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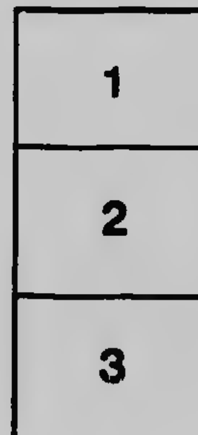

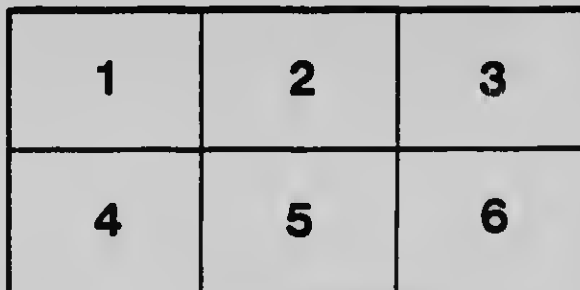

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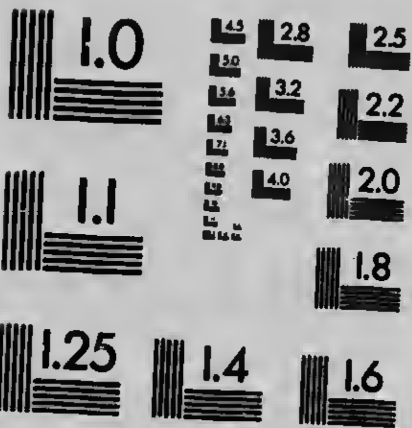

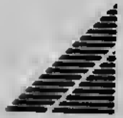

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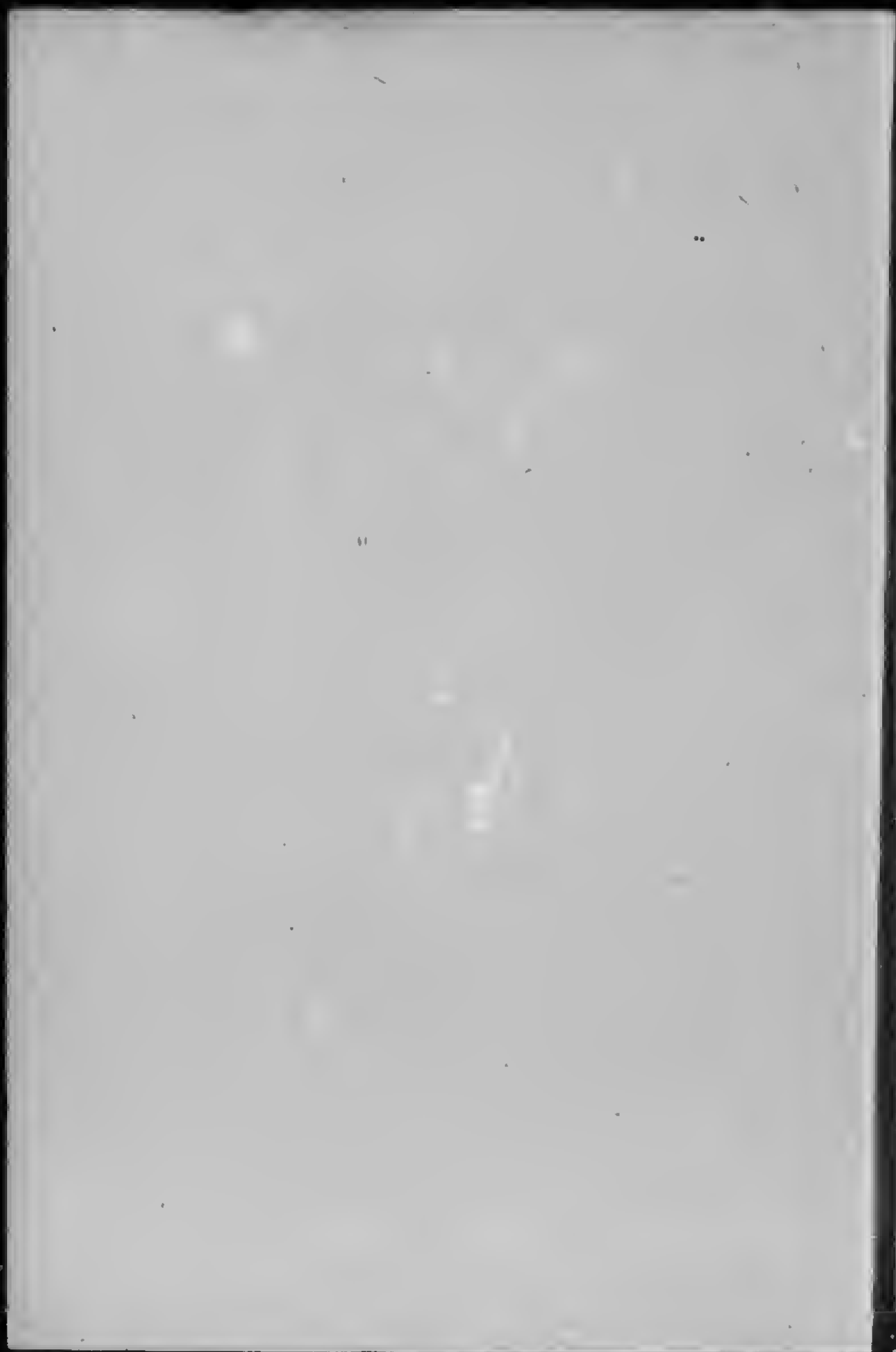

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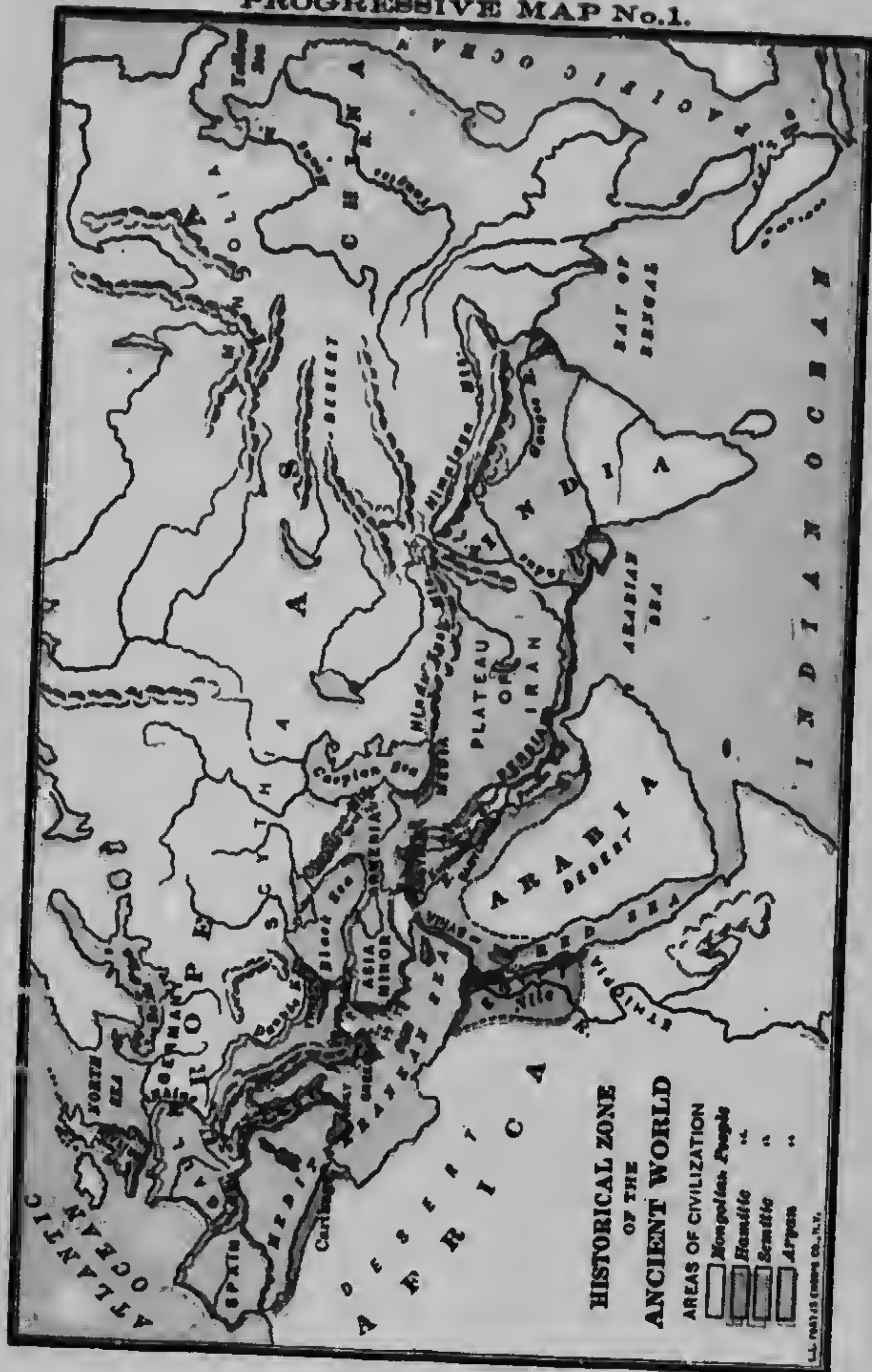

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HIGH SCHOOL ANCIENT HISTORY

BY

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PREFACE

This book is intended to describe in a simple and comprehensive way the progress of civilization among the peoples of the ancient world. It seeks to illustrate the real historical significance of these peoples, and to point out the contributions which each has made to the progress of mankind. The significance of each country is estimated by the permanent elements of its civilization, or those elements which have survived after the nation has passed away. The purpose of the book is, therefore, not simply to describe the growth of separate countries, but to indicate in a general way the continuity of ancient history.

The usual division of ancient history into Oriental, Greek, and Roman, has been followed not only as the most convenient arrangement, but as affording the means to illustrate in a satisfactory way the progressive stages in the growth of ancient civilization. A brief sketch of the Oriental countries is given to show the beginnings of man's industrial life and the initial stages in the development of government, art, science, and religion. The Greek world is viewed as the historical field especially distinguished for the growth of political liberty and the development of a high intellectual and æsthetic culture. In describing the Roman world, the attempt has been made to keep clearly in view that which has given to Rome its distinctive place in the world's history—the genius for organization, the growth of an imperial dominion, and the development of a universal system of government and law.

The history has been reduced to the simplest terms consistent with the importance of the subject-matter. But it has also been written so as to develop in the pupil's mind a scientific spirit, not only by emphasizing the continuity of history, but by indicating the relation of special facts to general movements, and the relation of these general

movements to the growth of the national character and institutions, as well as the relation of each nation's career to the general progress of mankind. Irrelevant matter has been excluded; facts have been selected and arranged with reference to their historical significance; and the Progressive Maps are intended to indicate in outline the most important changes in the geographical history of the ancient world. Each chapter is also followed by a "Synopsis for Review" which presents at a glance the order of the general and the special topics treated in the text and will thus assist the pupil in mastering its contents.

August, 1909.

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THE ORIENT

CHAPTER I

EARLY BABYLONIA AND EGYPT

I. The Early Babylonian Empire

Meaning of History.—We may perhaps define history in the briefest way by saying that it is the record of human progress. The study of history enables us to see how the world in which we live to-day has come to be what it is. By this study we learn that the ideas, the customs, and the institutions which we possess in the present, have grown out of what men already possessed in the past. Hence we study the ages which have gone before us, in order that we may understand the age in which we live. It has been said that "to know what man *is* we must know what man *has been.*" History, therefore, in the broadest sense of the word, deals with the progress of mankind—the successive st[illegible]s of human development. We must not think that it is [illegible]ly a story of wars and battles; it is rather a record of the steps by which men have advanced from barbarism to civilization—by which they have been raised from a lower to a higher plane of existence.

The First Centres of Civilization.—In beginning our study of ancient history, we may ask, In what part of the world did men first rise from barbarism to a civilized life—in other words, where did civilization *first* appear? We cannot answer this question with certainty. We may be quite sure, however, that it was either in Babylonia in the lower Euphrates valley, or in Egypt in the valley of the Nile. It has long been supposed that Egypt was the oldest civilized

country. But the most recent excavations have brought to light some indications that the people who lived in the Euphrates valley used a written language and reached a condition which might be called civilized, even before these results were attained by the Egyptians. However this may be, these two valleys—that of the Euphrates and that of the Nile—formed the first two distinct centres of civilization. Separated as they were by an intervening desert, the Egyptian and Babylonian peoples took the first steps in the direction of a more civilized life, each unaided by the other. For a long period of time they were isolated from each other. It was only when they had each broken through their early boundaries and extended their conquests along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea—that is, in Syria—that their civilizations met and were mingled together. The first to extend their conquests to this middle land of Syria were the Babylonians. Whether or not they were the first to emerge from barbarism, the Babylonians, or the peoples of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, were the first to extend their culture to lands beyond their own, and to obtain importance as a civilizing people.

The Tigris-Euphrates Valley.—The Tigris and Euphrates rivers, rising in the mountains of Armenia, flow southwards and pour their united waters into the Persian Gulf. The valley formed by these rivers may be divided into two parts—the southern or the lowlands, and the northern or the highlands. The southern part, which has received the name of Babylonia, has its chief historical centre at Bab′ylon on the Euphrates. Its most marked features are its soft climate and its rich alluvial soil. The northern part of the valley, called Assyria, had its chief centre first at Assur on the Tigris, and afterwards at Nin′eveh on the same river. Its climate was more rugged than that of the south; and its land, though less fertile, furnished large supplies of minerals and precious stones.

It was the people who found their way into the southern part, or the lower valley, that first developed a civilized state. It is probable that this lower valley was in very ancient times settled by a very early non-Semitic race—usually

known as the Acca'dians—who laid the basis of the Babylonian culture. But the territory became at last the home of a Semitic people, who probably came from Arabia, who conquered and absorbed the earlier peoples, taking up their customs and institutions, and becoming the dominant race. It is this mixed people that we call the Babylonians. The date of the earliest occupation of this country by the Semites cannot be accurately fixed; but it can hardly be later than 5000 B. C.

Not many years ago our knowledge of this ancient people was derived chiefly from the Greek historian Herod'otus and the Chaldæ'an priest Bero'sus. The accounts of these writers, so far as the earliest history was concerned, were based upon traditions, which were of course not very trustworthy. In recent years, however, our knowledge has been greatly increased and made more definite by the large number of excavations made among the ruins of ancient cities. The remains of palaces and temples have been brought to light, and inscriptions have been deciphered which show the great antiquity of this people, and reveal much regarding their history, their arts, and their institutions.

The Early City States; Sargon I.—The first light that falls upon the Euphrates valley reveals the existence of many cities of more or less importance, each under its own government and ruled by its own king. At a very early day the rulers of some of these cities sought to establish something like an imperial government, by bringing other cities under their power. So far as we know the first successful attempt to create an empire was made by Sargon I, king of Accad, who flourished in 3800 B. C.—the first authentic date, it is said, in the world's history. With Accad as his capital, Sargon extended his authority to the upper part of the Mesopotamian valley and as far west as the Mediterranean Sea.

Hammurabi and the Old Babylonian Empire.—Although the earliest empire of Babylonia was really established by Sargon I, the most prosperous period of what is usually called the "Old Babylonian Empire" began with Hammura'-bi, one of the greatest of ancient kings. He made the city

of Babylon his capital, and laboured for the welfare of his people. He constructed dikes to prevent the overflow of the Euphrates, and built a network of canals to irrigate the arid lands. The most remarkable monument of this king is the "Code of Hammurabi," which has been but recently discovered, and is regarded as the oldest code of laws in the world. During this most prosperous period of its history, the early Babylonian empire was not devoted to the arts of war so much as to the arts of peace. The people were more active in subduing nature than in conquering their neighbours; and hence we find that they made great progress in the development of a civilized life.

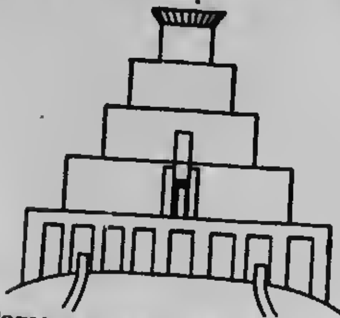
Babylonian Civilization.—The civilization of the Babylonians was based upon the character of their soil, which was made fertile by the waters of the Euphrates. They were primarily a pastoral and agricultural people, grazing their flocks and herds upon the natural pastures of the valley, or raising by artificial means the grains and fruits necessary for food. They dug canals to irrigate the outlying fields. In the absence of stone and timber they built their houses of clay which became hardened in the sun. They soon learned to manufacture bricks burned in the kiln, from which they constructed their more important buildings. They also used clay as a material upon which to write, using for this purpose a three-cornered stylus. This instrument impressed upon the moistened clay a wedge-shaped mark — such wedge-shaped characters being called "cuneiform" from *cuneus*, a wedge. The clay tablets, thus inscribed with cuneiform characters, were baked in a peculiar way, making them almost indestructible. Thousands of these tablets have been unearthed, revealing the thought and spirit of this ancient people.

AN INSCRIPTION IN CUNEIFORM

Their religion was a form of nature worship. Their supreme deities were the gods of the heaven, the earth, and the sea. Other objects of worship were the sun, the moon, and the several planets. Ishtar, who corresponded to the planet Venus, was the favourite goddess, and was sometimes called "the Queen of Babylon." Their temples (which were constructed of brick) were built in the form of towers, with a number of receding stories, reaching towards the sky. Upon the summit of the temple tower was an image of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. The temples were presided over by the priests, who, on account of their supposed nearness to the gods, were able to exercise a great influence over the people.

BABYLONIAN GODDESS, ISHTAR
(From an Assyrian cylinder)

The Babylonians made considerable progress in the sciences, especially in astronomy and mathematics. They discovered the regular movements of the heavenly bodies. They marked out the constellations and the signs of the zodiac. They divided the year into months, weeks, days, hours, minutes and seconds. They measured the hours of the day by the sundial, and the hours of the night by the water clock. In their mathematics they adopted the decimal notation; but they also introduced the "sexagesimal" system, that is, the system based on the number sixty, which we have inherited from them in our division of the hour and the minute into sixty parts. Besides acquiring considerable knowledge of mathematics they were the first to devise a regular system of weights and measures.



FORM OF THE TEMPLE TOWER

The progress made by the early Babylonians in architec-

ture, science, and the mechanic arts exercised a great influence upon later nations. Indeed, it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these early steps in the world's civilization.

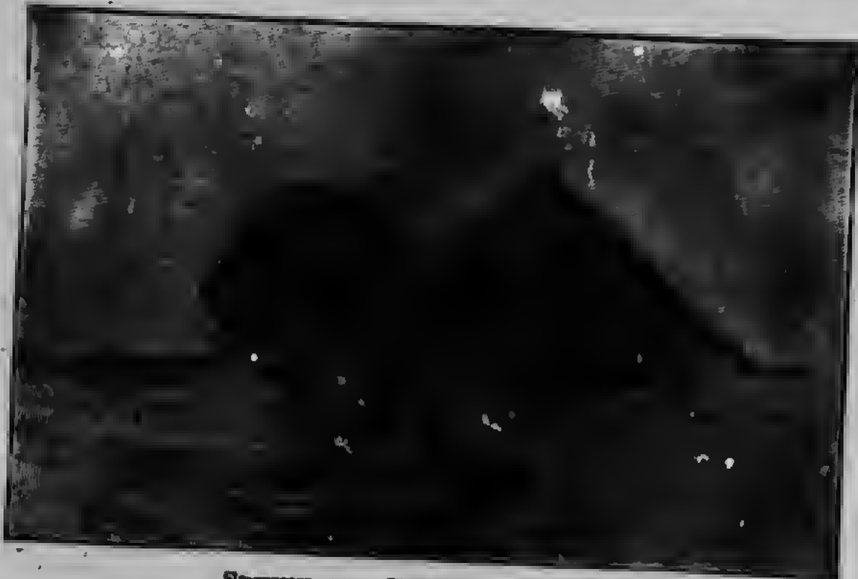
II. Ancient Egypt

The Valley of the Nile.—The second great people of the Oriental world were the Egyptians. Although far removed from the Babylonians, and for a long time unacquainted with them, the ancient Egyptians were not behind their distant rivals in developing the arts of civilized life. The early progress of Egypt was due to the favourable conditions furnished by the river Nile. What the Euphrates was to Babylonia, the Nile was to Egypt.

The Nile is one of the longest rivers of the world; rising in the distant lakes of central Africa, it pursues a course of about 4,000 miles on its way to the sea. But the part of the valley occupied by the Egyptian people extended only about six hundred miles from the mouth of the river—to the rapids called the "first cataract," on the borders of Ethiopia. The valley is enclosed on either side by low ranges of mountains, which furnish stone suitable for building; and it is well to notice that this abundant supply of stone gave to the Egyptians a great advantage over the Babylonians, who were obliged to use the less durable materials, clay and brick, for building. The valley of the Nile is only about seven or eight miles in width—except at the Delta, where it spreads out into an open plain. Not only has this valley been cut by the Nile, but its fertility is due to the annual overflow of the river, for the climate is dry and rain rarely falls. This river is also the great highway of Egypt, affording a ready means of communication from one part of the country to another. The fertile soil of Egypt was especially suitable for the raising of vegetables and grain. Rice, oats, barley, and wheat grew there in great abundance, so that the country became the granary of the ancient world.

Periods of Egyptian History.—Formerly the chief sources of our knowledge of Egypt were, first, the Greek historians,

especially Herodotus, who visited Egypt in the fifth century B. C.; and, second, the Egyptian priest Man'etho, who lived in the third century B. C., and who wrote a history containing a list of the various dynasties and kings, but whose work has reached us only in fragments. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a vast amount of additional information regarding Egypt has been derived from the inscriptions which have been deciphered and the monuments which have been brought to light. With these sources many attempts have been made to reconstruct the chronological history of Egypt. But scholars do not yet agree in regard to the dates of the early Egyptian history. The general divisions of Egyptian history and the most important dynasties may be briefly indicated as follows:



SPHINX AND PYRAMID AT GIZEH

(1) *The Old Empire* (about 4000-2700 B. C.) extended from the first dynasty to the tenth inclusive, with the capital at Memphis. The founder of the first dynasty was Me'nes, who is supposed to be the first monarch to bring the whole country under a single government. During the time of the old empire the most important dynasty was the fourth,

when the great pyramids and the sphinx were built at Gizeh, and the vast necropolis, or rock cemetery, was laid out at Sakka'rah, near Memphis. The kings of the fourth dynasty are known as the "pyramid builders," the most noted of whom was Khufu (or Cheops).

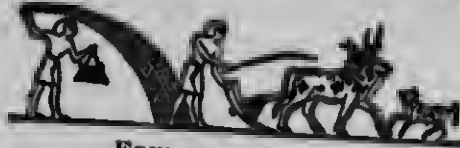
(2) *The Middle Empire* (about 2700-1670 B. C.) extended from the eleventh to the seventeenth dynasty, with the capital first at Thebes and afterwards at Tanis. The most important dynasty was the twelfth, when Egypt reached a high degree of prosperity and many important public works were constructed, like reservoirs and canals for irrigating the lands not reached by the overflow of the Nile. This dynasty was followed by the conquest of Egypt by foreign barbarian kings, called the "Hyksos" or Shepherd Kings, who probably came from Asia. The rule of the Shepherd Kings extended from the thirteenth to the seventeenth dynasty, and this was the darkest period of Egyptian history.

(3) *The New Empire* (1670-525 B. C.) extended from the eighteenth to the twenty-sixth dynasty (to the time of the Persian conquest), the capital being again at Thebes and afterwards at Tanis and Sais. During the eighteenth dynasty Egypt recovered her independence by driving out the Shepherd Kings. Under Thothmes III she extended her power over Ethiopia and over Syria as far as the Euphrates and the borders of Asia Minor. This period marks the greatest extent of the Egyptian empire. By these conquests Egypt was brought into contact with the culture of the Euphrates valley, and derived from the Babylonians a taste for the finer mechanical arts, for Oriental luxury, and for a more palatial architecture. During the nineteenth dynasty, under the renowned kings Seti I and his son Rame'ses II, Egypt reaped the glorious results of her previous conquests and reached the highest stage of her civilization. From this time Egypt began to decline. In the twenty-fifth dynasty she was conquered by the Ethiopians and afterwards by the Assyrians. In the twenty-

RAMESES II.

sixth dynasty she recovered her independence under the king Psammet'ichus I, but after a century she was finally reduced to the condition of a Persian province.

Egyptian Society and Government.—Egypt, at the dawn of history, had already become a united empire. There is evidence that this first empire, under Menes, had grown up from a union of towns and villages which were previously independent, each under its own ruler and priests. These towns became grouped into districts, or "nomes," under local governors; and these in turn were gradually brought under the common authority of a king who ruled over the whole country. The people were not equal, but were divided into classes. The upper classes included the priests, whose office was hereditary, and the warriors, who were devoted exclusively to military pursuits. The lower classes comprised the common people, including the artisans, the farmers, and the herdsmen. The land was generally owned by the upper classes, and let out to the peasants, who paid their rent in the products of the soil. Above all these classes was the king, or Pha'raoh, who was looked upon as a divine person. He was the fountain of all authority; and the labour, the property and the lives of the people were at his disposal. The king was assisted in his government by a body of councillors, who carried out his will. The highest offices of the state were held by the priests, who were exempted from all taxes and held the best parts of the land. The government was supported by the army or warrior class which was also exempt from taxes and held large landed estates.



EGYPTIANS SOWING

EGYPTIAN SHOEMAKER'S SHOP

Egyptian Civilization.—The Egyptians, like the Babylonians, were first of all an agricultural people. They also

acquired great skill in the industrial arts, working in clay, stone, and glass; in wood, ivory, leather, and the textile fabrics; in the coarser metals, bronze, lead, and iron; and in the precious metals, gold and silver.

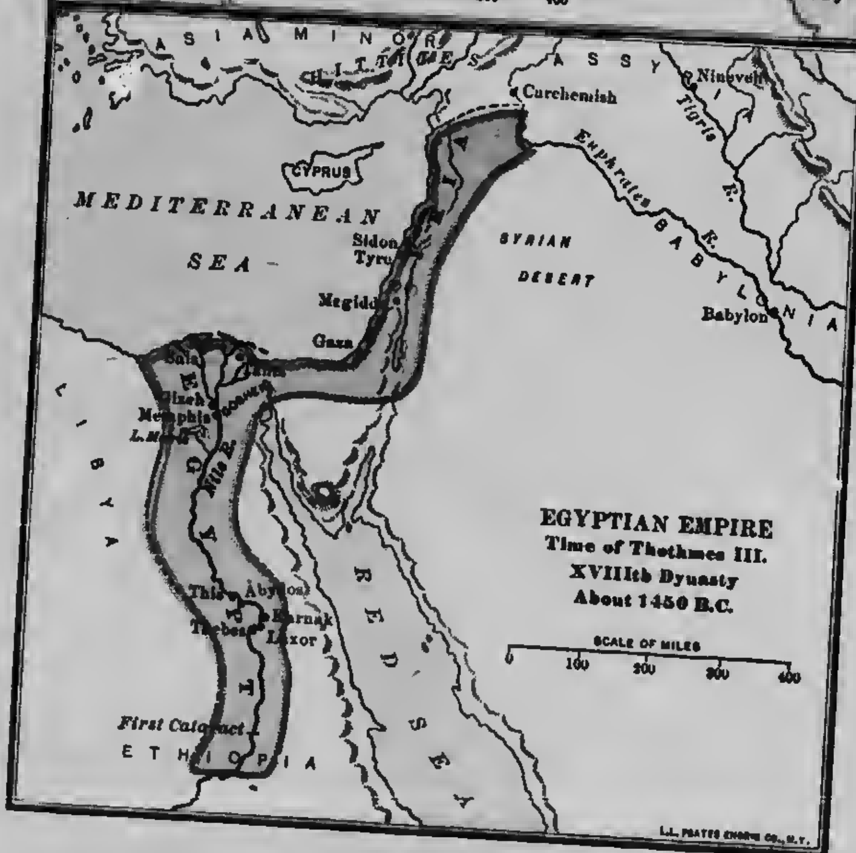
The religion of Egypt was a strange mixture of various kinds of worship. The lowest form of religion was animal worship, such as was prevalent among the primitive tribes of Africa. The crocodile, the serpent, the hawk, the cow, the cat, and many other animals were held as sacred. Besides this animal worship, we find a complex form of nature worship, the chief object of which was the sun, the source of light and life, whose journey through the heavens was the cause of day and night and an emblem of life and death. With the recognition of a supreme god, the most learned men of Egypt attained an idea which approached that of monotheism. The Egyptians believed in the continued existence of the soul after death. This belief led to the practice of embalming the body of the deceased, that the mummy might be preserved for the return of the spirit. The Egyptians also believed in a system of future rewards and punishments, and that every soul must be judged

AMUN

JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL BEFORE OSIRIS

before Osiris for the deeds done in the body. The priests of Egypt, who had charge of the religion, were also the learned class. They cultivated philosophy and the various sciences

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 2.



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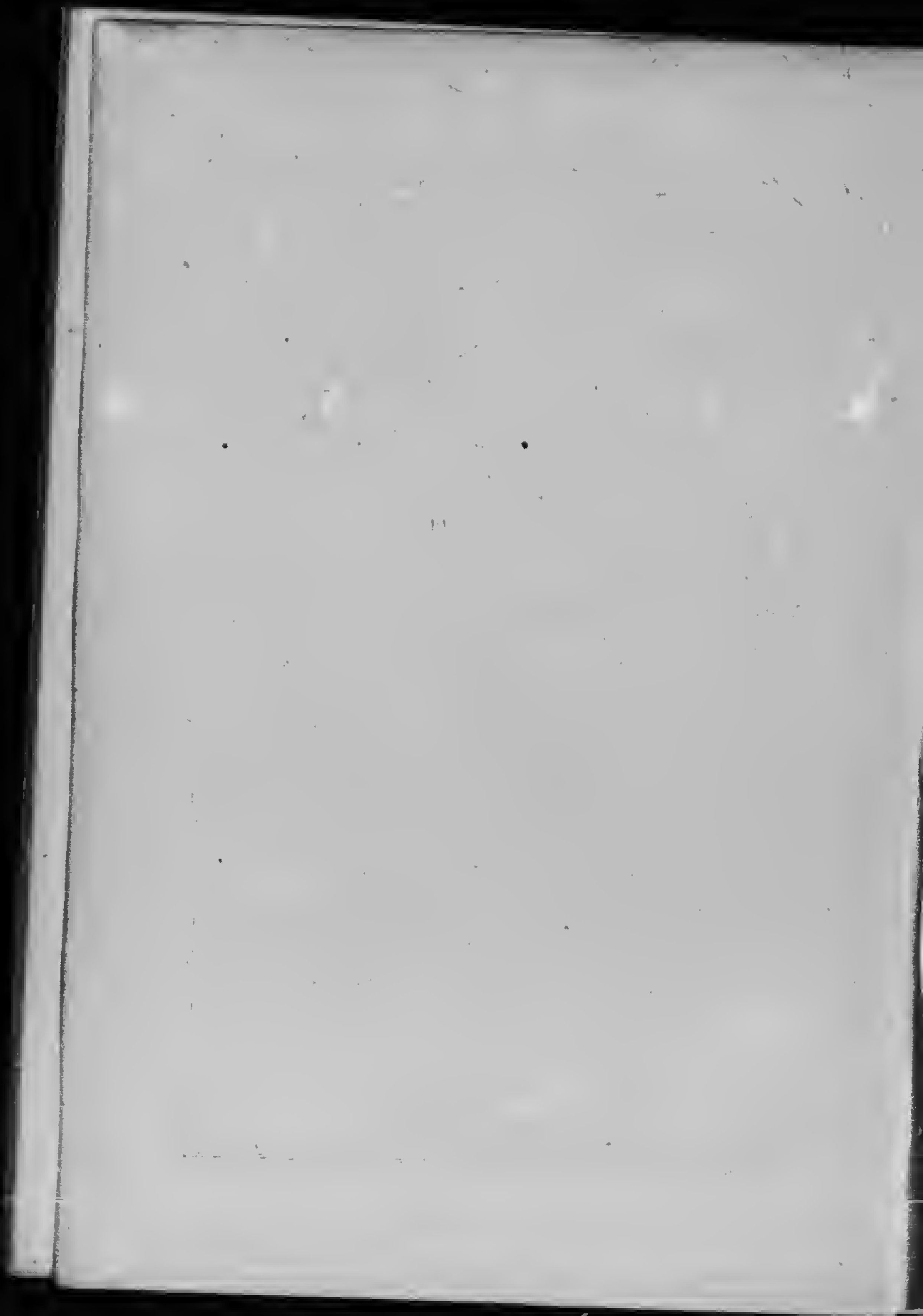
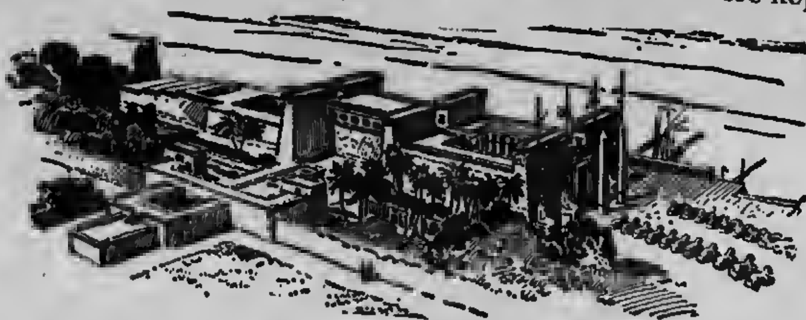


—astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, and medicine—which here attained a considerable degree of development.

The religious spirit of the Egyptians was strongly impressed upon their architecture, which consisted mainly of tombs and temples. The buildings for the dead are seen in the rock-sepulchres cut in the sides of the hills which flanked the Nile. Separate monumental tombs took the form of pyramids, and reached the most gigantic proportions at Gizeh. In these artificial mountains of stone rested the remains of kings. The most impressive specimens of architecture are seen in the massive temples, which were generally made up of a combination of columns and sculptured walls. The other arts, such as sculpture and painting, were also cultivated by the Egyptians. They also attained some skill in music; they possessed such instruments as the guitar, the harp, and the pipe; and the drum and the trumpet inspired the Egyptian soldier on his march.

SERAPIS

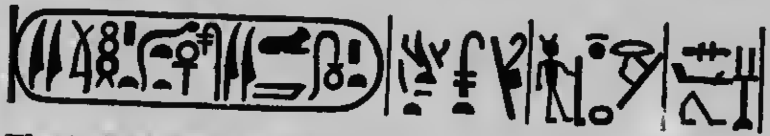
Tho great number of inscriptions cut upon the buildings and monuments indicate the peculiar character of the Egyptian writing, and one of the ways in which records were kept.



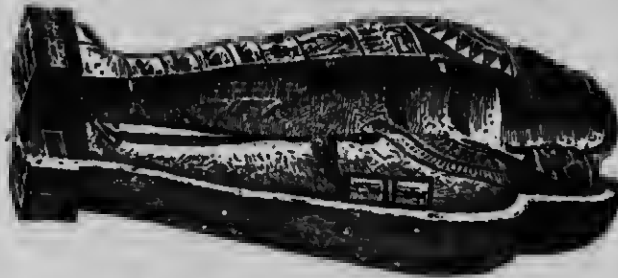
AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE

On account of these inscriptions and designs the buildings are veritable books in stone. But they remained practically sealed books until a key was found by which the inscriptions could be deciphered. The "Roset'ta stone," discovered

near one of the mouths of the Nile (1799) contained a royal decree written in three kinds of characters, the hieroglyphic, the demotic, and the Greek. With this key the French scholar Champollion deciphered the language (1821), and may be said to have unlocked the treasure-house of Egyptian learning. This line gives an example of the hieroglyphic characters:[1]



The Influence of Egypt.—Egypt held a place in the valley of the Nile somewhat similar to that held by Babylonia in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. They both represent the early stages in the world's civilization, and contributed much to the progress of other nations. But the culture of Egypt was not at first so widely diffused as was that of Babylonia. Egypt, however, formed one of the great sources of Oriental culture, from which Europe and modern countries have received valuable materials. Egypt taught the world the principles of a durable architecture. It is true that the Babylonians built elaborate structures of brick, but these have well-nigh perished, while the stone buildings of Egypt have withstood in a wonderful manner the destructive influences of time. Indeed, we might say that one great difference between the material civilization of Babylonia and that of Egypt was the fact that one was wrought in *clay* and the other in *stone*. The Greeks, no doubt, derived much of their early knowledge of architecture from the Egyptians. The



MUMMY AND MUMMY CASE

[1] The line is read from right to left, and is translated thus: "Raising | statue | of king of Egypt | Ptolemy eternal beloved of Ptah."

Egyptians have also exercised a strong intellectual influence upon the world. The progress made by them in some of the sciences—especially in geometry and astronomy—was appreciated by later nations, and formed a basis for further scientific achievements. We may, therefore, look upon Egypt as one of the sources of modern thought and culture.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Early Babylonian Empire.—Meaning of History.—The First Centres of Civilization.—The Tigris-Euphrates Valley.—The Early City States; Sargon I.—Hammurabi and the Old Babylonian Empire.—Babylonian Civilization.

II. Ancient Egypt.—The Valley of the Nile.—Periods of Egyptian History.—Egyptian Society and Government.—Egyptian Civilization.—The Influence of Egypt.

CHAPTER II

PHŒNICIA AND JUDEA

I. Phœnicia and Ancient Commerce

Phœnicia and its People.—On the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea was a land which, as we have seen, was the meeting ground of the Babylonians and the Egyptians. For the want of any other common name we call this land Syria. The most important peoples living here were the Phœnicians and the Hebrews, both of whom belonged to the Semitic race. Of these the first to reach an important position in the Oriental world were the Phœnicians. Their home was a narrow strip of territory bordering on the shores of the sea, about one hundred and fifty miles long and from ten to fifteen miles in width, and shut off from the interior of the country by the range of the Leb′anon Mountains. This country, having been conquered in succession by Babylonia and Egypt, became the common heir of these two older civilizations. For example, the religion of the

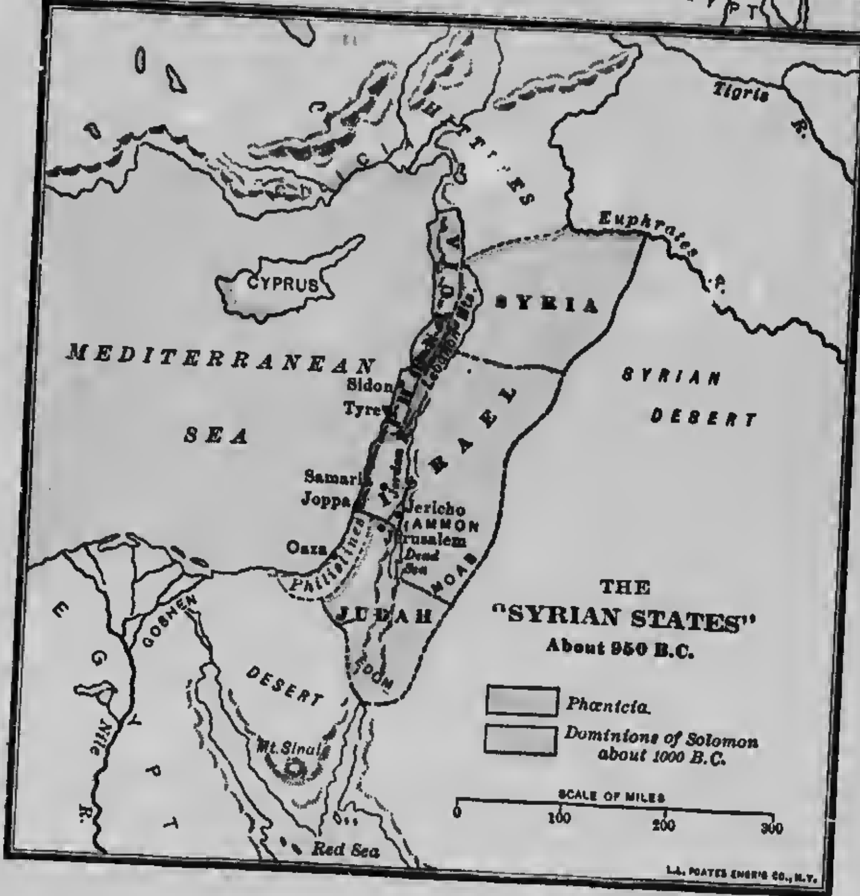
Phœnicians was a form of nature worship quite similar to that of the Babylonians. Their architecture was, in its main features, modelled upon that of the Egyptians. In their mechanic arts they also showed the same refined skill as their older neighbours. The Phœnicians were distinguished for their glass and metal work, their pottery, their textile fabrics, and especially for their purple dyes, which they obtained from a sea snail that was found along the Mediterranean coasts.

Phœnician Commerce.—The great distinction of this people was their genius for trade and commerce. Upon the sea the Phœnicians established an empire perhaps equal in importance to that which any other Oriental people had established upon the land. The cedars of Lebanon furnished timber for their ships; and with these they became the first masters of the Mediterranean, and the greatest commercial nation of ancient times. Their fleets established the first commercial intercourse between Europe, Asia and Africa. They not only exported their own products to other countries, but they became the common carriers for the known world. From India they brought ivory, jewels, spices, and scented wood. From Arabia they brought gold, precious stones, incense, and myrrh. From the coasts of Ethiopia they added to their cargoes of gold and ivory supplies of ebony and ostrich feathers. They brought from the shores of the Baltic yellow amber; from Spain silver, iron, lead, and copper; from Africa the precious metals; and from Britain tin. Thus the different parts of the world were brought into relation with one another by the Phœnician mariners and merchants.

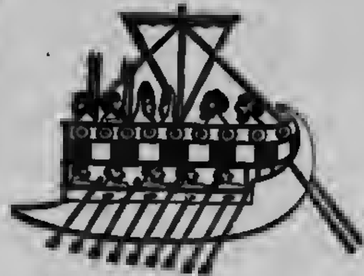
SHELLS OF THE SEA SNAIL FROM WHICH THE PURPLE DYE WAS MADE

Phœnician Colonies.—To aid in extending their commerce

PROGRESSIVE MAP No.3.



the Phœnicians established trading posts, or colonies, in all the countries visited by their ships and merchants. Not only were these established in the civilized countries of the East for the purchase and exchange of wares; they were also established among the uncivilized peoples of the West for the development of the resources of new lands. The coasts of the Mediterranean became dotted with Phœnician colonies.



A PHŒNICIAN BIREME

The most famous of these colonies was Carthage (founded about 850 B.C.), which itself established a commercial empire on the northern coast of Africa, and which in later times came into a bitter conflict with Rome. The colonies on the Mediterranean were largely mining stations, where the metals were extracted from the earth for the use of eastern factories. By thus coming into contact with the barbarous people on the European coasts, the Phœnicians diffused among them a taste for the arts of civilized life. They carried not only commodities but culture. They have on this account been called the first "missionaries of civilization."

Phœnician.	Old Greek.	Old Roman.	Modern Roman, English, etc.
𐤀	A	A	A
𐤁	B	B	B
𐤂	C	<C	C
𐤃	▷D	D	D
𐤄	E	E	E
𐤅	ϝ	F	F
		C	G
ΘH	EH	II	H
𐤆	I	I	I
			J
𐤊	K	K	K
𐤋	Ʋ	⅃L	L
𐤌	M	M	M
𐤍	N	N	N
O	O	O	O
𐤐	Γ	ΓP	P
𐤒	Ϙ	ϘQ	Q
𐤓	PR	R	R
𐤔	≷Ƨ	≥S	S
𐤕	T	T	T

GROWTH OF THE ALPHABET

The Phœnician Alphabet. — Perhaps the greatest gift of the Phœnicians to the world was a true phonetic alphabet. It is said that the Phœnicians invented their alphabetical writing as a common language of commerce. Wherever they sailed and carried their cargoes, they also carried their alphabet, which Renan aptly calls one of their "exports." The alphabet was, however, the result of a

long process of growth. The earliest writing was in the form of pictures to represent material objects, and then in the form of symbols to represent abstract ideas. The Egyptians made great progress by using signs to represent syllables, and afterwards to represent elementary sounds. It was reserved for the Phœnicians, however, to develop a true phonetic alphabet, in which the chief elementary sounds were represented by separated and well-defined characters. This alphabet was adopted by many peoples, especially by the Greeks, who gave it to the Romans, by whom it was given to modern nations. Thus the Phœnicians, by the development of commerce and the invention of a true phonetic alphabet, and also by their diffusion of Oriental culture over the Mediterranean coasts, must be regarded as one of the most important of ancient nations.

II. Judea and the Hebrews

The Hebrew Nation.—Not far from Phœnicia in Palestine there grew up another Semitic nation, which was in many respects different from every other Oriental people. This was the Hebrew nation. Having no great river like that of the Egyptians and that of the Babylonians, and not taking to the sea like the Phœnicians, they did not attain distinction in the industrial or commercial arts. Their greatness did not depend upon art or science, or upon their capacity for political organization. Yet they have perhaps done for civilization as much as any other people of the East, for they became the moral and religious teachers of the world.

Periods of Jewish History.—No other ancient nation possessed so complete a record as did the Hebrews of the way in which a people has passed from the primitive to the civilized stage. From these records, we learn that their ancestor, Abram, was a Babylonian, that he came (about 2000 B. C.) from Ur, a "city of the Chaldees," that he visited Egypt, and finally settled in Jude′a. His descendants, in the time of a famine, took refuge in Egypt, and became subject to the Shepherd Kings, who assigned to them a home in lower Egypt (Goshen). Being oppressed by a king of a subse-

quent dynasty, they were delivered from their bondage by their great leader and lawgiver, Moses, a man skilled in all the learning of Egypt. From this time the history of the Jews may be divided into the following periods:

(1) *From the Exodus to the Establishment of the Monarchy* (1300-1095 B. C.).—During this time the people were welded into a nation, with a national law and a national religion, under the statesmanship of Moses. They crossed the Jordan under their leader Joshua, captured Jer′icho, conquered the surrounding country in Palestine (or Canaan, as they called

TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM (Restoration)

it), and established a theocratic commonwealth under the rule of officers called "judges."

(2) *From the Establishment of the Monarchy to the Division of the Kingdom* (1095-975 B. C.).—During this period the nation was ruled by three distinguished kings. The first of these was Saul, who carried on war with the neighbouring tribes, the Am′monites, the Philis′tines, and others. The second king was David, who captured Jerusalem and made it the capital of the kingdom, building a royal palace, with the aid of Phœnician architects. By his conquests he establish-

ed an empire extending from the Euphrates on the north to the Red Sea on the south. The third and last king of the united monarchy was Solomon, who gave to the kingdom an air of Oriental magnificence. He built a splendid temple at Jerusalem, and adorned the city with sumptuous palaces. He formed an alliance with the kings of Tyre, and carried on an extensive commerce with Egypt and the East. He amassed enormous wealth and surrounded his throne with pomp and splendour. He married an Egyptian princess, and established a luxurious court like that of the eastern kings. But his glory was purchased at the expense of justice and his nation's honour. He laid heavy burdens upon his subjects and impoverished them. He disregarded the laws of Moses, and the Hebrew kingdom became practically an Oriental monarchy like that of Babylon.

(3) *From the Division of the Kingdom to the Babylonish Captivity* (975-586 B. C.).—During this time the Hebrew nation formed two distinct kingdoms. Ten tribes revolted and formed the kingdom of Israel, with its capital at Sama'-ria; the remaining two tribes formed the kingdom of Judah, with its capital at Jerusalem. The kingdom of Israel was finally conquered by the Assyrian king Sargon II (722 B. C.), and the people were removed to Nineveh, where they were "lost" as a separate people. The kingdom of Judah was destroyed by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (586 B. C.), and the inhabitants were carried away as captives to Babylon, but they were afterwards allowed to return to Jerusalem (537 B. C.) as subjects of Cyrus, the Persian king.

The Hebrew Religion; Monotheism.—In spite of the fact that the people and the rulers were often led astray by the influence of foreign religious ideas, still the highest and most distinctive feature of the Jewish civilization was the growth of monotheism. We must judge of the real character of the Jewish religion, not by the practices of those who departed from it, but by the teachings of those who were its highest expounders—Moses and the prophets. In these great teachers we find the true idea of monotheism. Another feature of the Jewish religion was the fact that it was closely linked to morality. Religious worship and moral duty were

regarded as two sides of a complete life. The history of the nation was a constant struggle against false ideas of religion and false ideas of morality. When the priests were carried away with the idea that religion consisted simply in rites and ceremonies, and the kings were seeking the pomp and luxury of the East, and the people were falling into wickedness and idolatry, it was left to the later prophets to become the true expounders of religion and the moral law.

HIGH PRIEST

The Hebrew Literature; the Bible.—The idea of monotheism was the inspiring idea of the Hebrew literature, as it was of the Hebrew religion. This literature is contained in what we call the Old Testament, and comprises (1) the Pentateuch, or the legal books; (2) the historical books; (3) the poetical books; and (4) the books of the prophets. In their literary genius the Hebrews surpassed all other Oriental nations. In the writings of their poets and prophets we find the highest examples of religious fervour and imaginative description. The Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and the Prophecy of Isaiah, considered merely as literary compositions, are unsurpassed in the literature of any people. When we consider the writings of the Hebrews and their religious influence upon the civilized world, we must assign to this nation a high place among the historical peoples of ancient times.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. PHŒNICIA AND ANCIENT COMMERCE.—Phœnicia and its People.—Phœnician Commerce.—Phœnician Colonies.—The Phœnician Alphabet.

II. JUDEA AND THE HEBREWS.—The Hebrew Nation.—Periods of Jewish History.—The Hebrew Religion; Monotheism.—The Hebrew Literature; the Bible.

CHAPTER III

ASSYRIA AND LATER BABYLONIA

I. Assyria, the First World Empire

The Rise of Assyria.—We are now brought to a new period in Oriental history, in which all the previous nations of the East—not only the Phœnicians and the Hebrews, but also the Babylonians and the Egyptians—lose their independence, and become parts of one great world empire. The people who established this empire were the Assyrians. They belonged to the Semitic race, like the Babylonians, and dwelt in the upper part of the Tigris-Euphrates, or Mesopotamian, valley. In the rugged climate of the north they developed a hardy and warlike character. The Assyrians have been compared to the Romans as a military and conquering people. They cultivated the arts of war, having well organized bodies of infantry, cavalry, and war chariots.

The centre of Assyrian power was at first the city of Assur; this was a colony of Babylonia situated on the upper Tigris River and the seat of the worship of the god Assur. The city obtained its independence from Babylonia, and gave the name "Assyria" to the whole surrounding country. After a time, the Assyrian capital was transferred from Assur to Nineveh (by Shalmane'ser I, 1320 B. C.); and this new capital became the permanent seat of the empire. The external history of Assyria is a history of almost continual wars, resulting in the partial success of the Assyrian arms under the first empire, and the final triumph of the Assyrian power under the second empire.

The First Assyrian Empire (1120-745 B. C.).—The founder of the first Assyrian empire was the great warrior king of Nineveh, Tiglath-Pile'ser I (1120 B. C.), who subdued the surrounding cities, and carried his arms to the west until

after many years he finally reached the coasts of the Mediterranean. That he looked with satisfaction upon his own achievements is evident from his inscription (now preserved in the British Museum), in which he calls himself "the king of kings, the lord of lords, the ever victorious hero." The merciless character of Assyrian warfare is seen in the career of another noted king, Assur-nazir-pal (885 B. C.), whom, in spite of his fame, we may regard as one of the most cruel of conquerors. The lands which he conquered, he desolated, ravaging the fields and killing the people. In his own words, which have come down to us, we may read his boasting of the pyramids he has built of human heads, of the captives flayed alive, and of the children burned to death. The conquests of these early kings were continued by Shalmaneser II (860 B. C.), whose deeds are recorded on the famous "black obelisk," which he built. On one side of this obelisk we may see a procession of subjects bringing their gifts and tribute to the king. The many wars of the period were intended to bring into subjection the neighbouring countries—especially Babylonia on the south, and Syria on the west. But these conquests were not permanent, and the first empire fell into a state of decline.

ASSYRIAN WAR CHARIOT

ASSUR-NAZIR-PAL
Relief in British Museum

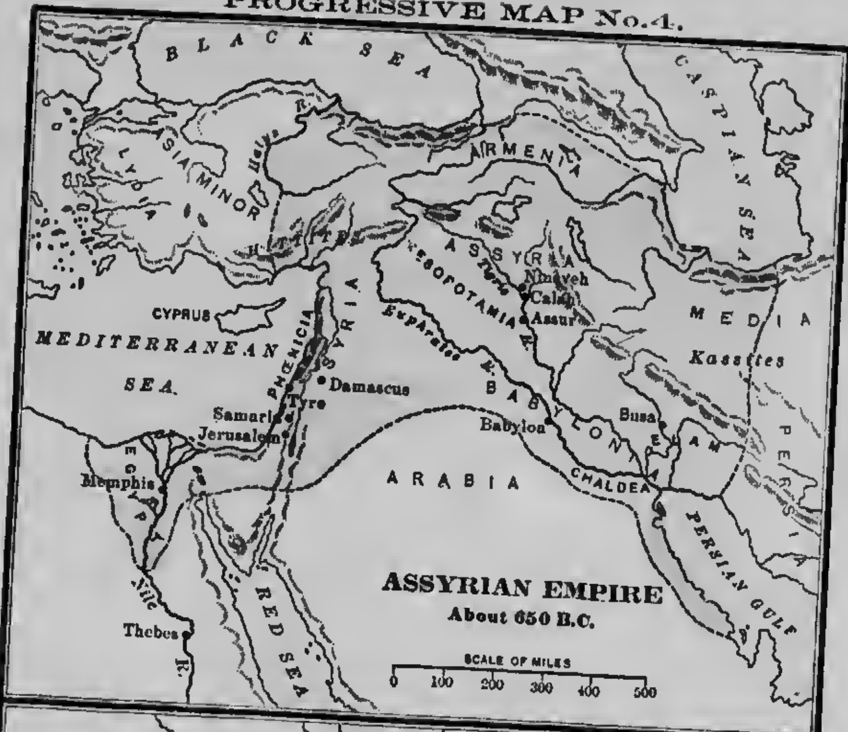
The Second Assyrian Empire (745-606 B. C.).—The failure of the first empire was due to the lack of an efficient mode

of governing the subjects. When a people were once conquered and made tributary, they were left to themselves; and consequently they were tempted to rise in rebellion against the king when he demanded further tribute. This policy was changed by a distinguished king who is regarded as the founder of the second Assyrian empire —Tiglath-Pileser III (745 B. C.). This king adopted the policy of organizing the conquered cities into districts, or provinces, each subject to a governor of his own appointment. He also adopted the practice of "deportation" —that is, of scattering rebellious peoples into different parts of the empire, thus preventing any united efforts at revolt. In accordance with this practice, the next king, Sargon II (722 B. C.), when he had conquered Samaria, carried away the "Ten Tribes" of Israel into captivity and scattered them among the towns of Media, where they were forever "lost" as a separate people. The success which attended the campaigns of Sargon in Israel led his successor, the more famous King Sennach'erib (705 B. C.), to continue these expeditions. He accordingly subdued the cities of Phœnicia; but his efforts against the city of Jerusalem failed, and his armies, smitten by a pestilence, were led back to Nineveh. The last years of this king were devoted to wars with Babylonia, resulting finally in the total destruction of the city of Babylon (688 B. C.). The conquests of the three kings just mentioned resulted in bringing nearly the whole of western Asia under Assyrian power.

BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II.

SEAL OF SENNACHERIB

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 4.



ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
About 650 B.C.

THE EAST
AFTER THE
FALL OF ASSYRIA
About 600 B.C.

Assyria the Heir of Early Babylonia.—A great part of the civilization of the Assyrians was inherited from the early

Assyrian Palace at Nineveh (Restoration)

Babylonians. It is true that these two peoples belonged to the same race; yet they were quite different in spirit. "The Babylonians were peaceful in disposition, given to agriculture, fond of literature, well educated and comparatively humane in the conduct of their wars. The Assyrians cared little for agriculture, their wars were undertaken for plunder and were conducted with ferocity." Still, many of the arts of peace developed by the Babylonians were taken up by the Assyrians. The Assyrians, for example, adopted the method of writing used by their older neighbours, and showed something of the same taste for literature. They acquired the same, if not superior, skill in the mechanic arts, and adopted the same scientific ideas. Their religion was in all essential matters the same as that of the Babylonians; and they generally adopted the same strict methods in their

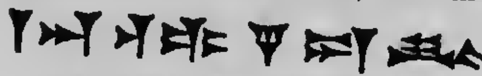
Winged Bull with Human Head

legal transactions. The advancement which they made upon the Babylonians was principally in the direction of a more highly developed imperial government, a more palatial style of architecture, and a greater appreciation of sculpture as a decorative art.

II. The Later Babylonian Empire

Recovery of the Empire by Babylon.—During the supremacy of Assyria, Babylon remained in the position of a dependent kingdom; but throughout this period she had preserved the memory of her former greatness, and frequently revolted against the Assyrian monarch. But in these attempts she was doomed to failure, until she found an ally in a people living east of the Tigris. This people was the Medes, who had themselves been subject to Assyria for more than a century; they had now recovered their independence and established an empire of their own. With the aid of the Medes, the Babylonians succeeded in destroying Nineveh and overthrowing the Assyrian monarchy (606 B. C.). The dominions of Assyria were now divided between the conquerors,—Media ruling the countries to the east of the Tigris, and Babylon the countries to the west.

Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar.—In this way Babylon recovered her ancient power, and ruled with increased splendour. The great king Nebuchadnez'zar (605-561 B. C.) restored her fallen cities, and made her for a short time the centre of Eastern civilization. His dominions extended over the valley of the Euphrates and the countries of Syria to the borders of Egypt. The Jews who refused to respect his authority were treated with severity. Jerusalem was taken and sacked; and the tribes of Judah were carried away into captivity. The great king rebuilt the city of Babylon, surrounded it with massive walls, and adorned it with sumptuous palaces. To rival the beauties of nature and to please his queen, a Median princess, he



The Name Nebuchadnezzar in Cuneiform

built the famous "hanging gardens," which were artificial hills built in the form of immense terraces and covered with luxuriant shrubs and flowers. During this brief period of her later supremacy Babylon attained, in the highest degree, all the luxury and pomp peculiar to Oriental civilization. But Babylon the Great finally fell before the rising power of Persia (538 B. C.), which absorbed all the countries of western Asia.

The Assyrio-Babylonian Civilization.—We have seen that the Tigris-Euphrates valley was the seat of three successive empires,—early Babylonia, Assyria and later Babylonia. But in their culture these empires may be looked upon as presenting three successive phases of one and the same civilization. The early Babylonians had developed a form of religion, science, and art which showed the evidence of intellectual growth and a certain degree of refinement. The Assyrians took up the culture of the Babylonians, and impressed upon it a political and imperial stamp, such as was naturally derived from a great and conquering people. And this imperial character was transferred back to Babylon with the establishment of the later empire. So the culture which was finally developed in the Mesopotamian valley was a mingling of Babylonian and Assyrian elements.

From this brief review we can see that the Tigris-Euphrates valley was one of the great centres of ancient civilization. By its commercial and political relations its culture was extended to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The religious ideas of its people became the common property of the East. Their progress in certain branches of science, especially in astronomy, formed a contribution to the intellectual development of the ancient world. Their skill in some of the industrial arts, such as weaving and the cutting of intaglios, has scarcely been equalled by modern nations. Their political organization formed the basis of the later imperial systems of the East, which were afterwards transferred to Europe under the later Roman empire.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. ASSYRIA, THE FIRST WORLD EMPIRE.—The Rise of Assyria.—The First Assyrian Empire.—The Second Assyrian Empire.—Assyria the Heir of Early Babylon.

II. THE LATER BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.—Recovery of the Empire by Babylon.—Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar.—The Assyrio-Babylonian Civilization.

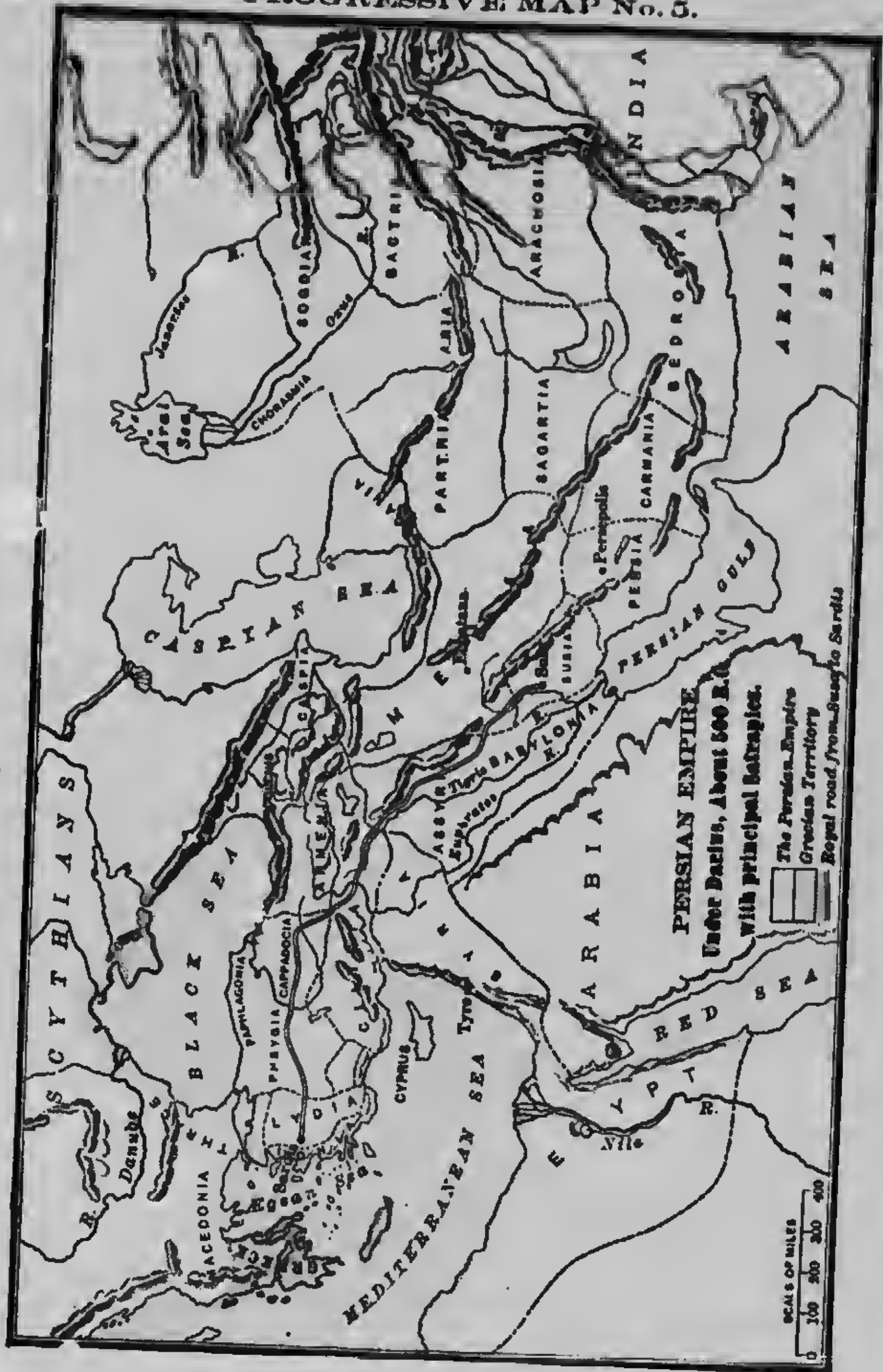
CHAPTER IV

MEDIA AND PERSIA

I. THE ARYANS AND THE MEDIAN EMPIRE

Beginnings of Aryan Civilization.—We have thus far seen the beginnings and growth of civilization among the Hamitic people in Egypt, and also among the Semitic people who lived in the Tigris-Euphrates valley and on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. We have noticed the rise and fall of the great empires established by these peoples—the early Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, and the later Babylonian. The time has now come when the dominion of the Orient passes from the Hamites and the Semites into the hands of Aryan peoples, who are henceforth to become the masters of the civilized world.

