of, 7–8; hieroglyphic, 8, 155–157; Mayan system of glyphs, 77; picture, of Aztecs, 78; cuneiform, 127, 129, 132–133, 153–154, 194; Cretan linear, 205; Abyssinian, 417; Arabic, 417. *See also* Alphabet; Pictographs

Xenophanes of Colophon, 240
Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 238
Xerxes, 220
Ximénez, Cardinal, 565

Yangtze River, 85, 86
Yellow River, of China (Huang Ho), 85
Yemen (Arabia Felix), 417, 418
York, 300, 551
York, House of, 523

Young, Thomas, 156
Ypres, as medieval trading center, 508
Yucatán, 75, 76

Zama, battle of, 276
Zeno, 243
Ziggurat, Sumerian, of temple of Marduk, 132; of Ur, 143
Zoroastrianism, 195, 196
Zoser, king of Egypt, 168, 170