The Medes and the Persians.—The first Aryan people who became a real factor in the progress of the ancient world were the Medes and the Persians. They were inspired with the imperial spirit of the East, and changed the face of the Oriental world. These two peoples were closely related to each other, although they found homes in different regions. They both settled upon the western part of the great plateau of Iran, which lies between the Indus and Tigris rivers; but the home of the Medes was among the higher lands towards the north and west, while that of the Persians was farther south near the shores of the Persian Gulf. Of these two peoples, the Medes were the first to obtain prominence


PERSIAN EMPIRE
Under Darius, About 500 B.C.
With principal Satrapies.
The Persian Empire
Grecian Territory
Royal road from Susa to Sardis
SCALE OF MILES
SCYTHIANS
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
ARABIA
EGYPT
INDIA
MACEDONIA
CYPRUS
PAPHLAGONIA
CAPPADOCIA
PHRYGIA
ARMENIA
CHORASMIA
SOGDIA
BACTRIA
ARIA
PARTHIA
ARACHOSIA
SAGARTIA
GEDROSIA
CARMANIA
PERSIA
Persepolis
SUSIA
BABYLONIA
Tigris
Euphrates
Danube
Nile
Tyre

by throwing off the yoke of the Assyrians, to whom they had been subject. Fighting for existence against the continual encroachments of Assyria on the west and of the barbarous Scythians on the north, they not only maintained their national life, but developed the military strength which enabled them to conquer their neighbours and to establish an empire.

The Median Empire; Cyaxares.—The founder, and in fact the only great ruler, of the Median empire was Cyax'ares (625-585 B. C.). He organized the scattered tribes of the country and completed the work begun by previous princes. His military ability is shown by the fact that he formed his army into regular divisions, each made up of those who were armed with the same kind of weapons. He first drove back the barbarians who were pressing upon his kingdom from the north, and delivered western Asia from these invaders. He then formed an alliance with the king of Babylonia, as the result of which Nineveh was destroyed and the empire of Assyria was overthrown. While Nebuchadnezzar was ruling in splendour at Babylon, Cyaxares was extending his dominions. He invaded Asia Minor and pushed his arms to the river Halys, which became the dividing line between his empire and that of Lydia. The Median empire, though extensive in its territory, was the shortest-lived of all the great Oriental monarchies. Its chief significance lies in the fact that it prepared the way for the greater empire of the Persians.

II. Persia, the Second World Empire

The East before the Persian Conquests.—At the death of Cyaxares in the beginning of the sixth century (585 B. C.), there were four principal nations of the Oriental world, which we should keep in mind if we would understand the growth of the Persian empire. These were: (1) the Median empire, which had been built up by the prince Cyaxares, and which extended to the Halys River on the west, to the Caspian Sea on the north, to the Persian Gulf on the south, and to an indefinite boundary line on the east towards the Indus

River; (2) the later Babylonian empire, which, with the aid of the Medes, had been formed from the dissolution of the empire of Assyria, and which extended from the Tigris River to the shores of the Mediterranean; (3) the Lydian empire, which covered the western part of Asia Minor from the Halys River almost to the Ægean Sea, on the coasts of which had grown up a number of Greek cities; and (4) Egypt, which had recovered its independence under Psammetichus and occupied its original territory in the valley of the Nile. We are now to see how these different countries became absorbed into the one great world empire of Persia.

Rise of Persia under Cyrus (558-529 B. C.).—Persia had been a small province in the Median empire situated on the Persian Gulf. About the middle of the sixth century B. C. a prince, whom we know as Cyrus the Great, revolted from Media and succeeded in reducing that state to his own authority. Many stories are told about the birth and early life of this great man; but they are largely mythical, and need not be rehearsed. His chief significance for us is in the fact that he created the most powerful empire that the world had yet seen, and established a policy which was destined to bring Asia into conflict with Europe. The growth of this empire resulted from the conquests made by three kings—Cyrus, its founder, and his successors, Camby'ses and Dari'us.

BAS-RELIEF OF CYRUS

Conquest of Lydia.—With the overthrow of the Median empire, Cyrus proceeded to extend his kingdom to the west. This required the conquest of Babylonia west of the Tigris,

and of Lydia west of the Halys River. Lydia was the first to be conquered. Her energetic king, Crœsus, who had now under his control all of Asia Minor west of the Halys, assumed the part of defender of western Asia. He is said to have consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and to have received the response that "if he crossed the Halys he would destroy a great empire." Not thinking that this prophecy might apply to his own empire, and not to that of Cyrus, he crossed the river, and after an indecisive battle retreated into his own territory. Without delay Cyrus invaded Lydia and captured the capital city Sardis. Asia Minor now became a part of the Persian empire.

Conquest of Babylonia and Egypt.—After the conquest of Lydia, Cyrus turned his attention to his next great rival, Babylonia. With the fall of Babylon (538 B. C.), this empire also became a part of his dominions. It is to the credit of Cyrus that he permitted the Jews, who had been held in captivity since the days of Nebuchadnezzar, to return to their home in Jerusalem. After the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses (529-522 B. C.) extended the Persian authority over Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. But an army sent into Ethiopia perished in the sands of the desert; and an expedition planned against Carthage failed, because the Phœnician sailors refused to serve against their kinsfolk. The rule of Cambyses was oppressive and often cruel, and was marked by frequent revolts in different parts of the empire.

Conquests in Europe under Darius.—The insurrections which attended the death of Cambyses were quelled by Darius (521-484 B. C.), who was, next to Cyrus, the greatest king of Persia. He has a special interest for us, because he was the first to extend the Persian authority into Europe —which fact paved the way for the subsequent invasion of Greece. The purpose of Darius in entering Europe was, according to Herodotus, to send an expedition against the barbarous Scythians. So far as the Scythians were concerned, this expedition proved a failure. But on his return to Asia Darius left in Europe an army which subdued Thrace [illegible] the Greek cities to the north of the Ægean Sea,

and even compelled Macedonia to acknowledge the supremacy of the great king. The Persian empire was thus extended into Europe to the boundary of Greece itself.

The subsequent history of Persia was closely related to that of Greece, which had by this time developed a distinct civilization of its own and had become the centre of a new world culture. We shall hereafter see how Persia came into conflict with the Greek states, and how it was finally overthrown by Alexander the Great (331 B. C.).

III. The Government and Civilization of Persia

Political Organization of the Empire.—In its geographical extent Persia surpassed all the previous empires of the East. It not only covered all the lands hitherto occupied by Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Lydia, and Egypt, but added to them other territory not included in these older empires. It extended from the Indus River to the Ægean Sea, a distance of about three thousand miles. It comprised, in fact, the whole civilized world except India and China in the far East, and Greece and Carthage in the West.

THE PERSIAN KING
(with attendants)

The form of government established over this vast domain was patterned after that of the Assyrians, but strengthened and perfected by the genius of Darius. For the purpose of administration the territory was divided into a number of provinces, or "satrapies," each under a provincial governor, or satrap, appointed by the king. The provinces were divided into districts,

each under a deputy of the satrap. The provinces were subject to the satraps, and the satraps were subject to the king. The duties of the provincial subjects were to furnish men for the royal army, ships for the royal navy, and money for the royal treasury. The provinces were joined to the capital, Susa, by military roads, the most important of which was the great royal road from Susa to Sardis, fifteen hundred miles long. The person of the king was exalted above that of other men. He sat upon a throne made of gold, silver and ivory. His garments were of richest silk. To serve him was the highest mark of nobility. To minister to his comfort, one dignitary was chosen to carry the royal parasol, another the royal fan, while other officers were appointed to perform other equally honourable duties.

Persian Army and Navy.—The chief support of the royal authority was the army drawn from the different provinces. When called together, it was marshalled by nations, each with its own costume and subject to royal officers. The footmen were armed with the sword, the spear, and their favourite weapon, the bow, in the use of which they were expert. The cavalry was an important branch of the army, and was very effective when fighting upon an open plain. The choicest part of the Persian army was the "Ten Thousand Immortals," so called because their numbers were perpetually maintained. On the sea the Persians were able to gather from their subjects a large number of ships, mostly triremes (ships with three banks of oars) armed with iron prows. With such an army and navy the Persians had already conquered Asia, and hoped to conquer Greece and Europe.

Persian Civilization.—As the Persians were chiefly a conquering and ruling people, they were not distinguished for their intellectual achievements. Whatever art they possessed was mostly a mere reproduction of that of Assyria and Babylon. Their architecture and sculpture, as seen in the ruins of Persep'olis and other places, show no evidences of marked originality. While using an Aryan speech, the Persians adopted for writing the wedge-shaped characters of their predecessors. They made no contributions to science;

and for many generations they possessed no literature worthy of notice except the "Aves'ta," which was the Persian Bible.

The most distinctive feature of the Persian civilization was its religion, which seemed to have reached its highest development under the influence of Zoroas'ter. This religious reformer is supposed to have lived in Bactria about the middle of the seventh century B. C. Some scholars are inclined to believe that his name stands merely for a mythical person; while others strongly assert that "we must accept the historical reality of Zoroaster" (Sayce). He considered the powers of nature as separated into the powers of light and the powers of darkness—

RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS

the one under the control of the great god of light (Ormuzd), who is the creator of all that is good; and the other under the control of the god of darkness (Ah'riman), who is the father of all that is evil. Morality was closely related to religion. The Persians believed in truthfulness as a high moral virtue, and despised lying and deceit.

Historical Significance of Persia.—The Persian empire represents the highest unity attained by the ancient Oriental world before the time of Alexander the Great. Of all the great monarchies hitherto established—the early Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Median, and the later

Babylonian—no one except Assyria can be regarded as properly a "world empire." Persia carried to a still higher stage of development the military and political system of Assyria. Although she made no contributions to the finer arts of life, she surpassed all her predecessors as a conquering and ruling power. She is, on this account, the prototype in Asia of Rome in Europe. She withstood the rude barbarians of the north—the Scythians—in their inroads into the civilized south. She developed a more permanent system of provincial government than had before existed—which furnished the model of that of the later Roman empire. Her religion was perhaps the nearest approach to Jewish monotheism of all the religions of western Asia. But with all her achievements she represented an old and decaying civilization, which appears in its true light when we see it brought into contact, and placed in contrast with the new and growing civilization of Greece.

IV. Review of Oriental Nations

The Beginnings of Civilization.—In reviewing the history of the Oriental world there are certain general facts which should be impressed upon our minds. In the first place, we see that it is from the Orient that the world received the rudiments of civilization. It is here that men first passed out of the tribal state and developed a higher form of government, by the erection of cities, kingdoms, and great empires. It is here, also, that we see the early development of religion, which passed from crude forms of animal or ancestral worship to a polytheistic nature worship and finally to a monotheistic religion, like that of the Hebrews. We also find here a great advancement in man's economic life, which began with hunting and fishing or the tending of flocks and herds, and passed to the cultivation of the soil, the growth of manufactures, and the development of commerce. Moreover, the people of the Orient gave to the world the rudiments of some of the important sciences, especially astronomy and mathematics. Still further, we see a remarkable progress made in the art of writing, which began with the expression

of ideas in the form of pictures, then advancing to the use of symbolic signs, and at last to the use of a phonetic alphabet such as we use to-day. Finally these ancient peoples acquired great ability, if not taste, in the art of building, beginning with huts made of sticks or clay, and passing to the use of brick among the Babylonians, and stone among the Egyptians.

The Course of Oriental History.—Our review of the Oriental world will enable us to distinguish certain periods, or successive stages, which mark the course of its historical development. We may briefly characterize these periods as follows:

(1) During the first period the rudiments of civilization appeared in two separate and independent centres,—Babylonia and Egypt,—each having a peculiar culture of its own, and each being unaffected, so far as we know, by any influences derived from the other (about 5000-3800 B. C.).

(2) The second period is the time of the Babylonian ascendency, when Babylonia extended its authority to the Mediterranean coast, and its culture to the lands of Syria (about 3800-1600 B. C.).

(3) Then followed the period of the Egyptian ascendency, when the authority of Egypt superseded that of Babylonia in the Syrian lands and the Egyptian culture became extended to this territory (about 1600-1100 B. C.).

(4) With the decline of the Egyptian power, we come to the period of Syrian independence, which continued for two centuries, during which time the influence of Phœnicia became predominant over the Mediterranean coasts, and the Hebrew kingdom reached its height under David and Solomon (about 1100-900 B. C.).

(5) This was followed by the ascendency of Assyria as the first world empire, bringing under its control all the previously mentioned countries of the East,—Babylonia, Egypt, Phœnicia, and Judea,—the period of the Assyrian ascendency closing with the independence of Egypt and the division of the remaining territory between the short-lived empires of later Babylonia and Media (about 900-550 B. C.).

(6) Lastly appeared the second great world empire of Persia, which consolidated under one supreme authority all the countries of the Orient west of the Indus, comprising not only the nations already noticed, but also the country of the Hittites and Lydia in Asia Minor (about 550-331 B. C.).

The Blending of Culture by Conquest and Commerce.—In connection with the rise and fall of the different Oriental nations it is important to notice the fact that the culture of different countries became blended by means of conquests. For example, the successive conquests of Syria by Babylonia and Egypt led to that composite form of culture which marked the Phœnicians, preserving both Babylonian and Egyptian features, as seen in the Syrian religion and industrial arts. So the conquest of Egypt by Assyria did not destroy the existing civilization of Egypt, but rather brought the civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates valley into relation with that of the valley of the Nile. And by the extensive conquests of Persia the various centres of culture throughout the Orient were brought into communication with one another.

Again, the civilizations of different peoples became mingled by means of commercial intercourse. Commerce tended to bring about the exchange not only of the products, but of the ideas of various peoples. This we have seen in the case of the Phœnicians, who became the common carriers not only of commodities but also of culture. Hence, by means of conquests and commerce, the different peoples of the Orient were brought together; and their civilizations became blended into a composite culture, which we may characterize in general as Oriental.

Transmission of Oriental Culture to the West.—The culture of the Eastern world was destined to overflow the boundaries of the Orient and to find its way into the Occident. There were two principal means of communication between the East and the West; the one was by the sea traffic of the Phœnicians, the other was by the land traffic of the peoples of Asia Minor. We can readily see how the Phœnicians, through their commerce and colonies, brought the culture of Asia to the ports of Europe. The peoples of Asia Minor

who furnished some means of communication between the East and the West, were the Hittites and the Lydians. Concerning the Hittites little definitely is known; but that they at one time formed a powerful and influential nation, seems quite certain. They are said to have done much for civilization by taking up the arts and culture of Assyria, Egypt, and Phœnicia, and passing them on to their western neighbours. The Lydians lived on the western frontiers of the Orient and joined hands with the Greeks on the Ægean Sea. It is believed that they received much of the culture of the East, not only through the Phœnicians, but also through their neighbours the Hittites. If this is so, we may conclude that the peoples of Asia Minor, as well as the Phœnicians, furnished a means for the transmission of the ancient culture of the East to the West.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Aryans and the Median Empire.—Beginnings of Aryan Civilization.—The Medes and the Persians.—The Median Empire; Cyaxares.

II. Persia, the Second World Empire.—The East before the Persian Conquests.—Rise of Persia under Cyrus.—Conquest of Lydia.—Conquest of Babylonia and Egypt.—Conquests in Europe under Darius.

III. The Government and Civilization of Persia. — Political Organization of the Empire — Persian Army and Navy. — Persian Civilization.—Historical Significance of Persia.

IV. Review of Oriental Nations.—The Beginnings of Civilization.—The Course of Oriental History.—The Blending of Culture by Conquest and Commerce.—Transmission of Oriental Culture to the West.

GREECE

PERIOD I. THE EARLY AGES OF GREECE (-776 B.C.)

CHAPTER V

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

I. HELLAS, THE LAND OF THE GREEKS

Greece and the Orient.—As we approach the study of Greece we must first of all notice the close relation of this land to the Oriental countries which we have already considered. Of the three peninsulas of Europe which project into the Mediterranean Sea, Greece lies nearest to the East. Hence it would naturally be the first of European countries to feel the influence of Oriental culture and the first to develop a civilization of its own. The Ægean Sea, which lies between its coasts and those of Asia Minor, can be regarded not as a barrier, but rather as a highway uniting the East and the West. The numerous islands scattered over this sea aided the early mariners to find their way across its waters; so that these islands have been aptly called the "stepping stones" of the Ægean. Greece was also open to the early commerce of the Phœnicians, who had obtained a foothold upon some of the Ægean islands. Since the culture of Babylonia and Egypt had been taken up by Phœnicia and the countries of Asia Minor, the drift of Oriental civilization was in the direction of the Grecian peninsula. For these reasons we may see that Greece was in a certain sense the heir of the Orient, receiving in some degree the stimulating influence of Eastern culture.

Geographical Features of Greece.—The Grecian peninsula presents a striking contrast to the great countries of the East, with their broad plains and fertile valleys. Greece was a very small country (about twice the size of New Brunswick). Its surface is broken by mountain ranges and small valleys, and drained by innumerable small streams. The outlines of the country are as irregular and diversified

HELLAS: THE ÆGEAN LANDS

as its surface. There is no other country of the world of the same area with such an extensive and irregular coast line. It has been called "the most European of European countries." It is said that there is no point in Greece more than forty miles from the coast. The many bays, gulfs, and inlets which indent its shores form the navigable waters of Greece. The climate is generally mild and temperate, but

changeable with the seasons and also quite different in different localities. The soil is not very fertile; but under ordinary cultivation, it produced in ancient times wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil. The trees vary from the pine and oak forests in the north to the lemons, oranges, and date palms in the south.

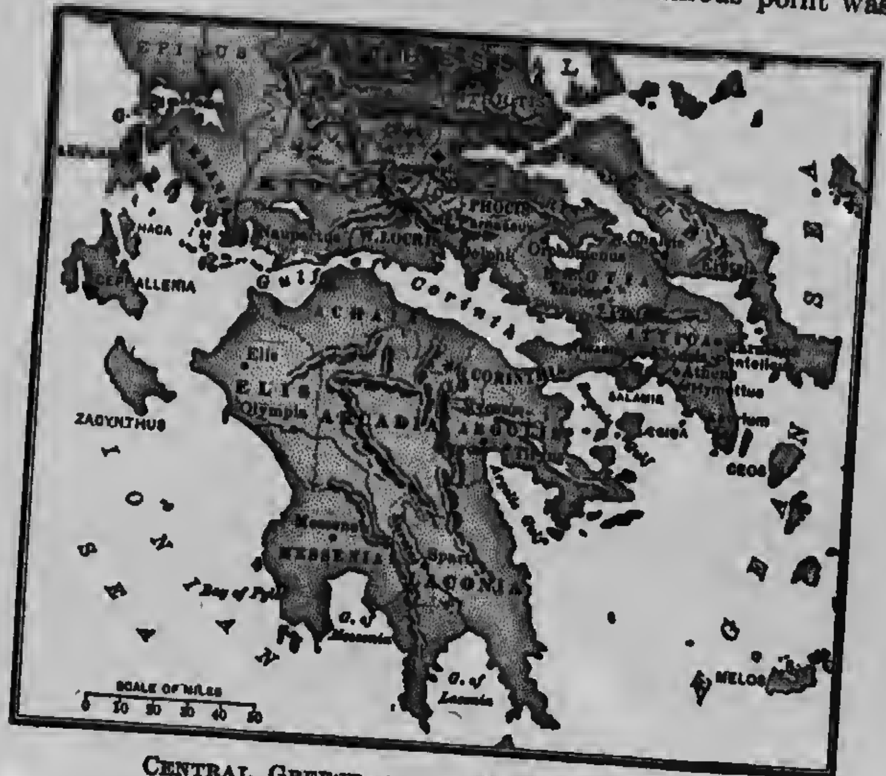
The geographical features of Greece exercised an important influence upon the character of the people and upon their history. The face of nature, with its brilliant skies and beautiful landscapes, tended to give the people a cheerful temper and a fine æsthetic taste. The broken relief of the country separated the people into distinct communities, and led to the growth of many small states and to the development of a spirit of freedom and local independence. Moreover, the irregular coast line furnished an opportunity for ports and harbours, and thus promoted the commercial spirit of the people. As the bays and gulfs lay mostly upon the eastern coast, Greece may be said to have "faced" towards the Orient, and thus to have been fitted by nature to receive the gifts of her more civilized neighbours.

Divisions of Greece.—To obtain a more definite idea of the peninsula of Greece and of its most noted places, we may glance at its principal divisions.

(1) *Northern Greece* is separated from the main part of Europe by the Cambu'nian Mountains. It comprised two provinces, Epi'rus and Thes'saly, divided by the range of the Pindus. The most famous spot in Epirus was Dodo'na, where was located an ancient oracle of Zeus. Thessaly, to the east of the Pindus, was a fertile plain, drained by the river Pene'us; this stream flows through the beautiful vale of Tempe into the Ægean Sea. To the north rises Mt. Olym'pus, the highest peak in Greece (nearly 10,000 feet), upon whose summit the gods were supposed to dwell.

(2) *Central Greece* comprised a number of states of varied historical interest. Towards the west were the two provinces of Acarna'nia and of Ætoʹlia. In the middle of central Greece were several small provinces separated from one another by mountain barriers. Of these Phocis claimed the highest renown, for it contained the celebrated oracle of

Apollo at Delphi, near which rose the mount of Parnas'sus, the favourite haunt of the Muses. In the eastern part of central Greece were the three provinces of Bœo'tia, At'tica, and Meg'aris. Bœotia contained the cities of Orchom'enus and Thebes, one of which was an early seat of civilization, and the other took an active part in later Greek politics. East of Bœotia lay the triangular province of Attica, the most noted country of Hellas. Its most famous point was



CENTRAL GREECE AND THE PELOPONNESUS

the Acrop'olis, about which grew up the city of Athens, the most cultivated spot of the world. Other heights were the Pentel'icus, famous for its marble, and Hymet'tus, noted for its honey. The soil of Attica is not well suited for agriculture. The people of the rural districts were therefore compelled to live mostly upon their flocks and herds, while those near the sea engaged in commerce.

(3) *Southern Greece* received the name of the Peloponne'sus, or the "Isle of Pelops." It is separated from the rest of Greece by the Gulf of Corinth and the Saron'ic Gulf, having as a bond of union tho narrow Isthmus of Corinth. The central country of the Peloponnesus was Arca'dia; this was surrounded by a wall of mountains, the only country of Greece (with the exception of Doris) without a seaboard. To the west and north of Arcadia were the three provinces of Elis, Acha'ia, and Corin'thia. The most famous locality in these states was Olym'pia in Elis, the seat of the "Olympian games." Finally, to tho east and south of Arcadia were also three provinces—Ar'golis, Laco'nia, and Messe'nia. Argolis was distinguished for the prehistoric cities of Myce'næ and Ti'ryns, and the historic city of Argos. Laconia was the home of the Spartans, who became the ruling power of the Peloponnesus, conquering Messenia and other states, and whose chief city, Sparta, became the greatest rival of Athens.

(4) *The Islands* of Greece are also worthy of notice. The largest of these was the island of Eubœ'a, which stretches along the eastern coast from Thessaly to Attica, and contained the historic cities of Chalcis and Ere'tria. In the Saronic Gulf are the islands of Sal'amis and Ægi'na, the former of which gave the name to a decisive naval battle between the Greeks and the Persians. Off the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus was a group of islands called the Cyc'lades, the most noted of the group being the tiny island of Delos, the seat of a celebrated shrine of Apollo. The most important island off the southern coast was Crete, which was a centre of the oldest civilization of the Ægean.

Greater Hellas.—The home of the Greeks, which they called Hellas, was not confined to the European peninsula and the neighbouring islands. It included also the western coasts of Asia Minor. These coasts were from very early times occupied by a Greek people, and afterwards received emigrants from the European peninsula. This part of the Greek world, which may be called "Asiatic Greece," comprised three distinct divisions, named respectively from the north to the south Æo'lia, Io'nia, and Doris. Besides

these Asiatic lands, Hellas, in the larger sense, came to include other lands, which may be called "Western Greece." These comprised the eastern and southern part of the island of Sicily, as well as certain territory in the southern part of Italy, known as "Magna Græcia." In fact, by the word Hellas the Greeks meant all the lands inhabited by the Greek people—the Helle′nes, as they called themselves—and these lands were continually widening with the growth of Greek commerce and colonization.

II. The Hellenes, the People of Greece

The Earliest Inhabitants of Greece.—It would be interesting to know precisely when, and how, and by whom all these lands about the Ægean were first settled. But this is a subject concerning which we have no very extensive or definite knowledge. What we do know is that the dominant people who inhabited Greece in historical times, were people who spoke an Aryan, or Indo-European, language. But it is very likely that, before the Aryan settlements, the Ægean lands were already inhabited by an older people. We have left to us the names of some very ancient tribes which were probably pre-Aryan. Chief among these were the people whom the Greeks called the "Pelasgians," about whom much has been written and little is known. Their name is found on both sides of the Ægean—in Asia Minor, where they are said to have fought on the side of the Trojans; in Attica, where they were supposed by some to have been the ancestors of the Athe′nian people; and in Epirus, where they possessed at Dodona an altar to Zeus. To this people are attributed the massive stone walls found in different parts of Greece, and often described as "Cyclopæ′an."

Ancient "Cyclopæan" Wall

The Coming of the Hellenes.—Whatever we may think concerning the primitive people of Greece, we may be confident that the Hellenes, the Greeks in whom we are especially

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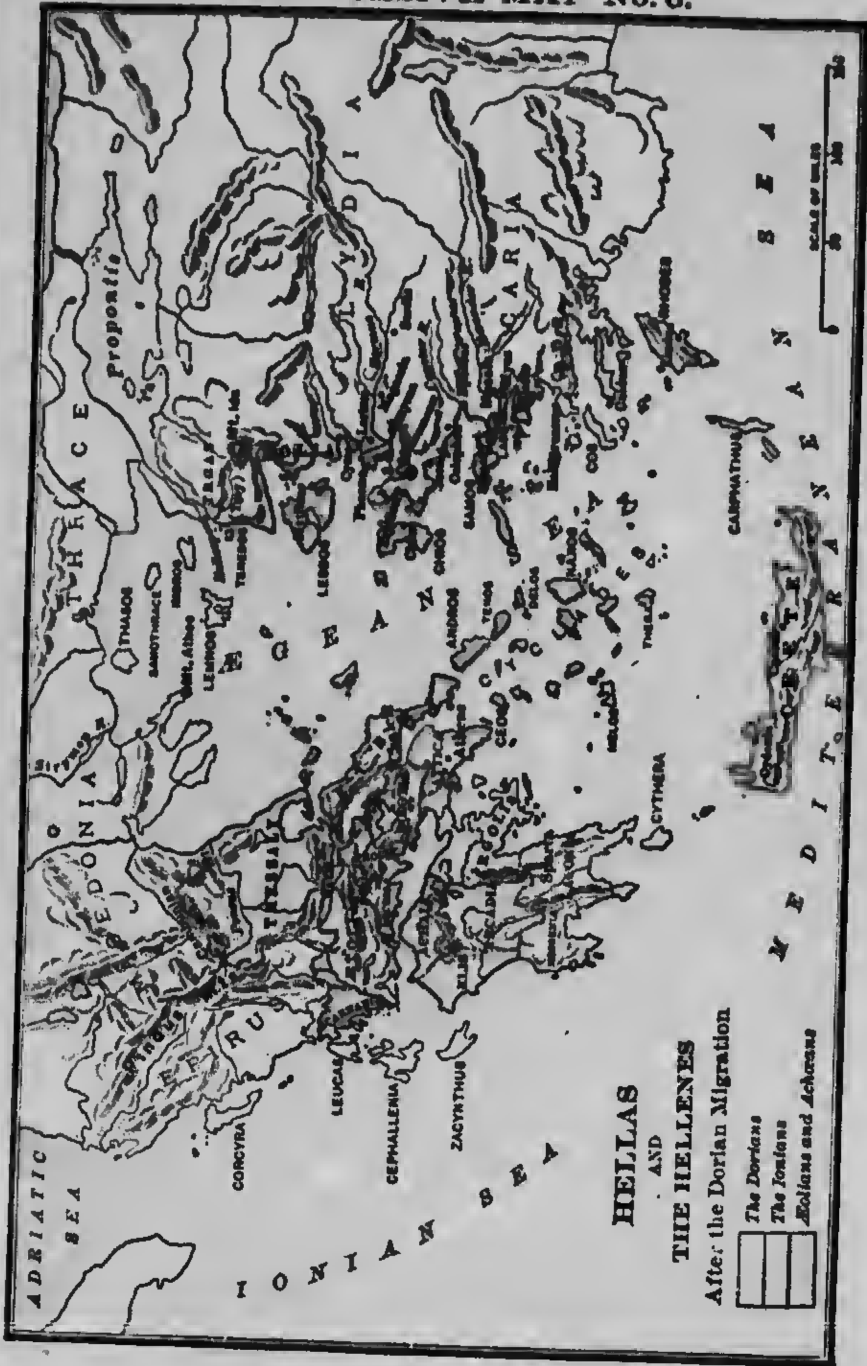
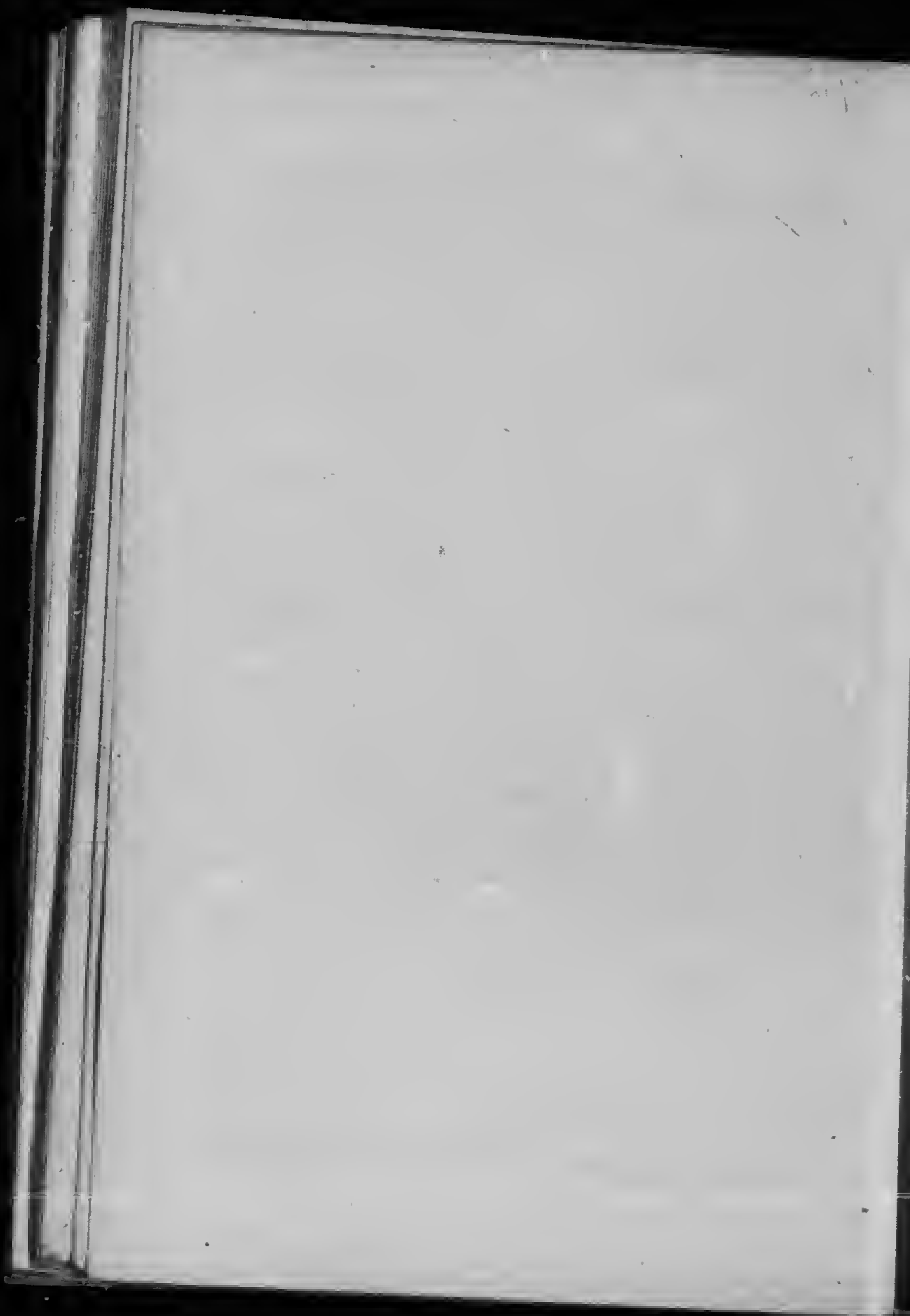
PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 6.



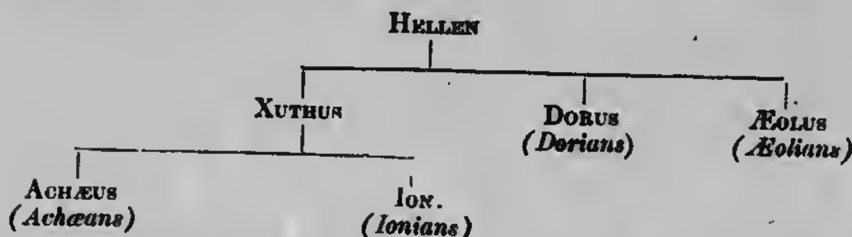


interested, and who created the civilization which we have inherited, spoke a language which belonged to the same family (Aryan) as that to which our own language belongs. This people probably came into Greece not by a sudden conquest but by "successive waves," becoming fused with the earlier tribes already there; but still they preserved their own speech and their own customs, and developed a civilization peculiarly their own.

It is now believed by scholars that the Hellenes made very early settlements upon both shores of the Ægean Sea; and that "the coast of Asia Minor is just as much ancient Greek soil as European Greece" (Holm). If this is so, we can readily imagine the general course of the ancient settlements. Moving from their earlier home,—wherever this may have been,—the Hellenes first came into Thrace. A part of them then crossed the Hel'lespont, and, passing along the eastern shore of the Ægean Sea, found new homes in Asia Minor. Another part, pushing to the west, along the northern and western shores of the Ægean, occupied Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, and other Grecian lands. At the time of their settlement, the early Greek tribes on either side of the sea were scarcely advanced beyond the stage of barbarism. They worshipped their ancestors and the gods of nature; chief among these gods was Zeus, the god of the heavens. They lived upon their flocks and herds and were beginning to acquire a knowledge of agriculture, cultivating the cereals and perhaps the vine. They fought with spears and with the bow and arrow, and made their implements of stone, beginning perhaps to use some of the metals. They were acquainted with the art of navigation, certainly with the use of boats and oars; but the use of sailing vessels was probably acquired after they settled upon the Ægean. With the aid of these vessels, the people of the different shores were able to communicate with one another, to occupy the intervening islands, and thus to preserve the sense of their original kinship.

Divisions of the Hellenic People.—The Greeks called themselves "Hellenes" because they professed to believe that they were descended from a common ancestor, Hellen.

From this common ancestor they traced four lines of descendants, or tribes—the Achæans, the Ionians, the Dorians, and the Æolians. Their mythical relationship is indicated as follows:



The Achæans were in very early times the leading race of the Peloponnesus, being regarded by some as the founders of the kingdoms of Tiryns, Mycenæ, and Argos. The early home of the Ionians is placed on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus, also in Megaris, Attica, and the island of Eubœa. The Dorians are supposed to have occupied in very early times the plains of Thessaly. The name Æolian was used to cover the rest of the Hellenic people.

The most important of these tribes during the historical period were the Dorians and the Ionians. The Dorians were a simple, practical, and warlike race, represented by the Spartans. The Ionians were a versatile, enterprising, and artistic people, represented by the Athenians. The history of these two peoples forms, in large part, the history of Greece.

General Characteristics of the Greek People.—There were certain qualities which, though especially marked in the Ionians, may be said to characterize the Greek people as a whole, and which distinguished them from the peoples of the Orient. In the first place, they possessed a strong love of freedom, which would brook no restraint except that which they imposed upon themselves, and which made them independent, wide-awake, and original. In the next place, they had a political instinct, which resulted in the development of self-governing communities, and which made the Greek city something far different from the cities of the East. Moreover, they were characterized by simplicity and modera-

tion, which were revealed not only in their art, but in their life, and which led them to shun all forms of Oriental ostentation and extravagance. Still further, they possessed that intellectual activity, which showed itself in literary productions and philosophical speculations. Finally, they were gifted with a fine æsthetic sense, a taste for beauty for its own sake, which made them the creators of a new form of art. These qualities gave to the world a new type of culture.

III. The Early Legends of Greece

Importance of the Legends.—The character of the Greek people is strikingly set forth in their early legends—the myths and stories by which they sought in a fanciful way to explain the mysteries of nature and the origin of their own institutions. It was principally by means of these legends that the Greeks attempted to reconstruct their early history. The importance we attach to these stories will depend very much upon our point of view. If we look at them as giving an account of actual and well-defined events, they have of course little historical value. But if we look at them as indicating the ideas and beliefs of the people, they have a great deal of significance. The nature of the early Greek mind is revealed in these traditional stories. In them we see the early fancy of a people who afterwards became the masters of imaginative thought. Without a knowledge of these legends much of the literature and art of a later period would be unintelligible to us.

Legends of the Founders of Cities.—The Greeks surrounded every locality, every mountain, stream, and vale with a halo of song and story. An important group of legends referred to the founders of cities. The foundation of Athens, for example, was ascribed to Cecrops, regarded by some as a native of Egypt; he is said to have introduced into Attica the arts of civilized life, and from him the Acropolis was first called Cecro′pia. Argos was believed to have been founded by another Egyptian, named Dan′aus, who fled to Greece with his fifty daughters, and who was elected by the people as their king, and from whom some of the Greeks received

the name of Danaï. Thebes, in Bœotia, looked to Cadmus, a Phœnician, as its founder; he was believed to have brought into Greece the art of writing, and from him the citadel of Thebes received the name of Cadme'a. The Peloponnesus was said to have been settled by, and to have received its name from, Pelops, a man from Phrygia in Asia; he became the king of Mycenæ, and was the father of A'treus, and the grandfather of Agamem'non and Menela'us, chieftains in the Trojan war. Such traditions as these show that the early Greeks had some notion of their dependence upon the Eastern nations.

Legends of Grecian Heroes.—That the early Greeks had an admiration of personal prowess and valiant exploits is evident from the legends which they wove about the names of their great heroes. In these fanciful stories we may see the early materials of Grecian poetry. In them we read of philanthropic deeds, of superhuman courage, and of romantic adventures. We read of Per'seus, the slayer of the horrid Medu'sa, whose locks were coiling serpents, and whose looks turned every object to stone. We read of Beller'ophon, who slew the monster Chimæ'ra, and captured the winged steed Peg'asus, on whose back he tried to ascend to heaven. We read of Minos, the king of Crete, who rid the sea of pirates, and gave to his subjects a code of laws received from Zeus. We read of The'seus, who rid the land of robbers, and who delivered Athens from the terrible tribute imposed by the king of Crete—a tribute which required the periodical sacrifice of seven youths and seven maidens to the monster Min'otaur. But the greatest of Grecian heroes was Her'acles (Her'cules). Strange stories were told of the "twelve labours" of this famous giant, the

HERACLES

prodigious tasks imposed upon him by the king of Mycenæ with the consent of Zeus. The prototype of the Greek Heracles may be found in Oriental countries—in Egypt, in Phœnicia, and in Asia Minor. In these countries his power was related to that of the sun. But the fancy of the Greeks turned the sun god of the East into a national hero, and conferred upon him a human character.

Legends of National Exploits.—The legends are not only grouped about particular places and individual heroes, but have for their subjects national deeds, marked by courage and fortitude. One of these stories describes the so-called "Argonautic expedition"—an adventurous voyage of fifty heroes, who set sail from Bœotia under the leadership of Jason, in the ship *Argo*, for the purpose of recovering a "golden fleece" which had been carried away to Colchis, a far distant land on the shores of the Euxine. Another legend—the "Seven against Thebes"—narrates the tragic story of Œd'ipus, who unwittingly slew his own father, and married his own mother and was banished from Thebes for his crimes, after having been made king; and whose sons quarrelled for the vacant throne, one of them with the aid of other chieftains making war upon his native city. But the most famous of the legendary stories of Greece was that which described the Trojan war—the military expedition of the Greeks to Troy, in order to rescue Helen, the beautiful wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, who had been stolen away by Paris, son of the Trojan king. The details of this story—the wrath of Achil'les, the battles of the Greeks and the Trojans, the death of Hector, the destruction of Troy, the adventures of Odysseus on the return journey to Greece and his recovery of his kingdom—are the subjects of the great epic poems ascribed to Homer. All these legends, whether derived from a foreign source, or produced upon native soil, received the impress of the Greek mind. They form one of the legacies from the prehistoric age, and reveal some of the features of the early Greek character.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. Hellas, the Land of the Greeks.—Greece and the Orient.—Geographical Features of Greece.—Divisions of Greece.—Greater Hellas.

II. The Hellenes, the People of Greece.—The Earliest Inhabitants of Greece.—The Coming of the Hellenes.—Divisions of the Hellenic People.—Characteristics of the Greek People.

III. The Early Legends of Greece.—Importance of the Legends.—Legends of the Founders of Cities.—Legends of Grecian Heroes.—Legends of National Exploits.

CHAPTER VI

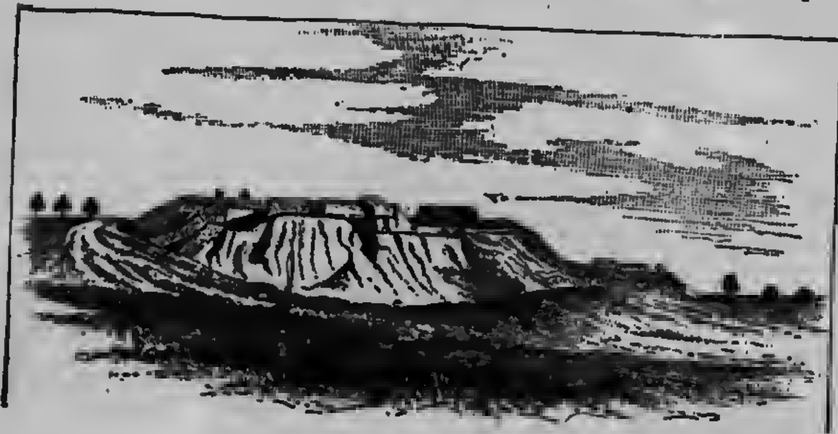
THE MYCENÆAN AGE AND THE AGE OF HOMER

I. The Mycenæan Age

Recent Excavations in Hellas.—Not many years ago our knowledge of the early ages of Greece was derived almost entirely from the old legends—especially those contained in the Homeric poems. These were at one time accepted as giving real historical facts, but were afterwards rejected as purely imaginary. But recent excavations have thrown a new light upon these early ages, and opened a new world to the student of Greek history. The story of these diggings among the ruins of the old cities of the Ægean has an almost romantic interest. The name most closely connected with them is that of Dr. Schliemann, the German archæologist. It was his childlike faith in Homer and the tale of Troy that led him to seek for the Trojan city and the palace of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. The excavations made by him (beginning in 1871), together with the work of his successors, have not only given us new ideas regarding the poems of Homer, but have also presented many new and difficult problems regarding the early ages of Greece. We can do

no more here than to refer briefly to the most important of these excavations, and the relics they have disclosed.

Hissarlik and the City of Troy.—The hill of Hissar′lik, situated in Tro′as, in northern Asia Minor, was believed by Dr. Schliemann to be the site of Troy. But instead of finding here a single city, he found the ruins of nine cities, lying one above another and representing different stages of human progress. The lowest city contained relics of the stone age—stone axes, flint knives, earthen vessels covered with rude decorations. The second city—evidently destroyed by a conflagration and hence called the "burnt city"—was surrounded by walls built of brick and placed upon



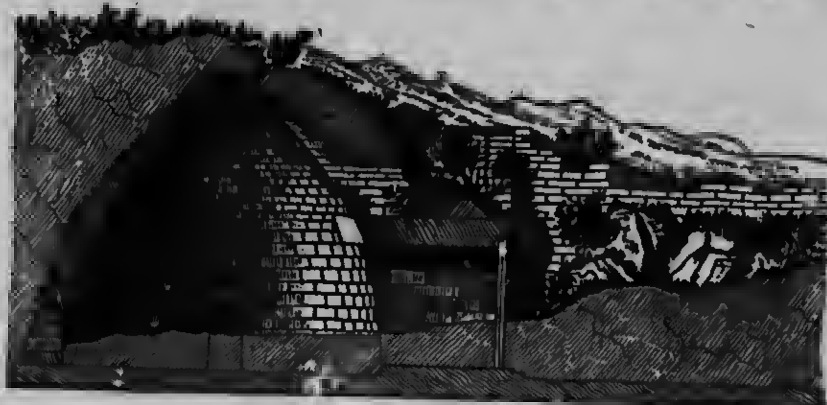
THE HILL OF HISSARLIK

rough stone foundations. It contained a palace surrounding a court. Among the ruins were found battle-axes, spear-heads, and daggers made of copper, showing that its inhabitants belonged to what we call the "age of bronze." There were found also articles of fine workmanship, showing an Eastern influence—cups of silver, diadems, bracelets, earrings made of gold, and also articles of ivory and jade which could have come only from central Asia. This "burnt city" was believed by Dr. Schliemann to have been the Troy of Homer. But the later work of Dr. Dörpfeld, the distinguished colleague of Schliemann, has shown that the sixth city—with its great circuit walls, its stately houses of

well-dressed stone, and its finely wrought vases—is more likely to be the city described in the Homeric poems.

The Citadel of Tiryns.—But the most important remains of this prehistoric age have been found, not in Asia Minor, but in European Greece, especially in two cities of Argolis—Tiryns and Mycenæ. Tiryns is the older of these, and its walls, too, are better preserved. The citadel of Tiryns was surrounded by massive walls. The palace consisted of a complicated system of courts, halls, and corridors, suggesting an Oriental palace rather than any building in historic Greece. The most artistic features of the palace were alabaster friezes, carved in rich patterns of rosettes and spirals, such as are described in the Homeric poems.

The Ruins and Relics of Mycenæ.—The prehistoric culture of Greece probably reached its highest development at Mycenæ. One of the most conspicuous objects here was the



THE SO-CALLED "TREASURY OF ATREUS"

well-known "lion gate," through which the citadel was entered, and which had been an object of interest to the later Greeks. The form of these rampant lions has often been compared to similar designs in the East, especially in Assyria and Phrygia. Within the walls near the gate was found a circle of upright slabs inclosing a number of graves. These contained human bodies and a wealth of art treasures—articles of gold, silver, copper, bronze, terra cotta, glass, ivory, and precious stones; articles of orna-

ment, such as diadems, pendants, and rings of artistic design; articles of use, such as bowls, pitchers, cups, ladles, spoons, etc. These articles show a high degree of mechanical skill and artistic taste. Some of them may have been brought from the East, and some of them may have been the products of native industry. Below the citadel was found

THE VAPHIO GOLD CUPS

another type of sepulchres, called from their peculiar form "bee-hive tombs," one of which the archæologists have called the "Treasury of Atreus."

Other Sites of Prehistoric Remains.—Recent excavations have shown that the kind of culture which existed in the prehistoric cities of Tiryns and Mycenæ prevailed in many other parts of Greece, and in many islands of the Ægean. At Orchomenus, in Bœotia, was discovered an elaborate and beautiful ceiling said to be of a pure Egyptian pattern. At Vaphi'o (near Sparta) were found two remarkable gold cups covered with finely wrought

PREHISTORIC WRITING FROM CRETE

relief work, and regarded by some as the most artistic work of the prehistoric age. In Crete has been discovered a crude and curious form of hieroglyphic writing. But a strange feature of these remarkable discoveries is not the presence of writing in Crete, but the almost total absence of writing and inscriptions everywhere else among a people who possessed so many of the evidences of civilization.

Character of the Mycenæan Culture.—The type of civilization brought to light by these discoveries has been called by

THE "LION GATE" AT MYCENÆ

some "Mycenæan," from the city in Argolis where its remains are most conspicuous; and by others it has been called "Ægean," from the fact that it seems to have extended over a large part of the Ægean basin. It is supposed to have reached its culmination perhaps between the years 1500 B. C. and 1200 B. C. But there is reason to believe that in its earlier stages it may have extended back as far as 2000 B. C., or even to an earlier date. Its last and declining stage

was evidently closed by the Dorian migration about 1000 B. C., When it was swept from Greece, its memory still lingering in the minds of those tribes that migrated to the coasts of Asia Minor. Regarding the origin of this ancient culture of Greece we have no right to speak with confidence, since scholars are by no means agreed upon the question. We may venture the opinion that this culture—with its strange mingling of crude art, of massive walls, of palatial buildings, of Oriental designs, and of objects showing a high mechanical skill and Eastern taste—may have been developed by the early people of Greece who were brought into close commercial and intellectual relation with the people of the Orient. Whatever we may think of its character and origin, we know that it exercised but slight influence upon the classic art of Greece, but passed away, leaving scarcely more than monuments and memories. These memories, however, furnished an inspiration to the poets and minstrels of the Homeric age.

II. Transition to the Homeric Age

The So-called Dorian Migration.—The brilliant period of ancient Greece which we call the Mycenæan age, was evidently brought to a close by a great movement which affected practically a large part of the Greek world. It seems quite certain that about the year 1000 B. C. there was a general disturbance of the population throughout Greece. This was due to the movement of the northern tribes into the south, resulting in the displacement of the old inhabitants and the destruction of the old civilization. This movement is called the "Dorian migration." It is known in the traditional history as the "Return of the Heracli′dæ"—being mixed up with stories regarding the descendants of Heracles. Notwithstanding the myths connected with it, it must be regarded as a real movement, which affected nearly all the tribes of Greece, and which may have extended over many generations. As a result of this movement, we find the Dorians, who formerly occupied Thessaly, now the leading race of the Peloponnesus.

The Migrations to Asia Minor.—The invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians resulted not only in rearranging the tribes in Greece proper, but also in bringing about a closer union between Greece and Asia Minor. The people who had been dispossessed of their old homes in Greece, or who were not satisfied with their new ones, sought other settlements across the sea. The coasts of Asia Minor, already peopled by an ancient Greek race, now received a new population from the European peninsula. There were, in fact, three streams of migration from Greece to Asia Minor.

(1) One stream of migration was made up of the *Æolians*,—which name came to be a general term applied to all who were not Ionians or Dorians, including even the Achæans. This mixed people took possession of the northern part of the western coast of Asia Minor. They occupied the island of Lesbos and founded the important city of Mytile′ne. Their settlements upon the coast extended nearly as far north as the Hellespont, and as far south as the river Hermus. But the settlements upon the mainland had less historical importance than those upon the island of Lesbos, where the people became noted for their culture, especially in music and poetry.

(2) A second stream of migration comprised the *Ionians*, who settled upon the central part of the coast. They took a course across the sea by way of the Cyclades, leaving on these islands colonies of their own people. They took possession of the islands of Chios and Samos. They occupied the coast land from Phocæ′a to Mile′tus, and the latter city became especially noted for its commerce and its colonies.

(3) A third stream was that of the *Dorians*, who took a southern course by way of Crete, where they left their colonies. They also occupied Rhodes and Cos, and on the mainland they established Halicarnas′sus and other less important towns.

The New Culture of Asia Minor.—The invasion of the Dorians and the migrations to Asia Minor mark the decline of the old Mycenæan age. But these movements also mark the transition to a new phase of culture in Asia Minor. We shall find that during this transitional period the cities of

Asia Minor became the chief centres of intellectual life and activity. But the new culture of Asia Minor did not consist in reproducing the works of Mycenæan art; it consisted rather in rehearsing the traditional glories of that golden age. The bards of Ionia recounted the mythical stories of the gods, the legends of ancient heroes, and the traditions of Troy and Mycenæ. They accompanied their words with regular strokes upon the lyre; and their fanciful stories fell into rhythm and took the form of the hexameter verse. The group of Ionian bards in Asia Minor received the name of the "cyclic poets"; and the group of narrative poems which they produced is known as the "epic cycle." These lays were descriptive in character and inspired with an heroic spirit; they were full of imagination, reciting the deeds of gods and men and throwing a halo about the past.

III. The Homeric Poems and the Homeric Age

The Iliad and the Odyssey.—From the cycle of poems that sprang up in Asia Minor there emerged two great epics, known as the "Il′iad" and the "Od′yssey." Being the fittest expressions of the popular thought and feeling, they

DEPARTURE OF ACHILLES (From an ancient vase)

survived. They are, in fact, regarded by many critics as the greatest epic poems in the world's literature. The Iliad is a poem of war, and the Odyssey is a poem of peace. The former describes the closing scenes of the Trojan war, and

revolves about the wrath of Achilles, the warlike son of the king of Thessaly. The leader of the Grecian armies was Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and hence we find many traditions which reach back to the Mycenæan age. The Odyssey narrates events which were supposed to follow the Trojan war, especially the wanderings of Odys'seus (Ulysses) on his return to his home.

The Homeric Question.—These poems stand out prominently from an otherwise dark and obscure period. They have naturally been made the subject of the most searching inquiries. Was there ever such a poet as Homer? Were the Iliad and Odyssey both produced by the same person? Was either poem originally a single production? Was not each one rather a collection of separate ballads, afterwards brought together by some skilful hand? These queries comprise the chief points in what is called the "Homeric question." The ancients generally believed that the two epics were produced by the same poet, and that this poet was Homer. Certain critics of Alexandria, observing the difference between the two poems, declared that they were produced by two different poets. Modern critics have submitted the theory that each poem was a collection of lays, originally distinct, but collected into a coherent form during the historical period. This question will perhaps never be settled to the satisfaction of every one.

HOMER

Historical Value of the Homeric Poems.—Whether the Iliad and Odyssey were the product of one poet or not, they were evidently produced in the transitional period (probably about 850 B. C.) between the prehistoric age of Tiryns and Mycenæ,

and the historic age of Sparta and Athens. They are made up largely of legends and traditions, and so far are no more valuable than any other legends and traditions. But traditions are not necessarily false. The recently discovered relics of the prehistoric age show how faithfully the memories of "golden Mycenæ" were preserved by the people who migrated to Asia Minor and were expressed in the Homeric poems. But the great historical value of these poems does not consist merely in the narrative of traditional events and the pictures of past glories. It consists rather in the great number of allusions made to the life and customs of the early Greek people. Homer painted the past in the colours of his own time. From the numerous allusions made to industry and art, to society and government, to religion and morality, we can get a comprehensive view of that early culture which existed among the prehistoric Greeks of Asia Minor, and which was bequeathed to the Greeks of historical times. It has been forcibly said that "while the pre-Doric art in Europe was not continued in later times, and the later genuine Greek art followed other paths than those of Mycenæ and Orchomenus, the earliest poetry of Asia Minor is still the truest expression of Greek life that exists" (Holm).

The Homeric Society and Government.—In the Homeric poems we see the picture of a simple and primitive society, such as we find among other early Aryan peoples. Its primary element was the family, comprising the household father, the mother, the children, and the slaves. The families were grouped into clans, and these into tribes. The tribe was governed by a king (*bas'ileus*), who performed the religious rites of the tribe, settled disputes, and commanded the people in time of war. He was assisted by a council (*bou'lé*), made up of the chiefs of the clans. Matters of great importance, like the declaration of war or the distribution of plunder, might be left to the assembly (*ag'ora*), which comprised all the people capable of bearing arms. In times of war several tribes might unite under a common chieftain; for example, in the expedition against Troy, the Greek tribes were united under the leadership of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ.

Homeric Industry and Art.—We may also obtain from the

Homeric poems an idea of the degree of progress made by the early Greeks in the art of living. They obtained their food, not only by hunting and fishing, but also by the domestication of animals and by the cultivation of the soil. They had the use of at least six metals,—gold, silver, iron, lead, copper, and tin,—which they obtained mostly from other lands. They worked the metals in a simple way, and did not possess the fine mechanical skill seen in the more ancient works of the Mycenæan and Oriental art. The descriptions, contained in the poems, of princely palaces with their rich decorations and furniture, are based upon the traditions of an age which had passed away, but which had not been forgotten.

Homeric Religion and Morality.—The religion of the Homeric age was evidently derived from the nature worship of the early Aryans. The Greeks coupled with their nature worship an elaborate and beautiful mythology; and they saw in their gods beings like themselves, with human feelings and foibles, with human likes and dislikes. The gods were supposed to dwell about the top of Mt. Olympus, where they feasted and held their councils. They took part in the battles of the Trojan war, and assisted the Greeks or the Trojans according to their preferences for either party. At the head of the divine circle was Zeus, the god of the heavens and the father of gods and men. Around him were gathered the other Olympian deities. The Olympian circle consisted of the greater deities, comprising six gods and six goddesses. The six gods were: (1) *Zeus* (Jupiter), the supreme god of the heavens, the king and father of mankind; (2) *Apollo*, god of light and of prophecy; (3) *Ares* (Mars), god of war; (4) *Hermes* (Mercury), the messenger of the gods, the patron of commerce, and the master of cunning,

ZEUS

(5) *Poseidon* (Neptune), god of the sea; and (6) *Hephæs'tus* (Vulcan), god of fire. The six goddesses were: (1) *Hera* (Juno), the wife of Zeus and the queen of heaven; (2) *Athe'na* (Minerva), goddess of wisdom, who was born from the forehead of Zeus; (3) *Ar'temis* (Dian'a), goddess of the chase; (4) *Aphrodi'te* (Venus), goddess of love and beauty; (5) *Deme'ter* (Ceres), goddess of the harvest; and (6) *Hestia* (Vesta), goddess of the hearth. Besides these superior deities there were a large number of inferior gods, as well as mythical beings, with which the Greek imagination peopled the sky, the earth, and the sea. The Greeks believed that the favour of the gods might be obtained by prayers and sacrifices, and that their will might be discovered by means of signs and oracles. They also believed in a future life, where those who had found favour with the gods would receive a place in Elys'ium, the field of the blest; and those who had incurred their anger would be condemned to Tar'tarus, the gulf of torment. The people of Homeric Greece were probably no better and no worse than the early people of other countries. They lived a bright and cheerful life. In peace they were hospitable to the stranger; in war they were vindictive and cruel to their fallen foes. They had a high respect for women; but they were often deceitful in their commercial dealings and regarded piracy as an honourable calling. Their highest motive of life was to obtain the approval of the gods.

HERA

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Mycenæan Age.—Recent Excavations in Hellas.—Hissarlik and the City of Troy.—The Citadel of Tiryns.—The Ruins and Relics of Mycenæ.—Other Sites of Prehistoric Remains.—Character of the Mycenæan Culture.

II. Transition to the Homeric Age.—The So-called Dorian Migration.—The Migrations to Asia Minor.—The New Culture of Asia Minor.

III. The Homeric Poems and the Homeric Age.—The Iliad and the Odyssey.—The Homeric Question.—Historical Value of the Homeric Poems.—Homeric Society and Government.—Homeric Industry and Art.—Homeric Religion and Morality.

PERIOD II. THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GREECE (776-500 B.C.)

CHAPTER VII

THE EARLY CITY STATES AND COLONIZATION

I. The Early City State

Importance of the Greek Cities.—We have already seen among the early Greeks some evidences of their political life The cities of the Mycenæan age were evidently ruled by kings of the Oriental type, with their sumptuous palaces and their subject population. Next, in the Homeric period, we have seen a simpler form of political life, in which the government was divided between the king, the council, and the assembly. This form of government was very primitive in character, but from it sprang the city states of historical Greece. It is in these city states that we are to find the beginnings of political freedom, and in fact the germs of modern constitu-

tional liberty. As we study the growth of the cities we must observe the striking contrast between them and the cities of the East. The Oriental cities were governed solely by the king, or by viceroys subject to the king; and this resulted in the growth of autocratic and despotic governments, in which the people had no part. In the Greek cities, on the other hand, the people obtained a certain share in the government; and this resulted in the growth of institutions more or less democratic in character. Even at the beginning of the historical period we find many centres of city life in different parts of Greece. These cities were in a more or less flourishing condition and could already boast of great age. Their origin is hidden in the mists of tradition; and we must form our ideas of their early development chiefly by studying the elements of which they were composed.

The Elements of the City State.—The early Greek state was no doubt the result of a slow process of growth. We may trace its gradual development from the family, the primitive element of Greek society. The family was governed by the father, who presided over the family worship, and controlled all its members. The family expanded naturally into the clan, or gens, which was essentially the larger body of family relatives, held together by a common worship and by a common feeling of kinship. The clan was governed by a council of the household fathers, and by a chief man selected to preside over the common worship, to settle disputes, and to lead the people in time of war. In times of great danger the different clans would be induced to unite in a larger body, called a brotherhood or "phratry." This, too, had its own chief and council, and its armed men might be called together in an assembly to decide on questions of war. To repel a common peril the phratries would league themselves into a still larger body called the "tribe," which would also have its own leader, council, and assembly. By these successive unions was gradually developed the tribal state such as we find in Homeric times; and this grew into the city state of the historical period. The elements which entered into the city state were thus the family, the gens, the phratry, and the tribe.

The Government of the City State.—The city was generally formed by a union of tribes. The people sought a common centre of defence on some elevated spot—like the Acropolis of Athens—which could be fortified, and to which they might retreat in times of danger. They were held together by the worship of some common deity, whom they regarded as their protector. The city population comprised not simply the people who lived within the city walls but also those who lived in the surrounding country—in fact, all those who shared in the common city worship and were subject to the common city government. This government in early times was patterned after that of the tribe, and consisted of the king, the council, and the assembly.

(1) The city king (*basileus*) was, like the older tribal chief, the leader of the people in time of war, the priest of the common city religion, and the judge to settle disputes between the citizens. He governed by no written laws, but tried to uphold the existing customs of the people and what he supposed to be the will of the gods.

(2) The city council (*boulé*) was, like the council of the tribe, made up of the leading men of the community. They formed a sort of advisory board, which was called together whenever the king desired. On account of their influence they might guide or restrain the power of the king; and on account of their superior birth or position, they came to be an aristocratic class, or what we might call a body of nobles.

(3) The city assembly (*agora*), like the tribal assembly, was composed of all citizens capable of bearing arms. As the state was formed originally for the purpose of protection, and as it thus had primarily a military character, the people were generally consulted only on questions relating to war. But as the state acquired more and more a civil character, the assembly of the people came to be a more important element in the government.

Independence of the City States.—The Greek world was made up of a large number of these little city states, which for the most part preserved their local independence. This was due largely to the broken nature of the territory, which kept the different communities separated from one another,

It was due also to the independent spirit of the people themselves. The national life of Greece thus became localized in the cities. The spirit of patriotism consisted in the love of one's own city; and the great achievements of the Greeks were made to glorify the city. This spirit of independence had both a good and a bad effect. On the one hand, it tended to foster free institutions and the forms of local self-government. On the other hand, it prevented the permanent union of Greece and the development of a national state.

Amphictyonies or City Leagues.—Although the Greek cities were politically independent of one another, they sometimes united themselves into leagues or confederacies, called "amphictyonies." These leagues were often formed to maintain the worship of some common deity, or to promote common commercial interests, or to protect the cities against a common foe. The members of these associations often professed to believe that they were descended from some common ancestor, and were under the protection of the same god. Sometimes one city obtained the leadership, or "hegemony," over the rest; but if such a leadership became oppressive, it generally provoked a revolt on the part of the subject cities. In the course of our study we shall have our attention called to a number of these Greek confederacies, like the Amphictyon'ic League with its centre at Delphi, the Peloponnesian League under Sparta, the Bœotian League under Thebes, the Delian Confederacy under Athens, and in later times the Achæan and Ætolian leagues organized against Macedonia.

II. Political Development in Greece

Tendency to Revolution.—When we consider the political organization of the Greek city states, we must not suppose that they always remained in the simple and primitive condition which we have just described. Their political life, on the contrary, was one of continual activity and change. One form of government succeeded another as the king, or the nobles, or the people gained the upper hand.

Although the different cities presented a great diversity in their political life, we can trace a general tendency in the direction of more democratic ideas and freer institutions.

From Monarchy to Aristocracy.—In the earliest times, the king was the most prominent figure in the government. This supremacy of the king and the royal family is what constitutes a monarchy. When the rule of the king became oppressive, the political power passed into the hands of the nobles. The supremacy of such a class of influential men in the state is what constitutes an aristocracy. If the power is restricted to a very few persons, the government is called an oligarchy. At an early period the political authority in the cities passed from the hands of the king to the hands of the nobles; that is, there was a transition from monarchy to aristocracy or oligarchy.

From Aristocracy to Tyranny.—When the nobles obtained the supreme power in the city, they were tempted to use it for their own interests, at the expense of the people in general. The city population thus came to be divided into two parties, the aristocratic and democratic parties—the former striving to maintain their own power and privileges, and the latter struggling to obtain an equality of rights. In the midst of these popular discontents there appeared certain men whom the Greeks called "tyrants." The so-called tyrant was not necessarily a despotic ruler, but a man who had seized the power of the state in an irregular way. He might be a patriot, working for the interests of the people, or he might be a demagogue, working for his own interests. In either case, he was an enemy to the oligarchy, and his triumph meant the overthrow of the aristocratic power. The tyrants were in fact "the means of breaking down the oligarchies in the interests of the people."

From Tyranny to Democracy.—The one-man power was established in many of the cities of Greece. As long as the tyrants looked after the interests of the people, their rule was tolerated. But whenever and wherever they became selfish, ambitious, and oppressive, they were detested. While in some cases the city might revert to an oligarchy, the tyranny more often led to democracy. The so-called "age of tyrants"

thus formed, generally speaking, a period of transition to the democratic form of government; and democracy came to be more highly developed in Greece than in any other part of the ancient world.

The many different states of Greece, however, were not equally successful in obtaining a democratic government. In some states we see the power remaining in the hands of a small part of the people, resulting in the permanent establishment of an aristocracy or oligarchy. Such aristocratic governments were developed in Sparta; in Thebes of Bœotia; in Chalcis and Eretria on the island of Eubœa; and also in Corinth, Meg′ara, and Sicyon on or near the Isthmus of Corinth. In other cities, we see the political power transferred to the great body of citizens, resulting in the growth of a well-organized democratic state. The most important democratic cities were Athens, Argos, and Elis. Of these various cities we may look upon Sparta and Athens as the most important, for they represented the two extreme tendencies in the political development of Greece—the former showing the tendency towards oligarchy, and the latter the tendency towards democracy.

III. Expansion of Greece by Colonization

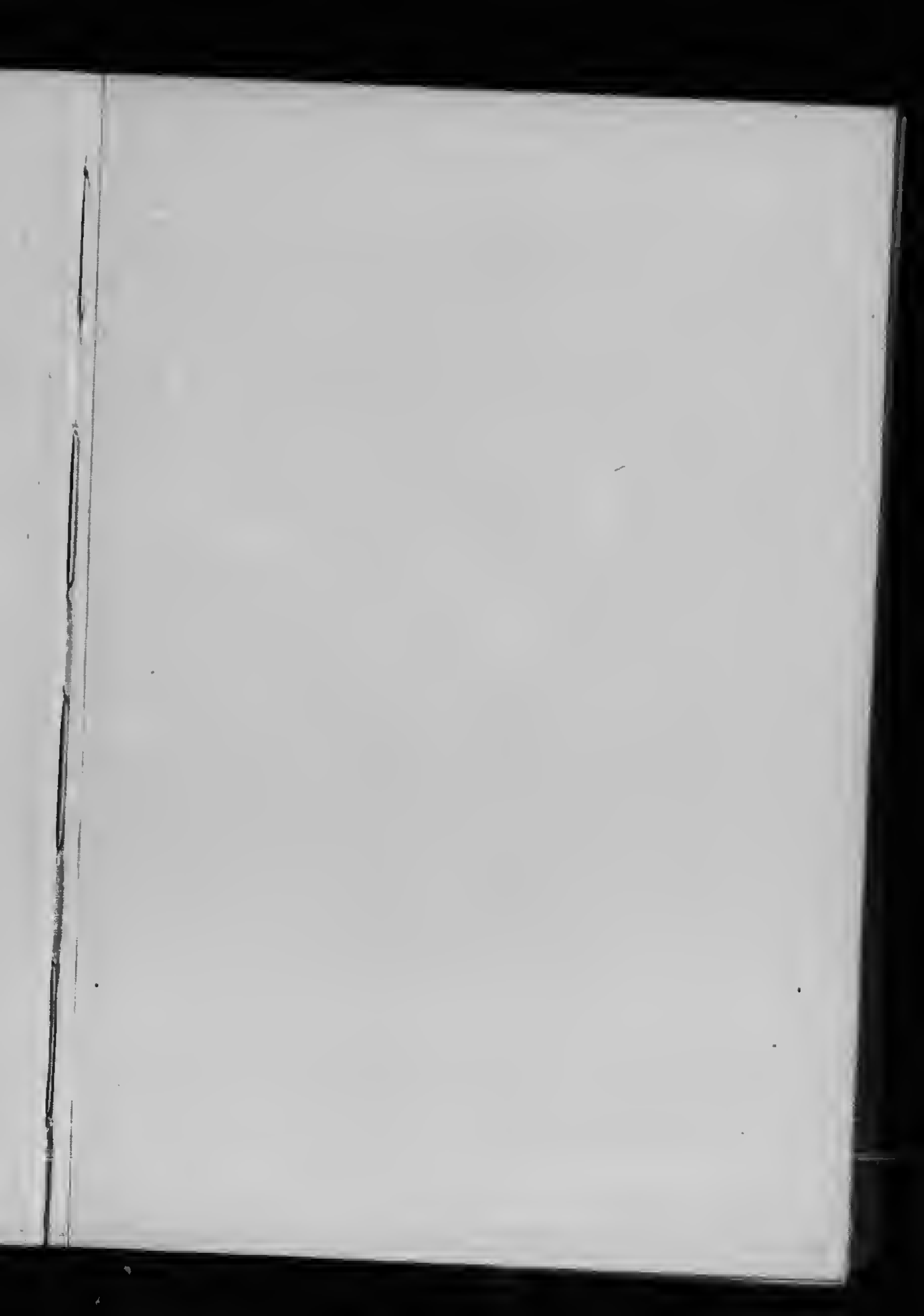
Causes of Colonial Expansion.—At the same time that the cities of Hellas were working out the problem of free government, the boundaries of the Hellenic world were widening by the establishment of colonies. The causes leading to the colonial expansion of Greece were various. In the first place, the growth of population required the formation of new settlements; and these could be formed only in the unoccupied lands which bordered upon the adjoining seas. In the next place, the political discontent resulting from aristocratic oppression led many people to seek greater freedom in new settlements; hence we find a large number of colonies established by cities subject to aristocratic rule. Finally, the growing spirit of commerce furnished a strong impulse to colonization. The coasts of the Ægean were indented with natural harbours; and the Greeks early derived

from the Phœnicians the spirit of commerce and shared with them the trade routes of the sea. With the decline of the Phœnician power, the Greeks became the leading commercial people of the East. Like the Phœnicians, they dotted the shores of the Mediterranean with their trading posts. Greece thus became the mother of colonies, and from the eighth to the sixth century (750-550 B. C.) the territory of Hellas was continually growing wider and wider.

Character of the Greek Colony.—The Greek colony was a community of Greek citizens transferred to a new land. It was generally the offshoot of a single city, although one colony might sometimes be formed by the people of different cities. The Greek colony carried with it the traditions, the customs, the language, and the religion of the parent city. Wherever it might be planted, it bore the blossoms and fruits of Greek culture. The founding of a colony was a matter of so much importance that it was customary to consult the oracle at Delphi to ascertain whether the undertaking would meet with the divine sanction. If the response was favourable, a "founder" was appointed to lead the colonists to their new home. The sacred fire taken from the altar of the parent city was carried with the colonists as a symbol of their filial devotion. The infant colony worshipped the same gods as the parent city, and in every way showed the sacred reverence due from a daughter to a mother. But in its political life the colony was entirely independent of the parent state. Though bound by filial affection, it was not subject to parental authority. It formed its own government, made its own laws, and was expected to work out its own destiny.[1]

The Colonizing Cities.—The cities of Greece were not equally zealous in the planting of colonies. Of the chief cities, Athens was one of the least conspicuous in this movement. This may have been due to the fact that she was at first more devoted to politics than to commerce, or to the fact that her citizens were less discontented than those of

[1] This statement does not apply to the subject colonies, or "cle′ruchies," sent out by Athens as a means of maintaining her influence in a foreign land. In this case the settlers retained their political relations and rights as members of the parent state.



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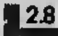
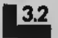

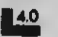
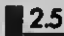
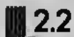
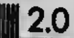
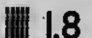

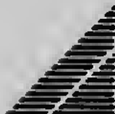

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PROGRESSI

OGRESSIVE MAP No. 7.

other cities. Sparta, on account of her distance from the sea, was also not important as a colonizing state. But her subjects—especially the Messenians—were sometimes driven by her oppressive government to seek a refuge beyond her dominion. Of the cities of Greece proper the foremost in the colonizing movement was Chalcis, situated on the island of Eubœa. This city had a favourable seaboard. It commanded the copper trade of the East, and its aristocratic government was a cause of popular discontent. These facts are sufficient to explain its colonizing spirit. Next after Chalcis should be mentioned the neighbouring city of Eretria; and then Megara and Corinth, both of which were favourably situated for commerce, and were often misruled by an oppressive oligarchy. But the city which surpassed all others as a colonizing centre was situated not in Europe, but in Asia. This was Miletus, the most celebrated city of Ionia. It possessed four large harbours, and seems to have fallen heir to the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians. Miletus is said to have been the mother of eighty colonies. Other cities of Ionia also sent out some colonies. A few colonies were established by the Æolian cities of the north, and a still less number by the Dorian cities of the south of Asia Minor.

COIN OF ERETRIA

Areas of Colonization.—The lands open to Greek colonization were the unoccupied coasts of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Some of these lands had already been held by Phœnician colonists; but the decline of Phœnicia gave an opportunity to the Greeks, either to take possession of the old Phœnician sites, or to establish new settlements. The new lands were generally inhabited by a barbarous people; but the native products of these lands afforded a strong inducement to Grecian traders. There were two general areas open to colonization, which we may distinguish as the

eastern and western. The eastern area comprised the northern coasts of the Ægean Sea; the shores of the Propon′tis with its tributary straits, the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; the extensive coast of the Euxine or Black Sea; and also the north-eastern coast of Africa. The western area comprised the western coasts of Illyr′icum and Epirus; the coasts of southern Italy (Magna Græcia) and Sicily; and the seaboards of the western Mediterranean, including southern Gaul, and extending along the shores of Spain.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Early City State.—Importance of the Greek Cities.—Elements of the City State.—Government of the City State.—Independence of the City States.—Amphictyonies or City Leagues.

II. Political Development in Greece.—Tendency to Revolution.—From Monarchy to Aristocracy.—From Aristocracy to Tyranny.—From Tyranny to Democracy.

III. Expansion of Greece by Colonization.—Causes of Colonial Expansion.—Character of the Greek Colony.—Tho Colonizing Cities.—Areas of Colonization.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GROWTH OF SPARTA AND ATHENS

I. The Aristocratic City State, Sparta

The Dorians and Sparta.—In their conquest of the Peloponnesus, the Dorians took possession of three important countries—Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. Their first important cities arose in Argolis; chief of them was Argos. From the city of Argos as a centre, the Dorians subdued the neighbouring towns of Corinth, Megara, and Sicyon. But all the Dorian cities were at last overshadowed by Sparta, a town of Laconia, which we may study as the typical city state of the Dorian race. Situated

on the Euro'tas River, it was at first a mere military garrison, struggling to maintain itself against a hostile people. By degrees it gained in strength until it became the centre of the Dorian civilization. This remarkable city owed its success to its peculiar organization and discipline, said to have been established by Lycur'gus. The stories which are told of Lycurgus are largely mythical. It is said that he reorganized, with the approval of the Delphic oracle, the whole social and political system of Sparta; and that, having obtained from the people a solemn oath to make no changes in his laws during his absence, he left the city and never returned. Without attempting to criticise the "myth of Lycurgus," which is told by Plutarch, let us review the Spartan institutions as they existed in historical times.

Lycurgus (So-called)

Divisions of the People in Sparta.—The first thing we notice in Sparta is the division of the whole population into three classes—which had evidently resulted from the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus.

(1) The upper class consisted of the Spartans themselves, the descendants of the Dorian conquerors. They were the free inhabitants of the Spartan city, and were the sole possessors of political rights and privileges. They formed a comparatively small part of the entire population—not more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms. They received the best portions of the land; but they were forbidden themselves to till the soil, or to do the work of artisans or traders. Their sole occupation was war and service to the state.

(2) The next class comprised the Periœ'ci (dwellers

around), who formed a large part of the conquered people. They lived in the neighbouring towns, farmed the lands of the state, and engaged in manufactures and commerce. They were personally free, but were forced to pay tribute to Sparta. They were, moreover, called upon to serve in the Spartan army in time of war, and were even assigned to posts of command.

(3) The lowest class were the Helots, or serfs, who tilled the soil allotted to the citizens. They belonged to the state, and could not be sold by their Spartan masters. They formed the largest part of the population. They had no rights, and their condition was wretched.

The Spartan Government.—The form of the government of Sparta was an outgrowth of the system which prevailed in the tribal state of Homeric times. This we see in the three branches of the early government, the kingship, the senate, and the assembly.

(1) At the head of the state were two kings, members of distinct royal families. The origin of this double kingship it is difficult to determine. The kings acted as a restraint upon each other, and this tended to weaken the royal power.

(2) A more important element of the state was the senate (*gerou'sia*), composed of thirty of the leading citizens, including the two kings. In early times the members of the senate were no doubt the chiefs of the clans which had united to form the state. But in historical times they were elected by the assembly. They were at least sixty years of age, and held their position for life. Originally the senators were simply the advisers of the kings; but they came to be the sharers of the royal power. They not only determined largely the policy of the kings, but were judges in criminal cases, and prepared the matters which came before the assembly.

(3) The assembly (*apel'la*) consisted of all Spartan citizens above thirty years of age. It not only elected the senators, but decided upon the most important matters of state. It ratified the laws, determined questions of war and peace, and settled disputes regarding the royal succession. The highest power thus rested in the body of Spartan

citizens; and in this respect the state might be called a democracy. But when we consider the fact that the body of citizens formed but a small part of the whole population, the government might more properly be regarded as an aristocracy.

(4) We should not have a complete view of the Spartan constitution if we failed to notice the ephors (watchers), who were officers peculiar to Sparta. They were five in number, and formed a kind of supervisory board. They were elected by the assembly each year to protect the interests of the people against the encroachments of the kings and the senate. They came in time to be the "guardians of the constitution" and the real rulers of the state.

Spartan Education and Discipline.—The Spartans evidently believed that the character of a nation depends upon the training of its children. If the state is to be prepared for war, the children must be physically strong and inured to hardships akin to those of war. The Spartan elders decided whether each child, at birth, was sufficiently strong to be reared, or whether he should be exposed to the wild beasts. At the age of seven the boy was taken from his mother's care and placed in the hands of the public trainers. From this time he was subject to a severe training which to us seems almost brutal; but to the Spartans it seemed the necessary education for a soldier's life. The boy was obliged to prepare his own meals; to wear the same clothing summer and winter; to sleep on a bed of rushes; to be hardened by the lash that he might better endure the hardships of the camp. To develop his physical strength and agility, he was trained in gymnastic exercises, in running, wrestling, and throwing the javelin.

The supervision of the state was exercised not only over the training of the young, but over the lives of all citizens. Every form of luxury was discouraged. The dress was simple. The houses were humble and unadorned. Money was not lavished upon public buildings and works of art. The temptations to a life of luxury were withstood, especially by the institution of public meals (*syssitia*). The men were organized in companies, and each one contributed to the

common meal. They were withdrawn from their families, and lived in public barracks. Home life was thus destroyed in the interest of the state. The men were carefully organized, and trained in military evolutions; the simple and severe discipline of the camp was maintained in peace as well as in war; and as a result of this the Spartans came to have the most efficient army of Greece, and, as a matter of fact, of the world at that time.

THE PELOPONNESUS

The Conquests of Sparta; the Peloponnesian League.—With such military training and discipline Sparta was able to extend and maintain her authority over the Peloponnesus. She first gained possession of the valley of the Eurotas, subduing the cities of Amyclæ and Helos. The territory of Cynuria was then wrested from Argos, which brought the

whole of Laconia under Spartan authority. After two long and severe wars—each one lasting about twenty years—Sparta subdued the neighbouring district of Messenia, west of the Taÿgetus mountains. These conflicts are known as the "Messenian Wars," and belong to the most heroic period of Spartan history (about 750-650 B. C.). Later the city of Tegea with the surrounding territory of Arcadia was subdued. Finally, Sparta gained a controlling influence in Elis, especially in the management of the national games at Olympia.

All the cities of the Peloponnesus (except Argos and the towns of Achaia) were joined in a confederacy known as the "Peloponnesian League." Each city was allowed to retain its local independence, but was joined to Sparta by a treaty, in which the city agreed to furnish to Sparta a certain number of troops in time of war. Every city of the league had an equal voice in a federal council, which met at Sparta and which was supposed to regulate matters of general interest. In this confederacy Sparta was the leader; and she exercised her influence in striving to extend her aristocratic institutions throughout Greece.

Position of Sparta in Greece.—While there are many things that we might criticise in the narrow government, the austere training, and the domineering policy of Sparta, we must confess that she contributed much to the future greatness of Greece. She set an example of simplicity in life, of self-control, of patriotic devotion, of respect for existing institutions. She showed the importance of physical education, of healthy, strong, and symmetrical bodies; and she gave Greece an ideal of physical manhood which furnished an inspiration to Greek sculpture. She also set a pattern of military organization by which in the subsequent period of foreign invasions Greece was saved from destruction. Although Sparta did not represent the highest culture of Greece, she did much to make that highest culture possible.

II. The Democratic City State, Athens

The Ancient Monarchy of Athens.—In marked contrast to Sparta, the aristocratic and military centre of the Peloponnesus, stood Athens, which came to be the democratic and intellectual centre of all Greece. As Sparta represented the Dorians, Athens was the chief representative of the Ionian people. The city state which grew up about Athens comprised all the towns of Attica, which were united under a common government. The union of these towns was ascribed to the mythical king Theseus. Our knowledge of this early period is based almost entirely upon traditions; but we may be quite certain that the earliest government of Athens was a monarchy of the Homeric type—with a king, a council, and an assembly.

Divisions of the People in Attica.—In each of the Ionian towns of Attica there were certain divisions of the people which remained after the towns were united under the common monarchy. In the first place, there were the four Ionian tribes which bore distinct names (*Geleon'tes, Hople'tes, Ægic'ores*, and *Ar'gades*) and which were each made up of phratries and clans. In the next place, there were three class divisions, upon which were based social rank and political privileges: (1) the well-born, or nobles (*Eupat'ridæ*), (2) the farmers (*Geom'ori*), and (3) the artisans (*Demiur'gi*). Of these classes the Eu'patrids stood nearest to the king. They were the only persons who had political privileges; and from them the king chose the members of his council. If the freemen were ever called together in an assembly, it was only on rare occasions.

The Growth of the Archonship: Eupatrid Rule.—The first important changes in the Athenian government were due to the decline of the power of the king, resulting in the appointment of three archons to take his place. One was the chief archon, after whom the year was named; another was the war archon (called the polemarch), who commanded the army; the third was the king-archon, who represented the old king as priest of the common religion. Afterwards, there came to be appointed in addition six junior archons, called

by way of distinction the *thesmoth'etæ*, or guardians of the law. The nine archons thus gradually took the place of the old kings as the chief rulers of the state. As these new officers were chosen by, and from, the body of nobles, or Eupatrids, Athens came to have a real aristocratic government. The archons were chosen for a year; and after their term of office had expired, they became members of the council for life. This council took the place of the old council of the king. It was accustomed to meet on the hill of Ares (Mars), and was hence called the "Council of the Areop'agus." The people (farmers and artisans) at this time had practically no share in the government. The Eupatrids were the state. The political history of Athens, from this time, shows the successive changes by which the Athenian government was transformed from an aristocracy into a democracy. It also presents to us some of the most noted men of Athens—Draco, Solon, Pisis'tratus, and Clis'thenes.

The Laws of Draco (about 621 B.C.).—The rule of the nobles was often harsh and oppressive, and led to many disturbances. The laws of this time existed only in the form of unwritten customs, practically unknown to the common people and which the nobles could interpret as they saw fit. Draco, one of the archons, was authorized to put these laws into a written form, so that they might be known to all. The harsh character of the laws became evident as soon as they were published; so that it was afterwards said that the laws of Draco were "written not in ink but in blood." If Draco made any change in the existing laws, it was a beneficial change relating to the law of homicide. Hitherto, if a man had slain another, whether accidentally or wilfully, he might be pursued and killed by the relatives of the deceased—and that without trial. But Draco made a distinction between accidental and wilful homicide, and this was to be determined by a trial before a court.

It is probable that Draco made some political changes in the way of extending the franchise—so that all Ionian tribesmen who were wealthy enough to furnish themselves with

heavy armour received the right to vote. This tended to make wealth, as well as blood, a basis of political rights. It is also probable that Draco established—in addition to the old council of the Areopagus—a new council of four hundred and one members, to be elected by lot from all those who possessed the franchise. The legislation and reforms of Draco did not, however, relieve to any extent the condition of the common people, for they did not strike at the root of the existing evils.

The Reforms of Solon (about 594 B.C.).—The government was now in the hands of the high-born Eupatrids and of those who were rich enough to furnish heavy armour. The poorer classes were not only excluded from the government, but were held in a state of practical bondage to the rich. "The whole country," says Aristotle, "was in the hands of a few persons; and if the poor tenants failed to pay their rent, they were liable to be reduced to slavery, and their children with them." Solon, who was regarded as one of the seven wise men of Greece, was elected to the archonship, with full authority to remedy the evils of the state. He made three important reforms.

SOLON (So-called)

(1) The first of these reforms was to remove the burdens resting upon the poorer classes. He freed all those who had been sold into slavery for debt, and called back all those who had fled into exile to escape the cruelty of their masters. He cancelled the old debts, and abolished the practice of reducing men to slavery on account of debt.

(2) His next reform was to extend the franchise to the poorer classes. There had already been established (at some time not exactly known) four "census classes," in

which the members of the Ionian tribes were arranged according to the amount of income which persons received. These classes had previously been used as a basis for the apportionment of the taxes. Solon now used these classes as a basis for the distribution of political rights. For example, the archons were to be elected from the first class only; and all the inferior officers were to be chosen from the first, second, or third class. But all the classes—including the fourth, called the *The'tes*—received the right to vote in the assembly for all officers. This gave to the assembly a democratic character, although it was at this time chiefly a voting or election body, having little to do with the actual making of the laws. Solon also established a popular court (*heliæ'a*), in which all citizens, including the *Thetes*, could sit as jurors.

(3) The third important reform of Solon was the reorganization of the council. He retained the old council of the Areopagus, which continued to hold its dignified position as "guardian of the constitution." But in place of the council of four hundred and one established by Draco, he created a new council of four hundred members—one hundred members being chosen by lot from each of the four Ionian tribes. This council prepared the laws, which might or might not be submitted to the assembly of the people.

The reforms of Solon were guided by wisdom and moderation. Although he did not destroy the aristocratic element of the state, he did give a greater importance to the popular element, and paved the way for a more democratic government.

The Tyranny of Pisistratus (560-527 B.C.).—It is said that Solon bound the people by an oath to observe his laws for ten years, and then departed from the city. But during his absence bitter strifes arose among the various classes of citizens who had different interests. These were: (1) the wealthy landowners, who held their estates on the lowlands, and were called the Men of the Plain; (2) the shepherds and peasants, who lived in the highlands, and were called the Men of the Hill; and (3) the merchants and traders who lived along the coast, and were called the Men of the

Shore. In the struggles between these parties, the cause of the common people was espoused by an able leader, Pisistratus, who seized the government in a manner not sanctioned by law. To such a man the Greeks gave the name of "tyrant," whether his rule was good or bad. Although twice expelled from the city by his enemies, he each time recovered his power, and ruled in the interests of the people. "His administration," says Aristotle, "was more like a constitutional government than the rule of a tyrant." He retained the political forms established by Solon, only taking care that his own supporters should be elected to the archonship. He advanced money to the poorer people to aid them in obtaining a livelihood. He appointed local judges in the country, so that the rights of the lower classes might be protected without their being obliged to come to the city for justice. He adorned Athens with public buildings, not only to satisfy his own love of art, but to give work to the unemployed. He was a patron of literature and collected a library which he threw open to the public. He is said to have made the first collection of Homer's poems. He gathered about him the poets and artists of Greece. He also encouraged commerce and formed alliances with foreign states. He favoured in every way the worship of the gods, and instituted splendid festivals in their honour. Although a tyrant in name, he was one of the greatest of Athenian rulers, and began the policy that later made Athens the literary and art centre of Greece.

THE TYRANNICIDES (Copies)

At the death of Pisistratus the power passed into the hands of his two sons, Hip′pias and Hippar′chus,[1] who began their rule by following their father's worthy example. But when Hipparchus was killed as the result of a private quarrel, his brother Hippias was embittered, and by his despotic rule he made the name of tyrant forever odious to the Athenian people. With the aid of the Spartans, who were directed by the Delphic oracle to help the Athenians, Hippias was overthrown and banished from the city. The tyrannicides, Harmo′dius and Aristogi′ton, who had previously killed Hipparchus, were hailed as the deliverers of their country, and statues of bronze were erected in their honour.

The New Constitution of Clisthenes (508 B.C.).—The man who now appeared as the friend of the people was Clisthenes, who had taken part in overthrowing the recent tyranny. He was an able and far-seeing statesman, and one of the greatest reformers that Greece ever produced. He reorganized the government by placing it upon a new and more democratic basis.

(1) In the first place, he made a new division of the people, so as to include persons who were not members of the four old Ionian tribes,—such as enfranchised slaves and resident foreigners. To take the place of the Ionian tribes, which were bssed upon blood relationship, he divided the whole territory of Attica into ten districts, or "local tribes." Each local tribe was made up of three smaller districts (called *trittyes*)—one of which was situated in or near the city, another near the shore, and the third in the intermediate territory. The *trittyes* was simply a group of three or four villages or townships called *demes*. The *deme* was thus the smallest unit in the state; and every person enrolled in a deme was a citizen of the Athenian state and entitled to political rights.

(2) In the next place, the government was changed so as to rest upon this new arrangement of the people. For example, the assembly (*eccle′sia*)—instead of being composed simply of members of the old Ionian tribes—was now

[1] Called the Pisistrat′idæ, or sons of Pisistratus.

made up of all the people of Attica who were enrolled in the various demes. So too, the council, or senate (*boulé*)—instead of consisting of four hundred members, one hundred from each of the four Ionian tribes—was now made to consist of five hundred members, fifty of whom were selected by lot from each of the ten new tribes.[1] The chief magistrates of the state continued to be the nine archons, who were chosen by lot, not now from the upper classes only, but from candidates presented by all the demes. The military organization was also based upon the new tribal division, ten generals (*strate'gi*) being elected to command the ten tribal regiments, and forming a war council under the polemarch, who was still the nominal commander-in-chief.

(3) Clisthenes also introduced a method to protect the state from the danger of tyranny, or the undue prominence of a party leader. If six thousand votes were cast against any man thought to be dangerous to the state, that man was obliged to withdraw from the city for ten years. As these votes were written upon pieces of earthenware (*ostraca*) this process was called *ostracism*. Although intended as a safeguard to the state, it was yet capable of being abused and used for partisan purposes.

The Triumph of Democracy.—From this review we can see how the ancient monarchy of Athens was gradually transformed into a well-organized democracy. The old king, who held his office by hereditary right, was displaced by the archons, chosen at first from the nobles, and finally from the whole body of the people. The ancient council of elders, or war chiefs, passed into the council of the Areopagus, which consisted of the ex-archons, and which was supplemented by new councils,—at first, the council of four hundred and one, established by Draco, and chosen from the wealthy classes; afterwards, the council of four hundred, established by Solon, and chosen from the four Ionian tribes; and, finally, the council of five hundred, established by Clisthenes, and chosen from the members of the ten new

[1] The old council of the Areopagus still remained as a time-honoured and perfunctory branch of the government. It represented the conservative spirit of Athens, but practically lost its importance—except for a time during the progress of the Persian wars.

Attic tribes. The assembly had passed through somewhat similar changes, until it had come to be composed of the whole body of citizens, and to hold the sovereign power of the state. As Athens came to represent the principle of democracy, she incurred the enmity of the Spartans, as the chief defenders of the aristocratic principle. Under their king, Cleom'enes, they even invaded Attica and attempted to overthrow the new Athenian constitution; but this effort proved a failure. With her democratic institutions firmly established, Athens continued to grow in strength until she became the chief city of Hellas and the champion of Greek liberty.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. THE ARISTOCRATIC CITY STATE, SPARTA.—The Dorians and Sparta.—Divisions of the People in Sparta.—The Spartan Government.—Spartan Education and Discipline.—The Conquests of Sparta; the Peloponnesian League.—Position of Sparta in Greece.

II. THE DEMOCRATIC CITY STATE, ATHENS.—The Ancient Monarchy of Athens.—Divisions of the People in Attica.—The Growth of the Archonship; Eupatrid Rule.—The Laws of Draco.—The Reforms of Solon.—The Tyranny of Pisistratus.—The New Constitution of Clisthenes.—The Triumph of Democracy.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST STEPS IN GREEK CULTURE

I. THE GREEK RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

General Character of Hellenic Culture.—We have considered in the two previous chapters the political growth of the Greek people during the early historical period—especially as seen in the development of their most important city states. We have seen a growing tendency in the direction of free institutions, and of a political life far different from that which marked the great empires and despotic governments of the East. We shall now see that during the same period

there was also growing up a new form of culture, not only different from that of the Oriental world but also different from that of the Mycenæan age in Greece. It is true that the Greeks derived many of their ideas from the East; but it is also true that they gave to these ideas a new expression, and added to them many original features. To this distinctive and superior type of culture, developed by the historic Greeks, we may apply the name "Hellenic." If we should try to describe its general character, we might call it, for the want of a better word, *humanistic*—that is, based upon human nature, and pervaded by a human sympathy. The Greeks believed in the dignity of man. They had high ideals of human life—physical, intellectual, and æsthetic. They were especially distinguished for their refined taste; and this refinement of taste was opposed to everything that was excessive, extravagant, or meretricious. This Hellenic spirit and type of culture came to be the possession of all Greeks, and gave to them a common national character.

Religion as an Element of Greek Culture.—The most fundamental element of the culture of the Greeks was no doubt their religion. The religious ideas of the common people, their conceptions of the gods and the future life, were essentially the same as those contained in the Homeric poems and were imbued with a thoroughly Greek spirit. The stories of the gods and goddesses were woven into a beautiful mythology in harmony with the Greek taste. The deities were inspired with the same feelings as were the Greeks themselves. The Greek religion was, in fact, a reflection of the Greek character. The religion was also the most powerful inspiration of Greek life and thought. It influenced the acts of the warrior and the statesman, and furnished the theme of the poet and the sculptor. Another important feature to be noticed is the fact that it was the strongest bond of union between the different branches of the Greek race. However much they might be embittered by jealousy and war, the Greeks found in their religion a common tie of sympathy.

The Delphic Oracle.—One of the most important centres of the religious and national life of the Greeks was the oracle

of Apollo at Delphi, situated in Phocis at the foot of Mt. Parnassus. The Greeks looked upon Apollo as preëminently the god of revelation, the god of light, of inspiration, and of prophecy. He had many oracles, but no other so renowned as that at Delphi. Here was his most illustrious temple, rich with costly gifts bestowed by his worshippers. Here his breath was supposed to issue from a cleft in the rock, over which stood a tripod—the seat of the Pyth'ia, or priestess, who uttered his will. The inspired words of the Pythia were taken down by the attendant priests, and delivered to the people. The oracle was consulted by private persons and by the envoys of cities from every part of Hellas. Answers were given to questions relating to religion and politics, to national disputes, to wars, and to colonization. Although these answers often had a double meaning and were difficult to interpret, still the Delphic priests were able by means of this sacred oracle to exercise a great and generally a beneficial influence upon the Greek people.

The Amphictyonic League.—The influence of the Greek religion, as a bond of union, is also seen in the associations of cities called amphictyonies, which were leagues bound together by some common interest, religious, commercial, or political. The most important of these in early times was the famous Amphictyonic League organized for the protection of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. It was made up of twelve states of central and northern Greece, which sent to Delphi a number of delegates forming the Amphictyonic council. Although religious in its origin, the league also had a political influence in binding the cities together under a kind of legal code. The cities were bound, not only to protect the temple of the god, but to respect one another's rights in time of war—not to cut off the running water which supplied a city, and not to destroy any Amphictyonic town. The punishment inflicted upon the Phocian towns of Crissa and Cirrha for molesting the pilgrims to Delphi—when these cities were razed to the ground, in the so-called first "Sacred war"—shows the jealousy with which the league guarded the shrine of Apollo.

The Panhellenic Games.—The religious institutions which

Buildings and Environs of Olympia (Restoration)

perhaps more than all others tended to promote a national unity and a national type of culture, were the great public games. These were celebrated in honour of the gods; and they show how closely religion was connected with all the phases of human life,—with art and literature, and even with athletic sports. Chief among these games were those held every four years at Olympia in Elis. The physical contests consisted in running, jumping, throwing the discus or quoit, casting the javelin, wrestling, boxing, and sometimes in chariot racing. These games were not barbarous sports, but were subject to strict rules, intended to promote the restraints of discipline and the sense of honour. The competition was restricted to Greeks of good character, well trained and unblemished by any physical or moral taint. The reward of the victor was a wreath of olive leaves, and high honours were paid him. The games also furnished a field for intellectual culture. Here poets recited their verses, painters displayed their pictures, and men of science explained their discoveries. Olympia became adorned with noble buildings—especially the temple of Zeus. The multitude which gathered here from every part of Hellas carried back to their homes the feeling of a common kinship, and the love of Greek ideals.

PANATHENAIC VASE
(6th century B. C.)

Other, less noted, games were the Pythian, given in honour of Apollo near his shrine at Delphi; the Nemean, in honour of Zeus at Nemea in Argolis; and the Isthmian, in honour of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth.

Special Religious Festivals.—Besides these general celebrations which belonged to the whole of Greece, there were special festivals more local in their character. These were holiday entertainments given in honour of certain deities, and for the sake of social recreation. They consisted of processions, singing, dancing, games, and other diversions in

which the people took part. There were a number of these festivals in Attica. The most important of them were: the Parathenæ'a, given in honour of Athena; the Dionys'ia, in honour of the god of wine, Diony'sus; and the Eleusin'ia, in honour of the goddess Demeter. The last named festival was of peculiar interest, especially to those who had been initiated into the secret rites of this worship. It consisted of a solemn procession in which every one might take part, from Athens by the "sacred way" to the city of Eleusis, the seat of the mysterious worship of the goddess. The secret ceremonies and doctrines attending this worship were called the "Eleusinian mysteries," of which no one was supposed to have any knowledge except the initiated.

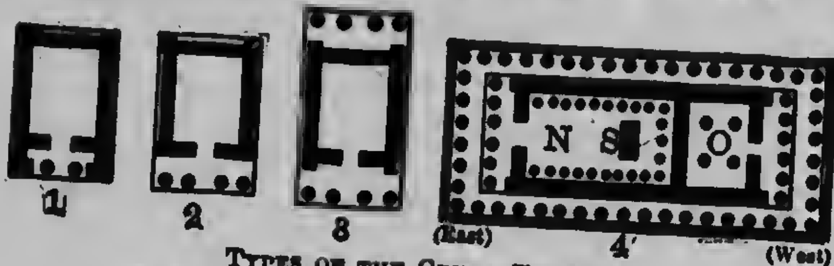
II. The Beginnings of Greek Art

Character of Greek Art.—The art of Greece, like that of the Orient, was closely related to religion. But Greek art was as different from Oriental art as the Greek religion was different from the Oriental religion. The gods of Babylon, who dwelt among the stars, could be approached only by lofty temples, towering towards the sky. The grim religion of Egypt produced imposing structures which were gigantic and awe-inspiring. But the Greek religion appealed more strongly to human sympathy and revealed a finer sense of beauty. It produced an art which showed the marks of taste and reason, of moderation, of symmetry, and proper proportion. Some of the early features of Greek art were no doubt derived from the East; but its distinctive character was due to the refined taste of the Greeks themselves. That which we most admire in a Greek temple or a Greek statue is that combination of artistic qualities—simplicity of design, grace of form, symmetry of structure, and sincerity of expression—which we can find in no earlier people.

The Greek Temple.—For the highest expression of Greek art we must look to the temple. During the historical period we find in Greece no royal palaces like those in Assyria or Egypt, or even like those previously built on Greek soil at Tiryns and Mycenæ. The architectural skill and taste of the

Greeks were devoted almost entirely to the service of the gods. In every city the temple was the most beautiful and conspicuous object.

In its design the Greek temple was a simple roof supported by columns and covering a space inclosed by four walls. It

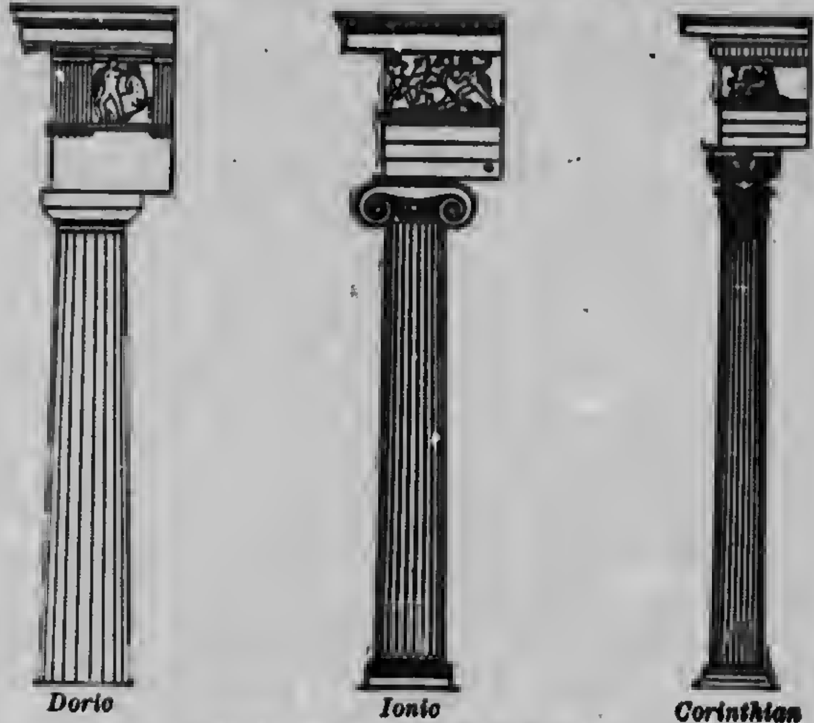


TYPES OF THE GREEK TEMPLE
1, in antis; 2, prostyle; 3, amphiprostyle; 4, peristyle (the Parthenon); N, naos; O, opisthodomus; S, statue

is supposed that this design grew out of the form of a dwelling house, made of wood, with a front porch. At first the building had two columns in front (*in antis*), and then four columns (*pro'style*); afterwards it had also four columns in the rear (*amphip'rostyle*), and finally the whole building was surrounded by a colonnade (*per'istyle*). The inclosed space in the largest temples generally consisted of a principal part (*na'os* or *cella*), in which was placed the statue of the deity, and a rear part (*opisthod'omus*), which contained the treasures of the temple.

Orders of Greek Architecture.—As the Greeks broke away from the conventional architecture of the Eastern peoples, they developed styles of architecture of their own. These styles, or orders, are distinguished chiefly by the forms of the columns and the surmounting capitals. The earliest style was the Doric, so called because it was supposed to have its origin among the Dorian people of the Peloponnesus. This was the simplest and most dignified style. The column had no distinct base, and the capital consisted simply of a circular band surmounted by a square slab. This style was used mostly during this early period, but it was always greatly admired by the Greeks. A later style was the Ionic, in which the column was more slender and rested upon a

distinct base, and the capital was adorned with a spiral roll, or volute. A third style, developed still later, was called the Corinthian, which was a mere modification of the Ionic —the capital being somewhat more ornate and embellished with designs taken from the leaves of the acanthus plant.



ORDERS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE

While the architecture of the Greeks did not reach its highest development during this period, it yet acquired a distinctly Hellenic character and showed the Greek taste for simplicity and symmetry.

Early Greek Sculpture.—The art of sculpture did not make as rapid progress in this period as did architecture. In fact, most of the examples which are left to us are crude and archaic. We can see the first feeble efforts to break away from the stiff and conventional forms of the East, and to give to stone the features of life. The influence of religion is seen in the early attempts to represent the gods in the form of

men; but these attempts are suggestive of idols rather than statues. The credit of giving to statues a more lifelike appearance is ascribed to the mythical Dæd'alus, who was said to be a native of Athens. Schools of sculpture grew up in the cities of Samos and Chios in Asiatic Greece; at Argos, Ægina, and Athens, in European Greece; and especially at Seli'nus, in Sicily. We have preserved to us some of the sculptured reliefs from the temple of Selinus. These consist of small groups of figures representing mythological scenes, and are carved in a very rude fashion. But they are interesting, as they show the early way in which sculpture was used for temple decoration. Among the strongest influences which led to the improvement of sculpture during this time were the encouragement given to physical training and the custom of erecting at Olympia statues to successful athletes. But it is not until the close of this period that we see the sculpture beginning to acquire some of those artistic qualities which we have noticed in the architecture.

RELIEF FROM TEMPLE OF SELINUS
(Perseus slaying Medusa.)

III. THE GREEK LANGUAGE AND EARLY LITERATURE

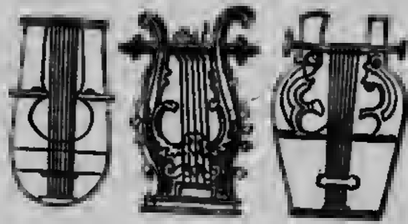
The Greek Language.—Another strong bond which united the various branches of the Greek people was their language. This gave them a common means of communication, and preserved among them the feeling of kinship. It also separated them from the outside "barbarian" world, and contributed to the growth of a distinct Hellenic culture. Although a branch of the great Aryan or Indo-European family, the Greek early supassed the other languages of this

group as an instrument of thought and expression. By means of this remarkable language the Greeks produced a literature which has given them a high place among the most civilized peoples of the world. We can here take only a hasty glance at the growth of the literature during this formative period.

Decline of Epic Poetry.—At the beginning of the period the Greeks already possessed the "poems of Homer." These poems pictured in matchless verse the glories of the past, and recounted the deeds of gods and heroes. The epic was thus the poetry of action, and as such the Homeric epic could not be equalled. It was feebly imitated by a class of poets called the Homer′idæ, who still sang of the legends of Troy and of mythical heroes. A new and lower kind of epic was introduced by Hesiod, who is said to have been a native of Bœotia. This kind of epic was didactic in its character; that is, written for purposes of instruction. The "Theogony" of Hesiod is a sort of theological treatise containing a description of the gods and the religious faith of the ancient Greeks. The "Works and Days" is a poem of common life, describing the labours of the farmer and interspersed with wholesome moral advice.

Transition to Lyric Poetry.—With the decline of the epic, or the poetry of action, there arose a new kind of poetry more closely related to human thoughts and feelings. This is shown in what are called the elegiac, the iambic, and finally the lyric verse. The elegiac and the iambic poetry, like the older epic, made their first appearance among the Ionians. The elegy was serious in its character, sometimes used to express feelings of sadness, and sometimes patriotic in its appeals. The chief elegiac poets were Calli′nus of Ephesus, and Tyrtæ′us of Athens. It is said that Tyrtæus was sent to Spar[illegible] during the Messenian wars to inspire the Spartan soldiers with an heroic spirit. The iambic poetry, differing from the elegy, was the poetry of wit and satire, and devoted to raillery and invective. Its chief representative was Archil′ochus, a native of the island of Paros. These two forms of poetry—the elegiac and the iambic—prepared the way for the higher and more cultivated form of the lyric.

The Æolian Lyric Poetry.—The first form of lyric poetry appeared on the Æolian island of Lesbos in Asia Minor. It consisted of songs intended to be sung by a single voice accompanied by the lyre. The chief poets of Æolia were Alcæ'us, who sang of patriotism and war; Sappho, who sang of love; and Ana'creon, who sang of the pleasures of life. Of these Sappho is preëminent. To the Greeks she was "the poetess," as Homer was "the poet." Of the few fragments of her work which remain to us, modern critics can hardly express their admiration. Says one, "Of all the illustrious artists of all literature, Sappho is the one whose every word has a peculiar and unmistakable perfume, a seal of absolute perfection and inimitable grace" (Symonds).



GREEK LYRES

The Dorian Lyric Poetry.—Another form of lyric poetry was cultivated by the Dorians. It comprised hymns, or choruses, to be sung by a number of voices at the public worship of the gods, or at public festivals. The chorus, accompanied by dances or processional marches, was not a new thing in Greece. But it was reduced to a more regular form under the influence of three poets—Alcman, Stesich'-orus, and Ari'on.

Alcman regulated the rhythmic movement of the persons singing the chorus. The movement of the singers from right to left before the altar, and the part of the hymn, or ode, sung during this movement, were called the "strophe"; the movement from left to right, and the corresponding part of the hymn, were called the "antis'trophe."

Stesichorus added an after-part, sung, after these movements were completed, by the chorus when standing still, and called the "ep'ode."

Arion is said to have given a special form to the chorus in the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. The chorus of fifty singers was arranged about the altar in the form of a circle, and the hymns were accompanied with dancing, gestures,

and mimetic features. This choral hymn was known as the "dith'yramb," and from it sprang the later drama.

IV. Early Greek Philosophy

The Early Ionic School.—While the poets were singing the praises of the gods, there arose a class of thinkers who were not inclined to accept the old mythological stories. These men first appeared at Miletus, an Ionian city in Asia Minor. Here they came into contact with the scientific notions of the East; and these ideas furnished a kind of starting point for Greek philosophy. The Egyptians and the Assyrians had made considerable progress in mathematics and astronomy; and their scientific ideas had been taken up by the Phœnicians and the people of Asia Minor.

The first of the Greek philosophers was Tha'les, who was born at Miletus and was of Phœnician descent. He was first of all a matbematician and astronomer. He is said to have measured the height of the Egyptian pyramids by their shadows and to have predicted an eclipse. As he studied the universe he was led to believe that everything has been evolved from one substance, and that that substance was *water*, or some form of moisture.

Other philosophers of Miletus were Anaxim'ines and Anaximan'der—the former believing that the primitive substance was *air*, and the latter that it was some kind of unknown matter without definite qualities. Another philosopher appeared a little later in the Ionian city of Eph'esus; this was Heracli'tus, who believed that the original substance was *fire*, and that everything is in a state of perpetual movement, or, as he said, "all things flow."

The Philosophy of Pythagoras.—Another school of philosophy was founded by Pythag'oras, who was a native of Samos, an Ionian city of Asia Minor. He is said to have travelled in Egypt, and perhaps in Phœnicia and in Babylon, and to have absorbed the wisdom of these countries. At any rate, he was called the most learned man of his time. He finally settled at Croton in southern Italy, and his philosophy exercised a great influence in Magna Græcia. Pytha-

goras was first of all a mathematician; and he looked at everything through mathematical eyes. He saw that everything possesses number, either one or many; and hence he reasoned that *number* is the principle of everything. He was also a religious and moral teacher, and he organized a secret fraternity, the purpose of which was to cultivate the highest virtue among its members.

The Eleatic Philosophy.—Still another school of philosophy arose in E'lea (Ve'lia), on the western coast of Italy, called the Eleat'ic school. This was also connected, like the others, with Ionia in Asia Minor, since its founder, whose name was Xenoph'anes, originally came from that part of Hellas. This philosopher embodied his ideas in a poem "On Nature." As he looked at the world, he saw that *all* things are parts of *one* complete and harmonious whole; and hence to express his idea in a brief form he used this phrase, "The All is One." He also affirmed that the one universal principle which comprehends and controls everything else, is God. The greatest philosopher of this school was Parmen'ides. He distinguished between the world of sense, which is only appearance, and the world of reason, which is reality. If by the aid of the reason we look below the surface of things, we shall find, he says, an ultimate principle which does not change—an absolute Being, ever the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever.

Such ideas were opposed to the old mythological notions contained in Homer and Hesiod, and show that the philosophy of the Greeks was tending to elevate and purify the old religious ideas.

We can thus see in the Greek religion, art, literature, and philosophy the evidences of the growing refinement, versatility, and power of the Greek mind, which was gradually expressing itself in a distinctive Hellenic culture, different from that of any other ancient people. The growth of such a common culture shows that the Greeks, although broken up into many small city states, were yet bound together in thought and feeling as one great nation, which extended from the coasts of Asia Minor to the shores of Sicily.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Greek Religion and Religious Institutions.—General Character of Hellenic Culture.—Religion as an Element of Greek Culture.—The Delphic Oracle.—The Amphictyonic League.—The Panhellenic Games.—Special Religious Festivals.

II. The Beginnings of Greek Art.—Character of Greek Art.—The Greek Temple.—Orders of Greek Architecture.—Early Greek Sculpture.

III. The Greek Language and Early Literature.—The Greek Language.—Decline of Epic Poetry.—Transition to Lyric Poetry.—Æolian Lyric Poetry.—Dorian Lyric Poetry.

IV. Early Greek Philosophy.—The Early Ionic School.—The Philosophy of Pythagoras.—The Eleatic Philosophy.

PERIOD III. THE SUPREMACY AND DECLINE OF ATHENS (500-359 B.C.)

CHAPTER X

THE WARS WITH PERSIA

I. The First Persian Invasion, under Darius

Greece and Persia.—We have thus far traced the beginnings of the Greek political system, and the first steps in the growth of a common Hellenic culture. We have seen how the Greeks broke away from the old monarchical ideas of the East, and laid the basis of freer and more democratic institutions. We have also seen how they began to develop a higher intellectual life and a finer æsthetic taste than had hitherto existed among the peoples of the Orient. With the extension of the colonies, the influence of this new civilization was beginning to be felt on nearly every shore of the Mediterranean—in Asia Minor, in Thrace, in southern Italy and Sicily. But now came a great crisis in the history of the Greek people, when they were called upon to defend their very existence. Their cities, their colonies, their commerce, their free institutions, and their new culture

were all threatened with destruction by the encroachments of Persia. This great world empire, having absorbed all the monarchies of the East, was now brought into contact with the city states of Greece. Persia had extended her power to the shores of the Ægean. Her armies had already crossed the Hellespont into Europe, and held lands extending to the very borders of Thessaly. We are now about to witness a conflict which is perhaps to decide the fate of the world; it will certainly decide the question whether Greek civilization is to survive, or whether Europe is to become a province of the Orient.

The Asiatic Cities and the Ionian Revolt.—This great struggle between the East, represented by Persia, and the West, represented by Greece, began with the revolt of the Greek cities in Asia Minor. We remember that these cities grew up as the result of the early migrations of the Greeks across the Ægean Sea. The most important of these cities were in Ionia; and the most influential of the Ionian cities was Miletus. These cities maintained their independence for a long time. But when the new empire of Lydia arose in Asia Minor, they passed under the control of the Lydian kings, the most noted of whom was Crœsus (560-546 B. C.).

SEAT OF THE IONIAN REVOLT

Under the Lydian rule, the Greeks were well treated and their rights respected. A great change, however, occurred when Lydia was conquered by Persia, and the Asiatic Greeks became subject to the Persian empire. They were now ruled

by tyrants under the control of the Persian satrap whose capital was at Sardis. The revolt against Persia began at the city of Miletus (500 B. C.); it soon spread to the other cities of Asia Minor, and also to the Greek colonies on the coast of Thrace.

In their extremity the cities appealed to European Greece for assistance. Sparta refused to give any help. But Athens voted to send a fleet of twenty ships to aid their "kin beyond the sea." To this was added a small squadron of five ships sent by Eretria, a city friendly to Miletus. With this aid the Ionians captured and burned the Persian capital Sardis. On their retreat from the city the Athenians suffered a severe defeat; and disheartened they returned to Greece. The Asiatic cities continued their resistance; but on account of their relative weakness, and especially their lack of union, they could not cope with the forces of Persia. The Persians gained a decisive naval battle off the little island of La′de, near Miletus. Miletus was then captured and burned; and the remaining cities of Asia Minor were soon reduced to submission (493 B. C.). This revolt furnished an example of the lack of strength that results from a too great love of liberty and the failure to unite in a common cause.

Plans of Darius against Greece.—Whether or not the Persian king, Darius, had up to this time thought of conquering Greece, he was now determined at least to punish the cities of Athens and Eretria for interfering in the affairs of Asia. For this purpose he organized an expedition (492 B. C.), consisting of land and naval forces, and placed it under the command of his son-in-law Mardo′nius. This expedition was to invade Greece by way of the Hellespont and the coasts of Thrace and Macedonia. But this first attempt to invade Greece was a complete failure; for the fleet of Mardonius was wrecked off the rocky point of Mt. Athos. This failure, however, did not discourage the Persian king. He now determined not simply to punish Athens and Eretria, but to subdue all the cities of Greece which would not recognize his authority. To test their loyalty, he sent his heralds among them, demanding "earth and water" as a token of their submission. Most of the island states,

fearing attacks from the Persian fleet, yielded—including Ægina, off the coast of Attica. Many of the cities of the peninsula hesitated; but Athens and Sparta stood firm, and even treated the royal heralds with indignity. The stand taken by these leading states was a good omen, for it showed that Greece might yet be united in the face of a common danger.

Persian Invasion under Datis and Artaphernes.—The new expedition of Darius was placed in the hands of a Median general, Datis, and the king's nephew Artapher′nes. Instead of following the previous course of Mardonius and risking another disaster at Mt. Athos, the new generals proceeded directly across the sea. Their fleet consisted, it is said, of six hundred triremes. On their way they captured Naxos and reduced its inhabitants to slavery.. But they spared Delos, the seat of the shrine of Apollo. They soon landed on the island of Eubœa, and attacked the city of Eretria. After a gallant defence, the city fell by the treachery of two of its citizens. It was burned and its people were enslaved. The Persians now crossed over to Attica to mete out a similar punishment to Athens. By the advice of Hippias, the banished Athenian tyrant now in the enemy's service, the Persians landed on the shore of Attica near the plain of Mar′athon.

MILTIADES (So-called)

Miltiades and the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.).—Upon Athens now rested the chief duty of defending Greece. She collected an army and sent it to meet the invaders. It was led by the ten strategi, or generals, who usually commanded the army each in his own turn. One of the generals was Milti′ades. To him

it seemed necessary to attack the Persians on the plain of Marathon. The other generals were divided in their opinions, but finally decided to yield to the advice of Miltiades and to give to him the chief command. A swift runner was despatched to Sparta with a request to that city for aid. This aid was promised; but it was delayed on account of a Spartan superstition that an army should not be sent away before the time of the full moon. The only assistance which the Athenians received was from the friendly city of Platæa, which sent its entire army, a thousand fighting men, raising the total force to ten or eleven thousand. The Greeks were drawn up in front of the town of Marathon. Opposite them the Persians were stationed nearer the sea and supported by their fleet. The battle line of the Greeks was equal in length to that of the Persians, but the centre was made weak in order to strengthen the wings. At a given signal, the Greeks, heedless of superior numbers and the terrible shower of arrows, rushed upon the enemy. The battle was long and obstinate. The Persians drove back the weak centre of the Athenians and pressed forwards in the intervening space. But the strong wings of the Greek army closed upon the enemy and routed them with great slaughter. The Persians were pursued to their ships, and with great difficulty embarked and sought refuge upon the open sea. Not entirely discouraged, the Persians sailed directly to Athens, hoping to find the city unguarded. But Miltiades made a forced march to Athens; and the Persians, when they arrived, found the city protected by the victorious army of Miltiades. Foiled at every point, Datis and Artaphernes sailed with their defeated forces back to Asia.

BATTLE OF MARATHON, 490 B. C.

When the full moon was passed, the Spartan army arrived to find that Marathon had been won.

The Athenians were entitled to look upon Marathon as their own battlefield. The Spartans paid the highest tribute to their valour. The poets of Greece vied with one another singing the praises of the dead heroes. A monumental mound was thrown up in their honour, which remains to the present day. Two statues were erected to Miltiades, one at Athens and the other at Delphi. While the battle of Marathon did not end the struggle between the East and the West, it marked an important step towards the ascendency of Athens in Greece, and of Greece in the civilization of the world.

II. Athens during the Ten Years' Respite (490-480 B. C.)

Democratic Progress at Athens.—After the battle of Marathon there was an interval of ten years before the next Persian invasion. During this time Athens was striving to maintain her democratic institutions, and to strengthen her power for the next attack. As Miltiades was looked upon as a friend of the oligarchical party, he was called upon to answer a charge of deceiving the people. He had induced them to fit out for him a naval expedition, which had failed. This furnished to the popular party a pretext for condemning him; this was done, and the hero of Marathon died in disgrace. The people also drove into exile all the friends of Hippias, the banished tyrant who had aided the Persians in the recent invasion. The popular party overcame all opposition, until they held completely the reins of government. All political questions were now reduced to the one problem, how best to maintain and strengthen the Athenian democracy.

Aristides and Themistocles.—But even in the popular party there were different views as to the best way of developing the power of Athens. The conservative view was held by Aristi′des; the progressive view by Themis′tocles. Aristides was highly esteemed by the people, so that they called him "the Just." He had supported the democratic reforms of Clisthenes, and had commanded the Greek centre at Mara-

thon. He believed that the strength of Athens depended upon preserving the institutions and maintaining the policy that had already made her great, and that no change would improve her condition. Themistocles, on the other hand, believed that the state should not rest entirely upon the past, but should prepare itself for the future. The success which Athens had already attained should not blind her eyes to the need of new achievements. These two statesmen, though differing widely in their character and views, were equally conscientious and devoted to the interests of their country.

THEMISTOCLES (So-called)

The Naval Programme of Themistocles.—Themistocles no doubt saw more clearly than Aristides the need of preparing for a new struggle with Persia. He also saw that in the coming conflict Athens, the chief object of Persia's hatred, must again bear the brunt of Persia's attack. Persia was both a great military and a great naval power. In any future conflict, if Sparta was to be recognized as the chief military power of Greece, Athens should be recognized as its chief maritime power. There was also another consideration in favour of the policy of Themistocles. Athens was now embroiled in a war with Ægina, the neighbouring island state which had shown a sympathy with Persia. Ægina had already a strong fleet. The only hope of winning in this war was by meeting ships with ships. With arguments such as these Themistocles enforced upon the people the need of a strong navy. That the new naval project might be carried through without hindrance, Aristides was ostracized; and Themistocles became the leader at Athens without a rival.

Athens Becomes a Maritime Power.—Through the building of a strong fleet and the construction of an adequate harbour, Athens soon became the greatest naval power in Greece. The fleet was built with the aid of the silver mines recently opened at Laurium in the south of Attica. It was at first proposed that the product of these mines, which belonged to the state, should be divided among the citizens. But Themistocles appealed to the patriotism of the people and induced them to devote the proceeds of the mines to the building of war ships. In a short time Athens possessed a fleet of two hundred triremes, far outnumbering that of Ægina or of any other Greek city. About this time—perhaps earlier—Themistocles also transferred the harbour of Athens from the bay of Phale′rum, which was exposed alike to storms and to enemies, to the Piræ′us, which was far better adapted for a naval station. This new port was surrounded by natural defences, but was now further strengthened by fortifications. On account of these works Themistocles may properly be regarded as the founder of the maritime greatness of Athens.

The Congress of Corinth (481 B.C.).—But Themistocles saw that Athens alone, even with her new navy, could not withstand the power of Persia. He saw that the safety of Greece depended upon the union of her states. At his suggestion a congress was called at Corinth to consider the means of a common defence. The principal continental states responded favourably to this call—except Argos and Thebes, who were jealous, the former of Sparta and the latter of Athens. The Greeks in their conference at Corinth agreed to lay aside all internal strife, and act together against the common foe. It was decided to punish any city that should "Medize"—that is, aid the cause of Persia. It was also decided that of the three possible lines of defence—namely, the vale of Tempe, the pass of Thermop′ylæ, and the isthmus of Corinth—the best place to meet the invader was at the pass of Thermopylæ. The leadership of the new confederation of Greek states was given to Sparta, which was already the head of the Peloponnesian League. At no other period did Greece ever come so near to being one nation as it did at

this time under the influence of the great Athenian statesman Themistocles. It was by his foresight and genius that not only Athens, but Greece as well, was made ready for the next great war with Persia.

III. The Second Persian Invasion, under Xerxes

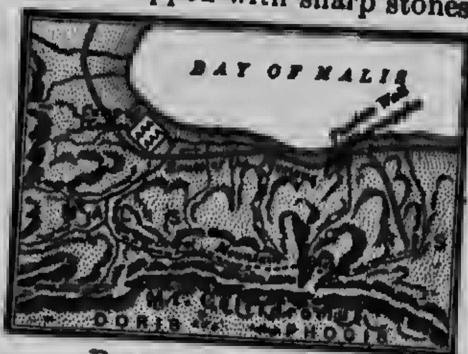
Preparations and Advance of Xerxes.—While the Greeks were thus preparing to defend themselves against Persia, the Persians were making the most formidable preparations for

Routes of Persian Invasions

their next invasion. These preparations had been begun by Darius, but were interrupted by a revolt in Egypt and were finally cut short by the death of the king himself. Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, a man of far greater pretensions and of far less ability than his father. Prompted to take up the task left unfinished by Darius, he called together his nobles and announced his purpose. "As Cyrus,

Cambyses, and Darius," he said, "have each enlarged the empire, I wish to do the same. I propose to bridge the Hellespont and march through Europe, and fire Athens for burning Sardis and opposing Datis and Artaphernes. By reducing Attica and Greece, the sky will be the only boundary of Persia" (Herodotus, VII., 8). Four years he spent in preparing for his great expedition. Infantry, cavalry, horse transports, provisions, long ships for bridges, and war ships for battles were collected from various Asiatic nations. Three years were spent in cutting a channel through the isthmus of Athos, to avoid the promontory near which the fleet of Mardonius had been wrecked.

After collecting his forces at Sardis, Xerxes marched to the Hellespont. Crossing into Thrace, the army was reënforced by the fleet, which had followed by way of the coast. Here the great king reviewed his immense armament, gathered, it is said, from forty-six different nations. Here were Persians clad in corselets and armed with great bows and short javelins. Here were Ethiopians covered with the skins of beasts and having arrows tipped with sharp stones. Here were the savages from central Asia, and the more civilized warriors from Assyria and Media. According to Herodotus the whole army amounted to more than a million of men. The fleet consisted of more than twelve hundred ships collected from Phœnicia, Egypt, Ionia, Cyprus, and other maritime states. With this prodigious armament Xerxes hoped to appall and overwhelm the little armies and fleets of Greece. He advanced by way of Thrace and Macedonia to the pass at Tempe, and was surprised to find this point abandoned. He then pushed through Thessaly and approached the pass of Thermopylæ.



PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ

Battles at Thermopylæ and Artemisium.—It was at this pass that the Greeks had decided to resist the Persian

advance. This was no doubt the strongest defensive point in Greece. The pass itself was a very narrow roadway between the mountains and the sea, and could be easily defended by a small force; it was also protected from an attack from the sea by the long island of Eubœa, so that it could be approached from the north only through the strait at Artemis′ium. The defence of the pass was intrusted to the brave Spartan king Leon′idas; while the strait was guarded by a Grecian fleet under a Spartan admiral—the Athenian division being commanded by Themistocles. Leonidas had with him about four thousand men, including three hundred Spartans, whom he stationed behind an old wall once built by the Phocians. That the whole Spartan army was not hurried to the defence of this most important position, was due to a superstition similar to that which had before delayed the arrival of the Spartan troops at Marathon. But with his small force Leonidas determined to hold the pass. For two days Xerxes hurled against him as large detachments of his army as he was able—but in vain. Even the "Ten Thousand Immortals" were repulsed. Then a citizen of Malis, who has been branded as the "Judas of Greece," Ephial′tes by name, revealed to Xerxes a secret path over the mountains, by which a force could be thrown in the rear of the Spartan position. By this act of treachery Thermopylæ was lost. Leonidas and his Spartan band preferred death to dishonour, and perished—examples for all time of courage and patriotic devotion.

Seat of the Second Persian War

Route of Persian Army ——>——>—
Course of Persian Fleet — —>— —

At Artemisium the Grecian fleet was held to its duty by the inspiring influence of Themistocles. The fleet comprised nearly three hundred vessels, more than half of which were furnished by Athens. By persuasion, and even by bribery, Themistocles induced the Spartan commander to hold his position. For three successive days the Greeks fought the Persian navy. Although these battles were indecisive, they prevented the Persians from approaching Thermopylæ by the sea. But when the news came that Thermopylæ was lost, it was useless to hold this position longer; and the fleet retired southwards to the island of Sal′amis. All central Greece was now open to the invader.

Themistocles and the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.).—The army of Xerxes pushed through central Greece into Attica, burned Athens, and destroyed the temples on the Acropolis. The inhabitants fled to the neighbouring towns. The Persian fleet meanwhile followed the Greeks to Salamis. It was here that Themistocles by his influence and adroitness brought on the decisive battle of the war. The Peloponnesian army had retreated behind the wall thrown across the Isthmus of Corinth, and its leaders insisted that the fleet should retire to the same place. But Themistocles saw the great advantage of fighting in the narrow strait between Salamis and the Attic shore, where only a part of the Persian fleet could be brought into action. A council was called, and in the heat of debate Themistocles was charged with being a "man without a country," now that Athens was lost. But he replied that with a hundred and eighty war ships at his command he could found a city anywhere. He threatened to withdraw his vessels and sail to Italy if the allies saw fit to abandon their Athenian comrades. By this threat the allies were persuaded to stand firm and fight in the strait. But to prevent any further

BATTLE OF SALAMIS, 480 B. C.

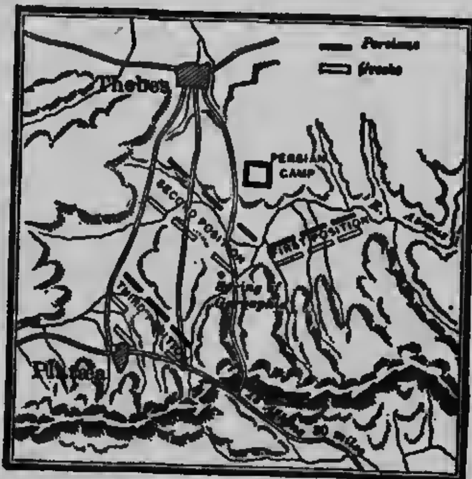
indecision, Themistocles sent a messenger to Xerxes, giving the advice, as coming from a friend, that the Greeks must be attacked immediately to prevent their escape. Xerxes accordingly ordered up his fleet, and sent the Egyptian squadron to the strait opposite Megaris, to prevent any escape west of Salamis. At this juncture Aristides arrived from his retirement in Ægina, and pleaded with his old rival that they should now be rivals only in the cause of Greece. He announced that the battle must take place at Salamis, as all means of escape were cut off. This showed Themistocles that his plans had been successful.

The Greek fleet now held the strait east of Salamis. The Persian squadrons gathered on its front. The Phœnicians moved in heavy columns on the right and the Ionians on the left. The great king sat upon a throne erected on the slope of Mt. Æga'leos to watch the conflict. The details of this battle are uncertain; but the victory of the Greeks was decisive. The Phœnician squadron, upon which the king chiefly relied, was shattered. Nearly half of the Persian fleet was destroyed; and a new glory crowned the loyal states of Greece.

Continuance of the War under Mardonius.—The victory at Salamis had broken the naval power of Persia; but the land forces were still intact. Xerxes, however, seemed to regard the cause of Persia as lost, and ordered a general retreat of the army. He directed the remnants of his fleet to hasten to the Hellespont to guard the bridges by which he might recross into Asia, and which were now threatened by the Greeks. But there was one man who believed that a Persian army might still conquer Greece. This man was Mardonius. He it was who had failed in the first expedition under Darius, and who had encouraged Xerxes to undertake the present invasion. Intrusted with three hundred thousand men, Mardonius was permitted to remain in Greece to retrieve the disaster at Salamis. Before beginning his campaign the following year, Mardonius sought the alliance of Athens against the rest of Greece. He promised to aid the Athenians to rebuild their city and to give them all the neighbouring territory that they desired. But the Athenians sent

back the word that "so long as the sun keeps its course, we will never join the cause of Xerxes" (Herodotus, VIII., 143). Attica was once more invaded, and the Athenians were again obliged to flee for safety. Again Greece was called upon to resist the invaders. Athens again called upon Sparta for aid, which was furnished after the usual delay. While the Grecian army was being collected, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, near Platæa, to await the final contest.

Battles of Platæa and Mycale (479 B.C.).—Against the army of Mardonius the Greeks brought a force of about a hundred thousand men under the command of the Spartan Pausa'nias. The Athenian division was led by Aristides. The Spartan commander was evidently convinced of the superiority of the Athenian division, for he insisted that it should hold the place of honour and danger against the strongest wing of the Persian army. After fighting and manœuvring in three different positions, the battle was finally decided near the walls of Platæa. The Persian army was nearly annihilated. Mardonius was killed. Another decisive victory was thus added to those of Salamis and Marathon. In commemoration of this victory the assembled allies made an offering of thanksgiving to Zeus Eleuthe'rios (the Deliverer), and instituted a public festival, called the Eleuthe'ria, to be celebrated once in every four years. The defensive alliance against Persia was also renewed; this is known as the "League of Platæa."



BATTLE OF PLATÆA, 479 B. C.

On the same day, it is said, on which the battle of Platæa was fought, the Grecian fleet, having set out from Delos,

gained a signal victory over the Persian navy on the Asiatic coast near the promontory of Myc′ale.

The Liberation of Greece.—The story of these struggles between the Greeks and their foreign enemies is of more than ordinary significance: for they belong to the most heroic period of Greek history. This war against Persia has been aptly called "the war of liberation." It preserved Greece and Europe from Oriental domination. It revealed to the Greeks their own character and strength. The battles of Marathon and Thermopylæ and Salamis and Platæa taught them that courage and patriotism are virtues necessary to national independence. They gave to the Greek people the consciousness of unity and showed them the importance of their own institutions and culture. They also gave a new inspiration to Greek life which was expressed in art and literature. This new spirit is shown in the lyric poetry of Simon′ides, who sang the praises of the dead heroes, and of Pindar, who glorified the national institutions of the Greeks. But more than all, this war gave to the Greeks a half century of comparative peace in which they might devote themselves to fulfilling their high mission in the world, unhindered by foreign interference.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The First Persian Invasion, under Darius.—Greece and Persia.—The Asiatic Cities and the Ionian Revolt.—Plans of Darius against Greece.—Persian Invasion under Datis and Artaphernes.—Miltiades and the Battle of Marathon.

II. Athens during the Ten Years' Respite.—Democratic Progress at Athens.—Aristides and Themistocles.—The Naval Programme of Themistocles.—Athens Becomes a Maritime Power.—The Congress of Corinth.

III. The Second Persian Invasion under Xerxes.—Preparations and Advance of Xerxes.—Battles at Thermopylæ and Artemisium.—Themistocles and the Battle of Salamis.—Continuance of the War under Mardonius.—Battles of Platæa and Mycale.—The Liberation of Greece.

CHAPTER XI

GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

I. Athens and the Delian Confederacy

The New Athens under Themistocles.—We have seen the important part taken by Athens in the Persian wars. Herodotus tells us that in this great crisis the Athenians were the saviours of Greece—that, next to the gods, they repulsed the invader. It is also true that they were the greatest sufferers in the cause of Greece. Their city had been twice occupied

The Piræus, the Port of Athens (Restoration)

by the enemy and was now a heap of ruins. The inhabitants had been obliged to flee for safety to the neighbouring islands of Salamis and Ægina. The first need of the Athenians was now a home. Themistocles determined that on the ruins of the old city there should be built a new Athens, surrounded by strong and extensive walls sufficient to protect the people in any future war. In spite of the jealousy and opposition

of the Peloponnesian states, Themistocles, by his adroitness, was able to outwit his opponents and to accomplish his purpose.

When the walls of Athens were erected, Themistocles turned his attention to strengthening the harbour of Athens. This was located at the Piræus, on the Saronic Gulf, about four miles from the city. The fortifications begun after the first Persian invasion were now completed; and became an important factor in the commercial growth of Athens. There soon grew up at the Piræus a large commercial population—merchants, sailors, and resident foreigners who carried on trade. Thus Themistocles not only created the naval power of Athens and secured the triumph of Greece during the great Persian war; but he also rescued Athens from the disasters of that war, and raised her to a position in which she might command the commerce of the sea. To him more than to any other man, Athens was indebted for her maritime and commercial supremacy; upon the foundations which he laid was built the Athenian empire. Although he had many faults, and was at last driven into exile, he was yet one of the greatest of the statesmen of Greece.

Athenian Supremacy in the Ægean.—Athens took another step in the development of her power by getting command of the Grecian fleet in the Ægean Sea. The fleet was now engaged in freeing the cities that had fallen under the Persian power during the late war. As Sparta had been, since the congress of Corinth, the recognized leader of Greece, the chief command of the Ægean fleet was in the hands of a Spartan admiral, who was no other than Pausanias, the victor of Platæa. The Athenian division of the fleet was under the command of Aristides, with whom was associated Cimon, the son of the great Miltiades. Pausanias began his work well, by freeing part of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean and Byzantium in Thrace. But with the spoils of Byzantium in his hands, Pausanias became arrogant towards the Greeks and friendly towards the Persians. He even offered to ally himself with the Persian king, and to betray to him the states of Greece. When the officers of

the fleet compared the brutal and treacherous conduct of Pausanias with the upright character of Aristides, they with one accord turned over the command from the Spartan to the Athenian admiral. By thus obtaining the chief command of the Grecian fleet, Athens acquired the supreme control of the Ægean Sea. Sparta withdrew from the leadership which she had held since the congress of Corinth, and relapsed into her former position as simply the head of the Peloponnesian League.[1]

Formation of the Delian Confederacy under Aristides.—The work of freeing the cities of the Ægean was continued by Aristides. It now seemed necessary to provide for their common defence against any future encroachments of Persia. This was done by the organization of a confederacy under the leadership of Athens. The chief duty of organizing the new league fell to Aristides, the commander of the fleet. He formed alliances with the cities, not only on the islands, but also on the Asiatic coasts, for the purpose of forming a union to resist the Persian power. All members of the confederacy were to be equal; they were to send delegates to a common congress; and they were to furnish ships or money for the common cause. The confederacy was to be a perpetual union; and no member could withdraw without the consent of the others. The island of Delos, the seat of the shrine of Apollo, was selected as the place where the common meetings were to be held, and where the common treasury was to be established. The assessments for the treasury were intrusted to Aristides, in whose justice all had confidence. The Confederacy of Delos was essentially an Ionian league, under the leadership of Athens; and it was an offset to the Dorian league of the Peloponnesus under the leadership of Sparta. Henceforth the interests of Athens and of Sparta became more and more opposed to each other; and they came to be recognized as the two rival powers of Hellas.

[1] The fate of Pausanias was suited to his crime. He was recalled to Sparta. When the evidence of his crime became clear and he was about to be arrested, he fled for safety into the temple of Athena. But this did not protect him from the vengeance of the people. The door of the temple was closed by a wall, and the traitor was starved to death.

Growth of Imperialism under Cimon.—The work which was begun by Aristides was completed by his colleague and successor, Cimon. Cimon inherited the conservative spirit and military ability of his renowned father Miltiades. His policy comprised peace with Sparta and war with Persia. His chief work was to enlarge and make strong the newly formed confederacy. He proceeded to Thrace and freed many cities on that coast. He reduced the rocky island of Scyros, where a nest of pirates threatened the commerce of Athens; and he planted upon it a colony of Athenian citizens. But his greatest military achievement was the defeat of the land and naval forces of Persia near the mouth of the river Eurym'edon in southern Asia Minor (466 B. C.). This double victory insured the freedom of the cities of Caria and Lycia, on the Asiatic coast, and thus added to the strength of the confederacy.

CIMON (So-called)

While the chief purpose of Cimon was to destroy the Persian influence in the Ægean, he was unfortunately compelled to use force to hold together the confederate cities. For example, the island of Naxos wished to withdraw from the league; but it was besieged and reduced to submission. Again, the island of Thasos, embittered by a quarrel with Athens, revolted; but it was compelled to submit by the allied fleet under Cimon. The tendency of this policy of coercion was to change the allied cities into subjects, and to make Athens not merely the leader of a confederacy, but the sovereign of an empire.

Jealousy between Sparta and Athens.—The whole course of events at this time was to increase the jealousy existing between Sparta and Athens. Sparta had complained that the Athenians had shown deceit and an undue spirit of independence in fortifying their city. She was also chagrined at losing the command of the fleet, and was envious of the growing power of Athens. On the other hand, Athens

charged the Spartans with a treacherous attempt to assist the people of Thasos in their recent revolt. It was the policy of Cimon to appease, so far as possible, this enmity between the leading states of Greece, and to present a united front to Persia, their common enemy. Sparta was now suffering from the effects of a terrible earthquake and from a revolt of her subject population, the helots. She appealed to Athens for aid in putting down this revolt. Cimon was in favour of giving this aid. The new leaders of the democracy, Ephialtes and Per'icles, opposed it. But the influence of Cimon prevailed, and the Athenian assembly decided to send an army to assist the Spartans in their distress. When the army arrived and did not succeed immediately in putting down the revolt, the Spartans thought its failure was due of treachery, and dismissed it insolently. This piece of effrontery served to widen the breach between the two states. The party of Cimon, which had favoured Sparta, lost its influence, and Cimon himself was ostracized (461 B. C.).

II. Pericles and the Athenian Empire

Pericles and his Policy.—In the same year in which Cimon was exiled, Ephialtes, the chief leader of the democratic party, was assassinated. By the removal of these two party chiefs, Pericles became the leading man in Athens.

PERICLES

In his character this great man united many of the best qualities of his predecessors,—the skilful statesmanship of Themistocles, the patriotic spirit and democratic sympathies of Aristides, the military accomplishments and imperial ambition of Cimon. But he added to these the power of persuasive elo-

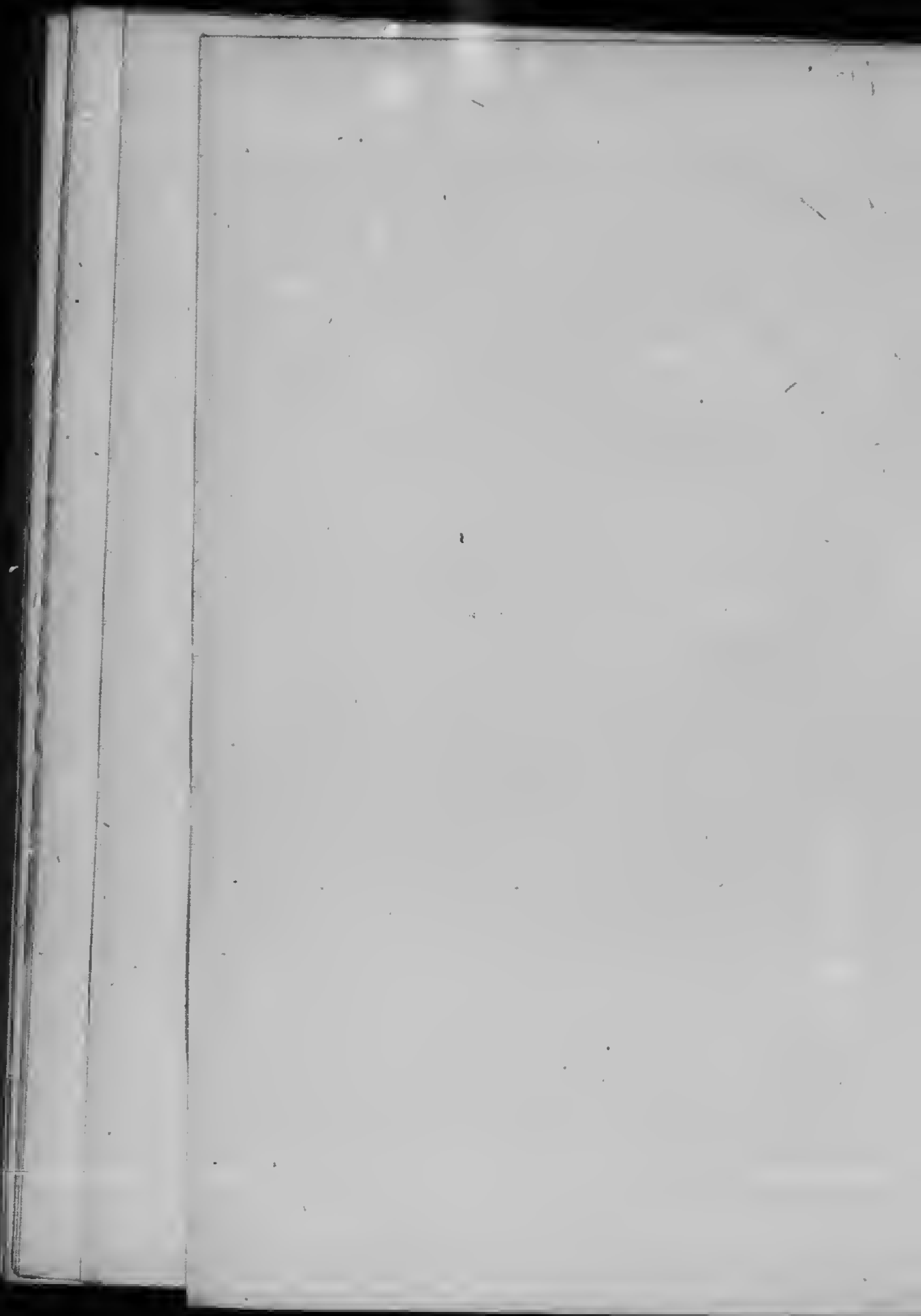
quence, which made him the foremost orator of his day, and gave him almost absolute control of the Athenian assembly. His political policy was to extend and secure the imperial power of Athens, and to make it the foremost city of the world. This policy included: (1) the extension of the fortifications of Athens; (2) the establishment of a land empire over the continental states of Greece; (3) the completion of the maritime empire over the cities of the Ægean; and (4) the weakening of the power of Persia, not only by protecting the Greek cities in Asia Minor, but also by aiding the Persian subjects in their revolts, especially in Egypt and in Cyprus.

The Building of the Long Walls.—Pericles followed the policy of Themistocles in seeking first of all to make Athens an impregnable city. The fortifications erected by Themistocles about Athens and about the Piræus had created two separate centres of defence. Pericles desired to unite these two places by one system of defensive works, and thus to prevent Athens from being cut off from her harbour and from the rest of the world. This defensive system may have been begun by Cimon; but it was completed by Pericles. One of the new walls, the southern, ran from the city to the Bay of Phalerum; and another, the northern, ran to the harbour of the Piræus. In a few years a third and middle wall was erected near and parallel to the northern one, the two together being known as the "Long Walls." These formed a wide and secure avenue from the city to the Piræus. Athens and the Piræus were thus united in a single fortified area, which formed a military and naval base of operations for the whole empire.

THE WALLS OF ATHENS

PROGR
CORCYRA
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
THESSALY
ÆTOLIA
W. LOCRIS
PHOCIS
ATTICA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
MESSENIA
AEGINA
CEOS
CYTHNOS
SIPHNOS
MELOS
CYTHERA
ATHENIAN EMPIRE
ITS GREATEST EXTENT
About 450 B. C.
SCALE OF MILES
M E D I T E
C R E T E
Longitude

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 8.



Athenian Attempts at a Land Empire.—Pericles desired to extend the influence of Athens upon the land as well as upon the sea, and thus to make Athens the head of a continental as well as a maritime league. The first step in this direction was an alliance formed by Athens with Argos and Megara. This alliance excited the jealousy of the neighbouring Dorian states, Corinth and Ægina; a war followed, and Ægina was reduced to the condition of a tributary state. The next step was the result of an attempt made by Sparta to interfere in the affairs of central Greece. This brought on a war between Athens, on the one side, and Sparta and Bœotia, on the other; as a result of this war several states became the willing allies of Athens, and others were compelled to join the new continental league. By these movements the Athenian power was extended over most of central Greece.

Completion of the Maritime Empire.—While Athens was gaining new allies on the land, she was also obtaining greater power over her allies upon the sea. The members of the Delian Confederacy were at first expected simply to furnish ships and sufficient money to maintain the fleet. Soon they were inclined to make their contributions entirely in money, while retaining their independence. Afterwards the contributions were regarded as tribute due to Athens, which Athens had a right to collect. Again, it was at first expected that the affairs of the confederacy were to be managed by a congress of delegates, meeting at Delos; but the allies soon regarded these meetings as irksome, and the political control of the confederacy gradually passed into the hands of Athens. Finally, the common treasury was transferred from Delos to Athens (about 454 B. C.). By these steps the political and financial administration of the league became completely centralized in Athens; and the Delian Confederacy became transformed into an Athenian empire. Of all the members of the original confederacy, only three—Chios, Lesbos, and Samos—were allowed to retain their position as equal and independent allies.

Restoration and Death of Cimon.—After the empire was finally established, Cimon, who had been recalled from his

banishment, recovered for a brief time his influence over the Athenian assembly; and his policy of peace with Sparta and war with Persia again found favour with the people. A Five Years' Truce was accordingly formed between Athens and Sparta (450 B. C.), by which each party agreed to respect the rights and possessions of the other. Cimon then set out on a new expedition against Cyprus, in which island Persia was now attempting to reëstablish her authority. This expedition resulted in a decisive victory over the Persians, and also in the death of Cimon (449 B. C.). It is said that Cimon concluded a treaty of peace with Persia; but concerning this there is much douht. With the death of Cimon, Pericles regained his previous position as the ruling spirit of Athens.

Failure of the Imperial Policy of Athens.—The wonderful energy which Athens displayed at this time is evident when we consider that, within a period of thirty years, she had recovered all the Ægean cities lost during the Persian wars, and had established her authority over a large part of European Greece. But her ambitious policy to maintain an empire upon the land proved a failure. She was soon heset with difficulties and afflicted with reverses which weakened her influence among her continental allies. News had already come that a fleet of two hundred vessels, sent some time before to free Egypt from Persia, had heen annihilated (454 B. C.). Sparta still claimed the right to interfere in the affairs of central Greece. Bœotia opposed the effort to establish democratic governments within her horders, and defeated the Athenians in a hattle at Corone'a (447 B. C.). The spirit of revolt extended to other cities; and one after another the Athenian land allies renounced their allegiance. Under these depressing circumstances Pericles concluded a Thirty Years' Truce with Sparta (445 B. C.), by which each party was restricted to its present possessions. Athens thus lost her peninsular empire, hut retained her empire upon the sea.

The "Years of Peace" (445-431 B.C.).—After the conclusion of the treaty with Sparta, there followed a period of peace, during which Pericles gained his highest distinction

as a patron of Athenian culture. Pericles was himself a man of high intellectual accomplishments and of refined artistic taste. He represented in his own person and character the best qualities of the Greek people. While he exercised his influence to strengthen the Athenian democracy and also to maintain the authority of Athens over her maritime empire, his most important and enduring work was the encouragement that he gave to literature and art. It is on account of his patronage of culture more than anything else that the period of his administration has been called the "Age of Pericles." It was then that Athens became the intellectual and artistic capital of Hellas. The influence of Pericles did not cease, however, with the termination of the years of peace, but continued, for nearly a century, to give character to the culture of Greece.

III. The Athenian Constitution under Pericles

Character of the Athenian Democracy.—It was during the time of Pericles that the democratic constitution of Athens reached its highest development. We have already seen the general tendency in the direction of popular government—in the decline of the monarchy, in the growth of the archonship, in the extension of the franchise by Solon, and in the radical reforms of Clisthenes. And this popular tendency had continued since the time of Clisthenes. Ephialtes had restricted the ancient privileges of the Areopagus; and Pericles had induced the people to take an active part in the exercise of their political duties, by introducing a system of payment for public service.

By the term "democracy," the Athenians understood a state in which all the powers of government are exercised directly by the citizens, and in which all citizens are equal before the law. The Athenian idea of democracy differed from the modern idea chiefly in two ways: first, in that the Athenians had very little notion of the modern idea of representation; and second, in that the number of citizens formed a comparatively small part of the whole population.

Classes of the Population.—We may get an idea of the

limited nature of the Athenian democracy by looking at the different classes of persons residing in Attica, which formed the territory of the Athenian city state: the slaves, the resident foreigners, or "metics," and the citizens.

(1) The slaves of Attica have been estimated at about 100,000. They included captives taken in war and persons imported from the slave markets on the Thracian and Scythian coasts. They were employed in domestic and agricultural labour, and were even allowed to work for themselves on consideration of paying their master a yearly sum. The state sometimes employed slaves as policemen and clerks. The slave, however, had no political or civil rights, although he might be protected from the cruelty of his master, and sometimes, in grave emergencies, might be called upon to serve in the army or the fleet.

(2) The resident foreigners, or "metics," numbered perhaps 10,000. These persons were engaged mostly in trade, and formed a valuable part of the population. But they had no share in the government. They could not hold land in Attica. They were obliged to pay a yearly tax and sometimes to serve in the army and navy; for example, as shield-bearers or rowers. Every resident foreigner was bound to choose a citizen to represent and protect his interests.

(3) The class of citizens formed the rest of the population of Attica. The early policy of admitting foreigners to citizenship was changed by Pericles, who restricted citizenship to those who were born of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother. The whole number of Athenian citizens, including men, women, and children, was at the time of Pericles in the neighbourhood of 120,000. Of this population the number of voters is generally estimated as about 30,000. This comparatively small body of persons, scattered through the local districts—that is, the tribes and demes—of Attica, formed the Athenian democracy.

The Athenian Assembly, or Ecclesia.—The most important political body in the state was the ecclesia, or general assembly of the people. It consisted of the whole body of male citizens above eighteen years of age. It met forty times each year on the Pnyx—a sloping hill backed by a

perpendicular rock, where was located the *bema*, the stone platform upon which the orators stood to address the people. The assembly was the ultimate source of political authority. Here any citizen could speak and vote upon questions properly submitted by the council. The assembly

THE BEMA ON THE PNYX

was often brought under the power of some influential man, whose character and oratorical ability enabled him to sway the multitude and to become the "leader of the people," or, as Aristoph'anes puts it, "the master of the stone in the Pnyx." Thucyd'ides describes Athens at the time of Pericles as "a democracy ruled by its ablest citizen."

The Athenian Council, or Boulé.—Since the decline of the Areopagus, the most important political body after the assembly was the council of five hundred. The council was composed of ten sections, being made up of fifty members, at least thirty years of age, chosen annually by lot from each of the ten local tribes. This body exercised the highest administrative and executive powers in the state. It prepared the measures to be submitted to the assembly. It

could itself pass ordinances, provided they did not conflict with the existing laws. It had charge of the public buildings, festivals, and religious ceremonies. It had control of the public finances. It saw that the laws of the state were carried into execution, and in certain exceptional cases it exercised judicial functions.

The Athenian Magistrates; the Generals.—As the decline of the Areopagus was followed by the growing importance of the council, so the decline of the archonship was attended by the growth of the "generalship" as an executive office. The ten strategi, or generals, came to be the most important magistrates in the government. On account of the fact that they required a special kind of ability, they were elected, not by lot, but by the vote of the assembly. The first duty of the generals was to command the army, but to this were added other functions. They had charge of the means for defending the state—the maintenance of the fortifications, the army, and the navy. They also had charge of foreign affairs, the negotiation of treaties, and the receiving of ambassadors. They furthermore had the power to call extra sessions of the assembly, if in their judgment the public interests required it.

The Athenian Courts; the Dicasteries.—One of the most peculiar features of the Athenian constitution was the organization of the courts. The old council of the Areopagus retained a certain jurisdiction over some grave offences, like murder. But the great majority of judicial cases were tried by jurors drawn from the body of citizens, and from these courts there was no appeal. The whole jury list (*heliæa*) was made up of six thousand citizens, at least thirty years of age, who each year voluntarily presented themselves before the archon and took an oath to perform their duties faithfully. This whole judicial body was divided into ten sections, or "dicas'teries," of five hundred members each—leaving a thousand supernumeraries who could be drawn upon when necessary. The jurors serving on a single case were drawn from these sections, and might number two hundred or more. From the time of Pericles the jurors received a small pay for their services. The popular character of the Athen-

ian courts shows the extreme democratic principles which controlled the state, since an opportunity was given to every citizen at some time to share in the administration of justice.

The Military System.—The army, like the government, was based upon democratic principles. Every man between the ages of twenty and sixty was liable to be called upon to serve the state as a soldier. The army consisted of three branches: (1) the heavy-armed troops, armed with the defensive equipment, the shield, helmet, breastplate, and greaves, and the offensive weapons, the sword and spear; (2) the light-armed troops, who fought without the defensive armour with the sword and spear, and sometimes with the bow and arrow; and (3) the cavalry, which was not much used in Greece, on account of the mountainous character of the country. The military organization was based upon the "phalanx," a body of from two to four thousand men, made up of divisions and sub-divisions, each under its own officers, and usually drawn up in eight ranks. The Greek phalanx was the most effective military organization before the time of the Roman legion.

The Financial System.—The administration of the public finances was in the hands of the council. The expenses of the state were due chiefly to (1) the maintenance of religion and the public games and festivals, (2) the payment for civil and military services, (3) the construction and repair of public buildings, and (4) public bounties paid to poor citizens, and pensions to the orphans of deceased soldiers. The revenues of the state were derived principally from (1) the tribute laid upon the allied cities, (2) the rent of state property, like the silver mines at Laurium, (3) duties on goods exported and imported or sold in the market, and (4) the tax on resident foreigners. The state was also accustomed to receive voluntary contributions from patriotic citizens.

Political Parties at Athens.—The growth of the Athenian democracy, like that of every popular government, was marked by the development of parties and of factional strife. We have already seen, from very early times, political divi-

sions between different portions of the people,—for example, the Eupatrids and the common people; and the men of the Hill, the Plain, and the Shore. But from the time of Clisthenes, there had come to be two quite well-defined political parties, the democratic and the oligarchical. The democratic party was in favour of the new constitution, with the popular changes brought about by Clisthenes, Ephialtes, and Pericles; it was eminently the patriotic party of Athens, opposed to foreign influences, whether Spartan or Persian. The oligarchical party, on the other hand, was opposed to the constitution, which had deprived its members of their old exclusive privileges; it was in sympathy with the aristocratic ideas of Sparta, and did not hesitate sometimes to take the part of Persia. Between these two extreme parties, there was what may be called a moderate party, less defined than the others, which did not oppose the democratic constitution so much as it did the policy of the democratic leaders. The strife between these parties was allayed for a time by the overpowering influence of Pericles, only to become more bitter, as we shall see, during and after the Peloponnesian war.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. ATHENS AND THE DELIAN CONFEDERACY.—The New Athens under Themistocles.—Athenian Supremacy in the Ægean.—Formation of the Delian Confederacy under Aristides.—Growth of Imperialism under Cimon.—Jealousy between Sparta and Athens.

II. PERICLES AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.—Pericles and his Policy.—The Building of the Long Walls.—Athenian Attempts at a Land Empire.—Completion of the Maritime Empire.—Restoration and Death of Cimon.—Failure of the Imperial Policy of Athens.—The "Years of Peace."

III. THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION UNDER PERICLES.—Character of the Athenian Democracy.—Classes of the Population.—The Athenian Assembly, or Ecclesia.—The Athenian Council, or Boulé.—The Athenian Magistrates; the Generals.—The Athenian Courts; the Dicasteries.—The Military System.—The Financial System.—Political Parties at Athens.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 9.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RIVALRY OF ATHENS, SPARTA AND THEBES

I. The Peloponnesian War (431-404 B. C.)

Causes Leading to the War.—In tracing the political growth of Greece up to this time, we have seen not only certain elements of greatness, but also certain elements of weakness in the Greek character. We have seen that while the Greeks possessed a love of political liberty and of local independence, they seemed incapable of forming a single national state based upon their common interests. Only during the brief period of the Persian invasions had they been able to drop their local pride sufficiently to unite against their common enemy. As the danger from Persia passed away, they relapsed into a condition of strife and mutual jealousy. During the next seventy years the Grecian states were continually at war with one another, trying to settle the question as to who should be, or should not be, supreme. The first struggle was an attempt to deprive Athens of the supremacy which she now held in the Hellenic world. The initial steps of this struggle had already been taken when Athens had attempted to establish a land empire in central Greece and had been balked by Sparta and other states. This struggle was now renewed in the so-called Peloponnesian war, and continued with little interruption for twenty-seven years. We may briefly indicate the remote causes of the war as follows: (1) the strong spirit of local independence, and lack of a common feeling of patriotism, which marked the whole Greek people; (2) the opposing interests of the Dorian and Ionian races—the one being agricultural, the other commercial; the one favouring aristocratic, the other democratic principles; the one strong in their armies, the other in their fleets; (3) the bitter jealousy which had long been growing between Sparta as the head

of the Peloponnesian League and Athens as the ruler of the Delian Confederacy.

The direct cause of the war was the interference of Athens in the affairs of Corinth, one of the members of the Peloponnesian League. Of all the Peloponnesian states Corinth was the one which had sufficient maritime interests to be a commercial rival of Athens. In a quarrel which arose between Corinth and one of her colonies—Corcy'ra—Athens thought that her own interests were endangered, and took the part of Corcyra. This led Corinth to appeal to Sparta for aid, on the ground that Athens had broken the Thirty Years' Truce. A meeting of the Peloponnesian states was called, and it was decided to uphold the cause of Corinth and to declare war against Athens.

The War Policy of Pericles (431-429 B. C.).—If we compare the respective forces of the two leading states, we may see the reason of the war policy adopted by Pericles. The Athenian army could not hope to defeat the superior land forces which Sparta sent to invade Attica; and so the inhabitants of Attica were called upon by Pericles to find a safe refuge within the walls of the city, while the powerful Athenian navy was sent to harass and ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus. In this way the war was conducted during the earlier years—that is, by periodical invasions of Attica by the Spartan army, and by successive attacks upon the Peloponnesian coasts by the Athenian navy. In the third year of the war Pericles died (429 B. C.), stricken down by a terrible plague which broke out in the overcrowded city. In the death of Pericles Athens lost her greatest statesman, at a time when she needed him most. No other man whom she had ever produced expressed more fully what was best in the Athenian character; and at this critical moment Athens possessed no man able to fill his place. After his death, new and less experienced leaders came forwards to guide the affairs of state. The man who aspired to the position of Pericles was Cleon, a coarse leather-dealer, a bold demagogue, and a vociferous orator. Opposed to him was Nicias (*nish'i-as*), a well-bred man, a conservative leader, but over-cautious and devoid of energy.

Conduct of the War under Cleon.—The direction of affairs now fell to Cleon, who became the leader of the war party. We need not attempt to follow all the many details of the war during this second stage. Its most important events were the following:

(1) The surrender of Platæa, a city on the borders of Bœotia and a steadfast ally of Athens. This city was invested by the Spartans, and after a prolonged siege of two years was forced to surrender, and its valiant defenders were mercilessly put to death (429 B. C.).

(2) The revolt of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, an ally of Athens. This revolt was excited by the oligarchical party of Mytilene; it was finally put down by Athens after a severe struggle; the walls of the city were dismantled; a thousand of its inhabitants were put to death, and its lands were allotted to Athenian citizens (427 B. C.).

(3) The sedition at Corcyra. This was also instigated by an oligarchical party, and was aided by Sparta; it was marked by the most bitter and deadly strife between the factions, but was finally suppressed by Athens, and the oligarchical party there was exterminated.

(4) The capture of Sphacte'ria and a beleaguered army of Spartans. Sphacteria was an island on the western coast of Messenia. The neighbouring height of Pylos had been taken by the Athenian general, Demos'thenes, in one of his naval expeditions along the coast. A Spartan army and fleet were sent to relieve the place; the fleet was destroyed in the bay, and the army was entrapped on the island. After some delay, the beleaguered Spartan soldiers—numbering about three hundred—were captured by Cleon, who had boasted in the assembly that he could perform this feat in twenty days—which he in fact accomplished, with the aid of Demosthenes.

SPHACTERIA

(5) The campaign of Bras'idas in Chalcidice. Brasidas was the most able of the Spartan generals. As the war had thus far been favourable to Athens, he conceived the brilliant

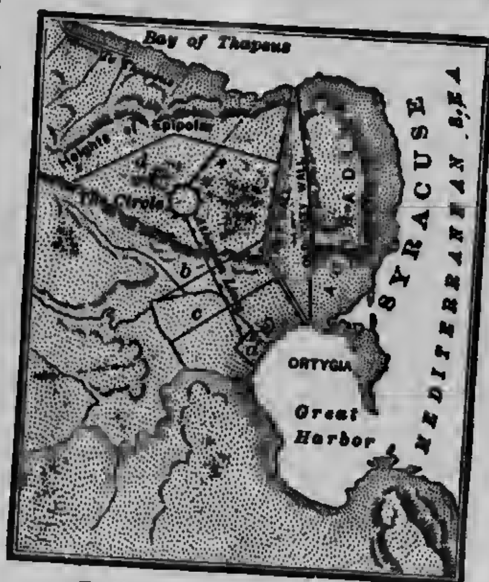
idea of weakening Athens by striking her allies in the north from whom she derived her supplies. This plan was carried out in a successful campaign, and Athens lost most of her Chalcid'ian allies. While Brasidas was in the north, Athens tried to get possession of Bœotia, but was defeated in a battle at De'lium (424 B. C.). After a year's truce, Cleon determined to continue the war in Chalcid'ice, but suffered a severe defeat in a battle at Amphip'olis (422 B. C.), in which both generals, Brasidas and Cleon, were killed.

The Peace of Nicias, and its Failure.—With the death of Cleon, who was the war leader, Nicias became the leading man at Athens. Always opposed to the war, he now negotiated with Sparta the treaty of peace which bears his name (421 B. C.). By the terms of this treaty each party agreed to restore the acquisitions made during the war—Sparta to give up Amphipolis and the other Chalcidian towns, and Athens to give up Pylos and the captives taken at Sphacteria. This peace was to last for fifty years; but it proved futile, and was followed by new combinations and intrigues among the different states. The failure of the Peace of Nicias was due chiefly to the refusal of the allies of Sparta to respect it, on the ground that they had not been consulted in making it.

Alcibiades and the Sicilian Expedition.—While the conservative and feeble Nicias was trying to maintain peace, there appeared a new and resolute war leader in the person of Alcibi'ades—one of the most brilliant and accomplished, yet selfish, cunning and unscrupulous characters that Athens ever produced. Under his influence the Athenians were led to join the disaffected allies of Sparta and to invade the Peloponnesus, where they suffered a defeat at Mantine'a (418 B. C.). Failing in this undertaking, Alcibiades now induced the Athenians to conquer Melos, simply because this was the only important island of the Ægean not included in the Athenian empire; the island was besieged and subdued, and the inhabitants were either slaughtered or enslaved.

ALCIBIADES

But the most dazzling scheme of Alcibiades was the proposal to conquer Sicily. Trouble between two of tbe Sicilian towns afforded a pretext for this undertaking. Influenced by the alluring words of the new war chief, the Athenians fitted out an immense fleet, which sailed to Syracuse (415 B. C.), under the command of Alcibiades himself, together with Nicias and a third general, Lam'achus. No sooner had they reached the shores of Sicily than an order came from Athens commanding Alcibiades to return to the city to answer a charge of sacrilege. But Alcibiades, fearing to face his accusers, now fled to Sparta and became the open enemy of Athens. Nicias, with his remaining colleague Lamachus, proceeded to invest the city of Syracuse. He landed on the north and rear of the city, stormed the heights of Epip'olæ, captured a strong position, encircled it with a fortification, and extended his siege lines to the south and west of the city. This was done in the face of the Syracusans, who had thrown up two cross walls to resist him. Although Lamachus was killed, this first stage of the war seemed successful to tbe Athenians.



SYRACUSE AND VICINITY
a, Athenian camp; b, c, first two cross walls, which the Syracusans lost; d, third cross wall, which the Syracusans held.

Acting under the advice of Alcibiades, the Spartans now determined to send strong reënforcements to the aid of Syracuse, and also to invade Attica and, by seizing the town of Decele'a, to threaten Athens at her very walls. They sent to Syracuse their ablest general, Gylip'pus, who defeated Nicias, and prevented the further investment of Syracuse by erecting a third cross

wall, which could not be taken. Although reënforced by their greatest general, Demosthenes, the Athenians were everywhere unsuccessful (413 B. C.). Their fleet was destroyed in a sea fight in the harbour of Syracuse. Their army was destroyed in a desperate attempt to retreat by land. With their fleet and army lost and their generals, Nicias and Demosthenes, condemned to death, this expedition proved the greatest disaster that had ever befallen the Athenian state.

The Reappearance of Persia.—One of the effects of the Sicilian disaster was to bring Persia once more upon the scene of war. It was for the interest of Persia, as well as of Sparta, to encourage the revolt of the Athenian allies on the Asiatic coast. These two powers were thus induced to act together for the weakening of the Athenian empire, and the war was transferred to the coasts of Asia Minor. Alcibiades, who had favoured the alliance between Sparta and Persia, now turned traitor to Sparta and took up his residence with the Persian satrap at Sardis. The great ambition of Alcibiades, from this time, was to secure his own restoration to power at Athens. While apparently favouring Persia, he was also trying to gain the good-will of the Athenians by aiding their cause. He therefore induced the Persian governor no longer to aid Sparta, arguing that Persia would be the gainer if both Sparta and Athens were worn out by warring upon each other.

The "Four Hundred" at Athens.—The chief obstacle to the ambition of Alcibiades was the present government of Athens, which had condemned him to death. His return could evidently be accomplished only by a revolution at Athens. With the aid of the oligarchical faction this change was effected. All power was placed in the hands of a council of four hundred, which was constituted in an arbitrary way and which ruled in a despotic manner. The officers of the Athenian fleet in the Ægean Sea protested against the revolution, and themselves claimed to represent the legal government at Athens. They prepared to carry on the war and hoped with the aid of Alcibiades to win Persia to their side. They deposed those of their own number who favoured the

revolution; and the democracy at Athens overthrew the Four Hundred and restored the old constitution.

The Last Years of the War (411-404 B. C.).—Having placed Alcibiades in command of the fleet, the Athenians gained some notable victories. The Peloponnesian fleet, now operating in the Propontis, was destroyed near Cyz'icus, and Chalce'don and Byzantium on the Bosphorus were taken. But on an unfortunate day, during the temporary absence of Alcibiades, the Athenian fleet was defeated by the new Spartan admiral Lysan'der. For this failure, the Athenians deposed Alcibiades from his command, and he retired in disgrace to his own castle on the Hellespont. It required two more battles to finish the war. One of these was fought (406 B. C.) near the small islands of Arginu'sæ, between Lesbos and the mainland, where the Athenians gained a victory. But this victory proved a disgrace to Athens; for she condemned to death the generals who had won it, on the ground that they failed to rescue their shipwrecked comrades—a thing which, under the circumstances, was doubtless impossible. The last battle was fought (405 B. C.) in the Hellespont near the mouth of a little river called Ægospot'ami ("Goat's Streams"). A new Spartan fleet had been built with the aid of Persian gold furnished by the younger Cyrus, the new Persian governor in Asia Minor. With this new armament Lysander captured the entire Athenian fleet; and this event destroyed the maritime power of Athens. Lysander followed up his victory by reducing the cities on the Hellespont and Bosphorus. The allies fell away, and nothing was now left for Sparta but to reduce the city of Athens itself.

The Fall of Athens (404 B. C.).—In a short time Lysander sailed into the Saronic Gulf and blockaded the Piræus; and the Spartan army came down from Decelea and encamped before the walls of the city. Without money, ships, allies, or food supply, Athens refused to surrender. It was only famine and starvation that brought the city to terms. Corinth and Thebes demanded that the city be totally destroyed. But Sparta refused to destroy a city that had done so much for Greece in the past. Athens was, however,

required to destroy the Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus, and to become a subject ally of Sparta. Accepting these conditions, Athens opened her gates to the enemy, and the Athenian empire was no more.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, which had lasted for twenty-seven years, which had desolated nearly every part of the Greek world, and which, in spite of the courage displayed, had revealed some of the weakest and worst phases of the Greek character—political jealousy, local self-interest, deceit and cruelty.

II. The Supremacy of Sparta

The Policy of Sparta in Greece.—Sparta now succeeded for a time to the empire which Athens was compelled to give up. The cities of Greece had been called upon to revolt against Athens in order to obtain their liberties. But they soon found that the tyranny of Athens was light compared with the despotism of Sparta. As Sparta was the patron of oligarchy, she compelled the cities to give up their democratic governments. A military governor, called a "harmost," was placed over most of them; and whatever civil authority there was to be exercised, was placed in a board of ten persons, called a "decarchy." Under such a government the property and lives of the people could not be safe. The imperial policy of Sparta was determined largely by the influence of Lysander, who, on account of his recent victories, was now the leading man in the Spartan state.

In Athens there was established a board of thirty oligarchs —who have received the name of the "Thirty Tyrants" (404-403 B. C.). Under their leader, Crit′ias, their rule was harsh and oppressive and resulted in anarchy and a reign of terror. Citizens were put to death, and property was confiscated without mercy. It was only by a popular revolution led by the patriot Thrasybu′lus that the Thirty were deposed and a democratic form of government reëstablished. This was sufficient to show that the imperial rule of Sparta might arouse effective opposition in other cities also.

Persia and the "March of the Ten Thousand" (401-400

B. C.).—While Sparta was trying to establish her authority over the cities in Greece and Asia Minor, her ally, Cyrus the Younger, the Persian governor of Asia Minor, aspired to place himself on the Persian throne in place of his brother, Artaxerx'es. He enlisted in his service about ten or twelve thousand Asiatic Greeks, besides a large number of native troops, and with these pushed his way through Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia towards the Persian capital at Susa. He met Artaxerxes in battle at Cunax'a, near Babylon. The Greek forces defeated the great army of the king; but Cyrus was killed, and the other leaders were soon entrapped

MARCH OF THE TEN THOUSAND

and put to death. The Greeks chose new leaders, chief among whom was Xen'ophon. They then retreated up the banks of the Tigris River, harassed by the Persian army, through the snows of Armenia, suffering from cold and hunger, and finally along the shores of the Euxine to the friendly city of Chalcedon and so to the Ægean Sea. This famous "March of the Ten Thousand," described by Xenophon in his "Anab'asis," revealed the weakness of the Persian empire and the superiority of the Greek soldiers, and led directly to a conflict between Persia and Sparta.

War between Persia and Sparta (399-394 B. C.).—The rebellious attempt of Cyrus, assisted as it was by Greeks, aroused the wrath of the Persian king. He therefore appointed his faithful general, Tissapher'nes, as governor of Asia Minor, with orders to reduce all the Grecian cities on the coast. Sparta now regarded herself as the protector of the Greeks, and answered their call for help. The war against Persia which followed was carried on for six years, at first under inferior generals, but finally under the Spartan king Agesila'us. This able commander defeated Tissaphernes, recovered the Asiatic cities, carried the war into the enemy's country, and threatened to overthrow the empire itself. To relieve his empire from the presence of the Spartan army, the Persian monarch sent an emissary to Greece with bags of gold to stir up a revolt among the subjects of Sparta in Europe. The dangers at home compelled the Spartans to recall Agesilaus from Asia, and the conquest of Persia was delayed for more than half a century.

The Corinthian War; Peace of Antalcidas (395-387 B. C.).—When Agesilaus reached Sparta, he found a large part of Greece united in an attempt to throw off the Spartan yoke. Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Argos had formed a league for the liberation of the Hellenic states. The war which ensued is called the "Corinthian war," because it was waged to a great extent in the vicinity of the isthmus. Besides many engagements fought on land, a decisive naval battle was fought near Cnidus on the south-west coast of Asia Minor (394 B. C.). In this battle the Greek allies, under the Athenian general Conon, assisted by the Persians, practically destroyed the maritime power of Sparta. Conon freed the cities on the Asiatic coasts from the Spartan power, and then sailed to Athens. Under his direction, the fortifications of the Piræus and the Long Walls, which had been razed after the Peloponnesian war, were rebuilt. The stress of war was so great that Sparta appealed to Persia to act as arbiter in the affairs of Greece; and this resulted in the so-called Peace of Antal'cidas (387 B. C.). By this peace the Greek cities in Asia were once more given up to the Persian king; the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros were given to

Athens; and all the cities of Greece proper were henceforth to be "free and independent."

Further Aggressions of Sparta (387-379 B. C.).—It is true that Sparta had by the late war lost her maritime power and her control of the Asiatic cities. But still, by the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas, the bonds which had united her enemies were broken; and she was now free to deal with them separately. She claimed the right to carry into execution the terms of the peace, and made her despotic influence felt everywhere. To offset the power of Thebes in Bœotia, Sparta caused the city of Platæa to be rebuilt. To weaken her enemies in the Peloponnesus, she razed the walls of Mantinea, the chief city of Arcadia. In order to prevent a rival power from growing up outside of Greece, she waged the so-called "Olyn'thiac war" (382-379 B. C.), which broke up the confederacy in Chalcidice newly formed by a union of the Greek and Macedonian cities under the headship of Olynthus. For fear that Thebes might rise against her while her armies were engaged in Chalcidice, Sparta seized the Theban citadel, the Cadmea, and placed within it a Spartan garrison. This most arrogant piece of aggression led to the uprising of Thebes with other states, and to the overthrow of the Spartan supremacy.

BŒOTIA

III. The Attempted Supremacy of Thebes

The Liberation of Thebes (379 B.C.).—The story of the revolution which resulted in freeing Thebes and the rest of Greece from Spartan domination, centres about the names of two great Theban patriots — Pelop'idas and Epaminon'das. Pelopidas was a Theban who had taken refuge in Athens. With a band of companions he entered his native city in disguise, killed the oligarchic leaders,

and with the aid of the people forced the Spartan garrison to withdraw from the citadel. Thebes was thus made free. Under the guidance of Epaminondas the other cities of Bœotia gained their independence, and formed a new Bœotian confederacy to withstand the power of Sparta. We shall now see the attempt of Thebes to displace Sparta as leader of the Greek states—resulting in her temporary success and her final failure.

The New Confederacy of Athens (377 B. C.)—Athens took courage from the success of Thebes, and gathered together many of her old allies in a new Athenian confederacy. She built a new navy and regained something of her old maritime power. She at first aided Thebes in resisting Sparta; and then, envious of the growing power of Thebes, she formed a treaty with Sparta. In the midst of these jealous intrigues and the attending conflicts, Athens proposed that a general conference be held at Sparta for the pacification of Greece. It was there proposed that the Peace of Antalcidas should be renewed—that all states should remain free and independent. Athens and Thebes wished this to mean that all cities should be free to form alliances if they chose, and thus to preserve their newly formed leagues. But Sparta refused to accept this meaning, although she wished still to retain her hold upon her own allies. This treaty was hence signed without Sparta. While Athens had been able to recover some of her influence, Thebes and Sparta were now the great rival powers of Greece.

Overthrow of the Spartan Power; Battle of Leuctra (371 B. C.).—Sparta was now alarmed at the rising power of Thebes. She therefore sent an army into Bœotia to destroy the newly formed confederacy, but was defeated in the memorable battle of Leuctra. The ruling spirit in Bœotia was Epaminondas, the great Theban patriot, whose name is one of the most distinguished among Grecian statesmen and generals. To him is due the new arrangement of the Grecian

BATTLE OF LEUCTRA.
371 B.C.

phalanx which won the battle of Leuctra. He seems to have discovered one of the great principles of successful warfare—that is, to be stronger than the enemy at the point of contact. The old Greek phalanx was arranged in lines eight men deep. The Spartan army was so formed at Leuctra. Epaminondas also arranged the main part of his line in the same way. But on his left wing, which he intended to be the point of contact, he arranged the phalanx in the form of an irresistible column fifty men deep, guarded on the extreme left by a body of cavalry. In this way he crushed the Spartan right wing; and the rest of his army was pushed forwards to complete the victory. The battle of Leuctra had two important effects: first, it introduced a new feature into ancient warfare, which was afterwards employed by the Macedonians; secondly, it overthrew the Spartan power and insured for the time being the ascendency of Thebes.

Temporary Supremacy of Thebes (371-362 B. C.).—The policy of Epaminondas was to make Thebes the supreme power in Greece. He completely alienated Athens by attempting to establish the Theban power over the Athenian allies; and he even called upon Persia to aid him in his purpose. To extend Theban influence into the Peloponnesus, Epaminondas invaded this territory, and delivered the people from Spartan control. In Arcadia, he helped the city of Mantinea to rebuild its prostrate walls, and gathered the Arcadian towns into an independent union, with the new city of Megalop′olis as their capital. In Messenia he rescued the population from their long serfdom, and built for them a new city, Messe′ne. Sparta, fearing for her safety, appealed to Athens for assistance. Athens accordingly sent an army into the Peloponnesus to prevent the further encroachments of Thebes.

While Thebes was thus extending her power to the south under Epaminondas, she was also extending her power to the north under Pelopidas. She brought Thessaly under her authority, and even established influential relations with Macedonia. It was not long before troubles arose again in the Peloponnesus. Epaminondas again invaded the country

and met the Spartans and their allies at Mantinea (362 B. C.), where he gained a victory; but at this battle Epaminondas was killed. As the Thebans, without their leader, were unable to follow up their victory, peace was established. With the decline of the Theban power, Athens was once more regarded as the leading city of Greece.

Failure of the Grecian State System.—The supremacy of Thebes had failed to create a national state for Greece, just as the supremacy of Sparta and that of Athens had failed before. The Greeks had, it is true, been able to develop a city state with local self-government, far in advance of the Oriental system of government. But they did not possess the capacity to organize their cities into a single state, based upon their common nationality. Their various leagues failed, because under the predominance of one city the rights of the others were disregarded. Athens had failed to respect the equal rights of her allies. Sparta had ruled with despotic authority over her subjects. With all their love of liberty springing from their own self-interest, the Greeks failed to recognize that other essential principle of good government, the respect for a higher law based upon the common welfare.

IV. The Supremacy of Syracuse in Sicily

Parallel History of Sicily and Greece.—In tracing the general course of Greek history, we have seen the growth of a number of city states, which were agitated by political revolution, and in which tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy were contending for mastery. We have also seen Greece, under the leadership of Athens, delivered from the invasion of Persia. We have, moreover, seen a tendency on the part of some one city to lift itself into a position of supremacy over the others. There is a general similarity between these movements in Greece proper and those in western Hellas. In Sicily there was a similar movement in the development of a large number of cities disturbed by political revolution; a similar conflict against a foreign enemy; and a similar tendency towards supremacy on the part of one city. But the predominant city in Sicily was

not Athens or Sparta or Thebes, but Syracuse; and the foreign enemy of Sicily was not Persia, but Carthage.

Dionysius the Elder, and the Younger.—A few years after the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Syracuse, the Carthaginians made a new and more vigorous attempt to subdue the island. They captured the cities of Selinus, Himera (409 B. C.), and Agrigentum (406 B. C.). In their extremity the Syracusans chose Dionys'ius the Elder as their leader in war, and from this position he became a tyrant. He was a man of varied virtues and vices, of unusual clemency to a vanquished foe, and of unwonted cruelty to his own subjects. His great achievement was the driving back of the Carthaginians to the western extremity of the island, and the defence of Syracuse by an enlarged fortification, which took in the heights of Epipolæ. He also brought under his control many of the cities of Sicily, and then extended his Syracusan empire to southern Italy, and even north-western Greece. He adorned Syracuse with splendid buildings and works of art, and made it the home of noted men; so that it vied with Athens as the most cultivated city of the Greek world. He was succeeded by his son, Dionysius the younger, who had none of the remarkable abilities of his father. Under his rule, the city rapidly fell into discord and anarchy, from which it was rescued by Timo'leon.

DOMINIONS OF DIONYSIUS, 379 B. C.

Timoleon the Liberator.—Suffering under the weak rule of the Younger Dionysius and threatened again by the Carthaginians, Syracuse appealed to the mother city of Corinth for help. Corinth fitted out a small expedition, and appointed Timoleon, one of her citizens, as its leader. This commander took possession of the citadel of Syracuse. Then advancing against the Carthaginians, he defeated them in a decisive

battle. There were other cities of Sicily which were ruled by tyrants. These tyrants he expelled; and in these cities, as in Syracuse, he erected democratic governments. With the expulsion of the Syracusan tyrants, the cities of Magna Græcia also recovered their independence. Thus Timoleon became the true liberator of western Hellas. When he had accomplished his great mission, he laid down his power and retired to private life. Sicily remained a flourishing seat of Grecian culture, but in its political life the island soon relapsed into the disturbed condition which marked the rest of the Greek world.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Peloponnesian War.—Causes Leading to the War.—The War Policy of Pericles.—Conduct of the War under Cleon.—The Peace of Nicias, and its Failure.—Alcibiades and the Sicilian Expedition.—The Reappearance of Persia.—The "Four Hundred" at Athens.—The Last Years of the War.—The Fall of Athens.

II. The Supremacy of Sparta.—The Policy of Sparta in Greece.—Persia and the "March of the Ten Thousand."—War between Sparta and Persia.—The Corinthian War; Peace of Antalcidas.—Further Aggressions of Sparta.

III. The Attempted Supremacy of Thebes.—The Liberation of Thebes.—The New Confederacy of Athens.—Overthrow of the Spartan Power; Battle of Leuctra.—Temporay Supremacy of Thebes.—Failure of the Grecian State System.

IV. The Supremacy of Syracuse in Sicily.—Parallel History of Sicily and Greece.—Dionysius the Elder, and the Younger.—Timoleon the Liberator.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CULMINATION OF GREEK CULTURE

I. Athens as the Centre of Hellenic Art

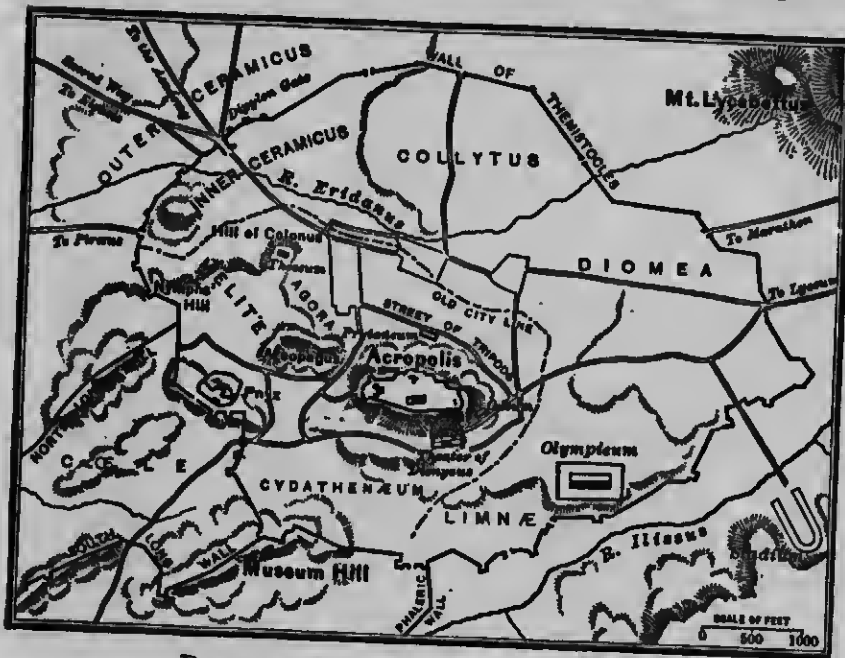
Greek Politics and Hellenic Culture.—We have been considering the political life of Greece since the time of the Persian invasions. We have seen the various Greek states, under the leadership of Sparta, uniting to repel a foreign enemy. We have seen the rise and fall of a maritime empire under the control of Athens. And finally we have seen the failure of the Greek cities to develop a true national state, on account of their mutual jealousies and their strong spirit of local independence. While the Greeks no doubt did a great deal towards the development of political liberty, of local self-government, and of democratic institutions, we must be convinced that their greatest importance in the world's history does not rest upon what they accomplished in their political life. The preëminent genius of the Greeks was shown not in the sphere of politics, but in the domain of culture—not in their state-building, but in their intellectual and artistic achievements. We should, therefore, overlook the most essential qualities of the Greek people, did we fail to recognize the contributions they have made to the world in literature, in philosophy, and in art.

The Attic Period, its Character and Phases.—The most remarkable progress in the intellectual life of Greece took place after the great Persian wars. It is true that before these wars the Greeks were beginning to show a genius distinctly their own—in the growth of their epic and lyric poetry, and in the early stages of a strictly Hellenic art. But this early form of Greek culture sprang up outside of Greece proper, in Asia Minor and in western Hellas. The Persian wars tended to smother the intellectual life of the

Asiatic Greeks, and to arouse the intellectual spirit of Athens. This period of intellectual activity which began with the Persian wars and extended to the Macedonian supremacy, and in which the culture of Greece was centred in Athens, we may call the "Attic period." The culture of this period was characterized by those qualities which distinguished the Greek mind from the Oriental mind, and which found their highest embodiment in the men of Athens. During this period we may distinguish certain phases in the progress of this Attic spirit. It was the most creative and vigorous in the time of the great Persian wars and the years just following these wars; it was the most refined and exalted in the age of Pericles; and it was the most reflective and critical in the subsequent period of internal strife. But through all these phases, it preserved its essentially "classic" qualities—simplicity and moderation, symmetry and proportion, severe conformity to rational ideals, contempt for all that is tawdry and meretricious. The Attic spirit might perhaps best be characterized by the single Greek word Σωφροσύνη (*sophros'yne*)—which might be freely translated, life under the control of reason.

The City of Athens.—Our chief interest in Greece must always be centred in Athens, because it was in this renowned city that the culture of Greece found its highest expression. Let us glance at a few of its most important topographical features. With the Acropolis as its centre, the limits of the city had been gradually widening from the earliest times. At the time of the Persian wars, the "old line" of the city had been reached. With the building of the new wall of Themistocles, the circumference of the city was enlarged to five or six miles. During the times of Cimon and Pericles the city was still further extended by the erection of the Long Walls so as to take in the Piræus. To make the circuit of the city walls at this time would require a journey of perhaps twenty miles. The chief entrance to the city was the Dip'ylon gate, to the north-west. The city contained a number of hills, the most important of which were the following: (1) the Acropolis, the central pinnacle of Athens, formed of limestone rock rising abruptly to the

height of two hundred feet, with a length of about a thousand feet—upon or near which were the most important buildings of the city; (2) the Pnyx, to the west, upon which the assembly, or ecclesia, held its meetings; (3) the Areopagus, a little to the north, where the old council of the Areopagus held its sessions; (4) the Colo'nus, still further to the north, upon which is located the so-called These'um, said to be to-day the best preserved temple of Greece. Between the hill of Colonus and the Areopagus was the Ag'ora, the public



PLAN OF ATHENS, TIME OF PERICLES

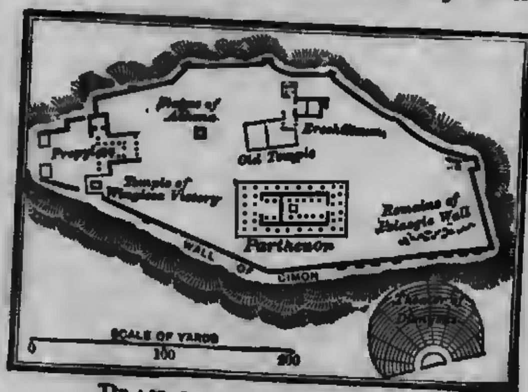
square or market place, lined with beautiful trees and porticoes, and the centre of the political and commercial life of Athens. The whole city was divided into certain districts, or wards, corresponding to the "demes" of Attica. Beyond the city walls to the east was the Lyce'um, and to the north-west the Academy—both of which were places of resort and amusement for the Athenians.

Athenian Architecture.—After the destruction of the city by the Persians, Athens was entirely rebuilt and adorned

(Erechtheum) (Propylaea) (Parthenon)

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS (Restoration)

with many structures of great architectural beauty. This work was begun by Themistocles and Cimon, and was carried on extensively by Pericles with the aid of the tribute collected from the Ægean cities. The greatest work of Pericles was the adornment of the sacred height of the Acropolis, which became the centre, not of defence, according to its original purpose, but of religious adoration. Upon the foundations laid by Cimon (or perhaps Themistocles) Pericles erected the magnificent temple of Athena—the Par'thenon. This was the most beautiful specimen of classic architecture; and the surpassing superiority of the Greek taste is evident when this temple is compared with the old temples of the East. The Parthenon was of moderate size, built of Pentelic marble, in the Doric style refined by Attic taste, and of the most exquisite proportions. The next important building on the Acropolis built by Pericles was the Propylæ'a, the entrance to the sacred hill. In this building we see for the first time the combination of the Doric and Ionic styles, the



PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS

outside of the building being supported by Doric columns and the inside passageway by Ionic columns. The whole effect of this great portal was beautiful and imposing. At the time of Pericles the Propylæa was approached not by a flight of steps, but by inclined walks leading up from the foot of the hill. Another notable building of the Acropolis was the Erechthe'um, built near the site of an old temple destroyed by the Persians. Its name was derived from that of one of the ancient mythical kings of Athens, Erech'theus, whose worship became connected with that of Poseidon. As this temple was intended to cover different shrines—that of Athena and that of Erechtheus-Poseidon—its plan was the

most irregular of all the temples of Greece. It is supported by beautiful Ionic columns; but a small porch on the south of the temple has for its support six carved female figures (Caryat'ides) and hence is known as the "Porch of the Maidens." During this time the architectural styles employed by the Athenians were the Doric and the Ionic—the former being regarded as typical of masculine strength and dignity, and the latter of feminine refinement and grace.

Athenian Sculpture.—It was not until after the Persian wars that the sculpture of the Greeks began to lose its early crudeness and to acquire more artistic qualities. The first great sculptor of the Attic period was Myron. His best-known statue is the "Discob'olus" (the disc-thrower), which illustrates not only the important place which gymnastics held in Greek life, but also the beneficial effect of the national games upon the sculptor's art by furnishing him living models for his work. The most renowned of all the Greek sculptors was Phid'ias, who assisted Pericles in the adornment of the Acropolis. The sculptures of Phidias were inspired by a high religious purpose, like that which led to the building of the Parthenon—namely, the worship of the goddess Athena. Her colossal statue in bronze was erected upon the summit of the Acropolis, and her statue in ivory and gold was placed

"Discobolus" of Myron

within the Parthenon. In the eastern pediment of this temple was placed a sculptured scene representing her birth from the forehead of Zeus; and in the western pediment was another group representing her contest with Poseidon for the soil of Attica. On the walls of the temple was a remarkable series of reliefs carved in marble, representing the procession which on her birthday carried her robe through the streets of Athens to her shrine on the Acropolis. This Parthenon decoration contained a vast variety of figures—prancing horses held in check by the steady hands of their riders, chariots occupied by armed warriors, beautiful maidens and dignified magistrates, a group of Olympian deities, and many other subjects. The work of Phidias was not confined to Athens. His statue of Zeus in the temple at Olympia was regarded by many as his masterpiece and as one of the wonders of the world.

After the time of Phidias, art became less inspired with a purely religious spirit, and acquired more of a human character. To depict the grace and beauty of the human form seemed now the highest ideal of the artist. This is seen especially in the work of Praxit'eles of Athens, the most eminent of Greek sculptors after Phidias. One of the most famous statues of Praxiteles was the Aphrodite at Cnidus, which was visited from all parts of Greece by its admirers. But critics have been disposed to give the place of honour to his Hermes with the infant Dionysus, which has come down to us in a mutilated form. The Greeks also acquired at this time great skill in the making of portrait statues. This is shown in the works of Lysip'pus of Sicyon, whose statue of the poet Soph'ocles is regarded as the finest ancient work of the kind.

ATHENA PARTHENOS

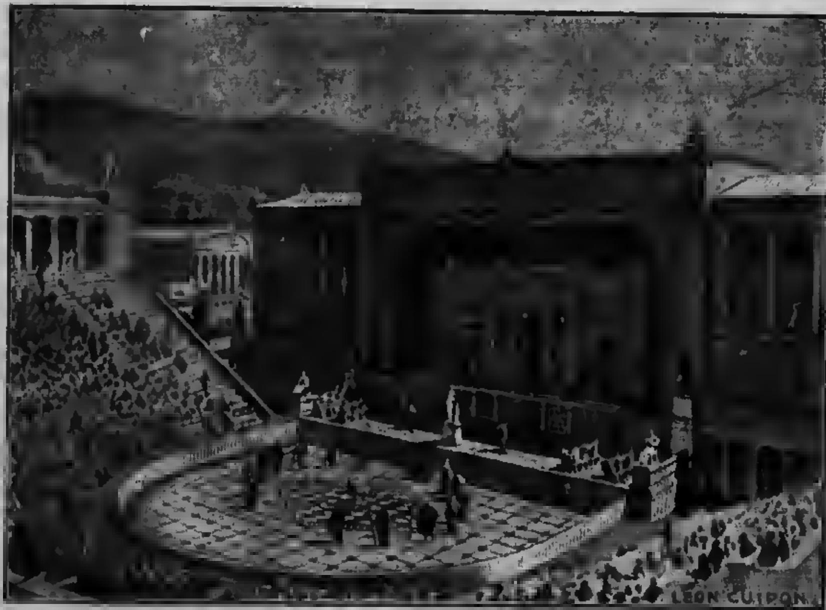
Athenian Painting.—It is difficult for us to form a very clear idea of the progress made in painting in the Periclean age, because this art is less durable than that of sculpture. The great painter of this period was Polygno'tus. He was born in the island of Thasos, but came to Athens and is said to have been made an Athenian citizen. His most famous works were placed upon the walls of temples, porticoes, and other public buildings, especially the Propylæa. His subjects were mostly mythological and historical scenes. After the time of Pericles there was a marked advance in the method of painting. Hitherto colours had been applied in flat tints with no gradations of light and shade; and hence the so-called paintings were more properly coloured drawings. But colours were now graded so as to produce the effect of light and shade, which we call *chiaroscuro*. This method was introduced by Apollodo'rus of Athens, but was improved by the great painters Zeuxis and Parrha'sius. The realistic effect of the new style of painting is illustrated by the story often told of these rivals—how Zeuxis painted a bunch of grapes that deceived the birds, and Parrhasius a curtain that deceived the rival painter himself.

HERMES PRAXITELES

II. THE THEATRE AND DRAMATIC LITERATURE

The Theatre of Dionysus.—One of the chief centres of the intellectual life of Athens was the theatre. This was a place not simply for amusement, but for instruction and for moral and religious inspiration. Athens had but one place where dramatic performances were placed upon the stage—the

theatre of Dionysus. It was situated on the south-eastern slope of the Acropolis, and was, it is said, capable of seating thirty thousand people, or the whole voting population of Attica. The performances took place in the open air during the festivals of Dionysus, the wine god, and consisted of tragedies, comedies, satiric dramas, and choral hymns, the most important of these being the works of the great tragedians. The theatre of the Greeks consisted of three parts, the stage, the orchestra, and the auditorium. The *stage*



The Theatre of Dionysus (Restoration)

was an elevated platform, upon which the players performed their parts, and in the rear of which was an architectural background used to represent or to suggest the locality where the action was supposed to take place. The *orchestra* was a semicircular space in front of the stage, set apart for the "chorus,"—this being an essential part of the performance, consisting of singing, dancing, and gesticulations which were intended to interpret the thought and emotions of the play. The *auditorium* was the rising tiers of seats

which encircled the orchestra and were occupied by the spectators. The central place of the orchestra and chorus in the Greek theatre can hardly be understood except by referring to the origin of the drama itself.

Origin of the Greek Drama.—We have seen that, before the Persian wars, one of the forms of lyric poetry was the hymn, or chorus, sung by a number of voices at public festivals in honour of the gods. It was this choral hymn as used by Arion in the worship of Dionysus that became transformed into the drama. The words of the old chorus were accompanied by dancing and gesticulations, and expressed in a rude and wild way the emotions supposed to be appropriate to the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. But Thespis, a lyric poet of Attica, introduced an actor who assumed different characters and carried on a sort of dialogue with the leader of the chorus; and this served to explain the motive of the choral hymn. This first form of the drama, with the chorus and a single actor, was cultivated by Phryn'ichus, who took for his subjects events in the Persian wars. His tragedy on the "Capture of Miletus" melted his audience to tears; but as it seemed to reproach the Athenians for not aiding their kin beyond the sea, a fine was imposed upon him and the play was proscribed. In a later tragedy, however, he stirred the patriotic feeling of his audience by depicting the effect which the news of the battle of Salamis had upon the Persian court.

Æschylus, the Father of Tragedy.—The early form of the drama was improved by Æs'chylus, who was born in Attica

MASKS USED IN TRAGEDY

and lived during the period of the Persian wars. He introduced a second actor, so that the dialogue became the prin-

cipal feature, while the chorus was used chiefly to echo the emotions produced by the play. The chorus still retained its central place in the theatre, while the actors were elevated to a more conspicuous position on the stage. The chief purpose of the poet now was not simply to compose the lyric hymn to be sung by the chorus, but to construct a worthy dialogue that would depict great events and stir the feelings of the people. It was Æschylus who lifted the dialogue to the plane of genuine art; and on this account he may properly be called the father of Greek tragedy. He was a man inspired with patriotism and religious fervour. He had been present at the battles of Marathon, Artemisium, Salamis, and Platæa. In what was probably his earliest tragedy, "The Persians," he followed his predecessor Phrynichus in picturing the effect of the news of Salamis upon the Persian court. The subjects of his later tragedies were taken from the heroic myths, but infused with deep human feeling and religious sentiment. His greatest work was perhaps the "Prome′theus Bound," in which a god, chained to a rock by command of Zeus, is made to suffer for good deeds done to men.

Sophocles, the Dramatic Artist.—If Æschylus represented the patriotic and heroic spirit born of the Persian wars, his successor, Sophocles, represented the finer artistic spirit of the age of Pericles.

He introduced the third actor upon the stage, thus giving greater freedom to dramatic composition. He also gave less prominence to the chorus, which he used chiefly to accompany the dialogue and to give a moral background to the play. Moreover, he introduced less of the heroic and superhuman element, and brought his characters into closer relation to human life. Sophocles is said to have composed more than a hundred dramas, of which only seven have come down to us. The most important of his plays are perhaps "Œdipus the King," "Œdipus at Colonus," and the "Antig′one." These are all based upon stories related of the mythical king of Thebes and his family. But these stories are told with graphic power, and in such a way as to illustrate the poet's idea of the supremacy of fate and the

moral law, the penalty awaiting those who disobey that law, and the suffering which must often be endured even by those who strive to obey it. The character of Antigone is one of the noblest in all literature. She presents the most beautiful example of filial devotion and of feminine courage, by clinging to her unfortunate father in his distress and by always doing what she believes to be her duty.

SOPHOCLES

In estimating the significance of Sophocles we should look at him not simply as a tragedian but as an artist—as truly an artist as was Phidias or Praxiteles. His works, like theirs, are distinguished by proportion and symmetry, by extraordinary grace and beauty of form. In his dramas, as in the buildings and sculpture of the Acropolis, we see the distinctive features of the best Hellenic taste.

Euripides, the Dramatist of the People.—The last of the great tragedians was Eurip′ides, who began to write during the period of Pericles, but composed the most of his dramas during the Peloponnesian war. He thus represents to a certain degree the changing spirit of the age. While less of an artist than Sophocles, he appealed more strongly to the sympathies of the people. Aristotle called

him the "most tragic of poets." Eighteen of his plays are still extant; and from these we can judge of his style and method of treating his subjects. In his hands the chorus became less connected with the action of the play, and his characters were brought into closer relation to common life. The ancient legends, which Æschylus had clothed with a sublime pathos, and Sophocles had invested with a dignified charm, Euripides often reduced to the level of ordinary events. Although he showed a lack of reverence for the old mythology, he was a poet of the common people, and appreciated more than his predecessors the human element in the drama.

EURIPIDES

The Attic Comedy; Aristophanes.—In its origin the Greek comedy was closely related to tragedy; for they both sprang from the hymns which accompanied the worship of Dionysus. But while tragedy sprang from the graver choral songs which accompanied the winter festival, the other phase of the drama

MASKS USED IN COMEDY

—that is, comedy—sprang from the more frolicsome songs which attended the rural festivals in the springtime. To each of them was added the dialogue; but each retained its own character—the one grave and the other gay. The comedy had already begun to be used at the time of Pericles; but it

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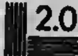
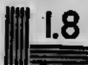

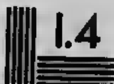
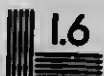

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reached its highest development during the Peloponnesian war. The purpose of the comedy was to excite laughter and ridicule, and hence it shows the capacity of the Greeks for wit and humour.

The greatest of all the comic writers of the Greeks was Aristoph'anes, who flourished during the period of the Peloponnesian war. He mingled in the political life of Athens, and belonged to the party which was "against the government." His comedies might give us the best picture we have of Athenian life, if they contained less of caricature and satire. From other sources we may learn that some of his pictures are fairly just, while others are marked by the grossest injustice. Among his most noted works are the "Clouds," the "Knights," the "Wasps," and the "Birds." The "Clouds" is chiefly noted for the unjust attack which it makes upon the philosopher Socrates. The "Knights" describes with brilliant satire that coarse demagogue Cleon, who, though not an admirable character, perhaps does not merit all the abuse he received. The "Wasps" is an amusing picture of the Athenian jury system, in which every man is represented as trying to get a day's pay without a day's work. The "Birds" is "a fantastic satire upon the Athenian habit of building castles in the air, and of indulging in extravagant dreams of conquest." With all his ribaldry, Aristophanes was a poet of real genius, of sparkling wit, and sometimes of exquisite beauty.

III. Prose Literature: History and Oratory

Herodotus, the Father of History.—In Greece, as elsewhere, poetry preceded prose in the order of development. The epic, the elegy, the lyric, the drama, had been cultivated before any noteworthy works in prose were written. The first really great work of prose literature in the Greek language was the history written by Herodotus, a native of Halicarnassus. Herodotus was born during the period of the Persian wars. This great conflict between the Greeks and the Persians was to him the greatest of all events. It became the subject of his history, and furnishes to us our

chief knowledge of that struggle. He travelled extensively, and became acquainted with the manners, institutions, and legends of many countries. He came to Athens when the culture of that city was at its height; and he became a close friend of Sophocles and an ardent admirer of Pericles. Under these influences his history became imbued with an Athenian spirit, and acquired the character of an artistic literary composition. Into his work are skilfully woven the narrative of historical events and the description of foreign countries, facts which he himself observed as well as stories and myths told him by others.

HERODOTUS

The critical accuracy of Herodotus has often been questioned; but the charming qualities of his simple and graphic style have always been admired.

Thucydides, the Scientific Historian.—While we may regard Herodotus as the father of narrative history, we must regard Thucydides as the creator of scientific history. His subject was the Peloponnesian war—a war in which he had taken a subordinate part. His work is marked by calm judgment, a love of truth, honesty, and accuracy in the statement of facts, and a perception of the relation of cause and effect in historical events. His style, though sometimes obscure, is pure and forcible, and withal "classic,"—which means "the absence of all that is tawdry, the absence even of all that we call florid, a certain severity and reticence, which are as marked in the prose of Thucydides as in the marble of Phidias" (Mahaffy).

THUCYDIDES

Xenophon, the Historical Essayist.—Following in the wake of Thucydides was the genial historical writer Xen'ophon.

Although he can hardly be compared with Thucydides as an historian, he wrote in an easy and interesting manner upon a great variety of subjects. His "Anabasis" tells the story of the March of the Ten Thousand, in which he himself took part. His "Hellen'ica" continues that part of the Peloponnesian war left unfinished by Thucydides. His "Memorabil'ia" draws a lifelike portrait of his great master, Socrates. His "Cyropædi'a" professes to describe the education of Cyrus the Great, but is quite as much a description of what the author regards as a just prince. His "Œconom'-icus" gives us an insight into the home life of the Greeks. He wrote interesting works upon other subjects, the variety of which might justify us in calling him an essayist as well as an historian.

Athenian Oratory; Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes.—That branch of prose literature which is distinctively Greek in its origin, is oratory. Indeed, it may be said that oratory was the product of the democratic institutions of Athens. The greatest orator of the age of Pericles was no doubt Pericles himself; since by his eloquence he controlled for twenty years the Athenian assembly. But his speeches have been preserved to us only in the reports contained in the history of Thucydides. Not only the Athenian assembly, but the Athenian courts afforded a field for the cultivation of eloquence, for here every man was compelled to plead his own cause.

LYSIAS

Of the many Athenian orators who attained distinction, we may select three as the most representative—Lys'ias, Isoc'rates, and Demosthenes (who is not to be confused with the general of the same name). Lysias was employed, like many others, to write speeches for those who were obliged to plead their own cause in the courts. As he wrote for

plain men, he used a plain, direct, and simple style. By writing clearly and distinctly, he became a master of vivid and effective speech. Somewhat different from Lysias was Isocrates. He was primarily a teacher of rhetoric, and hence the orations which he wrote—but did not deliver—have more of a rhetorical finish, and are perhaps more attractive in language than effective in thought. But the greatest of all the orators of Greece was Demosthenes, who holds the same preëminent place in oratory that Thucydides does in history. His life belongs to the later part of the Attic period, and even reaches over into the Macedonian epoch. In the face of innumerable obstacles he attained the greatest skill and power in the art of expression. He combined the vivid, effective speech of Lysias with the finished periods of Isocrates; but he possessed, more than either of these, an earnestness of purpose, a force of argument, a power of persuasion, and an energy of diction which have given him a place among the world's greatest orators. The most celebrated of his orations are his twelve "Philippics," in which he appealed to his countrymen to resist the encroachments of Philip of Mac'edon.

ISOCRATES

DEMOSTHENES

IV. The Philosophy of Athens

Anaxagoras, the First Athenian Philosopher.—One of the greatest gifts of Athens to the world is, no doubt, the contributions made by her philosophical thinkers. It was not until after the Persian wars that Athens became the philosophical centre of Greece. The first thinker who belonged to what we might call the Athenian school was Anaxag′oras. Although born at Clazomenæ in Asia Minor, he early came to Athens, where he spent the most of his life, and numbered among his friends Pericles and Euripides. His name marks an epoch in the development of Greek thought, because he seems to have been the first to recognize the controlling influence of mind and reason in the universe. He seems to have believed that matter is subordinate to mind—that as the actions of the human body are controlled by the human intelligence, so the movements of the universe are controlled by a universal intelligence. This doctrine was opposed to the old mythology; and as the people were jealous of their ancient beliefs, Anaxagoras was charged with atheism and banished from the city.

The Sophists and Greek Dialectics.—There grew up in Athens a certain class of men known as "sophists." They were not so much philosophers in the old sense as thinkers. That is, they did not seek to discover the laws of the universe so much as the laws of the human mind. They sought to find out the methods in which men reason and arrive at conclusions. This study of the methods and the art of reasoning was the essential feature of Greek "dialectics." We might therefore properly characterize the Greek sophists as "dialecticians." They gained their living by teaching the subjects of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and preparing young men for the practical affairs of life. It was often charged against them that their learning was more of a pretence than a reality; and it was asserted that their art of reasoning degenerated into mere quibbling, or the attempt "to make the worse appear the better reason." But with all the faults charged against them, they no doubt exercised some beneficial influence, both upon Greek education and upon Greek philosophy.

The Practical Philosophy of Socrates.—The name of Socrates was associated with that of the sophists. He adopted something of the same method of dialectics. But he believed that the art of reasoning should be employed, not as mere exercise or discipline, but as a means of discovering those practical truths which are important in the conduct of human life. The son of a poor sculptor, with no personal attractions, he became one of the most conspicuous figures in Athens. He turned the thoughts of men into new channels. He showed them how foolish it was to follow the method of the old philosophers and to speculate about things which cannot be known. His first maxim was, "Know thyself." He taught men that true wisdom consists in knowing that which is good and doing that which is right. He taught them the difference between justice and injustice, between virtue and vice, between courage and cowardice. He taught them their duties to themselves, to their fellow-men, and to God. His long life extended beyond the period of the Peloponnesian war. He was finally tried and condemned to death by a small majority of his fellow-citizens, on the charge of introducing new gods into the state and of corrupting the youth. Socrates represented the higher intellectual and moral life of Greece. He left no writings; but his beneficial influence upon the world has never ceased.

SOCRATES

The Idealistic Philosophy of Plato.—Socrates left behind him many disciples who founded new schools. But the most distinguished of these was Plato, the founder of the so-called "Academic school." He carried out still further the method of Socrates. In order to discover truth, he studied the ideas in the human mind, which he believed are reflections of the ideas in the divine mind. He believed

that our ideas are born with us, brought into the world from our preëxistent state. The divine ideas are embodied, not only in us, but in the world; and we should study the universe to discover these ideal principles in accordance with which all things are governed. So, in human life, we should conform to the ideal principles of justice and virtue; in other words, a perfect life is a life in harmony with the divine Idea. By such a method of thinking, Plato constructed a broad system of idealistic philosophy. The writings of Plato are in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is often represented as the chief speaker. The dialogues are often named after some person; for example, the "Protag'oras," which discusses the nature of virtue; the "Phædo," which sets forth the arguments in favour of immortality. One of the most celebrated of Plato's Dialogues is "The Republic," which discusses the principles which should govern the perfect state. From the political conflicts of the time Plato stood aloof; and hence he shows to us the Greek mind in its purest and most tranquil frame.

PLATO

The Realistic Philosophy of Aristotle.—The course of Greek philosophy was continued in Aristotle, who,

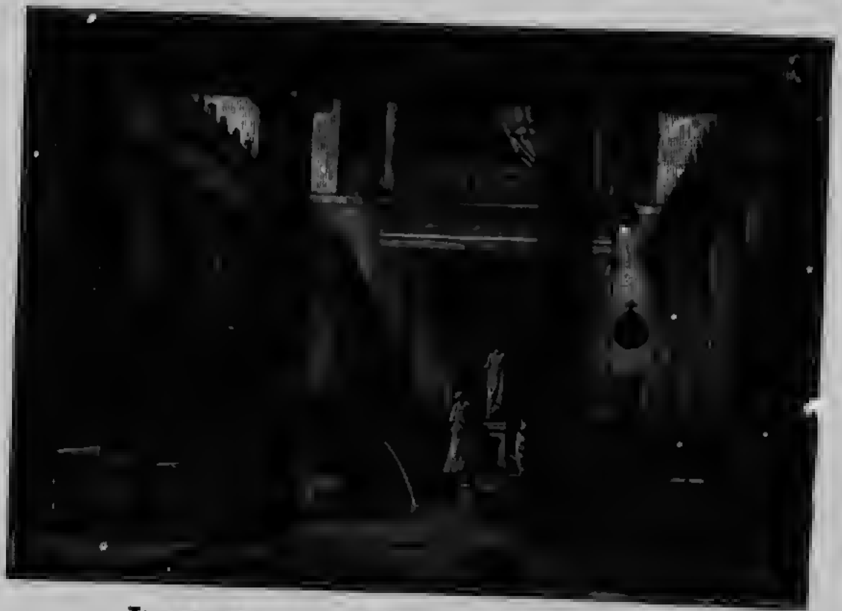
ARISTOTLE (So-called)

though born in the city of Stagi'ra (or Stagirus) in Chalcidice, came to Athens and became a pupil of Plato. Although he regarded himself as a follower of Plato, his method differed considerably from that of his master. If we call Plato's philosophy *idealistic*, we may call Aristotle's *realistic*. Instead of beginning with ideas, Aristotle began with facts; and he tried to discover the general laws which govern the facts of nature. He was therefore a man of wide observation and general learning. By gathering and classifying a vast number of facts, he became the founder of many sciences—of Logic, which treats of the laws of thought; of Psychology, or the science of the human mind; of Biology, or the science of living things; of Politics, or the science of the state. He is said to have studied the constitutions of many of the states of Greece; and the recently discovered work on the Athenian constitution, which is attributed to him, has added much to our knowledge of that government. Aristotle, like Demosthenes, belongs to the later part of the times we are now considering, and his life extended into the Macedonian period.

V. Social Life and Manners

Industrial Occupations.—As we regard Athens as the intellectual centre of Greece, so we may regard its social life as typical of that which prevailed in most of the Grecian cities. The democratic spirit of the Athenian people was opposed to any strict division into classes—except the distinction between freemen and slaves. All freemen were equal, having the same rights and privileges. We may, however, group the free inhabitants of Attica according to their industrial occupations, or the modes in which they obtained their living. We might, in the first place, regard "politics" as a business at Athens. It is true that the higher officers of the state received no pay; but pay was given to those who served in the army and fleet, in the council, and in the courts. The courts often swarmed with persons who desired to make their living by receiving the small pay given to jurors. Again, there was a class of professional men like physicians,

artists, teachers, legal advisers, some of whom received not only fees for their services, but fixed salaries paid by the state. Besides these were the commercial classes, including the merchants, brokers, and traders, who formed the wealthier body of the citizens. Moreover, there was a large class of artisans, such as workers in wood, iron, clay, glass, silver and gold, who furnished many products that were exported to other parts of Hellas. Agricultural pursuits were always regarded as honourable by the Athenians, and it is said that no one but a free citizen could own land in Attica.



INTERIOR OF A GREEK HOUSE (Restoration)

The more menial kinds of labour were performed by the slaves, of whom there were a very large number in Attica, but whose condition cannot be regarded as very wretched, since they generally received humane treatment at the hands of their masters. The worst feature of Athenian slavery was to throw a reproach upon manual labour, and thus degrade the poorer class of freemen who were obliged to engage in such work.

The Athenian House, Furniture, Dress.—Although the pub-

lic buldings of Athens were magnificent and expensive, the ordinary dwelling house, was in its external appearance, simple and unpretentious. It consisted of a series of rooms, surrounding a court which opened to the sky. The interior of the finer houses, however, presented a dignified and artistic appearance, with their peristyles of columns and rich decorations and furniture. Chairs and couches of ornamental woodwork, artistic lamps of bronze or terra cotta, bronze or marble statuettes, and elegant vases of precious metal, all showed the refinement of the Greek taste.

The Greeks also showed their simple and refined taste in their dress, which presented a strong contrast to the elaborate and gaudy apparel of the Oriental peoples. It consisted usually of two garments: first a tunic called *chiton* (pron. *ki'ton*), held in place by clasps upon the shoulders; and second, a broad cloak, called *hima'tion*, thrown in loose folds about the person. The dress of the men and that of the women was quite similar, although the latter was more full and flowing. The graceful effect of the simple female costume may be seen in the accompanying illustrations.

POLYMNIA

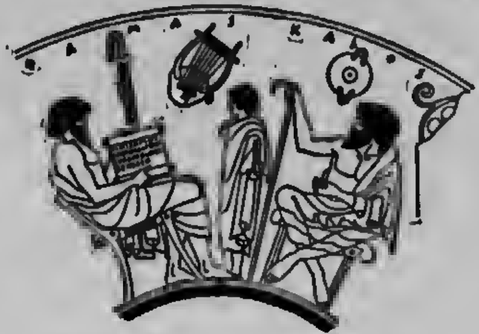
Marriage and the Position of Women.—The father of the family provided for the marriage of his children, and the betrothal was really an engagement between the parents of the bride and groom. Although marriage was a legal contract, the wedding was a sacred as well as a festive ceremony, attended with a sacrifice to the gods, and a banquet in which the guests partook of the wedding cake and joined in the nuptial song.

The Athenians believed that the proper sphere of woman was the home, and hence she was deprived of the liberty which she enjoyed in Homeric times, and even at this time in Sparta. She was taught that politics and the turmoil of the street should be left to men.

Her domestic employments—spinning, weaving, and embroidering—were not of course conducive to high intellectual culture. She could not, therefore, exercise the elevating social influence that is possible in modern times. But in spite of her inferior position, the Athenians were not unappreciative of the nobler qualities of the female character, as is seen, for example, in the "Antigone" of Sophocles.

ATHENA

Athenian Education.—Education formed a very important part of Greek life. Its aim was to develop as far as possible a perfect physical, intellectual, and moral manhood, and to prepare young men for the duties which belong to free citizens. The Athenians were thoroughly impressed with the importance of training the body, the mind, and the character. Gymnastics, mental discipline, and moral inspiration were the chief features of their educational methods. The boy was taught not only by his teacher at school, but was constantly under the supervision of his "pedagogue," a trusty servant who accompanied him to school and watched over him elsewhere. The elementary training consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The boy committed to memory the wise sayings of the old poets, and copied these proverbs upon a waxen tablet by means of the stylus; and his arithmetical computations were made with the aid of the abacus, or counting board. To this was added music, for the cultivation of the feelings; while his systematic exercise in the gymnasium was intended to give him a sound, symmetrical,


A LESSON IN THE POETS

and vigorous body. Besides this elementary discipline there was added the more advanced education obtained from the conversation and lectures of professional teachers, like the sophists. Such instruction was given in the porches of the Agora, and in other public places. It included all branches of practical and theoretical knowledge; and its aim was to give what we should call a liberal education—to make broad-minded men and enlightened citizens.

Athenian Sociability; the Banquet and Symposium.—The Athenians were essentially a sociable people. This is seen in their hospitality, their love of companionship, of conversation, and of social entertainments. The open air was in many respects the home of the Athenian gentleman; for in the streets he could always find his friends, with whom he was accustomed to pass away many hours of the day. One of the chief centres of the social life of Athens—as it was of the political and commercial life—was the Agora. The Athenians also found other places of resort and social pleasure in the gymnasia, of which the most famous were the Lyceum and the Academy—the former situated just outside of the city to the east, and the latter about a mile to the north. There were also clubs, originally founded for the sake of companionship, and afterwards acquiring a political character as well.

The chief source of social entertainment in the evening was the banquet, with the accompanying "symposium." Reclining on couches, the guests partook of the repast furnished by the host, and then were regaled with dashes of oratory, sparks of wit, rehearsals from the poets, and the music of the flute or lyre, or perhaps amused by professional dancers, jugglers, and contortionists. The character of the symposium of course varied with the refinement of the guests; but it was a fair expression of Greek social and intellectual culture.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. Athens as the Centre of Hellenic Art.—Greek Politics and Hellenic Culture.—The Attic Period, its Character and Phases.—The City of Athens.—Athenian Architecture.—Athenian Sculpture.—Athenian Painting.

II. The Theatre and Dramatic Literature.—The Theatre of Dionysus.—Origin of the Greek Drama.—Æschylus, the Father of Tragedy.—Sophocles, the Dramatic Artist.—Euripides, the Dramatist of the People.—The Attic Comedy; Aristophanes

III. Prose Literature: History and Oratory.—Herodotus, the Father of History.—Thucydides, the Scientific Historian.—Xenophon, the Historical Essayist.—Athenian Oratory; Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes.

IV. The Philosophy of Athens.—Anaxagoras, the First Athenian Philosopher.—The Sophists and Greek Dialectics.—The Practical Philosophy of Socrates.—The Idealistic Philosophy of Plato.—The Realistic Philosophy of Aristotle.

V. Social Life and Manners.—Industrial Occupations.—The Athenian House, Furniture, Dress.—Marriage and the Position of Women.—Athenian Education.—Athenian Sociability, the Banquet and Symposium.

PERIOD IV. THE GRÆCO-MACEDONIAN EMPIRE (359-146 B.C.)

CHAPTER XIV

ALEXANDER AND THE CONQUEST OF THE ORIENT

I. The Rise of Macedonia under Philip

The New Epoch in Greek History.—We have now reached a new and important epoch in the history of Greece—and, in fact, in the history of the ancient world. The failure of the Greek states to develop a national government—either in the form of a permanent confederacy, or by submitting to the leadership of one of their own number—led to the final overthrow of the very liberties which they were so anxious to preserve. In striving to maintain their independence from one another, they were compelled at last to submit to the control of a foreign power. The supremacy which they were unwilling to give to Athens, to Sparta, or to Thebes, they were at last obliged to yield to Macedonia. The rise of Macedonia, and the interference of this new power in the internal affairs

of Greece, therefore, mark a crisis in the history of the Grecian states.

But we shall see that Macedonia established her supremacy not only over the states of Greece, but also over the countries of western Asia; so that Greece and the Orient became united in a common world-empire. The most important feature of this new period, however, is not so much the establishment of a common political authority over the countries of the ancient world, as the diffusion of the Greek genius among the peoples of the East. If in earlier times the tide of Orientalism once flowed towards the Ægean, now the tide of Hellenism is to flow back towards the Orient. If during the Attic period the Hellenic culture tended to become centralized in Athens, now the culture of Greece is to transcend the narrow limits of Hellas and to become a possession for every people. The essential feature of the coming epoch is, therefore, the union of Greece and the Orient in a wider civilization, which we may call "Græco-Oriental." But first let us see how this union was accomplished, under the supremacy of Macedonia and the leadership of Philip II and Alexander the Great.

Macedonia and the Greeks.—Macedonia was a country lying to the north of Thessaly, beyond the Cambunian Mountains. The people were remotely related to the Greeks. But they were still for the most part in a semi-barbarous condition, although they were capable of of becoming a strong nation. They were a hardy race, and had in them the making of good soldiers. In the highlands they were separated into many tribes, each under its own chief. But in the lowlands, near the sea, they had come into contact with the

MACEDONIA AT THE ACCESSION OF PHILLIP II.

Greek colonies, and had begun to be more civilized and to have something like a united government. At tbe time of the Theban supremacy, Macedonia became so strong and threatening that Pelopidas invaded the country, checked the ambition of its ruler, and brougbt back to Thebes the young prince Philip as a hostage. This young Philip, while in bondage, became versed in the civilized arts of Greece and especially in the military system of Epaminondas, and thus became fitted for his future work as the king of Macedonia.

Accession and Character of Philip II. (359 B. C.).—On his return to Macedonia Philip was appointed regent of the kingdom at the age of twenty-three; and in a short time he bad himself proclaimed king. He proved to be a man of wonderful ability, versed in the best as well as the worst arts of statecraft. He possessed unusual powers of organization. He was able as a warrior, and still more able as a wily diplomatist. He extended his power over tbe mountain tribes, and pushed back the barbarians who were threatening the frontiers of his kingdom on the north and west. But more than this, he gatbered together his scattered subjects into a well-organized army. This gave to the people a common military discipline and a common national spirit. In organizing his army, Pbilip adopted the Greek phalanx; but be strengthened it by making the line sixteen instead of eight men deep. He armed the men with lances twenty-one feet long, so that the front of the phalanx presented a projecting forest of bristling spears. He also organized a fine body of heavy-armed cavalry, made up of the best men of the kingdom and called "companions," which formed in action the right arm of his battle line. By his political and military skill he was able in a few years to convert a semi-barbarous country into a well-organized and growing kingdom.

PHILIP II. (Coin)

The Aggressions of Philip upon Greece.—The chief ambition of Philip was to make himself master of Greece. He first interfered in the affairs of the Athenian colonies in Chalcidice, which Athens was not able to prevent, as she was at the same time engaged in an unsuccessful war with some of her allies—the "Social war" (358-355 B. C.). Philip was aided in his aggressions upon Greece by the distracted condition of the Greek states themselves,—especially in the so-called "Sacred war" (357-346 B. C.). This war grew out of the attempt of Thebes and the Amphictyonic League to punish Phocis for seizing lands belonging to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Nearly the whole of Greece was affected, either directly or indirectly, by this war. Philip now appeared as the ally of Thebes and the champion of Apollo. He invaded Thessaly and made himself master of that country. Pressing on to Thermopylæ, he found this pass held by an Athenian army. Instead of exposing his own army to slaughter, he deemed it wiser to withdraw, and to wait for a more convenient season in which to extend his influence in Greece.

Demosthenes and Philip.—The one great man who now appeared as the defender of Greece against Philip was Demosthenes. He had already made a reputation as an orator; and he now assumed the rôle of a statesman. To arouse Greece to a sense of her danger, he delivered the first of a series of famous orations known as "Philippics." Philip was now busy in the north, trying to get possession of Olynthus, and to reduce to his power the whole Chalcidian confederacy. Olynthus appealed to Athens for aid; and Demosthenes delivered his "Olynthiac orations," to urge the people to make war upon Philip and to save the Chalcidian city. His earnest efforts induced the Athenians to declare war, but failed to save the beleaguered town. Olynthus fell (348 B. C.), and with it all the Chalcidian cities, whose inhabitants, according to the ancient custom, were either put to death or sold into slavery. The kingdom of Philip now extended nearly to the Hellespont on the east, and to the pass of Thermopylæ on the south.

To allay the fears which had been inspired by Demosthenes,

Philip consented to a peace with Athens—the Peace of Philoc'-rates (346 B. C.)—in which each party professed friendship for the other and each agreed to respect the other's possessions. Having conciliated Athens, Philip marched to Delphi, dismantled the Phocian towns, scattered their inhabitants in small villages, and received himself the two votes in the Amphictyonic council that hitherto had belonged to Phocis. To extend his influence in Greece, he then formed friendly alliances with a number of the states in the Peloponnesus.

Battle of Chæronea; the End of Greek Freedom (338 B. C.). —But Athens was still suspicious of the designs of the Macedonian king. She saw that Philip was threatening to make further aggressions in Thrace and also in central Greece. Through the influence of Demosthenes, Athens and Thebes now joined in a final effort to crush the king. But at Chæronea, in Bœotia, Philip defeated the combined forces of the Grecian allies, and destroyed the last opposition to his power. This battle is generally regarded as marking the loss of Grecian independence. But we can see that the independence of Greece had been gradually declining since the first interference of Philip in Grecian affairs. Greece fell before Macedonia on account of her incapacity to form a united state, like that which Philip had created for his people.

The Congress of Corinth; Death of Philip.—Philip now proceeded to do for Greece what Greece had failed to do for herself. He called together at Corinth a congress of all the states. This congress is said to have been the most representative body that the Hellenic world had ever seen—Sparta alone standing aloof. The king gave to the Greeks a constitution which formed a kind of federal state. Every city was to be free, and to manage its own affairs, and not to be subject to any tribute. The Amphictyonic council was to be the supreme arbiter in the settlement of disputes between the different states. The king was to be the president, having the power to declare war and peace. At this congress Philip also revealed his greatest project, which was nothing less than the conquest of Persia, in which Greeks and Macedonians would unite in avenging the wrongs done to Greece

since the days of Xerxes. The proposals of the king were accepted, and he was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies which were to invade the Persian empire. But while making plans for this expedition, Philip was assassinated (336 B. C.), and the completion of his work was left to his son, Alexander the Great.

II. The Empire of Alexander

Beginning of Alexander's Career.—Alexander was well qualified to carry on the work begun by Philip. He was fitted both by nature and by education for a career which in many respects has no parallel in the world's history. From his father he inherited an imperial will, a keen insight into men and things, and a genius for military organization. From his mother—a half-barbarian princess—he inherited an impetuous nature, a fitful, fiery temper, and a tendency to superstition. By his great teacher, Aristotle, he was trained to virtue and the love of truth, to an exalted appreciation of knowledge, and to a sympathy with the Hellenic spirit. From his favourite author, Homer, he derived a heroic inspiration, a zeal for warlike action, and a passion to rival the deeds of Achilles. From the time that he was a boy of twelve—when, according to Plutarch, he had tamed the fiery steed Buceph'alus—to the battle of Chæronea, where he led the Macedonian cavalry, he showed that he was born to rule. At the age of twenty he ascended his father's throne. His first work was to quell the spirit of revolt which seemed everywhere to show itself with the news of his father's death. He put out of the way his possible rivals. He entered Greece and had himself proclaimed

ALEXANDER

commander-in-chief, as his father had done. He punished the tribes of the north and west which threatened the frontiers of his kingdom. Angered by a Grecian revolt led by Thebes, he wiped that city from the earth, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar. Having pacified his kingdom in Europe, he was ready to enter upon the conquest of Asia.

Asia Minor; Battle of the Granicus (334 B. C.).—The first country to be brought under his control was Asia Minor. He crossed the Hellespont with a small but well-trained army, consisting of thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. He first visited the plains of Troy, already hallowed in his imagination by the tales of Homer; here he offered a sacrifice to Athena, and paid homage to the tomb of Achilles. His first battle was fought at the river Grani'cus, a small stream flowing into the Propontis, where he practically destroyed the whole Persian army, with but a small loss on his own part. The victory at the Granicus was followed by the speedy submission of the cities in Asia Minor. Alexander then moved north to Gordium, the old capital of Phrygia, where he quartered his army for the winter, and according to the well-known story "cut the Gordian knot."

BATTLE OF GRANICUS

a, Macedonian phalanx; b, allied cavalry; c, companion cavalry; d, light infantry; e, archers and javelin throwers

Syria; Battle of Issus and Siege of Tyre (333 B. C.).—The next country to be conquered was Syria. Alexander marched from Gordium southwards through the passes of the Taurus Mountains to Tarsus; then through the city of Issus into the open plains of Syria, where he expected to meet the armies of the Persian king, Darius III. In the meantime, Darius had assembled a vast horde of six hundred thousand men and moved to

BATTLE OF ISSUS

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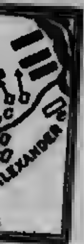

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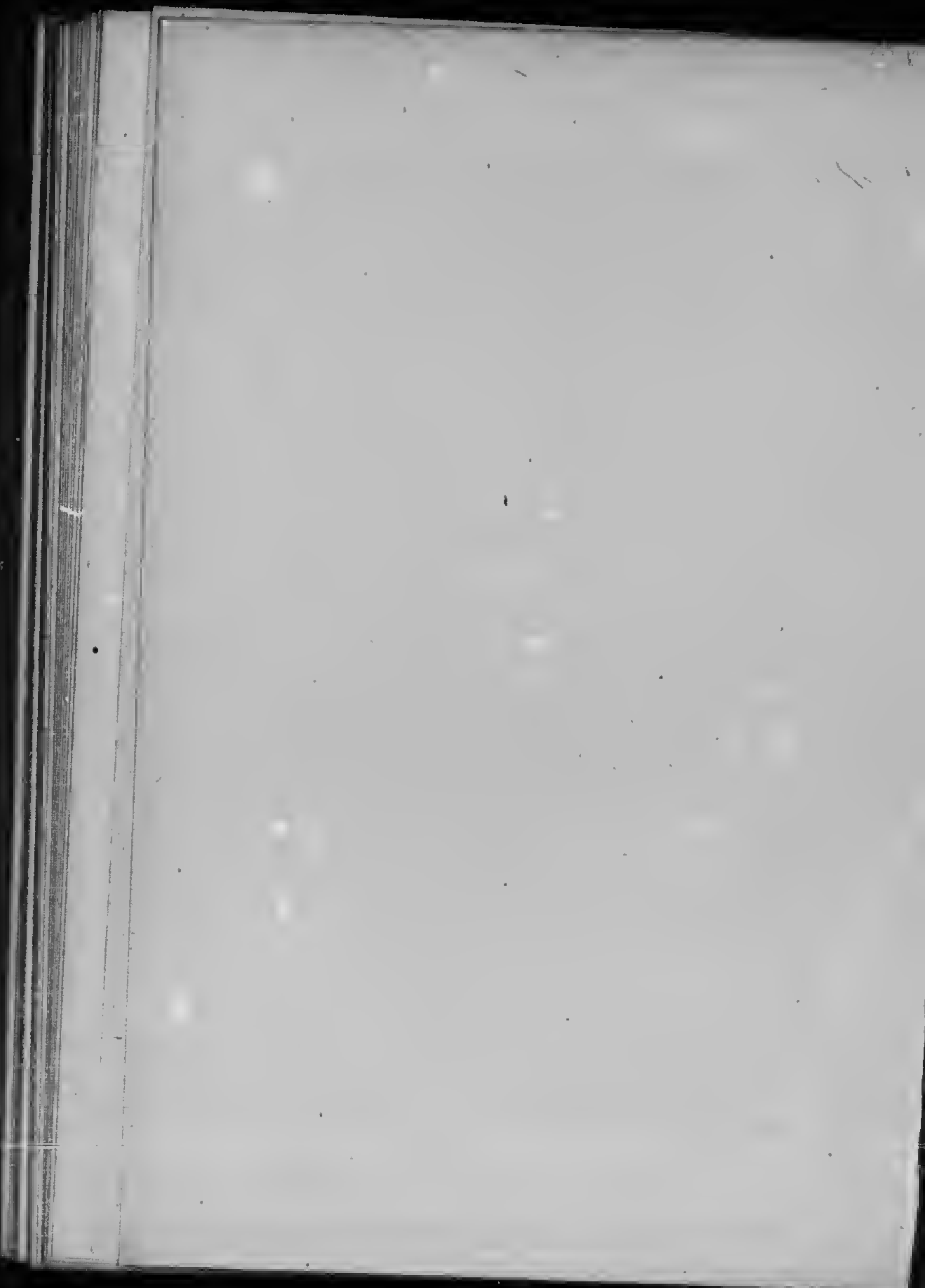
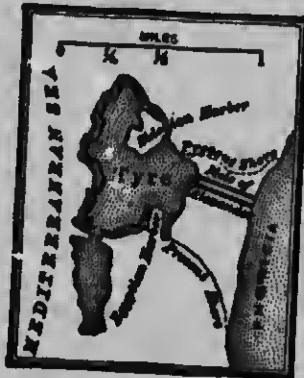
PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 10.

EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT (B.C. 323)

Marches of Alexander ——
Voyage of Nearchus ——



the north and to the rear of Alexander's army, hoping to cut off its retreat. Alexander marched back and attacked Darius in his chosen position, near Issus. After a severe conflict, a large part of the Persian army was destroyed and the rest put to flight. Alexander then continued his march southwards through Sidon and reached Tyre. At this place he met the most serious resistance that he encountered in all his campaigns. The new city of Tyre was situated on an island about half a mile from the coast. Having no fleet at hand, Alexander could reach the city only by building an immense mole, or causeway, through the sea to the walls. By this stupendous piece of work he was able to storm and capture the city. The overtures for peace which the Persian king now felt disposed to offer him were scornfully rejected.



SIEGE OF TYRE

Egypt; Founding of Alexandria (332 B. C.).—There remained only one more province on the Mediterranean to be secured, and that was Egypt. The march to the south, however, was blocked at Gaza, a strongly fortified town defended by its faithful governor, Batis. To assault these walls Alexander performed another great feat of engineering skill. He built a mound of earth, two hundred and fifty feet high and twelve hundred feet broad at the base, around the entire city. Although repulsed three times, he finally took the town by storm. He put to death what remained of the garrison, and sold the women and children into slavery. The way was now open to Egypt, which welcomed Alexander as a deliverer. On the coast west of the Delta, he founded the new city of Alexan'dria, the first and most famous of many towns which perpetuated his name. Thence he moved westwards along the coast, and then southwards through the Libyan desert to the noted temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. Here, it is said, the oracle addressed him as the son of Zeus and the future conqueror of the world. This may have

had some influence upon Alexander, in leading him to claim divine honours for himself.

Central Persia; Battle of Arbela (331 B. C.).—Having organized the government of Egypt, Alexander returned to Tyre and made his preparations to pierce the heart of the Persian empire. He crossed the Euphrates River and passed through upper Mesopotamia beyond the Tigris. In a broad plain near the village of Gaugame′la, and thirty miles west of Arbe′la, he came face to face with the army of the great king. Here was to be fought the battle which was to decide the fate of Persia. Since his defeat at Issus, Darius had gathered an immense armament which rivalled that of Xerxes,—a million infantry, forty thousand cavalry, two hundred scythed chariots, and fifteen elephants. To meet this host Alexander had now an army of forty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry. His attack began with a cavalry charge towards the enemy's left; and this he suddenly changed and directed in the form of a wedge against the centre, where Darius himself was urging on his troops. The frightened king fled; his army became demoralized; while the rest of Alexander's troops pressed forwards and gained a complete victory. The battle at Gaugamela—usually called the "battle of Arbela"—sealed the doom of the empire. Alexander then moved south to Babylon, which surrendered to him; next to Susa, which also opened its gates; and then to Persepolis, which was taken after a feeble resistance. These three cities were the richest in the world; and by their capture Alexander came into possession of immense treasures. He proclaimed himself the monarch of Persia; but he disgraced his name by wantonly firing with his own hand the magnificent palace at Persepolis.

BATTLE OF "ARBELA"

The Far East; Battle of the Hydaspes (326 B. C.).—Alexander had now traversed the western and central provinces of the Persian empire. There remained the far eastern provin-

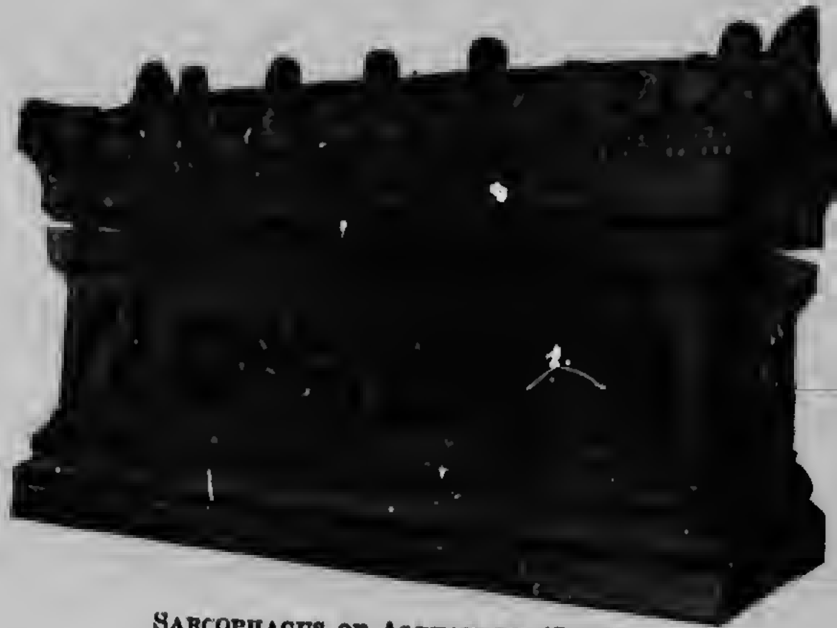
ces, which were speedily reduced to his authority. It was during this period that Alexander blackened his name by two of his most infamous crimes. The one was the assassination of his faithful general, Parme'nio, on the charge of conspiracy; the other was the murder, in a fit of drunken frenzy, of his dearest friend, Clitus, who had saved his life at the battle of the Granicus. Of these dastardly crimes, it can be said only to his credit that he bitterly repented of them.

Not satisfied with the conquest of Persia, Alexander crossed the Indus, and proceeded through the Punjab to the river Hydas'pes. Here, after a severe engagement, he gained a victory over the armies of India, led by Porus, the most able king of the far East. Struck by the royal bearing of Porus, Alexander made him viceroy of his new Indian province. The Macedonian soldiers, now wearied with years of marching and fighting, refused to go farther into unknown lands; and Alexander was obliged to return. Down the Indus and then westwards through the sands of the desert, his army marched back to Persepolis and Susa; while his fleet under Nearchus explored anew the ancient water route from the Indus to the Euphrates. Alexander repaired to Babylon, now the capital of his newly conquered world.

Death and Character of Alexander.—On his return to Babylon, Alexander did not rest. He hoped to push his conquests into Arabia, and to give a firmer organization to his Græco-Oriental empire. But in a short time he was stricken down by a fever, and died (323 B. C.) at the age of thirty-two years and eight months. His last words were a request that the empire be given "to the most worthy." His body was carried to Egypt, and was buried at Alexandria with divine honours.

What shall be thought of Alexander? This is a question upon which there has been much difference of opinion. Some have regarded him as scarcely more than a brilliant military adventurer. Others have looked upon him as having done more for the world's civilization than any other human being. Without assuming too much confidence in our own opinion, let us look at his chief characteristics as a man, as a soldier, and as a statesman.

As a man, Alexander possessed remarkable natural end
ments—a body of great beauty, agility, and strength, capa
of extraordinary feats of endurance; a mind of transcend
genius, of restless activity, of wonderful powers of insight,
broad and comprehensive views, prolific in resources, a
unerring in the adjustment of means to ends; a will pow
such as is rarely given to men, irresistible and untiring; a
an emotional nature made up of a strange mixture of ge
erosity and cruelty, of self-control and self-indulgence,



SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER (So-called)

calm repose and furious passion, capable of performing the worst of crimes, and immediately giving way to penitence and remorse.

As a soldier he has had scarcely a peer in the world's history—a born commander of men, a supreme master of strategy and tactics, equally great in marches, sieges, and battles.

As a statesman he possessed a cosmopolitan breadth of view. He believed that the state should not be narrowed to the

limits of a city or small territory, like that of the Greeks, but should take in all civilized peoples. He showed his broad ideas by favouring the mixture of races, by encouraging a wider commercial intercourse, by patronizing the arts and the sciences, by building up new cities as centres for the diffusion of Greek civilization. He adopted, in some respects, higher methods of government than those which had hitherto prevailed in the East. But it remains true that the great world empire which he carved out with the sword fell to pieces almost immediately after his death.

III. Dissolution of Alexander's Empire

The Wars of the Diadochi.—The years which followed the death of Alexander were years of intrigue and war between his different generals, who are known in history as the "Diad′ochi," or the *successors* of Alexander. Various attempts were made to keep the empire together. At first one of the generals, Perdic′cas, tried to rule, and divided the provinces among himself and the other chieftains; but they refused to recognize his authority. Afterwards another general, Antig′onus, aspired to the position of the great king; but he was opposed by the other generals, who were themselves getting control of various provinces. After years of bitter strife, Antigonus was defeated and slain at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (301 B. C.); and the victorious generals divided among themselves the fragments of the empire that Alexander had established.

Kingdom of the Seleucidæ; Syria.—Seleucus was the general who had already taken possession of Babylon, together with a large part of the eastern provinces. He now received in addition Mesopotamia, Syria, and the eastern part of Asia Minor. He removed his capital from Babylon to An′tioch in Syria; but in this way he also weakened his hold upon his eastern provinces. He divided his whole territory into seventy-two satrapies, ruled not by natives but by Greeks and Macedonians. The eastern provinces were intrusted to his son Anti′ochus, who afterwards succeeded to his father's throne (280 B. C.). This extensive empire was

known as Syria, or rather the "Kingdom of the Seleu'cidæ," and remained the greatest power in Asia until the Roman conquest (64 B. C.).

Kingdom of the Ptolemies; Egypt.—Ptolemy I (Soter) was one of Alexander's generals who was put in possession of Egypt directly after the death of the conqueror, and had maintained himself there during the wars of succession. He afterwards added to his kingdom Palestine, lower Syria, and Cyprus. Under his administration and that of his successors Egypt rose to prosperity and greatness. The first Ptolemy organized the kingdom into provinces based upon the ancient divisions of the country; but the civil and military authority was placed in the hands of Greeks and Macedonians. Alexandria became the great commercial emporium of the Mediterranean, and the centre of the world's learning. Egypt remained the land of commerce and of culture until it was absorbed by the Roman empire (30 B. C.).

Kingdoms in Asia Minor.—No part of Alexander's empire was so completely broken up after his death as was Asia Minor. Here, after some years, we find the new kingdoms of Per'gamum, Bithyn'ia, and other smaller states, as well as the island republic of Rhodes, which included some of the cities on the adjacent coast. Of these several states the kingdom of Pergamum was the most important, and under its kings Eu'menes I and At'talus I rose to a position of considerable power and influence.

Macedonia and the Greek Federations.—After the death of Alexander, the Greeks made a fresh attempt to throw off the power of Macedonia. This unsuccessful revolt, which is known as the "Lamian war" (323-321 B. C.), was inspired chiefly by Demosthenes, who after its disastrous close fled from Athens and took his own life by poison. After the battle of Ipsus, Macedonia fell into the hands of Cassander, who received it as his share of Alexander's empire.

While weak successors of Cassander were trying to maintain their authority in Greece, there grew up two confederations which were the most important factors in later Greek politics. In the course of time they came to include the most important states of Greece, except Athens and Sparta. One

of these confederations was the Ætolian League in central Greece. This was originally a union of warlike mountain tribes in Ætolia, but it gradually extended its power so as to include a considerable number of states north of the Gulf of Corinth, and also Elis in the Peloponnesus.

A body quite similar to the Ætolian League in its organization, but far superior in its character, was the Achæan League, which comprised most of the states in the Peloponnesus. The power and greatness of the Achæan League were due to the famous leader Ara'tus, who for a time appeared as the deliverer of Greece from Macedonian rule. In a few years the whole Peloponnesus, except Laconia and Elis, was combined (229 B. C.) in a single federal state—the most advanced political organization that had ever existed in Greece.

Constitution of the Achæan League.—The Achæan League is often referred to as the most striking example of a federal republic existing in the ancient world; and we should therefore notice its principal features. In the first place, each city retained its equality and independence—having its own government, electing its own officers, and managing its own local affairs. In the next place, the general powers of the league were vested in a central or federal government. This consisted of (1) a general (or president), and a council or cabinet of ten persons who exercised administrative powers; (2) a boulé, or senate, of about one hundred and twenty persons, which prepared measures for the assembly and managed foreign affairs; and (3) an assembly of the whole people, in which the citizens of each city possessed one vote. The assembly passed all federal laws, and elected all federal officers. As the federal assembly was not a representative body, and as all the citizens would not be disposed to attend its meetings, there was a tendency for the league, although democratic in theory, to become aristocratic in fact, and also for the "general" to exercise a great influence in shaping its policy.

The Intervention of Rome.—During this period in which the Grecian leagues were striving to resist the encroachments of Macedonia, events were taking place which finally led to

the supremacy of a new foreign power in Greece. This new power was Rome, which was beginning to make its influence felt to the east of the Adriatic Sea. It was the interference of the Macedonian king, Philip V, in the war between Rome and Hannibal that led, as we shall hereafter see, to the interference of Rome in the affairs of Macedonia and Greece. From this time the history of Greece became a part of the history of Rome. But before we begin to study the rise and extension of the Roman power and the development of its new world empire—which absorbed not only Macedonia and Greece, but all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea—we must first get some idea of that new culture which the ancient world received through Alexander's conquests and the work of his successors.

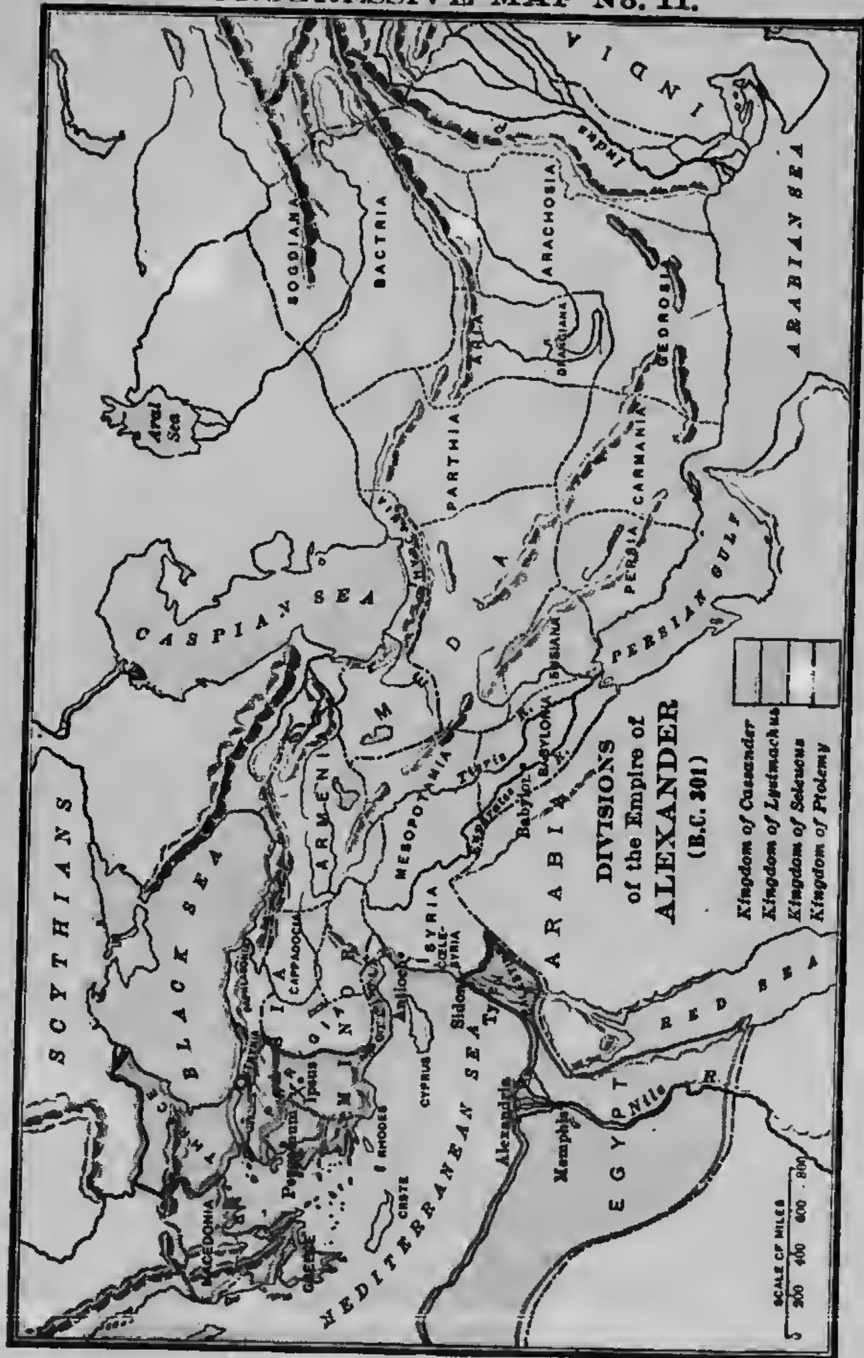
SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

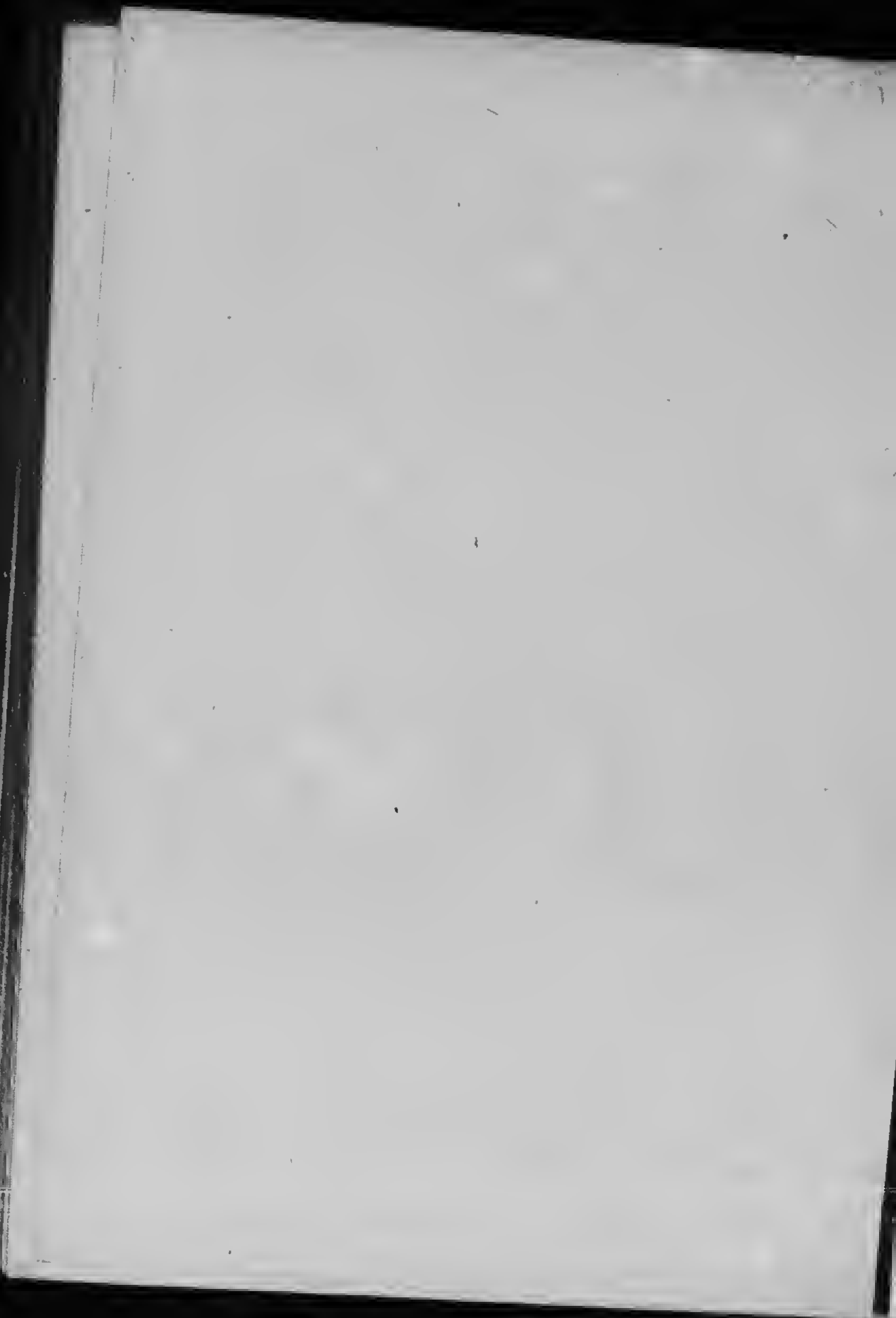
I. The Rise of Macedonia under Philip.—The New Epoch in Greek History.—Macedonia and the Greeks.—Accession and Character of Philip II.—The Aggressions of Philip upon Greece.—Demosthenes and Philip.—Battle of Chæronea; the End of Greek Freedom.—The Congress of Corinth; Death of Philip.

II. The Empire of Alexander.—Beginning of Alexander's Career.—Asia Minor; Battle of the Granicus.—Syria; Battle of Issus and Siege of Tyre.—Egypt; Founding of Alexandria.—Central Persia; Battle of Arbela.—The Far East; Battle of the Hydaspes.—Death and Character of Alexander.

III. Dissolution of Alexander's Empire.—The Wars of the Diadochi.—Kingdom of the Seleucidæ; Syria.—Kingdom of the Ptolemies; Egypt.—Kingdoms in Asia Minor.—Macedonia and the Greek Federations.—Constitution of the Achæan League.—The Intervention of Rome.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 11.



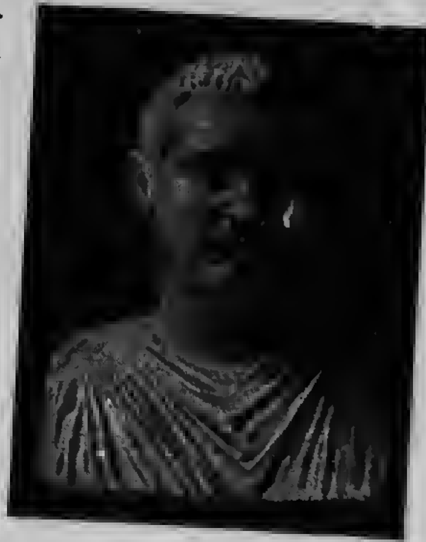


CHAPTER XV

THE SPREAD OF GREEK CULTURE TO THE EAST

I. Hellenic and Hellenistic Culture

Hellenic Culture in Greece.—In taking a brief review of the general culture which had its beginnings in the Macedonian period, we may first look at Greece itself, where the Hellenic spirit was least affected by Oriental influences. Athens was still the centre of Grecian life and thought. Here flourished the men who represented better than elsewhere the continuance of the old Hellenic spirit. Here Demosthenes and Æs'chines continued to deliver their orations in pure Attic Greek. Here Aristotle continued to write his works on philosophy and science. Here comedy continued to flourish in the writings of Menan'der; and painting survived in the famous portraits and other works produced by Apel'les. These men represented the old Hellenic culture—a culture which had been developing in Greece since the days of the Persian wars, but which was destined to lose its Attic purity by contact with the thought and spirit of the East.



Menander

Post-Aristotelian Philosophy.—One of the evidences of the influence of the East upon the native culture of Greece is seen in the growth of certain new schools of philosophy which

followed Aristotle. These schools were a protest, not only against the old religious ideas of the Greeks, but also against the foreign superstitions which were coming into Greece from the East. The foremost of these schools were the Epicure'an and the Stoic. The Epicurean school took its name from Epicu'rus, who was born at Samos and had taught in the cities of Asia Minor before he came to Athens. Epicurus tried to rescue men from the influence of superstition and the old mythological ideas concerning the gods. He taught that men should be influenced, not by the fear of the gods, but by the desire to obtain the highest happiness—not the passing pleasure of the hour, but the permanent happiness of a lifetime. The Stoic philosophy, which was a higher system than the Epicurean, was founded by Zeno. He taught at Athens in a portico on the Agora (*Sto'a Pœc'ile,* or Painted Porch), from which his school received its name. He also rejected the prevailing mythological notions, and believed that the world is governed by a Universal Reason which is revealed in the laws of nature. According to Zeno, men should live, not to appease the gods, but to conform to the highest "law of nature." He also sympathized with the broader ideas of the age, and believed that men's duties should not be limited to their own city or even to Greece, but should extend to all mankind.

In these new schools of philosophy we may see some of the influences of the new period—the influx of Oriental superstition which these schools tried to withstand, and also the desire to enter into the new world spirit which followed the breaking down of national barriers. The new philosophy taught that every one should be, not simply a member of his own city, but a "citizen of the world."

The Spread of Hellenism in the East.—But the most interesting feature of this age is not so much the influence of Oriental ideas upon the old culture of Greece, as the diffusion of the Hellenic culture into other parts of the world—that is, the "Hellenizing" of the Orient. This was due, not only to the work of Alexander himself, but to the continuance of his policy by his successors. Like him, they also planted new cities; placed over them Greek and Macedonian governors;

encouraged Greek colonization; introduced the customs of Greek life; favoured the use of the Greek language; and patronized Greek learning and art. These new cities became new centres of Greek civilization, and in some respects they surpassed the older cities of Greece. The accumulated wealth of the East was used to construct splendid works of art, fashioned upon Greek models—temples, colonnades, sculptures, market places, gardens. In such ways as these the Greeks became the citizens of the world, and the culture of Greece became the heritage of other people.

Meaning of Hellenistic Culture.—As we consider this great movement by which the Greek language and civilization were gradually extended over the East, there is one important point which should be kept in mind. This is the fact that the culture which had been developed by the Greeks themselves was considerably modified by being taken up by the people of foreign countries. For example, the Greek language, when spoken by a Syrian, a Jew, or an Egyptian, would not longer remain the pure language of Sophocles or Plato, but would acquire features foreign to the Attic tongue. So the architecture and sculpture of Greece would have impressed upon them a certain Oriental character and spirit, which would distinguish them from the more refined art of Phidias and Praxiteles. To this Greek culture modified by Oriental influences we apply the term "Hellenistic," to distinguish it from the purer Greek culture of the Greeks themselves, which we call "Hellenic." The Hellenistic culture, then, means the language and civilization of the people of the East who adopted the speech and culture of the Greeks. It is, in short, the Orientalized form of Hellenism. The Greek influence extended into central Asia and as far east as the Indus; but the chief seats of the Hellenistic culture were the countries on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean—Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

II. Hellenistic Culture in Asia Minor

Pergamum as a Centre of Culture.—The chief seat of the new civilization in Asia Minor was the city of Pergamum—

the capital of the kingdom of the same name. The kings of this country came to be wealthy and somewhat powerful

THE GREAT ALTAR AT PERGAMUM (Restoration)

monarchs. They gained an enviable reputation by ending the depredations of the Gauls—a barbarian people who in the third century invaded Greece and Asia Minor, and were finally settled in the province of Gala'tia, in the interior of Asia Minor. This victory over the Gauls was the heroic event in the history of Pergamum, and was commemorated in many works of art.

Architecture and Sculpture of Pergamum.—The kings of Pergamum adorned their capital with splendid buildings, which rivalled the architecture of Athens. The central architectural feature of the city was a vast altar dedicated to Zeus Soter (the Saviour). This was built by Eumenes II. to commemorate the victory over the barbarian Gauls, and the divine assistance then given. The altar was situated on the summit of the acropolis, said to have been more than eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. It was adorned with elaborate sculptures and especially with a gigantic frieze, on which was represented the battle between the gods and the barbarian giants. This altar with its decorations was regarded as one of the marvels of the ancient world. We

have preserved to us a valuable relic of the Pergamean art, and also of the Gallic invasion, in the well-known copy of the Dying Gaul (usually called the "Dying Gladiator"). This

THE DYING GAUL

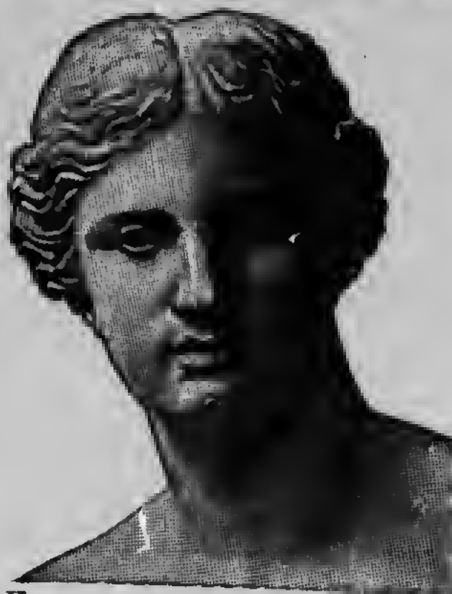
is worth our careful study as a specimen of Hellenistic art, showing a departure from the purest Greek models in the realistic representation of a wounded barbarian warrior.

Literature and Science of Pergamum.—This city was a centre not only of art, but also of learning. Although it made no important contributions to literature, it was distinguished for a remarkable collection of literary works—a library of two hundred thousand volumes, which rivalled the more renowned collection at Alexandria. Books, or rather manuscripts, had previously been written upon Egyptian papyrus. But as the exportation of this material was prohibited by the Egyptians, the kings of Pergamum adopted in its place the skins of animals (called *Pergamenæ chartæ*, from which comes our word "parchment"). The city of Pergamum also became the home of many scientific men,—grammarians, mathematicians, natural philosophers, and

physicians,—of whom many acquired great renown, as Cra'tes in philology, and Galen in medicine.

LAOCOÖN AND HIS SONS

The School of Rhodes.—Another important centre of Hellenistic culture in Asia Minor was Rhodes, famous for its school of rhetoric and its code of maritime law. The art of Rhodes reveals the same Oriental influences that appeared at Pergamum. This is seen in the taste for colossal figures and impressive groups of statuary. The famous Colossus of Rhodes, a statue one hundred and fifty feet high, was regarded as one of the seven wonders of the world. The most important example of Rhodian sculpture that remains to us is the group of Laoc'oön, a priest of Apollo, and his sons, who were destroyed by serpents sent by Athena. The agony depicted upon the face of the priest, though wonderfully expressive, is far removed from the calm repose which marks the purer Hellenic art.



HEAD OF THE APHRODITE OF MELOS

Examples of Pure Hellenic Art.—As we

study the art of what is called the "Hellenistic period," we should bear in mind the fact that not all the works produced at this time show in an equal degree the influence of Orientalism. Some works show this influence to a greater, and some to a less extent. Before we leave the shores of the

HEAD OF THE APOLLO BELVEDERE

Ægean, we should therefore notice at least two examples of the art of this period which preserve in the greatest degree the pure Hellenic spirit, and to which is given a high rank among the statues of the world. One of these is the Apollo

Belvedere, now generally assigned to this period, although the place where it was produced is not known. So nearly does it approach the perfect Greek style, that it has been said that in it "we see Lysippus in the form and Praxiteles in the face" (Perry). The other example of the pure Hellenic art of this period, and one perhaps still more remarkable, is the Aphrodite found on the island of Melos, and usually called the "Venus of Melos." The faces of these two marble statues express the Greek ideal of perfect masculine and feminine beauty. In them we see that grace of form and calmness of spirit which the Greeks regarded as essential to the purest art.

III. Hellenistic Culture in Syria

The Civilization of the Seleucidæ.—The Seleucidæ were the most zealous followers of Alexander in the founding of new cities. These new towns, which numbered more than seventy, became the active centres of Greek influence. They were colonized by Greeks. In them the Greek language was spoken; Greek methods of city government were adopted; the commercial spirit of the Greeks was present; and Greek buildings were erected. But these Greek towns, springing up by the side of the older Asiatic cities, felt the influence of Oriental customs and ideas. The Greeks absorbed the Oriental love of wealth and passion for luxury, and developed a form of life which was neither purely Greek nor purely Eastern, but a mingling of the two—a composite culture in which the Oriental features were improved and the Hellenic features debased.

Antioch as a Centre of Culture.—The city which presented the most conspicuous type of this Græco-Oriental or Hellenistic culture in Syria was Antioch, the capital of the kingdom. The original city was founded by Seleucus I (Nica'tor), and named in honour of his father Antiochus. Here were gathered the people of many nations; but the prevailing form of culture was Greek, imbued with the Oriental taste for magnificence. The buildings glistened with precious stones and ornaments of gold. The broad, regular streets were lined

with the most splendid porticoes, colonnades, and statues. Beyond the walls of the city was the cypress grove of Daphne, said to be one of the most attractive places in the world. It contained the tree of Daphne, into which this nymph, according to tradition, was changed when fleeing from Apollo. The grove was reached by a road passing through beautiful villas and gardens enlivened with fountains and medicinal springs. It was adorned with stately temples, baths, and places of amusement. In the temple of Apollo was a colossal statue of that god, said to rival the Zeus of Phidias. All this fondness for luxury shows that the Greeks, while exercising a powerful influence upon the East, were themselves coming under the spell of Orientalism.

Attempt to Hellenize the Jews.—The only opposition to the Hellenizing movement in western Asia appeared in Judea. Here the people were attached to their ancient language and religion. It is said that Alexander offered strong inducements to the Jews to settle in Alexandria, where they could retain their religion unmolested. Many of them took advantage of this offer; but while preserving their own religion, they could not help imbibing much of the Hellenistic spirit. In Judea itself, however, the people succeeded in resisting these foreign influences. It is true that the Jews in Palestine sometimes affected the Greek culture, by learning to speak the Greek language and adopting Greek names; but the mass of the people clung to their Hebrew language and customs. When Palestine passed from the control of Egypt to that of Syria, a systematic attempt was made by the Syrian king, Antiochus IV (Epiph'anes), to force upon the Jews the Greek language and customs, including the Greek religion. This was accompanied by a most unjust and bitter persecution. It aroused a national revolt, which ended only with the establishment of the independence of the Jewish nation.

IV. Hellenistic Culture in Egypt

Alexandria as a Centre of Culture.—In Egypt we find the most important intellectual centre of the Hellenistic world. The Ptolemies did not, like the Seleucidæ, attempt to bring

the whole kingdom under Greek influence by the erection of many new cities. They rather attempted to concentrate into a single focus the various elements of Greek culture. This focus was the city of Alexandria, which soon came to be the most cosmopolitan city of the world, with a population of nearly a million inhabitants. The ideas of various people found here a common meeting place. The Ptolemies respected the religion of the Egyptians and that of the Jews, while clinging to their own Grecian gods. Though the country surrounding Alexandria was not attractive, the architecture of the city united Greek taste with Oriental splendour. There were many public buildings, the most imposing of which was the Serape′um, the temple of the common god Serapis.

Museum and Library of Alexandria.—Alexandria obtained its highest renown as the home of scholars. In this city we find blended the Greek and the Egyptian taste for philosophy and science. The most famous work of the Ptolemies was the establishment of the Museum and the Library. The Museum was a collection of buildings dedicated to the Muses, and might not inaptly be called a "University." It is said that at one time as many as fourteen thousand students found a home in Alexandria. In connection with the Museum were botanical and zoölogical gardens, dissecting rooms, and astronomical observatories. But the most famous of these buildings was the great Alexandrian Library, containing over five hundred thousand manuscripts. It was the desire of the Ptolemies to possess an authentic copy of every existing work of Greek literature. This library was the most extensive collection of manuscripts in the ancient world.

The Literature and Scholarship of Alexandria.—The kind of literary work done at Alexandria was less creative than critical. The literature produced at this time was mostly elegiac and lyric poetry. One poet of this period holds the first rank among the pastoral poets of the world; this was Theoc′ritus. Although born at Syracuse, he lived at Alexandria. His "Idylls," describing the beauties of nature, have been admired by all people, and perhaps approach

more nearly than any other literature of this period to the pure æsthetic spirit of the early Greeks. History also was cultivated by Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who wrote the "Chronicles of Egypt"; while the Babylonian Berosus was doing a similar kind of work for Babylonian history. But the most thorough literary scholarship of Alexandria was devoted to the critical study of the ancient Greek texts. Aristar′chus may be called the father of textual criticism and the science of grammar. Translations of important works of literature also formed a part of the work of the Alexandrian scholars. The most noted of these translations was the Sep′tuagint, a Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures.

The Alexandrian Science and Philosophy.—Alexandria was also a meeting place for Greek and Oriental science; and a great impulse was given in the direction of a more strictly scientific method. There are many famous names of scientists connected with this seat of ancient learning. Euclid was the founder of our modern geometry. Modern astronomy has grown out of the works of Hippar′chus and Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemæus). Eratos′thenes was the first to give a mathematical estimate of the size of the earth. Archime′des, a native of Syracuse, came here to study; he was a noted mathematician, and made brilliant discoveries in physical and mechanical science. In Alexandria, too, we see in later times a remarkable mingling of the philosophical ideas of the world—Greek idealism, Jewish monotheism, Oriental mysticism, and afterwards even Christian theology. But the complex systems which grew up under such names as "Neo-Platonism" and "Gnosticism," we need not attempt to explain. For us they simply illustrate, like the other phases of Alexandrian culture, the various ideas and forms of thought resulting from the union of the Greek and the Oriental world which followed the conquests of Alexander.

Influence of Greek Civilization.—As we look back over the history of Greece and its influence upon other countries we may understand the important place which it occupied in the growth of ancient civilization. We have seen Greece at first the heir of the Orient, developing an early culture under foreign influences, which soon passed away, leaving only the

memories and monuments of the Mycenæan age. We have seen her afterwards showing a spirit of freedom and independence,—in politics, in literature, in art, in philosophy,—breaking away from the servile spirit and despotic authority of the East, and developing in the age of Pericles a culture far superior to that of any earlier people. We have also seen her in her political decline and fall, still maintaining her intellectual supremacy and scattering the fruits of her culture among the various peoples with whom she was brought into contact. We must, therefore, look upon the influence of Greece as one of the most powerful factors in the civilization of the ancient world, and we should also remember that this beneficial influence was not limited to the countries of the old world, but has continued down to our own day. Whatever flaws we may have discovered in the old Greek character, we should not fail to appreciate that peculiar type of intellectual and æsthetic culture which was developed by the people of Hellas and which forms one of the great bequests of antiquity to modern times.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. Hellenic and Hellenistic Culture.—Hellenic Culture in Greece.—Post-Aristotelian Philosophy.—Spread of Hellenism in the East.—Meaning of Hellenistic Culture.

II. Hellenistic Culture in Asia Minor.—Pergamum as a Centre of Culture.—Architecture and Sculpture of Pergamum.—Literature and Science of Pergamum.—The School of Rhodes.—Examples of Pure Hellenic Art.

III. Hellenistic Culture in Syria.—The Civilization of the Seleucidæ.—Antioch as a Centre of Culture.—Attempt to Hellenize the Jews.

IV. Hellenistic Culture in Egypt.—Alexandria as a Centre of Culture.—Museum and Library of Alexandria.—The Literature and Scholarship of Alexandria.—Alexandrian Science and Philosophy.—Influence of Greek Civilization.

ROME

PERIOD I. EARLY STAGES OF ROMAN HISTORY (753-343 B.C.)

CHAPTER XVI

ITALY, ITS PEOPLE AND LEGENDS

I. The Geography of Italy

Transition to Roman History.—In our study of the history of the ancient world we have considered the early stages of civilization among the peoples of the Orient, and also the great advancement made by the Greeks in the way of intellectual and æsthetic culture. We are now to consider the work performed by another people in promoting the progress of mankind. This people was the Romans. It was the Romans who supplied what was lacking in all the other great nations of antiquity—the genius for political organization. It is true that we have seen great empires established in the East; but these empires were founded only upon conquest, and did not incorporate their subjects as a part of the state. It is also true that the Greeks developed a great love of liberty; but their love of liberty was so great as to prevent them from forming a political union with a common national authority. The Romans, on the other hand, not only conquered the most important countries of the old world; they also made of these different countries one united people organized under a common government and a common system of law.

In our study of the history of Rome there are three things which we should constantly keep in mind. In the first place, we should notice the successive steps by which the Roman

territory was enlarged—expanding from a small spot on the Tiber, until it took in the whole peninsula of Italy, and finally all the countries on the Mediterranean Sea. In the next place, we should notice the methods by which the various conquered peoples were gradually incorporated into the state, and the way in which the government was modified

MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, AND DIVISIONS OF ITALY

and strengthened to meet the wants of the growing nation. Finally, we should notice how the ideas and customs of the conquered countries were taken up and welded together into a new and wider civilization.

The Italian Peninsula.—The study of Roman history properly begins with the geography of Italy; because it was in Italy that the Roman people had their origin, and it was here that they began their great career. It was only when the Romans had conquered and organized Italy that they were able to conquer and govern the world. The position of the

Italian peninsula was favourable to the growth of the Roman power. It was situated almost in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea, on the shores of which had flourished the great nations of antiquity—Egypt, Phœnicia, Carthage, Greece, and Macedonia. By conquering Italy, Rome thus obtained a commanding position among the nations of the ancient world. As the peninsula projects southwards into the Mediterranean it bends towards the east, so that its southern coasts afforded an easy access to the civilized peoples of Greece. The eastern shores of the peninsula, washed by the Adriatic Sea, with few bays and harbours, were not favourable to the early progress of the people; while the western coasts, bordering upon the Tyrrhenian Sea, with their numerous indentations furnished greater opportunities for commerce and a civilized life.

The Mountains and Rivers of Italy.—There are two important mountain chains which belong to Italy, the Alps and the Ap′ennines. (1) The Alps form a semicircular boundary on the north and afford a formidable barrier against the neighbouring countries of Europe. Starting from the sea at its western extremity, this chain stretches towards the north for about 150 miles, when it rises in the lofty peak of Mt. Blanc, 15,000 feet in height; and then continues its course in an easterly direction for about 330 miles, approaching the head of the Adriatic Sea, and disappearing along its coast. It is crossed by several passes, through which foreign peoples have sometimes found their way into the peninsula. (2) The Apennines, beginning at the western extremity of the Alps, extend through the whole length of the peninsula, forming the backbone of Italy. From this main line are thrown off numerous spurs and scattered peaks. Sometimes the Apennines have furnished to Rome a kind of barrier against invaders from the north.

The most important river of Italy is the Po, which, with its hundred tributaries, drains the fertile valley in the north, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In the peninsula proper the eastern and western slopes are drained by many streams, the largest and most noted of which is the Tiber, flowing into the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Climate and Products.—The climate of Italy varies greatly, as we pass from the north to the south. In the valley of the Po the winters are often severe, and the air is chilled by the neighbouring snows of the Alps. In central Italy the climate is mild and agreeable, snow being rarely seen south of the Tiber, except on the ranges of the Apennines; while in southern Italy we approach a climate almost tropical, the land being often swept by the hot south wind, the *sirocco,* from the plains of Africa.

The soil of Italy is generally fertile, especially in the plains of the Po and the fields of Campania. The staple products in ancient times were wheat, the olive, and the vine. For a long time Italy took the lead of the world in the production of olive oil and wine. The production of wheat declined when Rome, by her conquests, came into commercial relation with more fertile countries, such as Egypt.

The Divisions of Italy.—For the purpose of convenience and to aid us in our future study, we may divide ancient Italy into three divisions: northern, central, and southern.

(1) *Northern* Italy comprised the whole continental portion from the Alps to a line drawn along the Apeninnes from the river Macra on the west to the Ru′bicon on the east. It contained three distinct countries: Liguria towards the west, Cisalpine Gaul in the centre, and Venetia towards the east.

(2) *Central* Italy comprised the northern part of the peninsula proper, that is, the territory between the line just drawn from the Macra to the Rubicon, and another line drawn from the Sil′arus on the west to the Frento on the east. This territory contained six countries, namely, three on the western coast,—Etruria, Latium (*la′shi-um*), and Campania; and three on the eastern coast and along the Apennines,—Umbria, Pice′num, and what we call the Sabellian country, which included many mountain tribes, chief among which were the Sa′bines and the Sam′nites.

(3) *Southern* Italy comprised the rest of the peninsula and contained four countries, namely, two on the western coast, Lucania and Bruttium, extending into the toe of Italy; and two on the eastern coast, Apulia and Calabria (or Iapygia), extending into the heel of Italy.

II. The Peoples of Italy

The Settlement of Italy.—Long before Rome was founded, every part of Italy was already peopled. Many of the peoples living there came from the north, around the head of the Adriatic, pushing their way towards the south into different parts of the peninsula. Others came from Greece by way of the sea, settling upon the southern coast. It is of course impossible for us to say precisely how Italy was settled. It is enough for us at present to know that most of the earlier settlers spoke an Indo-European, or Aryan, language, and that when they first appeared in Italy they were scarcely civilized, living upon their flocks and herds and just beginning to cultivate the soil.

The Italic Tribes.—The largest part of the peninsula was occupied by a number of tribes which made up the so-called Italic race. We may for convenience group these tribes into four divisions, the Latins, the Oscans, the Sabellians, and the Umbrians.

(1) The *Latins* dwelt in central Italy, just south of the Tiber. They lived in villages scattered about Latium, tilling their fields and tending their flocks. The village was a collection of straw-thatched huts; it generally grew up about a fortified hill to which the villagers could retreat in times of danger. Many of these Latin villages or hill-towns grew into cities, which were united into a league for mutual protection, and bound together by a common worship (of *Jupiter Latiaris*), and by an annual festival celebrated on the Alban Mount, near which was situated Alba Longa, their chief city.

(2) The *Oscans* were the remnants of an early Italic people which inhabited the country stretching southwards from Latium, along the western coast. In their customs they were like the Latins, although perhaps not so far advanced. Some authors include in this branch the Æquians, the Her′nicans, and the Volscians, who carried on many wars with Rome in early times.

(3) The *Sabellians* embraced the most numerous and warlike peoples of the Italic stock. They lived to the east and

south of the Latins and Oscans, extending along the ridges and slopes of the Apennines. They were devoted not so much to farming as to the tending of flocks and herds. They lived also by plundering their neighbours' harvests and carrying off their neighbours' cattle. They were broken up into a great number of tribes, the most noted of which were the Samnites, a hardy race which became the great rival of the Roman people for the possession of central Italy. Another Sabellian people were the Sabines, who were early united to Rome.

THE PEOPLES OF ITALY

(4) The *Umbrians* lived to the north of the Sabellians. They are said to have been the oldest people of Italy. But when the Romans came into contact with them, they had become crowded into a comparatively small territory, and were not very important. They were broken up into small tribes, living in hill-towns and villages, and these were often united into loose confederacies.

The Etruscans.—North-west of Latium dwelt the Etruscans, in some respects the most remarkable people of early Italy. Their origin is shrouded in mystery. In early times they were a powerful nation, stretching from the Po to the Tiber, and having possessions even in the plains of Campania. Their cities were fortified, often in the strongest manner, and also linked together in confederations. Their prosperity was founded not only upon agriculture, but also upon commerce.

Their religion was a gloomy and weird superstition, in which they thought that they could discover the will of the gods by means of augury, that is, by watching the flight of birds and by examining the entrails of animals. The Etrus-

cans were great builders; and their massive walls, durable roads, well-constructed sewers, and imposing sepulchres show the greatness of their civilization.

The Greeks in Italy.—But the most civilized and cultivated people in Italy were the Greeks, who had planted their colonies at Taren'tum, and on the western coast as far as Naples (*Neapolis*) in Campania. So completely did these coasts become dotted with Greek cities, enlivened with Greek commerce, and influenced by Greek culture, that this part of the peninsula received the name of Magna Græcia. The Greeks also, as we have already seen, held the eastern and

A TEMPORARY VILLAGE OF STRAW HUTS IN MODERN ITALY—SUPPOSED TO BE LIKE AN ANCIENT LATIN VILLAGE

southern coasts of Sicily, while the Carthaginians were encroaching upon the western coast of the island.

The Gauls.—If the Greeks in the extreme south were the most civilized people of Italy, the Gauls or Celts, in the extreme north, were the most barbarous. Crossing the Alps from western Europe, they had pushed back the Etruscans and occupied the plains of the Po; hence this region received the name which it long held, Cisalpine Gaul. From this land the Gauls made frequent incursions towards the south, and were for a long time a terror to the other peoples of Italy.

III. The Early Legends of Rome

Legends regarding the Founding of the City.—The ancient Romans knew as little as we do regarding the way in which Italy was first peopled. But they fancied that they had in their legends the true story of the settlement of Latium and the founding of their own city. These legends—as told by the historian Livy and sung by the poet Vergil—recount the wanderings of Æne'as with his heroic band of Trojan warriors after the fall of Troy; their landing upon the shores of Latium; their founding of the city of Lavinium and later of Alba Longa. These legends also tell of the miraculous birth of the twin children Rom'ulus and Remus, whose reputed father was Mars, the god of war; of their being thrown into the Tiber and of their being rescued by a wolf, near the foot of the Pal'atine hill; of their desire afterwards to found a new city on the spot of their deliverance; of their quarrel, which resulted in the death of Remus, leaving Romulus as the surviving founder of the city. The date of the founding of the city, according to Roman reckoning, was 753 B. C.

Æneas (Coin)

Romulus and Remus and the Wolf

Legends of the Early Kings.—According to the old legends Rome was at first a kingdom, and the first king was Romulus. To people his new city he opened an asylum for refugees, and he captured wives from the neighbouring Sabines. He divided the people into tribes, curies, and clans. He formed an alliance between the Romans and the Sabines, who

agreed to live peacefully together as citizens of one town. After a reign of thirty-seven years he was translated to heaven and worshipped under the name of Quiri′nus.

The second king was Numa Pompil′ius, a Sabine, who was elected by the people, after an interregnum of a year. He was a peaceful ruler; was said to hold communication with the gods; and was regarded as the founder of the religious institutions of Rome, as Romulus was regarded as the founder of the political institutions.

During the reign of the third king, Tullus Hostil′ius, a war was carried on with Alba Longa. The issue of this war was decided, so the story goes, by a combat between the three Hora′tii, champions of the Romans, and the three Curia′tii, champions of Alba—resulting in the triumph of the Romans and the submission of Alba to the Roman power.

The fourth king, Ancus Marcius, was a Sabine, the grandson of Numa. He too was a man of peace, but was drawn into a war with several of the Latin cities. Having subdued them, he transferred their inhabitants to the Av′entine hill.

THE ELDER BRUTUS

Legends of the Later Kings.—The three later kings of Rome are represented as having been Etruscans. The first of these was Tarquin′ius Priscus, who migrated to Rome from the Etruscan city of Tarquinii. He strengthened his position as king by adopting the royal insignia of the Etruscans—a crown of gold, a sceptre, an ivory chair, a purple toga, etc. He carried on war with the Latins and Sabines, drained the city, laid out the forum, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter on the Cap′itoline hill.

The next of the later kings was Servius Tullius, the son

of a slave woman of the king's household. He united Rome and the Latin cities in a league; reorganized the government, and erected a new wall inclosing the seven hills.

The last king was Tarquinius Superbus, who ruled as a despot, and was at last driven from the throne by the elder Brutus and his friend Collati'nus (510 B. C.).

Legends of the Early Republic.—The legends contain many stories relating not only to the overthrow of the kingdom but to the early years of the republic. It is said that after the last Tarquin was expelled, the people elected in his stead Brutus and Collatinus to rule them for a year; that Brutus condemned his own sons to death for conspiring to restore the Tarquins; that the Etruscans under a prince called Lars Porsen'na (or Por'sena) lent their aid to the Tarquins, and that their armies were prevented from entering Rome by the heroic defence of the wooden bridge by Horatius Cocles. It is related that the cause of the banished king was then espoused by the Latins, and that their armies were defeated at the battle of Lake Regil'lus (near Tusculum) by the aid of the twin gods Castor and Pollux.

HORATIUS COCLES
(Medallion)

Significance of the Roman Legends.—Such were some of the stories which, embellished with many miraculous incidents, the Romans were proud to relate, as explaining the origin of their city and the beginning of their institutions. Like all other legends these stories have little value as evidence of what actually took place. They contain many improbable details, which were evidently based not upon fact, but upon fancy. They refer to particular persons as the creators of their institutions, although these must have been the result of a slow process of growth. Some of the stories were borrowed from the Greeks, and used by the Romans for their own purpose. So incredible are some of these legends that the whole body of this traditional history is sometimes set aside as unworthy of belief or even of serious consideration.

But while their credibility may be questioned, the significance of these traditions should not be overlooked. While they may not indicate what actually occurred, they show what the people really believed. They show that the Romans took pride in their political institutions, that they honoured the virtues of courage and patriotism, and that they believed their destiny was in the hands of the gods. They continued to be an inspiration to the Roman people—in their wars, in their political life, in their literature and art. While we may not regard these legends as history, it is yet true that, without a knowledge of them, there is much in Roman history that we could not understand.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Geography of Italy.—Transition to Roman History.—The Italian Peninsula.—The Mountains and Rivers of Italy.—Climate and Products.—The Divisions of Italy.

II. The Peoples of Italy.—The Settlement of Italy.—The Italic Tribes.—The Etruscans.—The Greeks in Italy.—The Gauls.

III. The Early Legends of Rome.—Legends regarding the Founding of the City.—Legends of the Early Kings.—Legends of the Later Kings.—Legends of the Early Republic.—Significance of the Roman Legends.

CHAPTER XVII

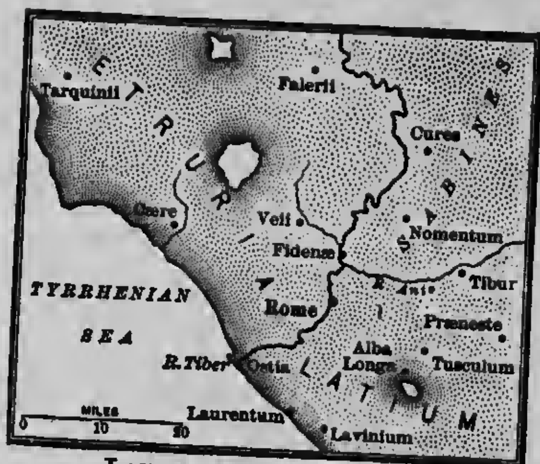
THE CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN KINGDOM

I. Origin of the Roman City

The Site of Rome.—By studying the situation of Rome itself, we may perhaps get a clearer idea of the probable origin of the city than we can obtain from the traditional stories. The city was located on the south-east bank of the river Tiber, about eighteen miles from the sea. To the south of this locality was Latium, or the country of the Latins; to the north-east was the country of the [illegible]; and to the north-west, across the Tiber, was th[illegible] the Etruscans. The

city thus grew up at the point of contact between three different peoples, who exercised a great influence upon the early development of the state.

If we look more closely at this locality, we shall see that it contained a group of seven hills which could be occupied and defended against the attack of enemies. Of these hills three lay to the north-east—the Quir′inal, the Vim′inal, and the Es′quiline; three lay to the south—the Palatine, the Cælian, and the Aventine; while between these two minor groups rose the small and rugged elevation of the Capitoline. The most important of these hills were the Quirinal in the first group, and the Palatine in the second. These hills were the best fitted for defence, and hence for occupation by settlers.



LANDS ABOUT THE TIBER

If we compare these two hills, it is evident that the Palatine occupies the most central and commanding position, and its settlers, as we shall see, became the controlling people of the seven-hilled city.

THE HILLS OF ROME

The Latin Settlement on the Palatine.—So far as we know, the first people to get a foothold upon the site of Rome were the Latins, who formed a settlement upon and about the

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 12.

Palatine hill. This Latin settlement was at first a small village. It consisted of a few farmers and shepherds who were sent out from Latium (perhaps from Alba Longa) as a sort of outpost, both to protect the Latin frontier and to trade with the neighbouring tribes. The people who formed this settlement were called *Ramnes*. They dwelt in their rude straw huts on the slopes of the Palatine, and on the lower lands in the direction of the Aventine and the Cælian. The outlying lands furnished the fields which they tilled and used for pasturage. For protection against attacks, the sides of the Palatine hill were strengthened by a wall built of rude but solid masonry. This fortified place

HUT-SHAPED URN

"WALL OF ROMULUS"

was called *Roma Quadra'ta*, or "Square Rome." It formed the citadel of the colony, into which the settlers could drive their cattle and conduct their families when attacked by

hostile neighbours. It is interesting to know that the primitive wall of the Palatine city, known as the "Wall of Romulus," has in recent years been uncovered, so that we can see its general character.

The Sabine Settlement on the Quirinal.—Opposite the Palatine settlement there grew up a settlement on the Quirinal hill. This Quirinal settlement seems to have been an outpost or colony of the Sabine people, just as the Palatine settlement was a Latin colony. The Sabines were pushing southwards from beyond the A'nio. The settlers on the Quirinal were called *Tit'i-es;* their colony formed a second hill-town, similar in character and nearly equal in extent to the Palatine town.

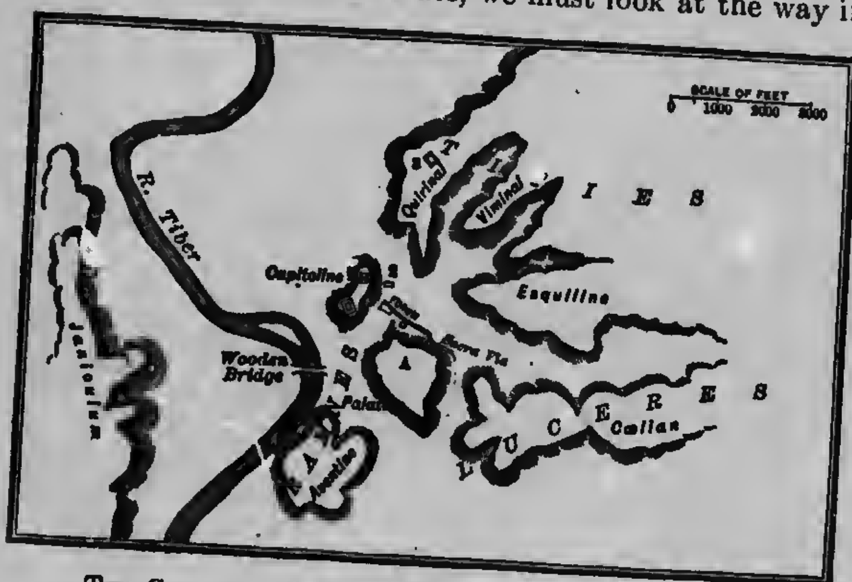
Union of the Romans and the Sabines.—The two hill-towns which thus faced each other naturally became rivals for the possession of the lands near the Tiber; but being so nearly of equal strength, neither could conquer the other. They therefore formed an alliance, were united by a permanent league, and really became a single city—or perhaps we might better call it a double city. To celebrate this union, the intervening space was dedicated to the two-faced god, Janus, who watched the approaches of both towns, and whose temple was said to have been built by Numa. The Capitoline hill was chosen as the common citadel. The space between the two towns was used as a common market place (*forum*), and also as a place for the common meeting of the people (*comitium*). This union of the Palatine and Quirinal towns into one community, with a common religion and government, was an event of great importance. It was, in fact, the first step in the process of "incorporation" which afterwards made Rome the most powerful city of Latium, of Italy, and finally of the world.

The Third Settlement, on the Cælian.—The union of the Romans (*Ramnes*) and the Sabines (*Tities*) was followed by the introduction of a third people, called the *Lu'ceres*. This people was probably a body of Latins who had been conquered and settled upon the Cælian hill, although they are sometimes regarded as having been Etruscans. Whatever may have been their origin, it is quite certain that they soon came

to be incorporated as a part of the whole city community. The city of the early Roman kings thus came to be made up of three divisions, or "tribes" (*tribus*, a third part, from *tres*, three). The evidence of this threefold origin was preserved in many institutions of later times. The three settlements were gradually united into a single city state with common social, political, and religious institutions. By this union the new city became strong and able to compete successfully with its neighbours.

II. The City State of the Early Kings

The Early Roman Society.—To understand more fully the beginnings of the Roman state, we must look at the way in



THE CITY OF THE EARLY KINGS—THE THREE TRIBES
A, Roma Quadrata. B, Arx, or Citadel
Temples, Altars, etc.: 1, Jupiter Capitolinus; 2, Janus; 3, Quirinus; 4, Vesta; 5, Tarpeian Rock

which the people were organized, that is, how they were arranged in social groups. Each tribe was made up of a number of smaller groups, called curies (*curiæ*); and these in turn were composed of different clans (or *gentes*), which themselves consisted of several families. The early Roman

society was therefore formed by the union of families, gentes, curiæ, and tribes.

(1) The *family* was the smallest unit of Roman society. At its head was the household father (*pater familias*). His power extended to "life and death"—which is simply another way of saying that his authority was supreme within the household. He performed the family worship about the domestic altar, upon which the sacred fire was kept burning. The family consisted of the mother, the sons and grandsons, the unmarried daughters and granddaughters, as well as the adopted children—all of whom remained under the father's power as long as he lived.

(2) The *gens* was a group of families which were related to one another, having the same name and supposed to be descended from a common ancestor. It was presided over by a common chief, who performed the religious rites of the gens, and led the people in time of war.

(3) The *curia* was a collection of gentes which had united at first for their common defence, but had come to form an organized community, with a common chief, a council of elders, and an assembly composed of all men capable of bearing arms.

(4) The *tribe* was composed of a number of curiæ which had formed an alliance for their common protection. The tribe had come to have a political organization—a chief, who was priest, commander in war, and judge; a council of elders; and a general assembly. The communities on the Palatine and Quirinal hills were each such a tribe, before they united to form a common state.

The Early Roman Government.—With the union of the first two tribes, their governments were also united so as to form a single government. For example, their two kings were replaced by one king chosen alternately from each tribe. Their councils and assemblies were also united so as to form single bodies. And when the third tribe is added, we have a single king, a single council of three hundred members, and a single assembly of thirty curiæ (*comi'tia curia'ta*).

(1) The Roman *king* (*rex*) was the chief of the whole

people. He was elected, or at least approved, hy the people, and inaugurated under the sanction of the gods. He was in a sense the father of the whole nation—their chief priest, their commander in war, and their supreme judge. Like the father in the household, he had the power of life and death over all his suhjects.

(2) The Roman *senate*, or council of elders, was composed of the chief men of the gentes, who were chosen hy the king to assist him with their advice. Upon the death of the king they might choose a temporary king (*interrex*) to act as ruler until the regular successor was elected.

(3) The *comitia curiata* was the assemhly of all the people capahle of hearing arms, arranged by curiæ. Each curia had a single vote, and the will of the assembly was determined by a majority of such votes. In a certain sense the assembly was the highest authority in the state. It elected the king and passed a law (*lex curiata de imperio*) conferring upon him his power. To it the king submitted important questions, like those regarding peace or war. The early city state may therefore be described as a democratic monarchy, in which the king derived his power from the people.

The Early Roman Religion.—The Roman people were strongly influenced by religious ideas. All power, from that of the household father to that of the king, was believed to he sanctioned hy the gods. The general character of the early Roman religion may be seen in the nature of their deities, their religious officers, and the religious observances.

THE SIX VESTALS (Medallion)

(1) To the ancestral gods, which were worshipped in the family and gens, were added the gods of nature, which the Romans saw everywhere. These early deities were those which naturally sprang from the imagination of a pastoral and agricultural people,—Tellus, the goddess of the earth; Saturn, the god of sowing; Ceres, the goddess of the harvest; Minerva, of olives; Flora, of flowers; Liber, the god of wine. When the people were united into one state, they chose as their national gods, Jupiter, the god

of the sky; Mars, the god of war; and Quirinus, or the deified Romulus.

(2) The religious officers were appointed by the king to maintain the national worship. To each of the three national gods was assigned a special priest, called a *flamen*. The *Salii* watched over the shield of Mars, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven. Six vestal virgins kept always burning the fires of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth and of domestic happiness. The *fetia'les* presided over the formalities of declaring war. Special pontiffs, under a *pontifex maximus*, had charge of the religious festivals and ceremonies.

A Roman Sacrifice

(3) The religious observances of the Romans consisted chiefly of prayers, offerings, and festivals. Their prayers were addressed to the gods to obtain divine favours, and were often accompanied by vows. Their offerings consisted either of the fruits of the earth, as flowers, wine, milk, and honey; or the sacrifice of animals, such as oxen, sheep, and swine. Their festivals, which were celebrated in honour of the gods, were very numerous and were scattered through the different months of the year.

III. The City State of the Later Kings

The Etruscan Influence.—The city state of the early kings was, as we have seen, extremely simple in its organization—with its king, its senate, and its general assembly. This political organization was somewhat changed by the later kings, who are supposed to have come from Etruria. The kings of Etruria were powerful rulers, and for a time threatened to become the sovereigns of central Italy. It seems quite certain that Rome, during the later period of the kingdom,

came under their control. These kings brought with them their own insignia of royal power—the golden crown, the ivory sceptre, the ivory throne or "curule chair," the twelve lictors, each carrying a bundle of rods (*fasces*) containing an axe, the symbol of absolute power. The Etruscans also brought with them the art of the harus'pices, or soothsayers, by which the will of the gods was supposed to be discerned in the heavens, as well as in the entrails of the animals slain for the sacrifice. Moreover, the Etruscans were great builders; they introduced the arch, which they used in sewers, and which the Romans afterwards used in other public works.

The Clients and Plebeians.—To understand the political changes made by the Etruscan kings, we must consider the new population which was growing up at Rome. The early Roman society, we remember, consisted of the old families and gentes which had united to form the original state. But there grew up in time a new body of persons, made up of refugees and other immigrants, and perhaps of captives taken in war. As these persons had at first no rights in the state, they attached themselves to the old Roman families, and were called "clients." The rights of such persons could be protected by the Roman citizen whom they might choose as their "patron." The persons who did not thus attach themselves to a Roman citizen were in a certain sense the clients of the state, and were protected in their rights of person and property by the laws of the state. They had, however, no right to intermarry with Roman citizens, and no right to a share in the government.[1] This new population came to be known as "plebe'ians," as opposed to the old body of Roman citizens, who were known as "patricians."

The New Local Tribes.—The Etruscan kings were less desirous to preserve the old distinctions than to make the state strong and able to defend itself from its enemies. They found that the old army—as well as the old tax-levy—was drawn from the three patrician tribes, each tribe furnishing

[1] The view here given is questioned by some writers, who hold that the plebeians, including the clients, were citizens, having the right to vote in the assembly. Such an opinion, however, seems inconsistent with the later historical struggles between the patricians and the plebeians, unless the plebeians were disfranchised after the time of the kingdom—and there is no evidence of such disfranchisement.

1000 foot soldiers and 100 horsemen. It was evident that the state would be strengthened if the plebeians, as well as the patricians, were called upon to serve in the army and to pay taxes. An entirely new division of the people was therefore made, based not upon their birth and descent, like the old patrician tribes, but upon their domicile, that is, the place where they lived. This change is ascribed to Servius Tullius. He is said to have divided the whole Roman territory, city and country, into local districts, like wards and townships. There were four of these in the city, and sixteen in the country, the former being called "city tribes" (*tribus urbanæ*), and the latter "rural tribes" (*tribus rusticæ*). All persons, whether patricians or plebeians, who had settled homes (*assidui*), were enrolled in these new "local tribes," and were made subject to military service and the tribal tax (*tributum*).

The New Military Organization.—The next step ascribed to Servius was the reorganization of the Roman army, so that it should include all persons who resided in the Roman territory and were enrolled in the new local tribes. First came the cavalry (*eq'uites*), made up of young, wealthy citizens, and arranged in eighteen centuries, or companies of 100 men each. Next came the infantry (*ped'ites*), which comprised all the rest of the men capable of bearing arms. In ancient times every man was obliged to furnish his own weapons. Now as all the people could not afford to obtain the heavier armour, they were subdivided into "classes" according to their wealth, and according to the armour it was supposed they could afford to furnish. There were five of these classes, each containing a certain number of centuries—one half of which were made up of the younger men (*iuniores*) and held for active service, and the other half made up of the older men

SOLDIER WITH FULL ARMOUR

(*seniores*) and held as reserves. By this arrangement, in place of the old army of 3300 men, provision was now made for an army of nearly 20,000 men, which probably comprised the whole population of Rome capable of bearing arms.[1]

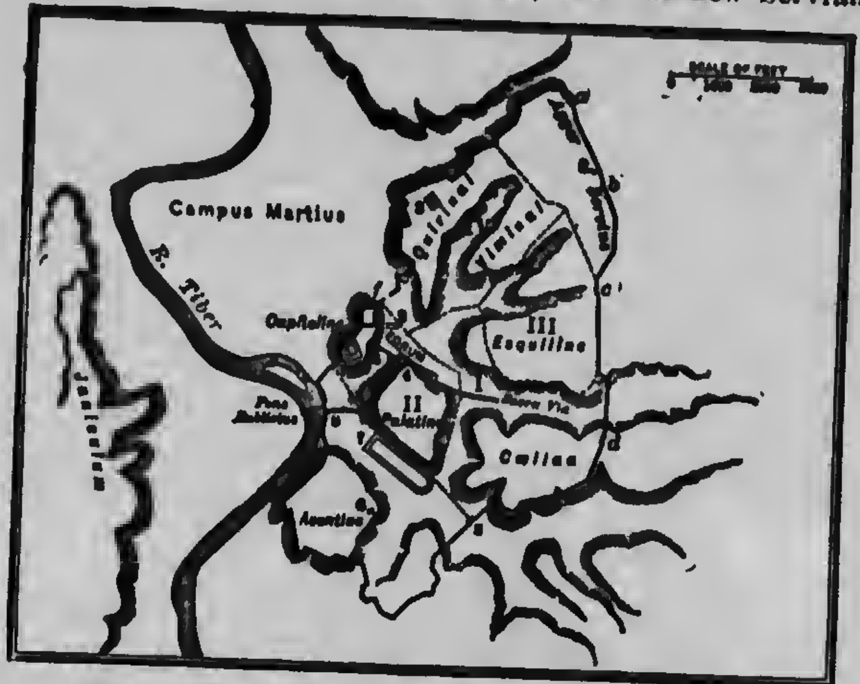
The New Assembly, Comitia Centuriata.—This arrangement of the people was first intended for a purely military purpose; but it soon came to have a political character also. There was every reason why the important questions relating to war, which had heretofore been left to the old body of armed citizens, should now be left to the new body of armed citizens. As a matter of fact, in the course of time the new fighting body became a new voting body; and there thus arose a new assembly called the assembly of the centuries (*comitia centuria'ta*). But this new assembly did not lose its original military character. For example, it was called together, not by the voice of the lictors, like the old assembly, but by the sound of the trumpet. Again, it did not meet in the Forum, where the old assembly met, but in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*), outside of the city. It also voted by centuries, that is, by military companies. After a time the *comitia centuriata* acquired the character of a real political and legislative body, of greater importance than the old *comitia curiata*.

Growth of the City.—These changes in the state show the influence of the Etruscan kings, who evidently broke away from the narrow ideas of the old patrician aristocracy. Their influence is also seen in the more durable temples and other buildings which were constructed during the later kingdom—the temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, the one to Diana on the Aventine, and the one to Saturn at the foot of the Capitoline; the *Circus Maximus* laid out between the

[1] We may perhaps get a clearer idea of this new military arrangement by the following table:

I. Cavalry (*Equites*)	18 centuries.
II. Infantry (*Pedites*)	
1st class (40 *iuniores*, 40 *seniores*)	80 centuries.
2nd " (10 " 10 ")	20 "
3rd " (10 " 10 ")	20 "
4th " (10 " 10 ")	20 "
5th " (10 " 10 ")	20 "
Musicians, Carpenters, Substitutes	15 "
Total	193 centuries.

Palatine and the Aventine for the amusement of the people; the *Cloa'ca Maxima*, or the great drain which ran under the Forum and emptied into the Tiber; and the new Servian



THE CITY OF THE LATER KINGS—WALLS OF SERVIUS

The four Servian regions: I., Suburana; II., Palatina; III., Esquilina; IV., Collina.

The chief gates of Rome: *a*, Collina; *b*, Viminalis; *c*, Esquilina; *d*, Querquetulana; *e*, Capena; *f*, Ratumena.

The chief buildings, etc.: 1, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; 2, Janus; 3, Quirinus; 4, Vesta; 5, Saturn; 6, Diana; 7, Circus Maximus; 8, Cloaca Maxima; 9, Vicus Tuscus.

wall by which the seven hills were encircled by a single fortification. The memory of this Etruscan influence was preserved in the name of the "Tuscan Street" (*vicus Tuscus*) which was laid out near the Forum.

Conquests in Latium.—While Rome was thus becoming strong, and her people were becoming more united and better organized, she was also gaining power over the neighbouring lands. The people with whom she first came into contact were the Latins. A number of Latin towns were conquered or otherwise brought under her power, and some of the con-

quered territory was added to the Roman domain (*ager Roma'nus*). She also pushed her conquests across the Anio into the Sabine country, and across the Tiber into Etruria. So that before the fall of the kingdom, Rome had begun to be a conquering power.

Review of the Roman Kingdom.—By the end of the period of the later kings, Rome had come to be a strong city, and was growing into something like a new nation, with a kind of national policy. If we should sum up this policy in two words, these words would be *expansion* and *incorporation.* By "expansion" we mean the extension of Roman power over the neighbouring territory, whether by conquest or by alliance. By "incorporation" we mean the taking of subject people into the political body. For example, Rome had first incorporated the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal; then the Latin settlement on the Cælian; and finally the plebeian class, which had grown up by the side of the patrician class. By pursuing this kind of policy, Rome had come to be, at the end of the kingdom, a compact and quite well-organized city state with a considerable territory of her own (*ager Romanus*) about the lower part of the river Tiber, and having a control over the cities of Latium.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN CITY.—The Site of Rome.—The Latin Settlement of the Palatine.—The Sabine Settlement of the Quirinal — Union of the Romans and the Sabines.—The Third Settlement, on the Cælian.

II. THE CITY STATE OF THE EARLY KINGS.—The Early Roman Society.—The Early Roman Government.—The Early Roman Religion.

III.—THE CITY STATE OF THE LATER KINGS.—The Etruscan Influence.—The Clients and Plebeians.—The New Local Tribes.—The New Military Organization.—The New Assembly.—Growth of the City.—Conquests in Latium.—Review of the Roman Kingdom.

CHAPTER XVIII

BEGINNINGS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

I. The Early Republican Government

The Two Consuls—When the kingdom came to an end the power of the kings was put into the hands of two consuls (at first called *prætors*), elected by the people. The consular power, though derived from the old kingly power, was yet different from it in many respects. In the first place, the power of the king had been a lifelong power; but the power of the consuls was limited to one year. Again, the royal power had been held by one person; but the consular power was held by two persons, so that each was a restraint upon the other. Moreover, the power of the king had been absolute, that is, it had extended to life and death over all citizens at all times; the power of the consuls, on the other hand, was limited, since they could not exercise the power of life and death, except outside of the city and over the army in the field. The consuls retained the old insignia of the king; but when in the city, the axe was withdrawn from the *fasces*. In this way the chief authority which was placed in the hands of the consuls was shorn of its worst features. It must also be noted that the priestly power of the king was not given to the consuls, but to a special officer, called king of the sacrifices (*rex*

Lictors

sacrorum); and the management of the finances was put in charge of two *quæstors* elected by the people.

The Dictatorship.—The Romans were wise enough to see that in times of great danger the power of the consuls might not be strong enough to protect the state. To meet such an emergency a dictator was appointed, who was a sort of temporary king. He had entire control of the city and the army. He was even given the power of life and death over citizens; and his lictors (attendants) retained the axe in the *fasces*. But this extraordinary power could be held for only six months, after which time the dictator could be held responsible for his acts while in office. With the dictator there was generally appointed another officer, who was second in authority, called the master of horse; but over him, as over every one else, the dictator was supreme.

The New Senators.—When the consuls were elected, it is said that one of their first acts was to fill up the senate to the number of three hundred members. The last king had practically ruled without the senate, and he had no reason to fill the vacancies when they occurred. But the new consuls wished the help of the senate, and therefore desired to keep its numbers complete. The new senators who were enrolled were called *conscripti;* and the whole body of senators became known as *patres conscripti.*

The Popular Assemblies.—With the establishment of the republic, the two assemblies with which we are already acquainted, the *comitia curiata* and the *comitia centuriata*, both remained. But the former lost a great deal of its old power, which became transferred to the latter. The assembly of the centuries was thus the body in which the people generally expressed their will. Here they elected the officers, and passed the most important laws. It was this assembly which became the chief legislative body during the early republic.

The Laws of Valerius Poplicola.—It is said that after the death of Brutus, his colleague Valerius (who had succeeded Collatinus) did not call an assembly to elect another consul. This aroused the fear that Valerius wished to make himself king. But it was soon found that instead of aiming to be

king, he was preparing a set of laws which would prevent any one from becoming king, and would also protect the people from the arbitrary power of their magistrates. One of these laws declared that any person who assumed the chief power without the people's consent should be condemned as a traitor. Another law granted to every citizen the right of an appeal to the people, in case he was condemned for a capital crime. These laws, known as the Valerian laws, may be called the "first charter of Roman liberty," because they protected the people from the exercise of arbitrary power. So highly honoured was Valerius that he was surnamed Poplic'ola, or the People's Friend.

II. The Struggle for Economic Rights

Relation of the Patricians to the Plebeians.—The patricians and plebeians had united in their efforts to drive out the kings; but when the struggle against the kingship was ended, the chief fruits of the victory fell to the patricians. The plebeians could, it is true, still vote in the *comitia centuriata;* but they could not hold any of the new offices, nor could they sit in the senate. Rome became a republic; but it was an aristocratic, and not a democratic republic; that is, the chief power rested not in the whole people, but in a particular class. The plebeians might perhaps have submitted to the government of the patricians, if it had not been exercised in a selfish and oppressive manner. But the patrician rule proved to be as despotic as that of the kings; and a long and fierce struggle ensued between the two orders.

Economic Distress of the Plebeians.—The sorest burden which now rested upon the plebeians was the harsh law of debt. Having lost their property by the misfortunes of war, they were obliged to borrow money of the rich patricians; and they were thus reduced to the condition of a debtor class. But a debtor in the early days of Rome was especially wretched. If he could not pay his debt, he was liable to be arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and made the slave of his creditor. His lot was chains, stripes, and slavery.

Another cause which kept the plebeians in a state of pover-

ty was the unjust distribution of the public land (*ager publicus*) which had been acquired in war. This land properly belonged to all the people, and might have been used to relieve the distress of the poor. But the government was in the hands of the patricians, and they disposed of this land for their own benefit; they allowed it to be "occupied," at a nominal rent, by members of their own order. As long as the land remained public, it could not be sold by the occupants; but the longer the rich patricians retained the occupation of this land, the more they would look upon it as their own property, and ignore the fact that it belonged to the whole Roman people. Thus the common people were deprived of their just share of the land which they had helped to conquer.

ROMAN FARMER

First Secession of the Plebeians.—It was the hard law of debt which first drove the plebeians to revolt. As there was no legal way to redress their wrongs, they decided that they would no longer serve in the army, but leave the patricians to fight their own battles. They therefore deserted their general, marched in full array to a hill beyond the Anio, which they called the Sacred Mount (*Mons Sacer*), and proposed to form an independent city (494 B. C.). The patricians saw that the loss of the plebeian army would be the destruction of Rome. They were therefore compelled to agree that the debts of all insolvent persons should be cancelled, and that those imprisoned on account of debt should be released.

The Tribunes of the People.—But the most important result of this first secession was the creation of a new office, that of tribune of the people. In order to protect the plebeians from any further oppressive acts on the part of the patrician magistrates, it was agreed to appoint two tribunes from among the plebeians themselves. These new officers were given the

power to "veto"—that is, to forbid—the act of any magistrate which bore unjustly upon any citizen. In order that the tribunes might exercise their authority without hindrance, their persons were made "inviolable"—which means that they could not be arrested, and that any one who interfered with them in the exercise of their lawful duty could be put to death. There were also appointed two plebeian *ædiles*, to take charge of the public buildings and to perform police duty.

The Plebeian Assembly; the Comitia Tributa.—The meetings which the plebeians had occasionally held before this time now assumed the character of a permanent assembly (*concilium plebis*). This assembly could be called together by the tribunes, and was permitted to elect its own officers, the tribunes and ædiles.

We find soon after this that the plebeian assembly was reorganized upon a "tribal" basis, and was made to comprise all the people living in the different "local tribes"—both patricians and plebeians. This newly organized assembly was generally called the *comitia tribu'ta*, and in it the plebeians, being more numerous, were able to exercise a great deal of influence.[1]

The Agrarian Proposal of Spurius Cassius.—The second great cause of complaint was, as we have seen, the unjust distribution of the public land. To remove this injustice was the effort of the consul Spurius Cassius. He it was who proposed the first "agrarian law," that is, a law intended to reform the division of the public land (486 B. C.). It was not his purpose to take away any private land which legally belonged to the patricians; but to make a more just distribution of the land which properly belonged to the whole state. The passage of this law was prevented by the patricians; and its author was charged with treason and condemned to death.

[1] The relation of the *concilium plebis* to the *comitia tributa* is a subject concerning which there has been much dispute, on account of the indefinite references made to them by the ancient writers. The various views are (1) that they were identical; (2) that they were distinct, and so remained; and (3) that the *concilium plebis* was at first a purely plebeian assembly, which was later transformed into the *comitia tributa*, composed of all plebeians and patricians living in the tribal districts.

III. The Struggle for Equal Laws

The Demand for a Written Code.—The plebeians were at a great disadvantage during all this time, because the law was administered solely by the patricians, who kept the knowledge of it to themselves, and who regarded it as a precious legacy from their ancestors, too sacred to be shared with the low-born plebeians. The laws had never been written down or published. The patricians could therefore administer them as they saw fit. Accordingly one of the tribunes, Gaius Terentilius Harsa, proposed that a commission be appointed to codify the law and to publish it to the whole people. This proposal, though both fair and just, was bitterly opposed by the patricians, and was followed by ten years of strife and dissension. It was finally agreed that a commission of ten men, called "decemvirs," should be appointed to draw up the law, and that this law should be published and be binding upon patricians and plebeians alike. It was also agreed that the commissioners should all be patricians; and that they should have entire control of the government while compiling the laws. Thus for a time the patricians were to give up their consuls and quæstors, and the plebeians were to give up their tribunes and ædiles. Both parties were to cease their quarrelling and await the work of the decemvirs.

The Decemvirs and the XII Tables (450 B. C.).—The first body of commissioners, or the First Decem'virate, entered upon the work assigned to it, gathered together the law which had hitherto been kept secret, and inscribed it on ten tables of brass. These tables were erected in the Forum, where they could be seen by every one, and were declared binding on all the people. At the close of the year, a Second Decemvirate was appointed to complete the code, and two more tables were added. This whole body of law was called the Twelve Tables, and formed the basis of the most remarkable system of law that the world has ever seen. There was nothing strange, however, in the XII Tables themselves. They contained nothing especially new. The old law of debt remained as it was, and the distinction between patricians and plebe-

ians was not destroyed. The XII Tables were important because they put the law before the eyes of the people; and plebeians, as well as patricians, could know what were their rights.

The Second Secession and Overthrow of the Decemvirate.—While the decemvirs were engaged in codifying the laws, the old republican officers were temporarily suspended. It was expected that the decemvirs would lay aside their exceptional authority when their work was accomplished. But it seems that the second body of decemvirs refused to resign, and threatened to establish a permanent despotic government in place of the old consulate. It is said that the leader of this movement was Appius Claudius.[1] However this may be, the people, fearing that their liberties were in danger, once more seceded from the city. The Roman state seemed again on the point of ruin, and the decemvirs were forced to resign. The old government was restored, with newly elected consuls friendly to the plebeians. These were Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius.

The Valerio-Horatian Laws (448 B. C.).—The second secession of the plebeians resulted not only in the overthrow of the decemvirate and the restoration of the consulate; it resulted also in the passage of certain important laws, which received the name of the new consuls:

(1) The right of appeal in capital cases was reaffirmed, and this applied to plebeians as well as patricians.

(2) The power of the plebeian tribunes was sanctioned by the declaration that he who raised his hand against them should be accursed.

(3) The authority of the plebeian assembly was made clear by the provision that its acts should be binding upon the whole people—patricians as well as plebeians. This provision, with the changes made in its organization, made the *comitia tributa* a real legislative body for the whole state.

These laws made definite and clear the constitutional rights

[1] With this movement is connected the traditional story of Virginia: that she was the beautiful daughter of a plebeian soldier and was killed by her father to prevent her from falling into the hands of Appius Claudius. Some authorities, however, are inclined to believe that Appius Claudius was really the friend of the people, and that this story was invented by the patricians to bring his name into dishonour.

of the people, and secured to them the privileges they had already obtained. They may be called "the second charter of Roman liberty."

The Right of Intermarriage.—The XII Tables had preserved the old customary law prohibiting intermarriage between patricians and plebeians. But soon after the overthrow of the decemvirate this was superseded by a new law (*lex Canuleia*, 445 B. C.) which granted the right of intermarriage between the two orders. This insured their social and civil equality, and paved the way for their political equality, and finallv their union into a harmonious people.

IV. The Struggle for Political Equality

Progress of the Plebeians.—In order that we may keep in mind a little more clearly just what progress the plebeians had made up to this time, and what they still demanded, let us look for a moment at the following table, which contains a list of the general rights possessed hy a full Roman citizen:

The rights of citizenship (*civitas*)	Publio rights (*iura publica*).	Right of holding office (*honores*).
		Right of voting (*suffragium*).
	Private rights (*iura privata*).	Right of intermarriage (*conubium*).
		Right of property and contract (*commercium*).

The pleheians already possessed the lowest right, the *commercium;* they could hold property and carry on trade just like any other Roman citizens. They had just now ohtained the *conubium*, or the right of contracting a legal marriage with a patrician. They had also the *suffragium*, or the right of voting in the assemhlies of the centuries and of the trihes. As regards the *honores*, or the right of holding office, they could he elected to the lower offices, that is, could he chosen trihunes of the people and ædiles; hut could not he elected to the higher offices, that is, could not he chosen consuls and quæstors. What the plebeians now wanted was a share in the higher offices, especially in the consulship.

The Consular Tribunes (444 B. C.).—Instead of allowing

the plebeians a direct share in the consulship, the patricians agreed to the appointment of certain new officers, who should have the same power but not the same honour as the consuls, and who could be elected from either the patrician or the plebeian class. These new officers were called "military tribunes with consular power," sometimes known as consular tribunes. It was provided, however, that the senate might in any given year determine whether consuls or consular tribunes should be elected. As a matter of fact, the senate for many years after this time decided in favour of the election of consuls. But later, as the plebeians grew in political influence, the election of consular tribunes became the rule.

The Censorship and the New Quæstors.—As the patricians saw that the plebeians were growing stronger, they resorted to a new plan to keep as much power as possible in their own hands. To do this, they created another new office, the censorship (443 B. C.), and transferred to the two censors some of the most important powers hitherto exercised by the consuls. The censors were to draw up the census, that is, to make an estimate of every man's property, to assign each man to a proper class in the centuries, whether he belonged to the *equites* or the *pedites*, and to designate who was entitled to sit in the senate. The new censors were to be elected every five years, from the patrician class. But to offset this advantage, the patricians agreed that there should be two new quæstors (421 B. C.), to be elected from the plebeians.

The Licinian Legislation (367 B. C.).—For many years after the creation of the offices just mentioned the Roman people were engaged in war with their foreign enemies—during which time occurred the siege and capture of the Etruscan city of Ve'ii (405-396 B. C.) and the destruction of Rome by the Gauls (390 B. C.). These wars resulted not only in distracting the attention of the people from constitutional questions, but also in reducing the lower classes again to a condition of poverty and distress. This brought economic questions again to the front. The new reformers were called upon not simply to continue the work in the direction of political equality, but to devise some methods to relieve their

fellow-citizens impoverished by the recent wars.[1] The cause of the people was at last taken up by two able leaders, the tribunes C. Licin'ius Stolo and L. Sextius.[2] These men brought forward the following proposals:

(1) To relieve debtors, it was proposed to apply the interest already paid on a debt to the reduction of the principal and to allow three years in which to pay the rest of the debt.

(2) To improve the condition of the poorer citizens, it was provided that the occupation of the public lands should be open to all; that no person should be allowed to hold more than five hundred *ju'gera* (about 300 acres); and that the number of slaves on any estate should be limited, so that free labourers should have an opportunity to work for wages.

(3) To settle the political strife between the classes, it was proposed that the consular tribunes should be done away with, and that consuls only should henceforth be elected, one of whom must be a plebeian.

After some years of strife these proposals became laws; and one of their authors, L. Sextius, was elected the first plebeian consul. On account of the importance of this body of laws we may call it "the third charter of Roman liberty."

Final Equalization of the Orders.—When the Licinian laws were finally passed, their economic provisions were soon forgotten, but the political struggle for the offices still continued. With the loss of the consulate, the patricians succeeded in taking away its judicial power and conferring it upon a new officer called the prætor (367 B. C.), who had to be a patrician. It was also provided that there should be two patrician ædiles (called curule ædiles) to offset the plebeian ædiles. But it was not many years before all the offices retained by the patricians were opened to the plebeians, and political equality was fully established between the two

[1] The first attempt to relieve the distress of the poor is said to have been made by Marcus Manlius, who had defended the Capitol at the time of the Gallic invasion. But like a previous reformer, Spurius Cassius, he was charged with treason and put to death.

[2] The abbreviations for the most common Latin proper names are the following: C. for Gaius; Cn. for Gnæus; L. for Lucius; M. for Marcus; P. for Publius; Q. for Quintus; Sp. for Spurius; T. for Titus.

orders.[1] The old Roman aristocracy based upon blood no longer possessed any political distinction. The union of patricians and plebeians into one compact body of citizens was a great step in the growth of that principle of *incorporation* which finally made the Romans the strongest people and gave them the best-organized government of the ancient world.

Summary of the Republican Constitution.—Following is a brief outline of the constitution of the Roman republic:

I. THE SENATE—three hundred members, chosen by the censor, having control of the religion and the finances, of the provinces and of foreign affairs, and generally the approval of laws submitted to the assemblies (*auctoritas patrum*).

II. THE POPULAR ASSEMBLIES.

1. The *Comitia Curiata*—assembly of the curies, with, generally speaking, no power except formally to confer the *imperium*.
2. The *Comitia Centuriata*—assembly of the centuries, presided over by an officer having the *imperium* (consul, prætor, or dictator); having the power to elect the consuls, censors, and prætors, to declare war, to act upon laws submitted to it, and to decide on appeals in capital cases.
3. The *Comitia Tributa*—assembly of the tribes, presided over by a tribune, or other high magistrate; having power to elect the curule ædiles and quæstors and to pass laws submitted to it.
4. The *Concilium Plebis*—originally an assembly of the plebeians only; having power to elect the tribunes and plebeian ædiles and to pass laws at first for the plebeians and afterwards for the whole people. The relation of this assembly to the *comitia tributa* is not clear.

III. THE MAGISTRATES.

1. *The Curule Magistrates.*

 (1) The Consuls—two, presided alternately over the senate, proposed laws to the assemblies, and commanded the armies.

 (2) The Dictator—one, having supreme administrative power for not more than six months; appointed by the consul when directed by the senate; assisted by the Master of Horse (*Magister Equitum*).

[1] The distinction between the plebeian and the curule ædileship gradually passed away. The dictatorship was opened to the plebeians in 356 B. C.; the censorship in 351 B. C.; and the prætorship in 337 B. C. The independent legislative power of the *comitia tributa* was confirmed by the Hortensian law in 286 B.C.

(3) The Prætor—at first one, *prætor urbanus*, with judicial authority in cases between citizens; afterwards a second, *prætor peregrinus*, to judge between foreigners or between citizens and foreigners.

(4) The Censors—two, with power to make the census, assess the property, classify the people, revise the senatorial list, and supervise the public morals.

(5) The Curule Ædiles—two, having charge of the public works and the public records.

2. *The Non-Curule Magistrates.*

(1) The Plebeian Ædiles—two, having powers like the curule ædiles.

(2) The Plebeian Tribunes—two, afterwards ten, with power of veto and intercession.

(3) The Quæstors—two, afterwards eight, having charge of the treasury and public accounts.

All these magistrates were elected annually, except (1) the censors, who were elected every five years to hold office for a year and a half, and (2) the dictator, who was appointed only as occasion required.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Early Republican Government.—The Two Consuls.—The Dictatorship.—The New Senators.—The Popular Assemblies.—The Laws of Valerius Poplicola.

II. The Struggle for Economic Rights.—Relation of the Patricians to the Plebeians.—Economic Distress of the Plebeians.—First Secession of the Plebeians.—The Tribunes of the People.—The Plebeian Assembly; the *Comitia Tributa*.—The Agrarian Prosposal of Spurius Cassius.

III. The Struggle for Equal Laws.—The Demand for a Written Code.—The Decemvirs and the XII Tables.—The Second Secession and Overthrow of the Decemvirate.—The Valerio-Horatian Laws.—The Right of Intermarriage.

IV. The Struggle for Political Equality.—Progress of the Plebeians.—The Consular Tribunes.—The Censorship and the New Quæstors.—The Licinian Legislation.—Final Equalization of the Orders.—Summary of the Republican Constitution.

PERIOD II. THE CONQUESTS OF ROME (343-133 B. C.)

CHAPTER XIX

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

I. Conquest of the Italian Peninsula

Character of the New Period.—We have traced the steps by which the early Roman state was gradually developed—by the union of the hill settlements on the Tiber, and by the incorporation of the plebeians into the body politic. We are now to trace the steps by which this early city state was gradually enlarged until it took in the whole of Italy and a large part of the Mediterranean coasts. The next period is, therefore, largely a period of wars and conquests. But it is also a period in which Rome learned new lessons of government and law, and in which she came into contact with more civilized peoples and became herself more civilized.

The Early Wars of Rome.—Previous to the beginning of this period of conquest, Rome had already been surrounded by enemies, who looked with envy upon her growing power and with whom she was obliged either to make treaties or to wage wars. Nearest to the city were the Latins, who had asserted their independence at the time when the kingship was abolished. On the eastern and southern borders of Latium were the Æquians, the Hernicans, and the Volscians. Through a treaty of alliance, which was formed by Sp. Cassius with the Latins and Hernicans, Rome was able to wage successful wars with the Æquians and the

Volscians.[1] But the most important of these early wars were those in which the city of Veii was captured from the Etruscans, and in which the city of Rome was destroyed by the Gauls.

(1) Veii was situated north-west of the Tiber and was the strongest city of the Etruscans. In order to recover the territory north of the Tiber which they had held under the Etruscan kings and which they had lost with the overthrow of the kingdom, the Romans laid siege to this city. The siege lasted for nearly ten years (405-396 B. C.). Veii was finally captured by the dictator Camillus, and furnished to the Romans a strong foothold in Etruria.

(2) Shortly after the capture of Veii, Italy was invaded by the Gauls who had settled in the valley of the Po and from whom this territory was called Cisalpine Gaul. The Romans met these fierce invaders near the little river Allia, about eleven miles north of the city, and suffered a terrible defeat. The Gauls pressed on, and captured and burned the city (390 B. C.). Only the Capitol was saved, which was defended by Marcus Manlius. After the retreat of the Gauls, the Romans quickly rebuilt their city. The neighbouring peoples again made war on Rome, but the city succeeded in recovering most of its former possessions. By the year 343 B. C., the Roman territory included not only the greater part of Latium, but also lands in the Volscian country and in southern Etruria.

The First Samnite War (343-341 B. C.).—In extending their territory to the south, the Romans now came into contact with the Samnites, the most warlike people of central Italy. Some of the Samnite tribes had already moved from their mountain home and settled in Campania, having taken possession of the old Etruscan city of Cap′ua and the Greek

[1] The history of the Volscian wars is made interesting by the story of Corio-la′nus, which tells us that this young patrician incurred the hatred of the common people, fled to the Volscians, and led an army against his native city; that his mother and his wife went to the Volscian camp and pleaded with him to cease his wars; and that Rome was thus saved. The memory of the Æquian wars is preserved in the story of the Roman patriot Cincinna′tus, who was called from his country home to rescue the Roman army from a defile where it was surrounded by the Æquians and threatened with destruction; and who with great speed and skill conquered the Æquian army and returned the next evening to Rome in triumph.

city of Cumæ. The Samnites of Campania soon became refined by their contact with the higher culture of the Greeks and Etruscans, and lost all sympathy with their kinsmen of the mountains. This separation led to quarrels between the older Samnites and the Campanians, and the latter appealed to Rome for protection. In answer to this appeal, Rome, with the support of her Latin allies, invaded Campania, and after two campaigns drove out the Samnites. As a result of this war Rome assumed the position of protector of the Campanian cities, which were thus brought under her power.

The Great Latin War (340-338 B. C.).—Rome was next compelled to face a danger which threatened her position in Latium. Her Latin allies, who had fought with her in the late war, demanded an equal share in the Roman government and in the spoils of conquest. This demand was refused; and the spirit of revolt spread not only throughout the cities of Latium, but among the newly conquered cities of Campania. The Roman people, being now well united and organized, carried on a vigorous and successful war against the insurgents. A decisive battle was fought near Mt. Vesuvius, where, according to tradition, the consul Decius Mus secured a victory at the cost of his own life. The Latin confederacy was finally broken up; all connection between the cities was destroyed; and each town was made subject directly to Rome. This policy of *isolation* prevented the cities from uniting with one another and secured the supremacy of the Roman authority.

The Second Samnite War (326-304 B. C.).—After a few years of peace the Romans and the Samnites became embroiled in another war, which led to a struggle for supremacy in central Italy. This war was brought on by the attempt of the Samnites to garrison one of the Campanian cities (Palæop'-olis) in spite of the protest of Rome. At the beginning of the war Palæopolis was besieged and captured by the consul Publilius Philo, who was kept in command beyond the term of his office, and was hence the first to receive the title of "proconsul." The Romans formed alliances with the Apulians and Lucanians, and took possession of the strong

city of Luce'ria in Apulia. But they soon suffered a most terrible defeat at the Caudine Forks (321 B. C.). Here their army was entrapped in a mountain pass, and the commanding consuls were obliged to surrender and sign a treaty of peace. The Roman senate, however, refused to ratify this treaty, and the war continued. The Samnites were now joined by the Etruscans, who wished to recover the lost portions of their own territory. The series of disasters which now followed the Roman arms were at last repaired by the great hero of the war, Fabius Maximus Rullia'nus, who defeated the Etruscans at Lake Vadimo'nis. The Samnites

CENTRAL ITALY—THE SAMNITE WARS

were again driven out of Campania, and followed into their own territory, where their capital city, Bovia'num, was captured. As a result of this war the Romans reëstablished and strengthened their authority in Campania and Etruria, and restricted the Samnites to their original boundaries in Samnium.

The Third Samnite War (298-290 B. C.).—The peace which followed the second Samnite war proved to be nothing more than a truce. The question of supremacy in central Italy was yet to be decided. The Samnites were determined to

bring to their aid other nations of Italy—the Lucanians on the south, and the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls on the north—and by such a coalition to overthrow the Roman power. The attempt of the Samnites to get control of Lucania led to a declaration of war by Rome. The Samnites placed three armies in the field—one to defend Samnium, one to invade Campania, and the third to march into Etruria. This last army was expected to join with the Etruscans, the Umbrians, and the Gauls and to attack Rome from the north. The Roman forces marched into Etruria under Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who had won the battle at Lake Vadimonis, and Decius Mus, the son of the hero who sacrificed himself in the battle of Mt. Vesuvius. The Etruscans and Umbrians were soon scattered; and the Samnites and Gauls retreated across the Apennines to Senti′num. Here was fought the decisive battle (295 B. C.). The Roman victory was due, according to tradition, to the heroic efforts of Decius, who, following the example of his father, sacrificed himself in order to maintain the Roman lines. This battle was followed by the dispersion of the Gauls, and, after a few years of hopeless resistance, by the submission of the Samnites. Rome thus became the ruling power of the peninsula from Cisalpine Gaul on the north to Magna Græcia on the south.

WAR IN ETRURIA

War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus (280-275 B. C.).—The most important of the Greek cities in southern Italy was Tarentum. This city was alarmed at the rapid progress made by the Romans along the southern coasts. The ap-

pearance of a Roman squadron in the bay of Tarentum—contrary to an existing treaty—angered the inhabitants of the city, who attacked the intruding vessels, killed the admiral, and destroyed a number of the ships. A Roman embassy sent to Tarentum to demand satisfaction was insulted. These acts led to a declaration of war by the Romans. Tarentum then turned to Greece for help, and called upon Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus. Pyrrhus was the most able general that had appeared since the death of Alexander the Great. He hoped to rival the work of Alexander by building up an empire in the West. He was, therefore, ready to respond to the call of Tarentum, and soon landed in Italy with an army of twenty-five thousand men and twenty elephants.

PYRRHUS

The first battle between the Roman and the Greek soldiers took place at Heracle'a, not far from Tarentum (280 B. C.); and it was here that the Roman army first came into contact with the Macedonian phalanx. The Romans were defeated, owing chiefly to the panic caused by the elephants which Pyrrhus had brought with him. The victory of Pyrrhus was attended with great loss to his own army; and he sent his ambassador, Cin'eas, to Rome, asking for terms of peace. But the Roman senate, under the influence of the blind old censor Appius Claudius, refused to make peace with an enemy on Italian soil. Pyrrhus then gathered to his support the peoples of southern Italy, including the Samnites; he marched into Apulia, and at Asculum again defeated the Roman army (279 B. C.). Discouraged by the great losses incurred in these two "Pyrrhic victories," he crossed over into Sicily, hoping to gain greater renown by rescuing his Greek kinsmen from the Carthagin-

ian power. Although at first successful, he failed to receive the expected support from the Greek cities. He returned to Italy, marched north into Samnium, and suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Roman consul Curius Denta'tus (275 B. C.). He then withdrew from Italy, and in a short time Tarentum fell into the hands of the Romans (272 B. C.).

MAGNA GRÆCIA—THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS

Within the next few years the spirit of revolt which lingered in certain parts of Italy was suppressed; and the Roman authority was completely established from the Rubicon to the Sicilian strait.

II. Political Organization of Italy

The Roman Policy of Government.—To understand how Rome conquered the peoples of Italy is less important than to understand how she governed these peoples after they were conquered. From the time that she broke up the Latin league until she brought Italy under her control, she was gradually developing that remarkable capacity for political organization which finally made her the greatest governing power of the ancient world. We must not suppose that she had from the first a completely formed policy of government. On the contrary, this policy was growing with her growth, and becoming more clearly defined with her increasing dominion. So far as we are able to define her general method of governing we might say that it included three important features: (1) *isolation*, or the separation of the subject communities from one another so as to prevent the possibility of united resistance; (2) *local government*, or the granting to each community the right to manage its own local affairs so far as this was consistent with Roman supremacy; (3) *gradual incorporation*, or the conferring upon different communities, to a greater or less extent, of the rights of citizenship.

The Sovereign and Subject Communities.—If we would comprehend the political system which grew up in Italy, we must keep clearly in mind the distinction between the people who made up the sovereign body of the state, and the people who made up the subject communities of Italy. Just as in early times we saw two distinct bodies, the patrician body, which ruled the state, and the plebeian body, which was subject to the state; so now we shall see, on the one hand, a ruling body of citizens, who lived in and outside the city upon the Roman domain (*ager Romanus*), and on the other hand, a subject body of people, living in towns and cities throughout the rest of Italy. In other words, we shall see a part of the territory and people incorporated into the state, and another part still unincorporated—the one a sovereign community, and the other comprising a number of subject communities.

The Roman State; Ager Romanus.—The sovereign community, which made up the Roman state proper, comprised the people who lived upon the Roman domain (*ager Romanus*). In other words, the Roman domain, or *ager Romanus*, was that part of the territory in which the people were incorporated into the state, and received the rights as well as the burdens of citizenship. This domain land, or incorporated territory, had been gradually growing while the conquest of Italy was going on. It now included, speaking generally, the most of Latium, northern Campania, southern Etruria, the Sabine country, Picenum, and a part of Umbria. There were a few towns within this area, like Tibur and Prænes'te, which were not incorporated, and hence not a part of the domain land, but retained the position of subject allies. The *ager Romanus* included the local tribes, as well as the Roman colonies and the *municip'ia.*

The Thirty-three Tribes.—The local tribes had now increased in number to thirty-three. They included four urban tribes, that is, the wards of the city, and twenty-nine rural tribes, which were like townships in the country. All the persons who lived in these tribal districts and were enrolled, formed a part of the sovereign body of the Roman people; that is, they had not only the private rights, but the public rights of Roman citizens, having a share in the government, in the holding of office, in the election of magistrates and in the making of the laws.[1]

The Roman Colonies.—The early colonies which Rome sent out were allowed to retain all their rights of citizenship, being permitted even to come to Rome at any time to vote and help make the laws. These colonies of Roman citizens thus formed a part of the sovereign state; and their territory. wherever it might be situated, was regarded as a part of the *ager Romanus*. Such Roman colonies were the maritime garrisons along the sea coast, the most important of which were situated on the shores of Latium and of adjoining lands.

The Roman Municipia.—Certain conquered towns were incorporated into the state, and yet were allowed to retain their

[1] The number of the tribes was afterwards increased to thirty-five, which was the maximum number.

rights of local government. They accepted the sovereignty of Rome and their inhabitants received the rights of Roman citizens. In some cases the inhabitants received the full rights of citizenship, including the public rights, being permitted to be enrolled and to vote with the local tribes. In other cases, they received only the private rights (*civitas sine suffragio*), being permitted to trade and to intermarry with Roman citizens, and made subject to all the burdens of Roman citizens, but not allowed to take part in the government. Under certain circumstances a town, as a penalty, might be deprived of its local government and placed under a prefect — in which case it would be called a "prefecture."[1]

The Subject Communities.—Over against this sovereign body of citizens, living upon the *ager Romanus* and made up of the local tribes, the Roman colonies, and the municipia, were the subject communities scattered throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. The inhabitants of this territory had no share in the Roman government. Neither could they declare war, make peace, form alliances, nor coin money, without the consent of Rome. Although they might have many privileges given to them, and might govern themselves in their own cities, they formed no part of the sovereign body of the Roman people. They comprised the Latin colonies and the Italian allies.

The Latin Colonies were the military garrisons which Rome sent out to hold in subjection a conquered city or territory. They were generally made up of veteran soldiers, or sometimes of poor Roman citizens, who were placed upon the conquered land and who ruled the conquered people. But such garrisons did not retain the full rights of citizens. They lost the political rights, and generally the *conubium*, but retained the *commercium*. These colonies carried with them the Latin

[1] There were very few towns that were reduced to the condition of prefectures. The majority of towns, however, within the Roman domain were regarded as *municipia*, either of the first or of the second class. The loyalty of a municipal town would be stimulated, on the one hand, by the hope of attaining to the first class, or of remaining there; or, on the other hand, by the fear of being reduced to a prefecture. The Roman "municipality" as a self-governing community incorporated into the state, was one of the most advanced features of the Roman system of government.

language and the Roman spirit, and were thus means of extending Roman institutions.

The Italian Allies.—The largest part of the subject communities comprised the Italian cities which were conquered and left free to govern themselves, but which were bound to Rome by a special treaty. They were obliged to recognize the sovereign power of Rome. They were not subject to the land tax which fell upon Roman citizens, but were obliged to furnish troops for the Roman army in times of war. These cities of Italy, thus held in subjection to Rome by a special treaty, were known as federated cities (*civitates fœderatæ*), or simply as allies (*socii*); they formed the most important part of the Italian population not incorporated into the Roman state.

III. The Military System

The Roman Army.—The conquest of Italy was due, in great measure, to the efficiency of the Roman army. The strength of the Roman government, too, depended upon the army,

Soldiers and their Booty

which was the real support of the civil power. By their conquests the Romans became a nation of warriors. Every citizen between the ages of seventeen and forty-five was obliged to serve in the army when the public service required

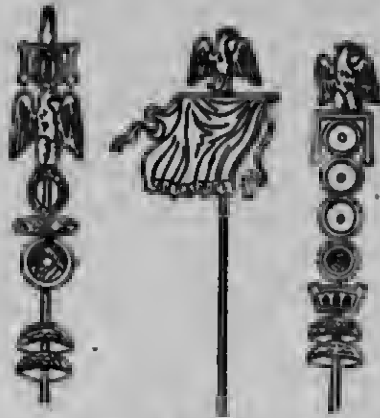
it. In early times the wars lasted only for a short period, and consisted in ravaging the fields of the enemy; and the soldier's reward was the booty which he was able to capture. But after the siege of Veii, the term of service became longer, and it became necessary to give to the soldiers regular pay. This pay, with the prospect of plunder and of a share in the allotment of conquered land, furnished a strong motive to render faithful service.

Divisions of the Army.—In case of war it was customary to raise four legions, two for each consul. Each legion contained thirty maniples, or companies, of heavy-armed troops,—twenty maniples consisting of one hundred and twenty men each, and ten maniples of sixty men each,—making in all three thousand heavy-armed troops. There were also twelve hundred light-armed troops, not organized in maniples. The whole number of men in a legion was therefore forty-two hundred. To each legion was usually joined a body of cavalry, numbering three hundred men. After the reduction of Latium and Italy, the allied cities were also obliged to furnish a certain number of men, according to the terms of the treaty.

Order of Battle.—In ancient times the Romans fought in the manner of the Greek phalanx, in a solid square. This arrangement was well suited to withstand an attack on a level plain, but it was not adapted to aggressive warfare. About the time of Camillus, the Romans introduced the more open order of "maniples." When drawn up in order of battle, the legion was arranged in three lines: first, the *hasta'ti*, made up of young men; second, the *prin'cipes*, composed of the more experienced soldiers; and, third, the *tria'rii*, which comprised the veterans, capable of supporting the other two lines. Each line was composed of ten maniples, those of the first two lines consisting of one hundred and twenty men each, and those of the third line consisting of sixty men each; the maniples, or companies, in each line were so arranged that they were opposite the spaces in the next line, as follows:

1. *Hastati* - - - - - - - -
2. *Principes* - - - - - - - -
3. *Triarii* - - - - - - - -

This arrangement enabled the companies in front to retreat into the spaces in the rear, or the companies in the rear to advance to the spaces in front. Behind the third line usually fought the light-armed and less experienced soldiers (*rorarii* and *accensi*). Each maniple carried its own ensign; and the legion carried a standard surmounted with a silver eagle.



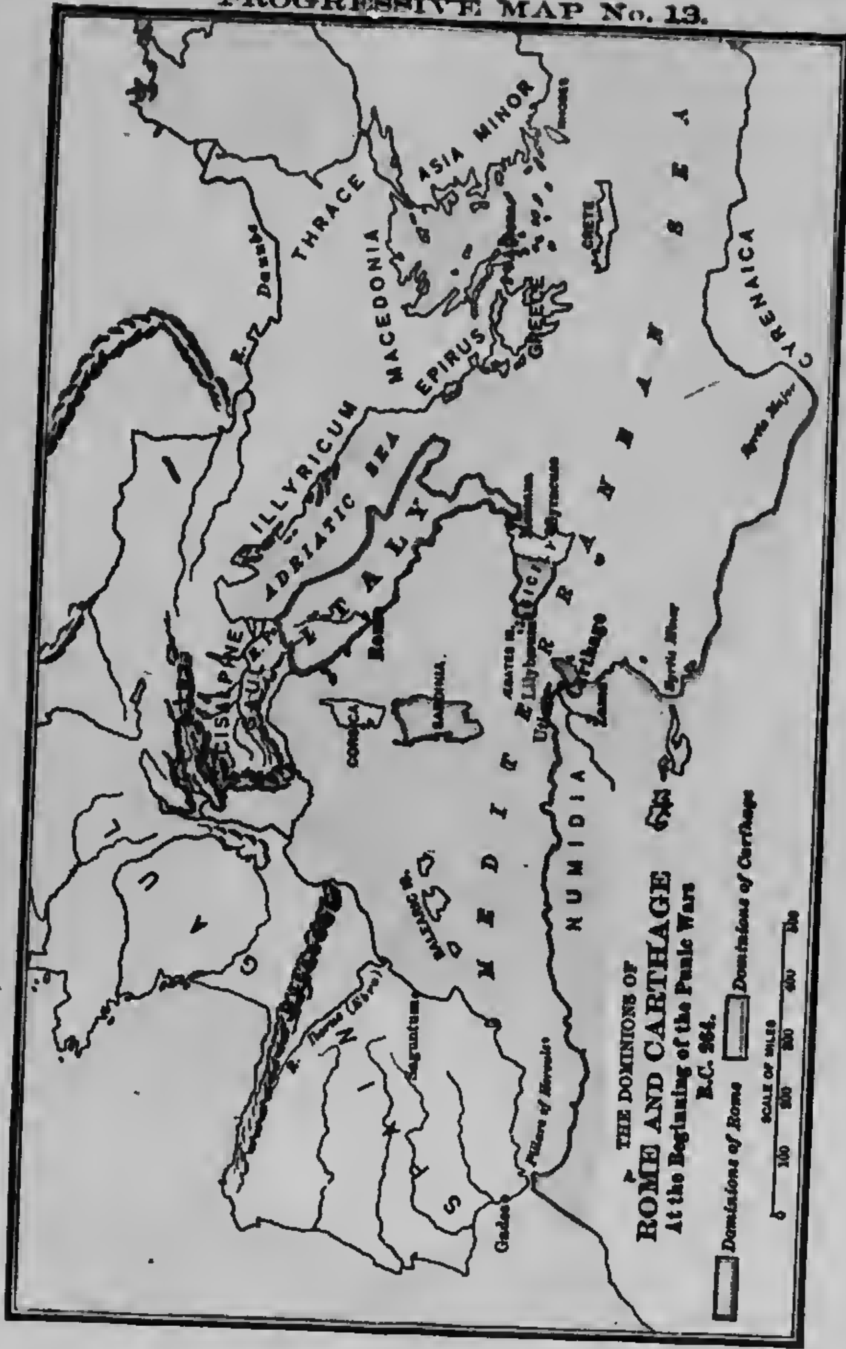
ROMAN STANDARDS

Armour and Weapons.—The defensive armour of all the three lines was alike—a coat of mail for the breast, a brass helmet for the head, greaves for the legs, and a large oblong shield carried upon the left arm. For offensive weapons, each man carried a short sword, which could be used for cutting or thrusting. The soldiers in the first two lines each had also two javelins, to be hurled at the enemy before coming into close quarters; and those of the third line each had a long lance, which could be used for piercing. It was with such arms as these that the Roman soldiers conquered Italy.

Military Rewards and Honours.—The Romans encouraged the soldiers with rewards for their bravery. These were bestowed by the general in the presence of the whole army. The highest individual reward was the "civic crown," made of oak leaves, given to him who had saved the life of a fellow-citizen on the battlefield. Other suitable rewards, such as golden crowns, banners of different colours, and ornaments, were bestowed for singular bravery. The highest military honour which the Roman state could bestow was a "triumph"—a solemn procession, decreed by the senate, in which the victorious general, with his army, marched through the city to the Capitol, bearing in his train the trophies of war.

Military Roads.—An important part of the military system of Rome was the network of military roads by which her

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 13.



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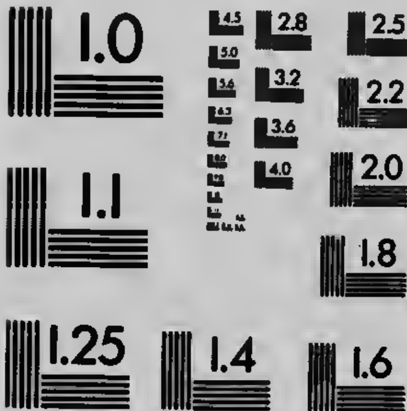

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armies and munitions of war could be sent into every part of Italy. The first military road was the Appian Way (*via Appia*), built by Appius Claudius during the Samnite wars. It connected Rome with Capua, and was afterwards extended to Beneventum and Venusia, and finally as far as Brundisium. This furnished a model for the roads which were subsequently laid out to other points in Italy. Although we read of roads in Persia and in other ancient countries, the Romans were probably the first people to reduce road-making to an art.

APPIAN WAY

They spared no labour and expense to make these highways straight, smooth, and durable. The roads were laid out upon the most direct and level course from city to city, without regard to natural obstacles, piercing mountains and spanning morasses and rivers. The surface of the road was a pavement constructed of polygonal slabs of hard rock, nicely fitted together; and this was supported by starta of stones and gravel laid in cement to the depth of two feet or more, and having a width of about fifteen feet. So dur-

able were these highways that the remains of many of them exist to the present day. After a time they came to be used by the Romans not merely for the movement of troops, but as pathways of trade and also as lines of communication, or post-roads. The Roman roads were thus a means of binding together the different parts of the Roman state, securing the dominion of Rome and extending her civilization.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. Conquest of the Italian Peninsula.—Character of the New Period.—The Early Wars of Rome.—The First Samnite War.—The Great Latin War.—The Second Samnite War.—The Third Samnite War.—The War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus.

II. Political Organization of Italy.—The Roman Policy of Government.—The Sovereign and Subject Communities.—The Roman State; *Ager Romanus*.—The Thirty-three Tribes.—The Roman Colonies.—The Roman *Municipia*.—The Subject Communities.—The Latin Colonies.—The Italian Allies.

III. The Military System.—The Roman Army.—Divisions of the Army.—Order of Battle.—Armour and Weapons.—Military Rewards and Honours.—Military Roads.

CHAPTER XX

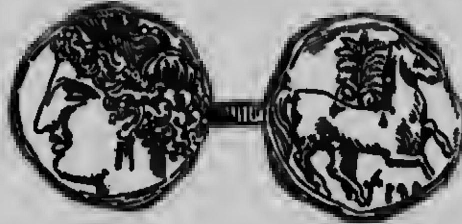
THE WARS WITH CARTHAGE

I. The First Punic War (264-241 B. C.)

Rome and Carthage.—The first foreign power with which Rome came in contact, outside of Italy, was Carthage. This city was originally a colony of Tyre, and had come to be the capital of a great commercial empire on the northern coast of Africa. Carthage brought into the western Mediterranean the ideas and civilization which the Phœnicians had developed in the East. Her power was based upon trade and commercial supremacy. She had brought under her control the trading colonies of northern Africa and many of the Greek cities of Sicily. Rome and Carthage were thus each striving

to get control of the cities of western Hellas; and they soon became rivals for the possession of the countries bordering upon the western Mediterranean Sea.

In comparing these two great rivals of the West, we might say that they were nearly equal in strength and resources. Carthage had greater wealth, but Rome had a better organization. Carthage had a more powerful navy, but Rome had a more efficient army. Carthage had more brilliant leaders, while Rome had a more steadfast body of citizens. The main strength of Carthage rested in her wealth and commercial resources, while that of Rome depended upon the character of her people and her well-organized political system. The greatness of the Carthaginians was shown in their successes, while the greatness of the Romans was most fully revealed in the dark hours of trial and disaster.



CARTHAGINIAN COIN

Outbreak of the War in Sicily (264 B. C.).—The first conflict between Rome and Carthage, which is known as the first Punic[1] war, began in Sicily; and really came to be a contest for the possession of that island. Sicily was at this time divided amongst three powers. (1) Carthage held all the western part of the island, with the important cities of Agrigentum on the south, Panormus on the north, and Lilybæum at the extreme point. (2) The south-eastern part of the island was under the control of the king of Syracuse, who ruled not only this city, but also some of the neighbouring towns. (3) The north-eastern corner of the island was in the possession of a body of Campanian soldiers who, after serving the king of Syracuse, had treacherously seized the city of Messana.

These Campanian mercenaries, who called themselves Mam'ertines, or Sons of Mars, murdered the inhabitants and ravaged the surrounding country. The king of Syracuse attacked them, laid siege to their city, and reduced them to

[1] **So called because the Latin word for Cathaginian is *Punicus*.**

such an extremity that they called upon Rome for help. The Roman senate hesitated to help these robbers against Syracuse, which was a friendly power. But when the question was left to the assembly, the people decided to help the Mamertines, because they rightly feared that Carthage would be called upon if they refused. The Roman army

SICILY—THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

that was sent to Messana found a Carthaginian force already on the ground; but it defeated both the Carthaginians and the Syracusans, and the war quickly developed into a struggle to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily. Town after town fell before the Roman army; and in the second year of the war, the important city of Agrigentum was captured, after a siege of seven months (262 B. C.).

The New Roman Navy; the Victory at Mylæ (260 B. C.).—When the enemy's fleet appeared off the coasts of Sicily, the Romans saw that Carthage, to be overcome, must be met upon the sea as well as upon the land. Taking as a model a Carthaginian vessel which had been wrecked on the Italian shore, they constructed, it is said, a hundred vessels like it in sixty days. In the meantime their soldiers were trained into sailors by practising the art of rowing upon rude benches built upon the land and arranged like the banks of a real vessel. The Romans knew that their soldiers were better than the Carthaginians in a hand-to-hand encounter. To maintain this advantage, they provided their ships with

drawbridges which could be used in boarding the enemy's vessels. Thus equipped with a fleet, Rome ventured upon the sea as a rival of the first naval power of the world. The new navy was placed under command of the consul Duil'ius, who gained a decisive victory off the northern coast of Sicily near Mylæ. The Romans thus had fought and won their first great battle upon the sea. Duilius was given a magnificent triumph, and to commemorate the victory a column was erected in the Forum, adorned with the beaks of the captured vessels (*Colum'na Rostra'ta*).

COLUMN OF DUILIUS

Invasion of Africa by Regulus (256 B. C.).—Elated by this success, the Romans felt prepared to carry the war into Africa. With a still larger fleet, they defeated the Carthaginian squadron which attempted to bar their way on the southern coast of Sicily, off the promontory of Ec'nomus. Two legions, under L. Manlius Vulso and Reg'ulus, landed on the coast of Africa east of Carthage, and laid waste the country. So easily was this accomplished that the Romans decided that one consul, with his army, would be enough to finish the work in Africa. Vulso was therefore recalled, and Regulus remained. The Carthaginians attempted in vain to make peace. They then placed their army in the hands of a Spartan soldier named Xanthip'pus. This general defeated the Roman legions with great slaughter, and made Regulus a prisoner. A fleet was then sent from Italy to rescue the survivors, but this fleet on its return was wrecked in a storm. Thus ingloriously closed the war in Africa.

REGULUS (Coin)

Progress of the War in Sicily (255-241 B. C.).—For several years after this, the war languished in Sicily. The long series of Roman disasters was relieved by the capture of Panormus on the northern coast, which was soon followed by a second victory over the Carthaginians, at the same place. It is said that the Carthaginians, after this second defeat, desired an exchange of prisoners, and sent Regulus to the Roman senate to advocate their cause, under the promise that he would return if unsuccessful. But Regulus, it is said, persuaded the senate not to accept the offer of the Carthaginians; and then, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his friends, went back to Carthage. Whether this story is true or not, it illustrates the honour and patriotism of the true Roman.

After the Roman victories at Panormus, the Cathaginians were pushed into the extreme western part of the island. The Romans then laid siege to Lilybæum, the stronghold of the Carthaginian power. Failing to capture this place, the Roman consul, P. Claudius, determined to destroy the enemy's fleet lying near Drep'anum; but he was defeated with the loss of over ninety ships. The superstitious Romans believed that this defeat was due to the fact that Claudius had impiously disregarded the auguries; when the sacred chickens had refused to eat, he had in a fit of passion thrown them into the sea. The consul was recalled by the senate, and a dictator was appointed in his place. After the loss of other fleets by storms, and after fruitless campaigns against the great Carthaginian soldier, Hamil'car Barca, the Roman cause seemed a failure.

Victory at the Ægates Islands (241 B. C.).—It is in the midst of such discouraging times as these that we are able to see the strong elements of the Roman character—patriotism, fortitude, and steadfast perseverance. With a loss of one-sixth of their population and a vast amount of treasure, they still persisted in the attempt to conquer Sicily. Wealthy citizens advanced their money to build a new fleet. In this way two hundred ships were built and placed under the consul C. Lutatius Cat'ulus. A decisive victory was gained at the Æga'tes Islands, off the western extremity of Sicily. The Carthaginians were unprepared for the terrible defeat

which they suffered, and were obliged to sue for peace. They were obliged to give up Sicily; release all theRoman prisoners without ransom; and pay to the Romans 3,200 talents (about $4,000,000), within ten years. Thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted for twenty-three years. During this time Rome had shown her ability to fight upon the sea, and had fairly entered the lists as one of the great powers of the world. But this first contest with Carthage, severe as it was, was merely a preparation for the more terrible struggle which was yet to come.

II. Events between the First and Second Punic Wars (241-218 B. C.)

Sicily; the First Roman Province.—In the interval between the first and second Punic wars, both Rome and Carthage sought to strengthen and consolidate their power. They knew that the question of supremacy was not yet decided, and that sooner or later another contest was sure to come. Rome found herself in possession of a new territory outside of Italy, which had to be organized. She had already three kinds of territory: (1) the Roman domain (*ager Romanus*), where the people were, generally speaking, full citizens; (2) the Latin colonies, in which the people had a part of the rights of citizens; and (3) the Italian lands, in which the people were not citizens, but were half independent, having their own governments, but being bound to Rome as allies in war. In Sicily a new system was introduced. The land was generally confiscated, and the inhabitants were obliged to pay a heavy tribute. The whole island—except Syracuse, which remained independent—was governed by a prætor sent from Rome. By this arrangement Sicily became a "province"—which is another name for a conquered territory outside of Italy, under the control of a Roman governor.

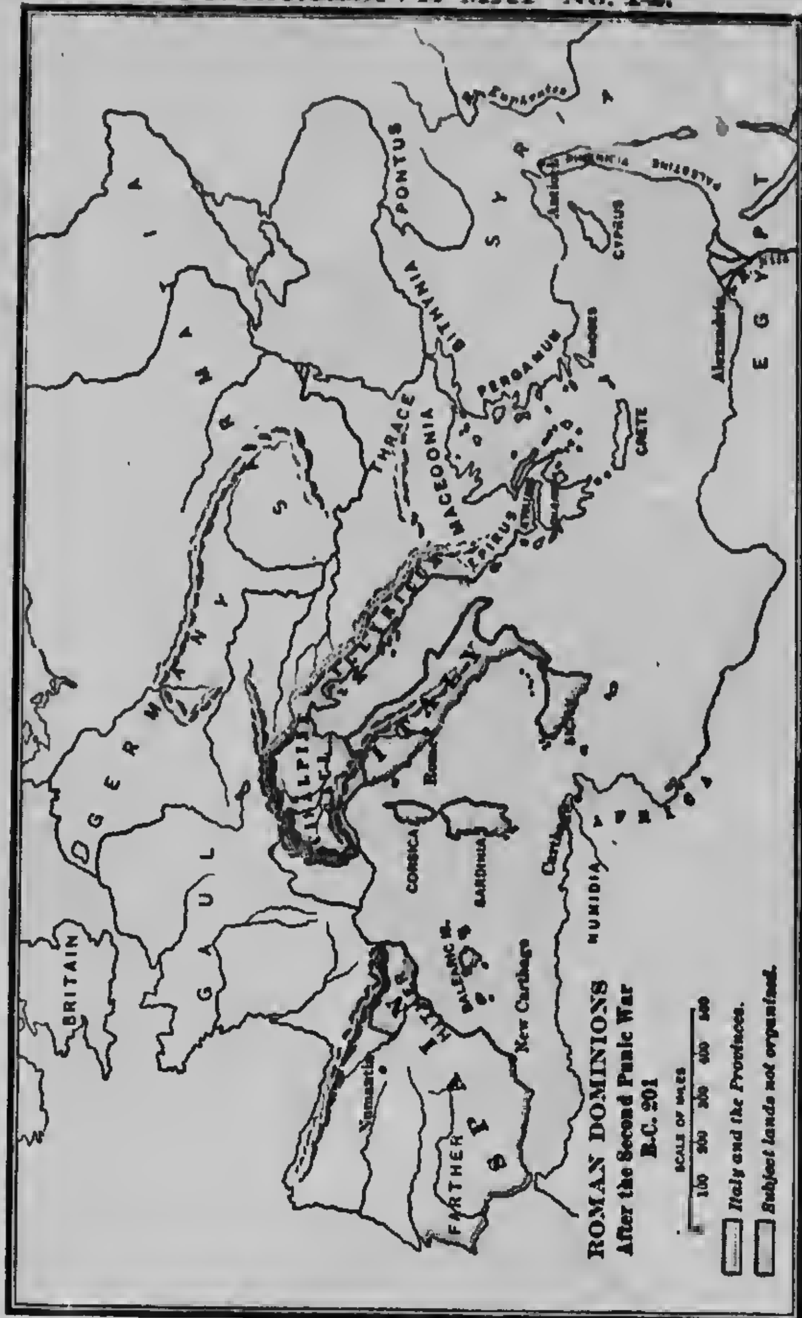
Annexation of Sardinia and Corsica (239 B. C.).—Besides Sicily, there were in the Mediterranean two other islands which seemed by nature to belong to Italy. These were Sardinia and Corsica. While Carthage was engaged in Africa in suppressing a revolt of its own mercenaries, who

did not receive their pay after the late war, Rome saw a favourable opportunity to get possession of Sardinia. Carthage protested against such an act; and Rome replied by demanding the cession of the island, and also the payment of a fine of 1,200 talents (about $1,500,000). Carthage was obliged to submit to this unjust demand; but she determined to avenge herself in the future. As Sardinia came to her so easily, Rome proceeded to take Corsica also, and the two islands were erected into a second Roman province. Rome thus obtained possession of the three great islands of the western Mediterranean.

Suppression of the Illyrian Pirates (229 B. C.).—The attention of Rome was soon directed to the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. An appeal came from the cities of Greece —the Ætolian and Achæan leagues—for protection against the pirates of the Adriatic. These pirates were the people of Illyricum, who made their living by plundering the ships and ravaging the coasts of their Greek neighbours. With a fleet of two hundred ships, Rome cleared the Adriatic Sea of the pirates. She then took the Greek cities on the coast under her protection; Rome thus obtained a foothold upon the eastern shores of the Adriatic, which brought her into friendly relations with Greece, and afterwards into hostile relations with Macedonia.

Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul (225-222 B. C.).—As Rome began to be drawn into foreign wars, she became aware that her position at home could not be secure so long as the northern part of Italy remained unconquered. The Alps formed the natural boundary of Italy; and to this boundary she felt obliged to extend her power. She planted colonies upon the Gallic frontier, and in these towns made a large assignment of lands to her own citizens. The Gauls resented this as an encroachment upon their territory; they appealed to arms, invaded Etruria, and threatened Rome. The invaders were defeated and driven back, and the war was continued in the valley of the Po until the whole of Cisalpine Gaul was finally subdued. The conquered territory was secured by new colonies, and Rome was practically supreme to the Alps. Her people were made more devoted to her by the share

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 14.



which they received in the new land. Her dominions were now so well organized, and her authority so secure, that she felt prepared for another contest with Carthage.

III. The Second Punic War (218-201 B. C.)

Extension of the Carthaginian Power in Spain.—The second Punic war was to decide the fate of Rome, and perhaps of Europe. Its real cause was the growing rivalry between the two great powers that were now struggling for supremacy in the western Mediterranean. But it was directly brought about by the rapid growth of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain. While Rome was adding to her strength by the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul and the reduction of the islands in the sea, Carthage was building up a great empire in the Spanish peninsula. Here she expected to raise new armies, with which to invade Italy. This was the policy of Hamilcar Barca, her greatest citizen and soldier. The work was begun by Hamilcar himself, and then continued by his son-in-law, Has′drubal, who founded the city of New Carthage as the capital of the new province. Carthage continued the work of conquering the southern part of Spain, without infringing upon the rights of Rome, until Hasdrubal died. Then Hannibal, the young son of the great Hamilcar, and the idol of the army, was chosen as commander. This young Carthaginian, who had in his boyhood sworn an eternal hostility to Rome, now felt that his mission was come. He marched from New Carthage and proceeded to attack Saguntum, the ally of Rome; and after a siege of eight months, captured it. This led to a declaration of war by Rome.

HANNIBAL

Hannibal's Invasion of Italy; his Early Victories.—Even at the beginning of the war Hannibal showed his great genius as a soldier. The Romans formed an excellent plan to send

two armies into the enemy's country—one into Africa under Sempronius, and the other into Spain under P. Cornelius Scipio (*sip'io*). But Hannibal, with the instinct of a true soldier, saw that Carthage would be safe if Italy were invaded and Rome threatened. Leaving his brother Hasdrubal to protect Spain, he crossed the Pyrenees with fifty thousand infantry, nine thousand cavalry, and a number of elephants. Without delay he pushed on to the river Rhone; outflanked the barbarians who were trying to oppose his passage; and crossed the river above, just as the Roman army (which had

SPAIN—HANNIBAL'S ROUTE

expected to meet him in Spain) had reached Massilia (Marseilles). When the Roman commander, P. Cornelius Scipio, found that he had been outgeneraled by Hannibal, he sent his brother Cn. Scipio on to Spain with the main army, and returned himself to Cisalpine Gaul, expecting to destroy the Carthaginian if he should venture to come into Italy. Hannibal in the meantime pressed on. In spite of innumerable difficulties and dangers he crossed the Alps and descended into the valley of the Po.

He first defeated the Roman cavalry on the north of the Po, near the little stream Tici'nus. He then moved south of the Po, and on the banks of the Trebia gained a victory over the Roman army commanded by Scipio and Sempronius—the latter having been recalled from the intended expedition into Africa. Hannibal then pushed through the marshes of Etruria, and placed himself between a new Roman army and the

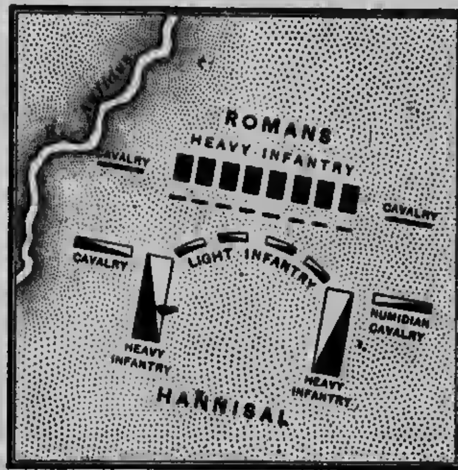
SECOND PUNIC WAR — HANNIBAL'S ROUTE

Roman capital; and on the shores of Lake Trasume'nus he entrapped and practically annihilated the whole Roman army.

Battle of Cannæ (216 B. C.). — The frigntful disaster at Lake Trasumenus led to the appointment of a dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus, who on account of his cautious policy was called "Cuncta'tor," or the Delayer. New armies were raised and the city was put into a state of defence. The Romans soon grew tired of the cautious and indecisive movements of Fabius; and two new consuls were elected to take

his place, who were expected to pursue a more vigorous policy. These were Terentius Varro and Æmilius Paullus. Hannibal's army was now in Apulia, near the little town of Cannæ on the Au′fidus River. To this place the consuls led their new forces, consisting of eighty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry—the largest army that the Romans had, up to that time, ever gathered on a single battlefield. Hannibal's army consisted of forty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. As this was Hannibal's greatest battle, we may learn something of his wonderful skill by looking at its plan.

The Romans drew up their heavy infantry in solid columns, facing to the south, to attack the centre of Hannibal's line. In front of the heavy-armed troops were the light-armed soldiers, to act as skirmishers. On the Roman right, near the river, were two thousand of the Roman cavalry, and on the left wing were four thousand cavalry of the allies. With their army thus arranged, the Romans hoped to defeat Hannibal. But Hannibal laid his plan not simply to defeat the Roman army, but to draw it into such a position that it could be entirely destroyed. He therefore placed his weakest troops, the Spanish and Gallic infantry, in the centre opposite the heavy infantry of the Romans, and pushed them forwards in the form of a crescent, with the expectation that they would be driven back and pursued by the Romans. On either flank he placed his heavy infantry of African troops, his best and most trusted soldiers, drawn back in long, solid columns, so that they could fall upon the Romans when the centre had been driven in. On



BATTLE OF CANNÆ

his left wing, next to the river, were placed four thousand Spanish and Gallic cavalry, and on the right wing his superb body of six thousand Numidian cavalry, which was to swing around and attack the Roman army in the rear, when it had become engaged with the African troops upon the right and left.

The description of this plan is almost a description of the battle itself. When the Romans had pressed back the weak centre of Hannibal's line, they found themselves ingulfed in the midst of the Cathaginian forces. Attacked on all sides, the Roman army became a confused mass of struggling men, and the battle became a butchery. The army was annihilated; seventy thousand Roman soldiers are said to have been slain, among whom were eighty senators and the consul Æmilius. The small remnant of survivors fled to the neighbouring towns, and Varro, with seventy horsemen, took refuge in Venusia. This was the most terrible day that Rome had seen since the destruction of the city by the Gauls, nearly two centuries before. Every house in Rome was in mourning.

Dismay and Fortitude of the Romans.—During the period which followed the battle of Cannæ, the Roman character was put to its severest test. The people feared the worst. Everything seemed turning against them. The Apulians, the Lucanians, the Samnites, and the Bruttians revolted. Capua, the most important city in Italy, after Rome, opened her gates to Hannibal; and Tarentum, which held a Roman garrison, was betrayed into his hands. Syracuse transferred her allegiance from Rome to Carthage, and many other cities in Sicily threatened to revolt. Philip V, the king of Macedonia, also made an alliance with Hannibal, and threatened to invade Italy to assist him. In the face of all these discouragements, the Roman people, supported by the faithful Latin towns and colonies, remained firm; and with fixed resolution determined to prosecute the war with greater vigour than ever before.

It was not long before the tide began to turn, and the energetic efforts of the Romans began to be rewarded. Syracuse was recaptured (212 B. C.) by the prætor Marcellus,

at that time the governor of the province of Sicily. Capua also was retaken (211 B. C.), in spite of the efforts of Hannibal to draw away the Roman army from besieging that city by marching to the gates of Rome. Moreover, Tarentum was recaptured (209 B. C.) by Fabius Cunctator, his last service in the field. Besides, the Romans, by forming an alliance with the cities of Greece, were able to prevent the Macedonian king from invading Italy.

Battle of the Metaurus (207 B. C.).—While Hannibal had been engaged in Italy, Hasdrubal had been kept in Spain by the vigorous campaign which the Romans had conducted in that peninsula under the two Scipios. Upon the death of these generals, the young Publius Cornelius Scipio was sent to Spain and earned a great name by his victories. But Hasdrubal was determined to go to the rescue of his brother in Italy. He followed Hannibal's path over the Alps into the valley of the Po. Hannibal had moved into Apulia, where he was awaiting news from Hasdrubal. There were now two enemies in Italy, instead of one. One Roman army under Claudius Nero was therefore sent to oppose Hannibal in Apulia; and another army under Livius Salina'tor was sent to meet Hasdrubal, who had just crossed the river Metau'rus, in Umbria.

It was necessary that Hasdrubal should be crushed before Hannibal was informed of his arrival in Italy. The consul Claudius Nero therefore left his main army in Apulia, and with eight thousand picked soldiers hurried to the aid of his colleague in Umbria. The battle which took place at the Metaurus was decisive, and really determined the issue of the second Punic war. The army of Hasdrubal was entirely destroyed, and he himself was slain. The first news which Hannibal received of this disaster was from the lifeless lips of his own brother, whose head was thrown by the Romans into the Carthaginian camp. Hannibal saw that the death of his brother was the doom of Carthage; and he sadly exclaimed, "O Carthage, I see thy fate!" Hannibal retired into Bruttium; and the Roman consuls received the first triumph that had been given since the beginning of this disastrous war.

Publius Scipio Africanus.—Of all the men produced by Rome during the Punic wars, Publius Cornelius Scipio (afterwards called Africa'nus) came the nearest to being a military genius. From boyhood he had, like Hannibal, served in the army. At the death of his father and uncle, he had been intrusted with the conduct of the war in Spain. With great ability he had defeated the armies which opposed him, and had regained the entire peninsula, after it had been almost lost. With his conquest of New Carthage and Gades, Spain was brought under the Roman power. On his return to Rome, Scipio was unanimously elected to the consulship. He then proposed his scheme for closing the war. This plan was to keep Hannibal shut up in the Bruttian peninsula, and to carry the war into Africa. This plan received the support of the people; and Scipio proceeded to carry it into execution. When her armies in Africa were defeated, Carthage felt compelled to recall Hannibal from Italy.

PUBLIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS

Battle of Zama, and End of the War (201 B. C.).—The final battle of the war was fought (202 B. C.) near Zama. In this battle Hannibal was defeated, and the Carthaginian army was annihilated. It is said that twenty thousand men were slain, and as many more taken prisoners. The great war was now ended, and Scipio imposed the terms of peace (201 B. C.). These terms were as follows: (1) Carthage was to give up the whole of Spain and all the islands between Africa and Italy; (2) Carthage was to pay an annual tribute of 200 talents (about $250,000) for fifty years; (3)

Carthage agreed not to wage any war without the consent of Rome.

Rome was thus recognized as the mistress of the western Mediterranean. Carthage, although not reduced to a province, became a dependent state. Syracuse was added to the province of Sicily, and the territory of Spain was divided into two provinces, Hither and Farther Spain, each under a Roman governor. Rome had, moreover, been brought into hostile relations with Macedonia, which paved the way for her conquests in the East.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The First Punic War.—Rome and Carthage.—Outbreak of the War in Sicily.—The New Roman Navy; Victory at Mylæ.—Invasion of Africa by Regulus.—Progress of the War in Sicily.—Victory at the Ægates Islands.

II. Events Between the First and Second Punic Wars.—Sicily, the First Roman Province.—Annexation of Sardinia and Corsica.—Suppression of the Illyrian Pirates.—Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul.

III. The Second Punic War.—Extension of the Carthaginian Power in Spain.—Hannibal's Invasion of Italy; his Early Victories.—Battle of Cannæ.—Dismay and Fortitude of the Romans.—Battle of the Metaurus.—Publius Scipio Africanus.—Battle of Zama, and End of the War.

CHAPTER XXI

EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN CONQUESTS

I. The Wars with Macedonia and Syria

Relation of Rome to the East.—For some years after the close of the second Punic war, the attention of Rome was directed almost entirely towards the East. We remember that after the death of Alexander the Great his empire had been split up into various kingdoms. The most important of these kingdoms were Egypt in Africa, Syria in Asia, and Macedonia in Europe. Besides these three great

kingdoms there were also several smaller states, among them Pergamum and Rhodes on the coasts of Asia Minor; and also the Ætolian and Achæan leagues in Greece. The relations of Rome to these various states were quite different. With Egypt she had formed a friendly alliance and was receiving from that country her most important supplies of grain. With Syria Rome was not now ready to come into open conflict; although that state was on friendly terms with her greatest enemy, Hannibal, and was threatening the possessions of her most important ally, Egypt. But against Macedonia the Roman people cherished the most bitter hatred, on account of the aid which her king, Philip V, extended to Carthage during the second Punic war. Towards the smaller states above mentioned Rome entertained a friendly feeling, and assumed the position of their protector. With no evident desire at first to conquer these various countries, Rome was constantly called upon to interfere in their disputes; until she became the arbiter and finally the mistress of the East.

The First Macedonian War (215-206 B. C.).—It was the indiscreet alliance of Philip V of Macedonia with Hannibal, during the second Punic war, which we have already noticed, that brought about the first conflict between Rome and Macedonia. But Rome was then so fully occupied with her struggle with Carthage that all she desired to do was simply to prevent Philip from making his threatened invasion of Italy. Rome therefore sent a small force across the Adriatic, made friends with the Ætolians, and kept Philip occupied at home. The Macedonian king was thus prevented from sending any force into Italy. The Ætolians, not satisfied with the support given to them by Rome, soon made peace with Philip; and the Romans themselves, who were about to invade Africa, were also willing to conclude a treaty of peace with him. Thus closed what is generally called the first Macedonian war, which was really nothing more than a diversion to prevent Philip from giving aid to Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ.

The Second Macedonian War (200-197 B. C.).—When the second Punic war was fairly ended, Rome felt free to deal

with Philip of Macedonia, and to take a firm hand in settling the affairs of the East. Philip had annoyed her, not only by making an alliance with Hannibal, but afterwards by sending a force to assist him at the battle of Zama. And now the ambitious schemes of Philip were not at all to her liking. For instance, he made an agreement with Antiochus III of Syria to cut up the possessions of Egypt, a country which was friendly to Rome. He was also overrunning the coasts of the Ægean Sea, and was threatening Pergamum and

SEAT OF THE MACEDONIAN AND SYRIAN WARS

Rhodes, as well as the cities of Greece. When appeal came to Rome for protection, she espoused the cause of the small states, and declared war against Macedonia. The great hero of this war was T. Quinctius Flamini'nus; and the decisive battle was fought (197 B. C.) near a hill in Thessaly called Cynosceph'alæ (Dog's Heads). Here Philip was completely defeated, and his army was destroyed. Macedonia was thus humbled, and there was now no power in Europe which could successfully dispute the supremacy of Rome.

The Liberation of Greece (196 B. C.).—To complete her work in eastern Europe, and to justify her position as defender of the Greek cities, Rome withdrew her garrisons and announced the independence of Greece. This was proclaimed by Flamininus at the Isthmian games, amid wild enthusiasm and unbounded expressions of gratitude. Rome was hailed as "the nation which, at its own expense, with its own labour, and at its own risk, waged war for the liberty of others, and which had crossed the sea that justice, right, and law should everywhere have sovereign sway" (Livy, xxxiii, 33).

ROMAN HERALD

War with Antiochus of Syria (192-189 B. C.).—The cities of Greece generally seemed contented with their treatment at the hands of the Romans—except the members of the Ætolian League. This restless people desired to be free from the protection of Rome and appealed for aid to the king of Syria, Antiochus III. In response to this appeal the Syrian king landed in Greece with a small army of 10,000. He was speedily defeated, and driven into Asia Minor. The Roman armies followed him, and fought their first battle upon Asiatic soil at Magnesia (190 B.C.)—which proved a decisive victory. The Romans fought under the command of Lucius Scipio, who was accompanied and aided by his famous brother Africanus. Much of the territory conquered from Antiochus was turned over to Pergamum and Rhodes. The free states of Asia Minor were left independent under the protection of Rome. The Romans then subdued the revolted Ætolians and pacified the cities of Greece.

ANTIOCHUS III
(Coin)

One of the conditions of the peace with Antiochus was the

surrender of Hannibal, who had actively aided the king in the late war. But Hannibal fled from Syria; and being pursued by the Romans, this great soldier and enemy of Rome took his own life by poison.

The Third Macedonian War (171-168 B. C.).—Macedonia had been an ally of Rome during the late war with Antiochus; and at its close Philip was disappointed that he had not received some share of the conquered lands. But it was Rome's policy to strengthen the weak, and to weaken the strong. At the death of Philip V, his son Perseus came to the throne of Macedonia. This young king determined to throw off the dictation of Rome, to reëstablish the independence of his own kingdom, and to champion the rights of the Greek cities against the interference of Rome. The ambitious schemes of Perseus led to another war between Rome and Macedonia. After three unsuccessful campaigns, the Roman armies under Æmilius Paullus (son of the consul slain at Cannæ) gained a decisive victory near Pydna (168 B. C.). Here the Macedonian phalanx fought its last great battle; and the Roman legions gave a new evidence of their superior strength. Macedonia was now broken up into four separate districts, which were to be governed by their own officers, but which were forbidden to have any relations with one another.

All the chief men of Greece who had given any aid to the Macedonian king were transported to Italy, where they could not stir up a revolt in their native country. Among the Achæan captives was the historian Polyb'ius, who now gathered the materials of his great work on Roman history.

II. Reduction of the Roman Conquests

Change of the Roman Policy.—We sometimes think that Rome started out upon her great career of conquest with a definite purpose to subdue the world, and with clear ideas as to how it should be governed. But nothing could be farther from the truth. She had been drawn on from one war to another, often against her own will. When she first crossed the narrow strait into Sicily at the beginning of the first Punic

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PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 15.

ROMAN DOMINIONS
After the "Period of Conquest"
B.C. 133

SCALE OF MILES
100 200 300 400 500

Italy and the Provinces.
Subject and Allied States

BRITAIN
GERMANY
Nervii
R. Rhine
GAUL
Helvetii
NARBONENSIS
SARMATIA
Danube
Cantabri
HITHER
SPAIN
FARTHER
Gades
New Carthage
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
ITALY
Utica
NUMIDIA
Thapsus
AFRICA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
PONTUS
ARMENIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
ASIA
CILICIA
SYRIA
CYPRUS
CRETE
JUDEA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
EGYPT

war, she little thought that in a hundred years her armies would be fighting in Asia; and when in earlier times she was compelled to find some way of keeping peace and order in Latium, she could not have known that she would, sooner or later, be compelled to devise a way to preserve the peace and order of the world. But Rome was ever growing and ever learning. She learned how to conquer before she learned how to govern. It was only after the third Macedonian war that Rome had become convinced that her method of governing the conquered lands was not strong enough to preserve peace and maintain her own authority. She had heretofore left the conquered states to a certain extent free and independent. But now, either excited by jealousy or irritated by the intrigues and disturbances of the conquered peoples, she was determined to reduce them to a more complete state of submission.

Reduction of Macedonia and Illyricum.—She was especially convinced of the need of a new policy by the continued troubles in Macedonia. The experiment which she had tried, of cutting up the kingdom into four separate states, had not been entirely successful. To add to the disturbances, there appeared a man who called himself Philip, and who pretended to be the son of Perseus. He incited the people to revolt, and even defeated the Romans in a battle; but he was himself soon defeated and made a prisoner. The time had now come for Rome to adopt her new policy in respect to Macedonia. The previous divisions of the kingdom were abolished, and each city or community was made directly responsible to a governor sent from Rome. By this new arrangement, Macedonia became a Roman province (146 B. C.).

About this time—perhaps a little earlier—the kin of Illyricum was accused of favouring the cause of Macedonia, and of having formed a secret alliance with Perseus. The country was hence invaded by a Roman army; its king was deposed and a Roman governor appointed in his place. Thus Macedonia and Illyricum became the first two Roman provinces east of the Adriatic Sea.

Destruction of Corinth a: ? Reduction of Greece.—The

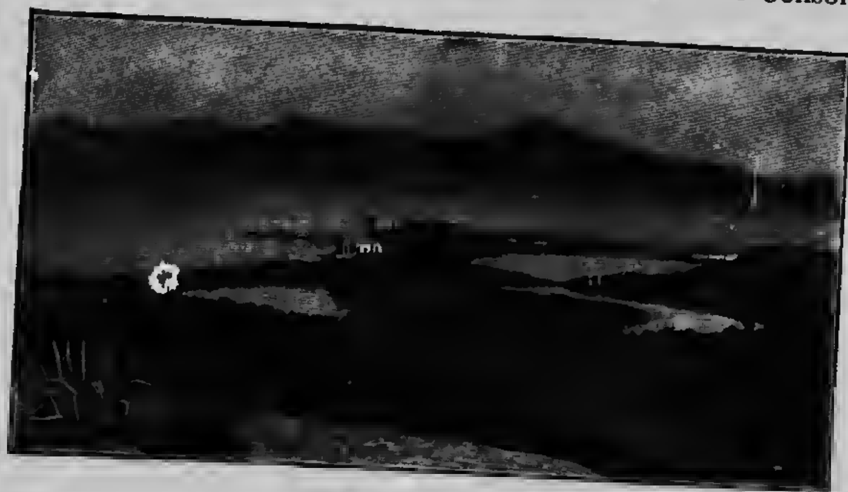
Achæan League, the capital city of which was Corinth, was now the only important independent state in the Hellenic peninsula. This league was trying to exercise authority over all the cities of the Peloponnesus. But Sparta resisted, and appealed to Rome for protection. The commissioners sent by Rome to settle this difficulty were grossly insulted by the Achæan assembly sitting at Corinth. The Romans were now determined to break up the league. Corinth was ruthlessly

RUINS AT CORINTH

destroyed (146 B. C.), and its art treasures were sent to Rome. The commander of the Roman army at this time was Mummius, a boorish man. The story is told that Mummius warned the sailors that if they destroyed or injured any of the Greek statues or pictures on their voyage "they must replace them with others of equal value." The destruction of Corinth was a barbarous act of war, such as no civilized nation has ever approved. Rome now applied to Greece her

policy of isolation, and forbade all confederations among the cities. A few cities—Athens, Sparta, and Sicyon—were allowed to retain their freedom, while the rest of the cities were placed under the authority of the Roman governor of Macedonia. In later times Greece became a separate province, called Acha'ia.

The Third Punic War and Reduction of Africa.—Another example of the severe policy which Rome was now adopting is seen in the destruction of Carthage. This city had been growing in prosperity since the second Punic war, and seemed to be exciting the envy, if not the fear, of Rome. The bitter jealousy of Rome was expressed by Cato the Censor,



SITE OF CARTHAGE

who ended every speech in the senate with the words—"Carthage must be destroyed." Rome waited for a pretext to destroy the prosperity of her old and hated rival. This they soon found in the fact that Carthage had taken up arms against the neighbouring kingdom of Numidia, which was an ally of Rome. Rome interfered and demanded that Carthage must, to insure peace, give up three hundred of her youths as hostages; then, that she must give up her arms and munitions of war; finally, that the city of Carthage itself must be abandoned. With this last unjust demand the Carthaginians refused to comply. Whereupon Rome invaded

Africa with an army under Scipio Æmilia'nus—the nephew of the great Africanus who had previously defeated the Carthaginians at Zama. History records no more heroic defence than that offered by the Carthaginians to the Roman armies. At last Carthage fell, and by command of the senate the city was consigned to the flames and its surviving inhabitants were carried away as captives. The destruction of Carthage took place in the same year (146 B. C.) in which Corinth was destroyed. The terrible punishment inflicted upon these two cities in Greece and Africa was an evidence of Rome's grim policy to be absolutely supreme everywhere. Like Macedonia, the territory of Carthage, called "Africa," was reduced to the form of a province under a Roman governor, residing at Utica. It soon became a Romanized country. Its commerce passed into the hands of Roman merchants; the Roman manners and customs were introduced; and the Latin language became the language of the people.

Revolt and Subjugation of Spain.—While the Romans were engaged in creating the new provinces of Macedonia and Africa, they were called upon to maintain their authority in the old provinces of Spain and Sicily. We remember that, after the second Punic war, Spain was divided into two provinces, each under a Roman governor. But the Roman authority was not well established in Spain, except upon the eastern coast. The tribes in the interior and on the western coast were nearly always in a state of revolt. The most rebellious of these tribes were the Lusitanians in the west, in what is now Portugal; and the Celtiberians in the interior, south of the Ibe'rus River. In their efforts to subdue these barbarous peoples, the Romans were themselves too often led to adopt the barbarous methods of deceit and treachery.

The war against the Lusitanians was disgraced by the treacherous conduct of the Roman general, Galba, and distinguished by the heroic deeds of the young Lusitanian leader, Viria'thus. But after nine years of resistance this tribe was obliged to submit to the Roman authority (138 B. C.).

The war against the Celtiberians centred about their chief

stronghold, Numantia, a town south of the head-waters of the Iberus. The defence of Numantia, like that of Carthage, was heroic and desperate. Its fate was also like that of Carthage. It was compelled to surrender (133 B. C.) to the same Scipio Æmilianus. Its people were sold into slavery, and the town itself was blotted from the earth.

The Servile War in Sicily.—While Spain was being pacified, a more terrible war broke out in the province of Sicily. This was an insurrection of the slaves of the island. One of the worst results of the Roman conquests was the growth of the slave system. Immense numbers of the captives taken in war were thrown upon the market. One hundred and fifty thousand slaves had been sold by Æmilius Paullus; fifty thousand captives had been sent home from Carthage. Italy and Sicily swarmed with a servile population. It was in Sicily that this system bore its first terrible fruit. Maltreated by their masters, the slaves rose in rebellion under a leader, called Eunus, who defied the Roman power for three years. Nearly two hundred thousand insurgents gathered about his standard. Four Roman armies were defeated and Rome herself was thrown into consternation. After the most desperate resistance, the rebellion was finally quelled and the island was pacified (132 B. C.).

ROME MISTRESS OF THE WORLD

Pergamum, the First Asiatic Province.—This long period of war and conquest, by which Rome finally obtained the proud position of mistress of the Mediterranean, was closed by the almost peaceful acquisition of a new province. The little kingdom of Pergamum, in Asia Minor, had maintained, for the most part, a friendly relation to Rome. When the last king, Attalus III, died (133 B. C.), having no legal heirs, he bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. This

newly acquired territory was organized as a province under the name of "Asia." The smaller states of Asia Minor and Egypt still retained their peaceful and subordinate relation as dependencies. The supreme authority of Rome, at home and abroad, was now firmly established.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Wars With Macedonia and Syria.—Relation of Rome to the East.—The First Macedonian War.—The Second Macedonian War.—The Liberation of Greece.—War with Antiochus of Syria.—The Third Macedonian War.

II. Reduction of the Roman Conquests.—Change of the Roman Policy.—Reduction of Macedonia and Illyricum.—Destruction of Corinth and Reduction of Greece.—The Third Punic War and Reduction of Africa.—Revolt and Subjugation of Spain.—The Servile War in Sicily.—Pergamum, the First Asiatic Province.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AFTER THE CONQUESTS

I. The Conquests and the Government

Effects of the Conquests.—By her conquest of the Mediterranean lands Rome had become a great world power. We may well wonder what would be the effect of these conquests upon the character of the Roman people, upon their government, and upon their civilization. Many of these effects were no doubt very bad. By their conquests the Romans came to be ambitious, to love power for its own sake, and to be oppressive to their conquered subjects. By plundering foreign countries, they also came to be avaricious, to love wealth more than honour, to indulge in luxury, and to despise the simplicity of their fathers. But still it was the conquests that made Rome the great power that she was. By bringing foreign nations under her sway, she was obliged to control them, and to create a system of law by which they could be

governed. In spite of all its faults, her government was the most successful that had ever existed up to this time. It was the way in which Rome secured her conquests that showed the real character of the Roman people. The chief effect of the conquests was to transform Rome from the greatest *conquering* people of the world, to the greatest *governing* people of the world.

The New Nobility.—During the whole period that we are now studying, the Roman government was a republic. But it would hardly be correct to think of Rome at any time as a democratic republic. When the old kingdom was overthrown, the new republican government passed into the hands of the patrician class. And when the political distinction between patricians and plebeians was broken down, there was soon developed a new aristocracy, made up of the richest and most influential men of both orders, which got control of the government. This new nobility was not based upon birth, like the old patriciate, but upon office-holding; and it was only the superior or so-called curule offices—those of consul, dictator, prætor, and curule ædile—that conferred distinction. All those who could boast of an ancestor that had held such an office were regarded as nobles (*nobiles*); and their superior distinction consisted in the right to set up in their home the ancestral image (*jus imaginis*). It is true that any full Roman citizen had the legal right to be elected to a curule office; but, as a matter of fact, the noble families were able by their wealth to influence the elections so as practically to retain these offices in their own hands.

The Nobility and the Senate.—But it was not simply the holding of the curule offices that gave to the new nobility their great political power. It was the fact that the curule offices opened the way to the senate. The members of the senate were chosen by the censor, who was obliged to place upon his list, first of all, those who had held a curule office. On this account, the nobles had the first claim to a seat in the senate; and, consequently, they came to form the great body of its members. When a person was once chosen senator he remained a senator for life, unless disgraced for gross misconduct. In this way the nobles gained possession

of the senate, which became, in fact, the most permanent a
powerful branch of the Roman government. It manag
the finances of the state; controlled the erection of pub
works; directed the foreign policy; administered the pr
vinces; determined largely the character of legislation; a
was, in fact, the real sovereign of the Roman state.

The Decline of the Assemblies.—As the power of the sena
increased, that of the popular assemblies declined. The o
patrician assembly of the curies (*comitia curiata*) had lo
since been reduced to a mere shadow. But the other tw
assemblies—that of the centuries and that of the tribes—sti
held an important place as legislative bodies. But the
were two reasons why they declined in influence. The fir
reason was their unwieldy character. As they grew in siz
and could say only *Yes* or *No* to the questions submitted t
them, theywere made subject to the influence of demagogue
and lost their independent position. The second reason fo
their decline was the growing custom of first submitting t
the senate the proposals which were to be passed upon b
them. So that, as long as the senate was so influential i
the state, the popular assemblies were weak and inefficient

II. Rome and the Provinces

Organization of the Provinces.—The most important feature of the new Roman government was the organization of the provinces. There were now eight of these provinces: (1) Sicily, acquired as the result of the first Punic war; (2) Sardinia and Corsica, obtained during the interval between the first and second Punic wars; (3) Hither Spain and (4) Farther Spain, acquired in the second Punic war; (5) Illyricum, reduced after the third Macedonian war; (6) Macedonia (to which Achaia was attached), reduced with the destruction of Corinth; (7) Africa, organized after the third Punic war; and (8) Asia, bequeathed by Attalus III, the last king of Pergamum.

The method of organizing these provinces was in some respects similar to that which had been adopted for governing the cities in Italy. Rome saw clearly that to control

these newly conquered cities and communities, they must, like the cities of Italy, be isolated, that is, separated entirely from one another, so that they could not combine in any effort to resist her authority. Every city was made directly responsible to Rome. The great difference between the Italian and the provincial town was the fact that the chief burden of the Italian town was to furnish military aid—soldiers and ships; while that of the provincial town was to furnish tribute—money and grain. Another difference was that Italian land was generally free from taxes, while provincial land was subject to tribute.

THE CAPTIVE PROVINCE

The Provincial Governor. — A province might be defined as a group of conquered cities, outside of Italy, under the control of a governor sent from Rome. At first these governors were prætors, who were elected by the people. Afterwards they were proprætors or proconsuls — that is, persons who had already served as prætors or consuls at Rome. The governor held his office for one year; and during this time was the supreme military and civil ruler of the province. He was commander-in-chief of the army, and was expected to preserve his territory from internal disorders and from foreign invasion. He controlled the collection of the taxes, with the aid of the quæstor, who kept the accounts. He also administered justice between the provincials of different cities. Although the governor was responsible to the senate, the welfare or misery of the provincials depended largely upon his own disposition and will.

The Towns of the Province.—All the towns of the province were subject to Rome; but it was Rome's policy not to treat them all in exactly the same way. Like the cities of Italy, they were graded according to their merit. Some were

favoured, like Gades and Athens, and were treated as all
towns (*civitates fœderatæ*); others, like Utica, were free fr
tribute (*immunes*); but the great majority of them w
considered as tributary (*stipendiariæ*). But all these tow
alike possessed local self-government, so far as this was co
sistent with the supremacy of Rome; that is, they retain
their own laws, assemblies, and magistrates.

The Administration of Justice.—In civil matters, the ci
zens of every town were judged by their own magistrat
But when a dispute arose between citizens of different town
it was the duty of the governor to judge between them.
the beginning of his term of office, he generally issued
edict, setting forth the rules upon which he would decide suc
differences. Each succeeding governor reissued the rul
of his predecessor, with the additions which he saw fit
make. In this way there grew up a body of common la
which applied to the whole province and was intended t
afford justice in cases not reached by the existing town law
The people of the province were thus united under a commo
judicial system, and their rights were protected in thei
dealings with one another.

The Collection of Taxes.—The Roman revenue was mainl
derived from the new provinces. But instead of raisin
these taxes directly through her own officers, Rome let out
the business of collecting the revenue to a set of money
dealers, called *publica'ni*. These persons agreed to pay into
the treasury a certain sum for the right of collecting taxes in
a certain province. Whatever they collected above this
sum, they appropriated to themselves. This rude mode of
collecting taxes, called "farming" the revenues, was un-
worthy of a great state like Rome, and was the chief cause
of the oppression of the provincials. The governors, it is
true, had the power of protecting the people from being plun-
dered. But as they themselves received no pay for their
services, except what they could get out of the provinces,
they were too busy in making their own fortunes to watch
closely the methods of the tax-gatherers.

III. The New Civilization

Foreign Influences; Hellenism.—When we think of the conquests of Rome, we usually think of the battles which she fought, of the armies which she defeated, and the lands which she subdued. But these were not the only conquests which she made. She appropriated not only foreign lands, but also foreign ideas. While she was plundering foreign temples, she was obtaining new ideas of religion and art. The educated and civilized people whom she captured in war and of whom she made slaves, often became the teachers of her children and the writers of her books. In such ways as these

Temples of Loyalty, Juno, and Hope

Rome came under the influence of foreign ideas. The most powerful of these foreign influences was that of Greece. The conquest of Greece led to the introduction of Hellenism into Rome. We might say that when Greece was conquered by Rome, Rome was civilized by Greece. These foreign influences were seen in her new ideas of religion and philosophy, in her literature; her art, and her manners.

The Roman Religion.—As Rome came into contact with other people, we can see how her religion was affected by foreign influences. The worship of the family remained much the same; but the religion of the state became considerably changed. It is said that the entire Greek Olympus was introduced into Italy. The Romans adopted the Greek

ideas and stories regarding the gods; and their worsh
became more showy and elaborate. Even some of the supe
stitious and fantastic rites of Asia found their way in
Rome. These changes did not improve the religion. On t
contrary, they made it more corrupt. The Roman religio
by absorbing the various ideas of other people, became
world-wide and composite form of paganism. One of t
redeeming features of the Roman religion was the worshi
of exalted qualities like Honour and Virtue; for exampl
alongside of the temple to Juno, temples were also erecte
to Loyalty and Hope.

Roman Philosophy.—The more educated Romans lost thei
interest in religion, and betook themselves to the study o
Greek philosophy. They studied the nature of the gods an
the moral duties of men. In this way the Greek ideas o
philosophy found their way into Rome. Some of these ideas
like those of the Stoics, were elevating, and tended to preserve the simplicity and strength of the old Roman character. But other ideas, like those of the Epicureans, seemed to justify a life of pleasure and luxury.

Roman Literature.—Before the Romans came into contact with the Greeks, they did not have anything which can properly be called a literature. They had, it is true, certain crude verses and ballads; but it was the Greeks who first taught them how to write. It was not until the close of the first Punic war, when the Greek influence became strong, that we begin to find the names of any Latin authors. The first author, Androni'cus, who is said to have been a Greek slave, wrote a Latin poem in imitation of Homer. Then came Nævius, who combined a Greek taste with a Roman spirit, and who wrote a poem on the first Punic war; and after him, Ennius, who taught Greek to the Romans, and wrote a great poem on the history of Rome, called the "Annals." The Greek influence is also seen in Plautus and Terence, the greatest writers of Roman comedy; and in Fabius Pictor, who wrote a history of Rome in the Greek language.

Roman Art.—As the Romans were a practical people, their earliest art was shown in their buildings. From the Etrus-

cans they had learned to use the arch and to build strong and massive structures. But the more refined features of art they obtained from the Greeks. While the Romans could never hope to acquire the pure æsthetic spirit of the Greeks, they were inspired with a passion for collecting Greek works of art, and for adorning their buildings with Greek ornaments. They imitated the Greek models and professed to admire the Greek taste; they came to be, in fact, the preservers of Greek art.

THE GLADIATOR

Roman Manners and Morals.—It is difficult for us to think of a nation of warriors as a nation of refined people. The brutalities of war seem inconsistent with the finer arts of living. But as the Romans obtained wealth from their wars, they affected the refinement of their more cultivated neighbours. Some men, like Scipio Africanus, looked with favour upon the introduction of Greek ideas and manners;

but others, like Cato the Censor, were bitterly opposed to it. When the Romans lost the simplicity of the earlier times, they came to indulge in luxuries and to be lovers of pomp and show. They loaded their tables with rich services of plate; they ransacked the land and the sea for delicacies with which to please their palates. Roman culture was often more artificial than real. The survival of the barbarous spirit of the Romans in the midst of their professed refinement is seen in their amusements, especially the gladiatorial shows, in which men were forced to fight with wild beasts and with one another to entertain the people.

In conclusion, we may say that by their conquests the Romans became a great and, in a certain sense, a civilized people, who appropriated and preserved many of the best elements of the ancient world. They began to show a genius for political organization far superior to that hitherto shown by any other nation, and to develop a progressive system of law based upon broader ideas of justice. But still they came to be selfish, ambitious, and avaricious, and failed to acquire the genuine taste and generous spirit which belong to the highest type of human culture.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Conquests and the Government.—Effects of the Conquests.—The New Nobility.—The Nobility and the Senate.—The Decline of the Assemblies.

II. Rome and the Provinces.—Organization of the Provinces.—The Provincial Governor.—The Towns of the Province.—The Administration of Justice.—The Collection of Taxes.

III. The New Civilization.—Foreign Influences; Hellenism.—The Roman Religion.—Roman Philosophy.—Roman Literature.—Roman Art.—Roman Manners and Morals.

PERIOD III. THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC (133-31 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TIMES OF THE GRACCHI

I. CAUSES OF CIVIL DISCONTENT

General Decay of Patriotism.—We have seen some of the more direct results of the wars and conquests of Rome—in the extension of her authority over foreign lands and in making her a world power, in the changes brought about in the government, and in the introduction of new elements of civilization. But if we look a little deeper into Roman society we shall see that her conquests also brought with them many evils, which resulted in civil strife, and finally in the overthrow of the republic. One great evil which now began to show itself was the decay of patriotism among the Roman people. While the wars may have been looked upon by some as a means to glorify the Roman state, they were regarded by many as affording an opportunity to appropriate the spoils of conquest. The men who conducted these wars and who ruled the conquered land, were often more anxious to benefit and enrich themselves than to promote the public good. Those who were intrusted with official duties became more devoted to their own interests than to the common interests of the whole people.

Class Distinctions.—We may find some special causes of civil discontent in the wide separation between the different classes of Roman society, each having its own distinct interests. These different classes may be arranged as follows:

(1) First and above all others were the *aristocratic classes.* These consisted of (a) the *senatorial order*—men who kept control of the higher offices, who furnished the members of the senate, and who really ruled the state; and (b) the

equestrian order—men who were called equites, or knights, on account of their great wealth, who formed the moneyed class, the capitalists of Rome, and who made their fortunes by all sorts of speculation, especially by gathering the taxes in the provinces.

(2) Next below the aristocratic classes came the body of *poorer Roman citizens*. These comprised (a) the great mass of the *city population*—the poor artisans and paupers, who formed a rabble and the materials of a mob, and who lived upon public charity and the bribes of office-seekers, and were amused by public shows given by the state or by rich citizens; and (b) the poor *country farmers* living upon the Roman domain—the peasants, many of whom had been deprived of their lands by rich creditors or by the avaricious policy of the government.

(3) Outside of the Roman domain were the *non-citizen classes*. These included (a) the *Latin colonists*, who were settled upon conquered lands in Italy, who had practically no political rights, and who were in very much the same social condition as the Roman peasants; (b) the *Italian allies*, who had been subdued by Rome in early times, and had been given none of the rights of citizenship; and (c) the *provincials*, outside of Italy, some of them favoured by being left free from taxation, but the mass of them subject to the Roman tribute, and all of them excluded from the rights and privileges of citizens.

(4) Finally, if we go to the very bottom of the Roman population, we find the *slaves*, having none of the rights of citizens or of men. The house slaves were treated with some consideration; but the field slaves were treated wretchedly; chained in gangs by day and confined in dungeons by night.

Economic Conditions.—Never was the economic condition of the Roman people more deplorable than it was after the period of the great conquests. Not only had the population of Italy been depleted by the wars, but there were several causes which tended to keep the people in a state of poverty and distress. Among these were:

(1) *The unequal distribution of wealth.*—Rome had ac-

quired great riches as the result of her wars; but this wealth was appropriated by the moneyed class—the speculators and contractors. The desire to make money and to accumulate wealth became a passion among this class. But the poorer classes received no benefit from this increase of wealth; so that the rich were actually becoming richer, and the poor poorer.

(2) *The growth of large estates.*—The public lands of Italy passed into the hands of a comparatively few landlords. The Licinian laws, enacted more than two centuries before had become a dead letter; and the small farms had practically disappeared. The growth of large estates thus benefited one class of the people at the expense of the rest. The evils of such a system were afterwards pointed out by Pliny, who said that it was the large estates which ruined Italy.

(3) *The decay of agriculture and of the peasant class.*—The lands of Italy ceased for the most part to be tilled, since the large estates were turned into cattle ranches and sheep pastures. The raising of grain ceased to be profitable, as agricultural products could be obtained more cheaply from Egypt and the provinces. The absorption of the small farms and the decline of agriculture led to the decay of the peasant class. The small farmers were driven into the army; and if they returned from the field, they flocked to Rome to reënforce the city rabble.

(4) *The evils of slave labour.*—The great increase in the number of slaves brought into Italy from the conquered lands not only tended to degrade the condition of the slaves themselves, but also to render it unprofitable to employ the free labourers. In addition to the loss of their lands and the inability to obtain capital, the common people were thus deprived of the value of their labour; and hence they lost the last means of obtaining an honest living.

Political Evils.—There were also political reasons for the discontent which prevailed among the Roman people and which was destined to break forth in riot and revolution. For example, we may mention:

(1) *The selfish rule of the senate.*—The absorption of politi-

cal power by the senate made this body responsible for th
evils of the state, so far as these evils could be remedied b
legislation. But the senate was a body of oligarchs, rulin
the people for its own benefit. Its policy seemed to be t
benefit the aristocratic classes only, having little concer
for the welfare of the great body of Roman citizens an
subjects.

(2) *The practical disfranchisement of the people.*—With th
growing power of the senate, the popular assemblies, as w
have seen, were less and less important as organs o
legislation. This means that the political rights which th
people legally possessed had little real significance. Thei
elections were controlled by demagogues and influenced by
bribery; and they could pass upon no laws which were no
submitted to them. By thus being deprived of an effective
voice in the government, it is hardly too much to say that
the people were practically disfranchised.

(3) *The abandonment of the policy of incorporation.*—We
know how the early state had become strong by the incor-
poration of its subjects. But this policy had been abandoned
after the introduction of the plebeians. With the conquest
of Italy and the provinces, millions of new subjects had been
brought under the Roman authority, but not admitted to
the Roman state. The new subjects in Italy—that is, the
Latin colonists and the Italian allies—were now desirous of
being admitted to political rights; although it is difficult
for us to see how their condition would have been improved
without some radical reforms in the government.

(4) *The oppression of the provinces.*—The inhabitants of
the provinces were especially the victims of Roman misrule.
On account of the wretched system of taxation the pro-
vincials held their property at the disposal of the tax-
gatherer. The property that was left by the tax-gatherer
was often seized by the governor of the province to add to
his spoils of office. It is very seldom that we hear of the
governor being called to account for his acts of oppression.

From the enumeration of the evils in the Roman state we
need not wonder at the prevailing discontent and the disposi-
tion to revolt against the existing government. The people,

after a time, became divided into two principal parties: the aristocratic party (*optima'tes*), or those who supported the policy of the senate; and the popular party (*popula'res*), or those who sought to bring about reform. The conflicts between these factions resulted in revolution, in civil wars, and finally in the overthrow of the republic.

II. The Reforms of Tiberius Gracchus

Character of Tiberius Gracchus.—The first serious attempt to remedy the existing evils was made by Tibe'rius Sem-

The Gracchi

pronius Gracchus. He was the elder of two brothers who sacrificed their lives in efforts to benefit their fellow-citizens. Their mother was the noble-minded Cornelia, the daughter of the great Scipio Africanus. Tiberius when a young man had served in the Spanish army under Scipio Æmilianus, the

distinguished Roman who conquered Carthage and Numantia. It is said that when Tiberius Gracchus passed through Etruria, on his way to and from Spain, he was shocked to see the fertile fields cultivated by gangs of slaves, while thousands of free citizens were living in idleness and poverty. He was a man of refined nature and a deep sense of justice, and he determined to do what he could to remedy these evils.

His Agrarian Laws.—Tiberius Gracchus was elected tribune and began his work of reform in 133 B. C. He believed that the wretched condition of the Roman people was due chiefly to the unequal division of the public land, and especially to the failure to enforce the Licinian laws. He therefore proposed to revive these laws; to limit the holding of public land to five hundred *iugera* (about three hundred acres) for each person; to pay the present holders for any improvements they had made; and then to rent the land thus taken up to the poorer class of citizens. This seemed fair enough; for the state was the real owner of the public land, and could do what it wished with its own. But the rich landlords, who had held possession of this land for so many years, looked upon the measure as the same thing as taking away their own property; and there immediately arose a fierce conflict between the old senatorial party and the followers of Tiberius.

His Illegal Action.—Tiberius determined to pass his law in the assembly, without the approval of the senate. The senate, on the other hand, was equally determined that the law should not be passed. Accordingly, the senators induced one of the tribunes, whose name was M. Octa'vius, to put his "veto" upon the passage of the law. This act of Octavius was entirely legal, for he did what the law gave him the right to do. Tiberius, on the other hand, in order to outdo his opponent, had recourse to a high-handed measure. Instead of waiting a year for the election of new tribunes who might be devoted to the people's cause, he called upon the people to deprive Octavius of his office. This was an illegal act, because there was no law which authorized such a proceeding. But the people did as Tiberius desired, and Octavius was deposed. The law of Tiberius was then passed in the

assembly of the tribes, and three commissioners were chosen to carry it into effect.

Fall of Tiberius Gracchus.—The law of Tiberius and the method which he had used to pass it increased the bitterness between the aristocratic party and the popular party. Contrary to law Tiberius announced himself as a candidate for reëlection. The day appointed for the election came. Two tribes had already voted for the reëlection of Tiberius, when a band of senators appeared in the Forum, headed by Scipio Nasi'ca, armed with sticks and clubs; and in the riot which ensued Tiberius Gracchus and three hundred of his followers were slain. This was the first blood shed in the civil wars of Rome. The killing of a tribune by the senators was as much an illegal act as was the deposition of Octavius. Both parties had disregarded the law, and the revolution was begun.

III. The Reforms of Gaius Gracchus

The Rise of Gaius Gracchus.—After the death of Tiberius, his law was for a time carried into execution. The commissioners proceeded with their work of redividing the land. But the people were for a time without a real leader. The cause of reform was then taken up by Gaius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, and the conflict was renewed. Gaius was in many respects an abler man than Tiberius. No more sincere and patriotic, he was yet a broader statesman and took a wider view of the situation. He did not confine his attention simply to relieving the poor citizens. He believed that to rescue Rome from her troubles, it was necessary to weaken the power of the senate, whose selfish and avaricious policy had brought on these troubles. He also believed that the Latins and the Italians should be protected, as well as the poor Roman citizens.

His Efforts to Benefit the People.—When Gaius Gracchus obtained the position of tribune (123 B. C.) his influence for a time was all-powerful. He was eloquent and persuasive, and practically had the control of the government. From his various laws we may select those which were the most important, and which best show his general policy. First of all, he

tried to help the people by a law which was really the m
mischievous of all his measures. This was his famous "c
law." It was intended to benefit the poor population in t
city, which was at that time troublesome and not easy
control. The law provided that any Roman citizen co
receive grain from the public storehouses for a certain pr
less than its cost. Gaius may not have known what e
effect this law was destined to produce. But it insured
popularity with the lower classes. He then renewed t
agrarian laws of his brother; and also provided for sendi
out colonies of poor citizens into different parts of Ita
and even into the provinces.

His Effort to Weaken the Senate.—But Gaius believ
that such measures as these would afford only tempora
relief, as long as the senate retained its great power. It wa
of course, impossible to overthrow the senate. But it w
possible to take from it some of the powers which it po
sessed. From the senators had hitherto been selected t
jurors (*iu'dices*) before whom were tried cases of extorti
and other crimes. By a law, Gaius took away from the sena
this right to furnish jurors in criminal cases, and gave it
the equites, that is, the wealthy class outside of the senat
This gave to the equites a more important political positio
and drew them over to the support of Gaius, and thus tende
to split the aristocratic classes in two. The senate was thu
deprived not only of its right to furnish jurors, but also
the support of the wealthy men who had previously bee
friendly to it. This was a great triumph for the popula
party; and Gaius looked forwards to another victory.

His Effort to Enfranchise the Italians.—When he was re
elected to the tribunate, Gaius Gracchus came forwards wit
his grand scheme of extending the Roman franchise to th
people of Italy. This was the wisest of all his measures, bu
the one which cost him his popularity and influence. I
aroused the jealousy of the poorer citizens, who did not wish
to share their rights with foreigners. The senators took
advantage of the unpopularity of Gaius, and now posed as
the friends of the people. They induced one of the tribunes
by the name of Drusus, to play the part of a demagogue.

Drusus proposed to found twelve new colonies at once, each with three thousand Roman citizens, and thus to put all the reforms of Gaius Gracchus into the shade. The people were deceived by this stratagem, and the attempt of Gaius to enfranchise the Italians was defeated.

His Failure and Death.—Gaius did not succeed, as he desired, in being elected tribune for the third time. A great part of the people soon abandoned him, and the ascendency of the senate was again restored. It was not long before a new law was passed which prevented any further distribution of the public land (*lex Thoria*). Gaius failed to bring about the reforms which he attempted; but he may be regarded as having accomplished three things which remained after his death: (1) the elevation of the equestrian order; (2) the establishment of the Roman poor law, or the system of grain largesses; and (3) the extension of the colonial system to the provinces. He lost his life in a tumult in which three thousand citizens were slain (121 B. C.).

Thus in a similar way perished the two Gracchi, who had attempted to rescue the Roman people from the evils of a corrupt government. Their efforts at agrarian reform did not produce any lasting effect; but they pointed out the dangers of the state, and drew the issues upon which their successors continued the conflict. Their career forms the first phase in the great civil conflict at Rome.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. Causes of Civil Discontent.—General Decay of Patriotism.—Class Distinctions.—Economic Conditions.—Political Evils.

II. The Reforms of Tiberius Gracchus.—Character of Tiberius Gracchus.—His Agrarian Laws.—His Illegal Action.—Fall of Tiberius Gracchus.

III. The Reforms of Gaius Gracchus.—The Rise of Gaius Gracchus.—His efforts to Benefit the People.—His Effort to Weaken the Senate.—His Effort to Enfranchise the Italians.—His Failure and Death.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TIMES OF MARIUS AND SULLA

I. THE RISE OF MARIUS

The Rule of the Restoration.—The Gracchi had failed. The senate and the aristocracy were too strongly intrenched to be overthrown by the tribunes, even though supported by the popular assembly. Hence with the death of these reformers the senate was restored to its previous position as the chief ruling body of the state. The government became more corrupt than ever before. The senators ruled to enrich themselves, while the real interests of the people were forgotten. On the other hand, the people had no capable leaders, and their cause for a time seemed lost. It is true that the people had learned something from the revolutionary attempts of the Gracchi. They had learned that they could pass laws, even without the approval of the senate; and that they could obstruct, if they could not overthrow, the policy of the nobles. The next issues between the people and the aristocracy were upon questions not of domestic, but of foreign policy. But unfortunately, when questions of war became mixed up with questions of politics, it came to pass that both parties were led to seek the support of the army.

The War with Jugurtha (111-105 B. C.).—It was a border war in Africa that gave the people their first opportunity to interfere with the foreign policy of the senate. The kingdom of Numidia was an ally of Rome. It was now disturbed by the attempt of a usurper, named Jugur'tha, to get control of the kingdom. The senators undertook to settle this question; but they were evidently more influenced by Jugurtha's gold than by any sense of justice. Jugurtha bought the Roman commissioners sent to Africa to investigate the condition of affairs. He then bought the consul sent

by the senate to conduct the war against him; and when he was summoned to Rome to testify against the guilty persons, he bribed a tribune to veto the proceeding. The indignation of the people became so great that the senate was forced to send an able commander, the consul Cæcil'ius Metel'lus, to conduct the war in Africa. But as the people became conscious of their power, they determined to join issue with the senate upon the appointment of a new commander. Metellus was an aristocrat; and when his term of office had expired the people elected as consul his lieutenant, Gaius Ma'rius, a man of humble origin, but an able soldier. Marius was assigned to the command; he soon defeated Jugurtha, brought him in chains to Rome, and became the people's hero.

SEAT OF THE CIMBRIC WAR

War with the Cimbri and Teutones (113-101 B. C.).—Italy was now threatened by a barbarian invasion, which called to mind the terrible days when the Gauls had invaded Italy and destroyed Rome. The present invaders were the Cimbri and Teutones, from the borders of Germany. These fierce people had pushed down into southern Gaul and had overrun the new province of Narbonensis (established 120 B. C.). Already the Roman armies had been defeated; and in one battle, at Arausio (107 B. C.), sixty thousand Romans are said to have perished. The people were inclined to believe that these misfortunes were due to aristocratic mismanagement; and hence they called upon Marius to save Rome from the impending danger. Marius was repeatedly elected to the consulship, and was kept in command of the army until he had de-

stroyed the barbarians. He gained one great victory over the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ in southern Gaul (102 B. C.); and another over the Cimbri at Vercellæ in northern Italy (101 B. C.). Marius was now saluted as the "saviour of Rome," and received a magnificent triumph.

Marius and the Popular Party.—On account of his humble origin Marius was by nature in sympathy with the cause of the people. During his military career, he had already broken down the class distinctions in the army, and had placed the rich and the poor, the Romans and the Italians, side by side in the ranks. The popular leaders now sought the support of his great name and his military prestige in their war against the senate. The chief leaders of the popular party, since the death of the Gracchi, were Saturni'nus and Glaucia — men of no great political ability. Marius now joined these leaders, and was again elected to the consulship—the sixth time he had held that office. Saturninus was elected tribune and proposed a new set of laws: (1) to reduce the price of grain; (2) to distribute the land in Transalpine Gaul among the poor citizens and the Italians; and (3) to open colonies in the provinces for the veterans of Marius. These laws were passed in spite of the violent opposition of the senate; and the cause of the people for the moment seemed victorious. Saturninus then proposed his own reëlection as tribune, and attempted to overawe the assembly by an armed force. A riot followed; and the senate called upon Marius, as consul, to put down the insurrection

MARIUS (So-called)

and save the republic. He reluctantly obeyed, and in the ensuing conflict his colleagues Saturninus and Glaucia were killed. Marius himself showed no capacity as a party leader. He fell into disrepute and retired from Rome. The senate again assumed the reins of government; and this first attempt to support the people's cause by the aid of a military commander proved a failure.

II. The Rivalry of Marius and Sulla

The Social War, and the Incorporation of Italy (90-88 B. C.).—For a brief time after the retirement of Marius, the politics of the capital were overshadowed by a new danger, which threatened the very existence of the Roman state. This was the revolt of the Italian allies. The Italians had long been clamouring for the rights of citizenship. Their cause was first espoused by a well-meaning but impracticable man, the tribune M. Livius Drusus (the son of the Drusus who had opposed Gaius Gracchus). But the failure of Drusus to accomplish anything in their favour drove them into open war. This war of the allies (*socii*) is known as the "Social war." Its purpose was to found a new Italian state, "Italica," with its capital at Corfin'ium. The parties at Rome ceased from their quarrelling and united to preserve the republic. Even Marius returned to serve as a legate in the Roman army. A hundred thousand men took the field against an equal number raised by the allies. In the first year the war was unfavourable to Rome. In the second year (89 B. C.) new preparations were made and new commanders were appointed. Marius, on account of his age, was not continued in his command; while L. Cornelius Sulla, who was once a subordinate of Marius, was made chief commander in Campania. The great credit of bringing this war to a close was due to Sulla and another commander named Pompe'ius Strabo. The first Italian capital, Corfinium, was taken by Pompeius; and the second capital, Bovianum, was captured by Sulla (88 B. C.). The Social war was thus ended; but it had been a great affliction to Italy. It is roughly estimated that three hundred thou-

sand men, Romans and Italians, lost their lives in this struggle.

Although Rome was victorious in the field, the Italians obtained what they had demanded before the war began, that is, the rights of Roman citizenship. The Romans granted the franchise (1) to all Latins and Italians who had remained loyal during the war (*lex Iulia*, 90 B. C.); and (2) to every Italian who should be enrolled by the prætor within sixty days of the passage of the law (*lex Plautia Papiria*, 89 B. C.). Every person to whom these provisions applied was now a Roman citizen. The policy of incorporation, which had been discontinued for so long a time, was thus revived. The greater part of Italy was joined to the *ager Romanus;* and Italy and Rome became practically one nation.

SULLA (So-called)

The Elevation of Sulla.—One important result of the Social war was to bring Sulla into prominence, and thus to give to the aristocratic party a military leader—a leader perhaps quite equal to Marius as a soldier, and far superior to him as a politician. War was not a new occupation for Sulla. In the campaign against Jugurtha, he had served as a lieutenant of Marius. In the Cimbric war he had displayed great courage and ability. And now he had become the most conspicuous commander in the Italian war. As a result of his brilliant exploits, he was elected to the consulship. The senate also recognized him as the ablest general of the time, when it now appointed him to conduct a war in the East against the great enemy of Rome, Mithrida'tes, king of Pontus, who was now encroaching upon the Roman territory in Asia Minor and Greece.

Attempt of Marius to displace Sulla; the Sulpician Laws.—Marius had watched with envy the growing fame of Sulla during and after the Social war. His whole nature was now

inflamed with revenge and the desire to displace and destroy his hatred rival. To regain his influence with the people, he reëntered politics, and joined himself to the popular leader, the tribune P. Sulpicius Rufus. Sulla had scarcely left Rome, when Marius and Sulpicius embodied their scheme in the so-called "Sulpician laws." Besides some measures intended to humour the people and to weaken the senate, these laws contained a provision giving to Marius instead of Sulla the command of the Mithridatic war. This last law reversed the decree of the senate which had already given the command to Sulla. The Sulpician laws thus made a direct issue between the people and the senate; and this political issue became also a personal issue between Marius and Sulla. The laws were passed with the usual riotous proceedings; and two messengers were sent to Sulla with the order that he turn over his command to Marius.

Sulla's Occupation of Rome and Departure for the East.—Sulla had not yet left Italy. His legions were still encamped in Campania. He appealed to them to support the honour and authority of their commander. They responded to his appeal, and Sulla at the head of his troops marched to Rome. For the first time the Roman legions fought in the streets of the capital, and a question of politics was settled by the army. Marius and Sulpicius were driven from the city, and Sulla for the time was supreme. He called together the senate, and caused the leaders of the popular party to be declared outlaws. He then annulled the laws passed by Sulpicius, and gave the senate the power hereafter to approve or reject all laws before they should be submitted to the people. With the army at his back Sulla could do what he pleased. When he had placed the government securely in the hands of the senate, as he thought, he left Rome for the purpose of conducting the war against Mithridates in the East.

The Marian Massacres; Cinna's Despotic Rule.—During the absence of Sulla Rome passed through a reign of terror. The popular party, now under the leadership of L. Cornelius Cinna, sought to regain control of the government. But in an armed conflict, in which ten thousand citizens are said to

have lost their lives, Cinna was defeated and driven from the city. Cinna then, following the example of his enemy Sulla, appealed to the army for support. At the same time Marius, who had fled to Africa, returned with a body of Numidian cavalry. Uniting their forces, Marius and Cinna marched to Rome and took possession of the city. Then began that scene of carnage which is known as the "Marian massacres," in which the enemies of Marius were everywhere cut down without mercy. The man who had once been saluted as the "saviour of Rome" forever blackened his name by the most revolting deeds of a despot. This spasm of slaughter lasted for five days. Marius and Cinna then declared themselves to be consuls. But Marius held this, his seventh consulship, only a brief time, when he died—the "horror of Rome." Cinna continued to rule with absolute power. He declared himself consul each year, and named his own colleague. His incapacity is shown by the fact that during the three years of his supremacy he did nothing to strengthen the people's cause, of which he professed to be the leader. At last hearing that Sulla was about to return from the East, he led an army to prevent his landing in Italy; but he was killed in a mutiny of his own soldiers.

III. The Triumph and Dictatorship of Sulla

Sulla and the First Mithridatic War (88-84 B. C.).—While Rome was thus suffering from the massacres of Marius and the despotic rule of Cinna, Sulla was gathering fresh glories in the East. When he landed in Greece he found the eastern provinces in a wretched state. Mithridates, the king of Pontus, had extended his power over a large part of Asia Minor. He had overrun the Roman province of Asia. He had induced the Greek cities on the coast, which had been brought under the Roman power, to revolt and join his cause. He had massacred over eighty thousand Italians living on the Asiatic coast. He had also sent his armies into Macedonia and Greece, and many of the cities there, including Athens, had declared in his favour. The Roman power in the East seemed well-nigh broken. It was at

this time that Sulla showed his greatest ability as a soldier. He drove back the armies of Mithridates, besieged Athens and reduced it. He destroyed an army at Chæronea (86 B. C.) and another at Orchomenus (85 B. C.). Within four years he reëstablished the Roman power, and compelled Mithridates to sign a treaty of peace. He then returned to Italy to find his own party overthrown and himself an outlaw.

COIN OF ATHENS

Sulla's War with the Marian Party.—Sulla landed in Italy (83 B. C.) with a victorious army of forty thousand men. He had restored the power of Rome against her enemies abroad; he now set to work to restore her authority against her enemies at home. He looked upon the popular party as a revolutionary faction, ruling with no sanction of law or justice. Its leaders since the death of Cinna were Cn. Papirius Carbo, the younger Marius, and Q. Sertorius. The landing of Sulla in Italy without disbanding his army was the signal for civil war. Southern Italy declared in his favour, and many prominent men looked to him as the deliverer of Rome. The choicest of his new allies was the son of Pompeius Strabo, then a young man of twenty-three, but whose future fame, as Pompey the Great, was destined to equal that of Sulla himself. Sulla marched to Campania and routed the forces of one consul, while troops of the other consul deserted to him in a body. He then attacked the young Marius in Latium, defeated him, and shut him up in the town of Præneste. Northern Italy was at the same time held in check by Pompey. A desperate battle was fought at Clusium, in Etruria, in which Sulla and Pompey defeated the army of Carbo. At last an army of Samnites which had joined the Marian cause was cut to pieces at the Colline gate under the very walls of Rome. Sulla showed what might be expected of him when he ordered six thousand Samnite prisoners to be massacred in cold blood.

The Sullan Proscriptions.—With Italy at his feet and a victorious army at his back, Sulla, the champion of the senate, was now the supreme ruler of Rome. Before entering upon the work of reconstructing the government, he determined first of all to complete the work of destroying his enemies. It is sometimes said that Sulla was not a man of vindictive nature. Let us see what he did. He first outlawed all civil and military officers who had taken part in the revolution against him, and offered a reward of two talents (about $2,500) to the murderer of any of these men. He then posted a list (*proscriptio*) containing the names of those citizens whom he wished to have killed. He placed eighty names on the first list, two hundred and twenty more on the second, as many more on the third, and so on until nearly five thousand citizens had been put to death in Rome. If the proscriptions of Sulla were not inspired by the mad fury of revenge which led to the Marian massacres, they were yet prompted by the cool and merciless policy of a tyrant.

The Sullan Constitution.—When Sulla had destroyed his enemies, not only in Rome but throughout Italy, he turned to the work of reconstructing the government in the interests of the senate and aristocracy. Not relying upon the tribune's power which had been used by the Gracchi, nor upon the consular power which Marius had repeatedly held, he had himself appointed "perpetual dictator." This made him the absolute ruler of the state. As a support to his power he planted his veterans in military colonies in different parts of Italy, where they could be called upon in case of emergency. He then proceeded to frame his new constitution, the most important provisions of which were the following:

(1) He restored the senate to its previous position as the chief ruling body of the state, granting to it the right to initiate all legislation; and he united the senatorial and equestrian orders by appointing many equites to the senate.

(2) He weakened the power of the people by taking away from the *comitia tributa* the power of making laws, transferring this power to the *comitia centuriata*, which was

controlled by wealth, but which could not pass any law without the previous approval of the senate.

(3) He reduced the power of the tribune to the mere right of "intercession," or the protection of a citizen from official injustice, forbidding the tribune from proposing laws, and providing that no tribune could afterwards be elected to any curule office.

(4) He reënacted the old law of succession to office, whereby no person could hold the same office a second time within a period of ten years.

(5) He restricted the power of the consul to matters of civil administration, so that no consul could command the army until the expiration of his term.

(6) He organized a system of permanent criminal courts (*quæstiones perpetuæ*), and restored the jury list to the senate, as it had been before the days of the Gracchi.

The general tendency of Sulla's legislation was to annul all the principal changes which had grown out of the revolutionary attempts of the popular party and its leaders, and thus to reëstablish the government upon its old aristocratic basis.

After a reign of three years Sulla resigned his office as dictator. He retired to his country home on the bay of Naples, and died in a few months, before he could know of the fate of his constitution. Upon his monument were inscribed the words: "No friend ever did him a kindness, and no enemy a wrong, without being fully repaid."

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Rise of Marius.—The Rule of the Restoration.—The War with Jugurtha.—War with the Cimbri and Teutones.—Marius and the Popular Party.

II. The Rivalry of Marius and Sulla.—The Social War, and the Incorporation of Italy.—The Elevation of Sulla.—Attempt of Marius to Displace Sulla; the Sulpician Laws.—Sulla's Occupation of Rome and Departure for the East.—The Marian Massacres; Cinna's Despotic Rule.

III. The Triumph and Dictatorship of Sulla.—Sulla and the First Mithridatic War.—Sulla's War with the Marian Party.—The Sullan Proscriptions.—The Sullan Constitution.

CHAPTER XXV

THE TIMES OF POMPEY AND CÆSAR

I. THE RISE OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS

The Drift of Roman Politics.—From what we have seen of the political conflicts going on at Rome since the first appearance of the Gracchi, we might infer that no important results had been accomplished. The constitution of Sulla was evidently intended to put the government back where it was before the revolution began. The efforts of the people to overthrow the power of the senate and the aristocracy seem to have come to nothing. The chiefs of the popular party had shown no great capacity for leadership, and had often degenerated into mere demagogues. But in spite of all these discouragements, there were two facts which seemed to show the drift of Roman politics. In the first place, there had been a growing tendency in the direction of the one-man power. This is shown in the tribunate of the Gracchi, in the successive consulships of Marius, in the absolute rule of Cinna, and in the dictatorship of Sulla. In other words, the Roman state was drifting towards monarchy. In the second place, the determined spirit of the people showed that the one-man power could not be permanently established upon an aristocratic basis like that of Sulla. The Roman people would evidently be satisfied only with a form of monarchy or imperialism which recognized the welfare of the whole Roman state. We are now to trace how such a form of imperialism came to be established.

The Three Revolts: Lepidus, Sertorius, Spartacus.—Sulla had hardly passed away when signs of discontent everywhere appeared. The evidence of this discontent is seen in three important revolts which took place at this time—

the revolt of Lep′idus, the rebellion of Sertorius, and the insurrection led by Spar′tacus.

(1) The first attempt to oppose the new constitution was made by the consul Lepidus, a vain and petulant man who aspired to be chief of the popular party, but who proved to be an incompetent leader, like many of his predecessors. He proposed to restore the tribunate, and to overthrow the whole Sullan régime. Failing in this, he raised an armed force, as Sulla and Cinna had done before him, to carry out his views. The senate placed in command of the army **Pompey, one of Sulla's lieutenants.** Pompey defeated Lepidus; and this feeble attempt at revolution failed (77 B. C.).

(2) A more serious attempt at revolution was made by Sertorius, a popular leader who had escaped to Spain during the Sullan proscriptions. Here he espoused the cause of the provincials, and attempted to establish in Spain an independent republic. This rebellion had been begun before the death of Sulla; it continued for some years afterwards, and presented a serious problem for the senate. Sertorious was himself a man of noble character, and also a very able soldier. After he had defeated three Roman generals, Pompey was appointed proconsul, and was sent with a large army to put down this rebellion. The war under Pompey was successfully carried on; but it was only after Sertorius had been treacherously slain by one of his own followers that the province was finally pacified (72 B. C.).

(3) Before the war in Spain was ended, the senate was called upon to meet a still more formidable danger in Italy. This was the revolt of the gladiators, under their renowned leader Spartacus. The gladiators were captives trained to fight one another in the arena for the amusement of the Roman populace. Seventy of these desperate men escaped from the

ROMAN GLADIATORS

training school at Capua, and gathered about them a motley horde of a hundred thousand slaves and outlaws. They defeated four Roman armies, and threatened to devastate the whole of Italy. In the absence of Pompey the senate selected Crassus—a wealthy aristocrat who had served as a soldier under Sulla—to put down this fearful insurrection. Spartacus was finally defeated (71 B. C.). A small remnant of his band fled to the north and fell in with Pompey on his return from Spain, and was destroyed. By this stroke of luck Pompey had the assurance to claim that, in addition to closing the war with Spain, he had also finished the war with the gladiators.

The Consulship of Pompey and Crassus (70 B. C.).—The senate had thus succeeded in maintaining its authority and putting down three attempts at revolution, with the aid of Pompey and Crassus. These generals now claimed the consulship as a reward for their services. But according to the Sullan laws they were not yet eligible to this office; and the senate was committed to the Sullan régime. Finding no hope of support from the senate, the two generals turned to the popular party. In return for the consulship they agreed to carry out the schemes of this party and annul the laws of Sulla. As a result of this bargain Pompey and Crassus joined hands, broke with the senate, became supporters of the democratic cause, and were elected to the consulship.

HEAD OF THE STATUE OF POMPEY
(So-called)

Overthrow of the Sullan Constitution.—True to their

agreement, Pompey and Crassus proceeded, with the support of the people, to overthrow the constitution which Sulla expected would be lasting. The old power was given back to the tribunes. The legislative power was restored to the assembly, which now could pass laws without the approval of the senate. The exclusive right to furnish jurors in criminal cases was taken away from the senate. Also the power of the censors to revise the list of the senators, which Sulla had abolished, was restored; and as a result of this, sixty-four senators were expelled from the senate. By these measures the Sullan régime was practically destroyed, and the supremacy of the senate taken away. This was, in fact, the most decisive victory won by the popular party since the beginning of the revolution. It was also achieved without an armed conflict, simply by winning to the democratic cause the support of the two successful generals.

The Military Supremacy of Pompey.—Since the death of Sulla, the senators had taken comparatively little interest in the eastern provinces except as a source of wealth to themselves and to their supporters. As a result of this weak policy, the East was falling into a condition nearly as wretched as its condition before the the campaigns of Sulla. The seas were infested with pirates, who cut off the grain supplies from Egypt, and the king of Pontus was still a menace to the Roman provinces. The people now determined to take into their own hands the management of eastern affairs. By two laws they raised their new leader, Pompey, to a position never before held by a Roman citizen —except perhaps by Sulla.

(1) *The Gabinian law* (67 B.C.).—To rid the sea of the pirates (who made their home in Cilicia and Crete) a law was proposed by the tribune Gabinius, giving to Pompey for three years supreme control over the Mediterranean Sea and its coast for fifty miles inland. This law was passed, and Pompey was placed in command of a large fleet and army. Within ninety days he had swept the seas and cleared the coasts, and the Mediterranean was once more open to Roman commerce.

(2) *The Manilian law* (66 B. C.).—In the next year a law was proposed by the tribune Manilius and supported by Rome's greatest orator, Cicero, giving to Pompey the entire control of the East until the tedious and desultory war now in progress against Mithridates should be brought to an end. The war had recently been conducted by Lucullus, a wealthy aristocratic general, who was charged with prolonging the war to enrich himself. Pompey now received the command. He defeated Mithridates and drove him out of his kingdom. He then invaded Syria and took possession of that country. He entered Judea, and after a severe struggle succeeded in capturing Jerusalem (63 B. C.). All the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean were brought under his control. He organized the conquered territory into new Roman provinces, and planted, it is said, thirty-nine new cities. Pompey was now looked upon as the most successful of Roman generals, and worthy of the title "the Great," once conferred upon him by Sulla.

II. THE COALITION OF POMPEY, CÆSAR, AND CRASSUS

CÆSAR (Naples)

The Rise of Julius Cæsar.—During the absence of Pompey in the East the politics of the capital were in a confused and uncertain state. The senate was striving to maintain its old dignity, even though it could not exercise its old authority. The popular party was under the professed leadership of Crassus, who had no ability as a politician, and who was influential chiefly on account of his wealth. The party had, in fact,

won what laurels it had gained, through the military prestige of Pompey. But even in the case of Pompey, it was uncertain how much confidence could be placed in a man who had already broken with the senate. In the meantime, a new leader was coming to the front—a leader who was destined to become the greatest statesman of Rome, and to perform a work which no one else was able to accomplish. This man was Julius Cæsar. He was a nephew of Marius and the son-in-law of Cinna. He was, therefore, from the first well disposed towards the popular cause. He had favoured the restoration of the tribunate, and had supported the Manilian law. He had also tried to procure the franchise for the Latin colonies beyond the Po; and he had, while curule ædile, won the plaudits of the populace by the splendour of his games. Cæsar saw that the people's cause was in the ascendency; and he aspired to become its leader, and to place himself at the head of the Roman state. This was a noble ambition on the part of Cæsar—to identify his own success with that of his fellow-citizens. But his ambition was checked for a brief time by the suspicion that he was implicated in the conspiracy of Cat'iline—a movement which aroused in the minds of all good citizens the most intense indignation.

Cicero and the Catilinian Conspiracy.—Catiline was a man of the stripe of Cinna. He professed to represent the cause of the people. He was like Cinna in not caring so much for the real interests of the people as for his own aggrandizement; and also in being perfectly unscrupulous as to the methods by which he attained his ends. That he was at first looked upon as a legitimate party leader is evident from the fact that he was supported for the consulship by Cæsar and Crassus. But he proved to be a demagogue and a desperado. He came to be feared by all the best citizens of Rome. He was hence defeated at the elections by the senatorial party, under the lead of Cicero. After a second failure to obtain the consulship, Catiline's true character was revealed. He adopted the desperate methods which had proved temporarily successful in the days of Marius and Cinna. He determined to raise an army from all the

lawless and discontented classes of Italy, to march upon Rome, seize the city, and destroy his enemies. This nefarious plan was discovered by Cicero, who had been elected consul. Catiline's army was defeated in Etruria. Catiline himself was killed in battle, and five of his fellow-conspirators were condemned to death by the senate; and Cicero put the judgment into execution (62 B. C.). Cicero had already done good service to the republic by his impeachment of Verres, the corrupt governor of Sicily; and now he was hailed as the "Father of his Country." The senate regarded the suppression of the conspiracy as an aristocratic victory; and the popular leaders, although denying all connection with the conspiracy, fell into disrepute.

CICERO (Naples)

Formation of the "First Triumvirate" (60 B. C.).—The senate now supposed that the time had come to assert its own authority. The only leaders of the people who seemed strong enough to oppose the senatorial policy were Pompey and Cæsar. The senate, therefore, determined first to humilate Pompey, and next to embarrass Cæsar. In the first place, when Pompey returned from his victories, he expected that his arrangements in the East would be confirmed by the senate, and that his veterans would be rewarded with grants of land. The senate refused to do either. In the next place, when Cæsar returned from Spain—to which province he had been sent as proprætor and where he had won a military reputation—he wished to receive a triumph and to be elected to the consulship. The senate decided that he could not receive a triumph while in the city, and could

not be elected to the consulship while outside the city. Cæsar accordingly waived the triumph and entered the city. Here he found Pompey chafing against the senate; and the two generals agreed to unite in opposing the senatorial party. By its blundering policy, the senate had thus driven the two chieftains into a coalition, to which the wealthy Crassus was admitted. This coalition is usually called the "First Triumvirate." It was composed of the most successful soldier, the most able statesman, and the richest capitalist of Rome. These men united to advance their own interests in opposition to the senate. They were also, to all appearances at least, in sympathy with the popular party; and their success would no doubt advance the cause of the people.

The Consulship of Cæsar (59 B. C.).—According to the terms of the agreement Cæsar was elected to the consulship. On his election Cæsar went faithfully to work to fulfil his obligations to Pompey, and to pass laws to strengthen the cause of the triumvirs. (1) He secured a law confirming all the acts of Pompey in the East. (2) He had passed an agrarian law which not only provided for the veterans of Pompey, but which also gave estates in Campania to the needy citizens of Rome. (3) He then obtained a law remitting one-third of the price which the capitalists had agreed to pay for collecting the taxes in Asia. (4) Finally, a bill was passed by which he himself was assigned to the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, to which Transalpine Gaul was added. By these laws Pompey was satisfied; the people were pleased; the capitalists were reconciled; and Cæsar himself was secured in a military command.

But before leaving for his provinces, Cæsar desired still further to cripple the power of the senate by depriving it of its chief leaders. These were Cicero and Cato the Younger—Cicero, who had restored the prestige of the senate by crushing the Catilinian conspiracy; and Cato, who was the grandson of Cato the Censor, and who was now the most conservative of the senatorial party. Cæsar's tool in this work was the tribune Clodius, a radical and unscrupulous politician, but a devoted friend of Cæsar. Through his

influence, Cicero was banished on the charge of having put to death the Catilinian conspirators without giving them a regular trial. Cato was sent on a mission to Cyprus, where he would be removed from the politics of the capital. With such an arrangement of the affairs at Rome, Cæsar departed with his legions to Gaul.

Renewal of the Triumvirate at Lucca (56 B. C.).—If Cæsar made a mistake, it was in putting such a man as Clodius in charge of his interests at Rome. Clodius was by nature an adventurer and a demagogue; and by his rash acts he came near breaking up the triumvirate. He allied himself with the rabble of Rome; he paraded the streets with bands of armed ruffians, and the capital was threatened with mob rule. Pompey as well as the senate became disgusted with the régime of Clodius. They united their influence and obtained the recall of Cicero from his exile. At the same time Cato returned from his absence in Cyprus. With tbe return of the old senatorial leaders, and the disaffection of Pompey, it looked as though the senate would once more regain its power, and the triumvirate would go to pieces.

But the watchful eye of Cæsar detected these symptoms of discontent, and a conference of the leaders took place at Lucca, a town in northern Italy, where a new arrangement was brought about. Cæsar was now to be given an additional term of five years in Gaul, and to be elected consul at the end of that time; Pompey and Crassus were now to receive the consulship; and at the close of their term of office Pompey was to have the provinces of Spain and Africa, and the money-loving Crassus was to receive the rich province of Syria. In this way they would divide the world among them. The terms of the agreement were apparently satisfactory to the parties concerned. Cæsar now felt that matters at Rome were safe, at least until he could complete his work in Gaul and fortify his own power with a devoted and invincible army.

Cæsar and the Conquest of Gaul (58-51 B. C.).—Within eight years Cæsar brought under his power all the territory bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Atlantic Ocean, or about what corresponds to the modern

countries of France, Belgium, and Holland. He at first conquered the Helve'tii, a tribe lying on the outskirts of his own province of Narbonensis. He then met and drove back a great invasion of Germans, who, under a prince called Ariovis'tus, had crossed the Rhine, and threatened to overrun the whole of Gaul. He then pushed into the northern parts of Gaul, and conquered the Nervii and the neighbouring tribes. He overcame the Ven'eti on the

THE PROVINCE OF GAUL

Atlantic coast, and conquered Aquitania. He also made two invasions into Britain (55, 54 B. C.), crossed the Rhine into Germany, and revealed to the Roman soldiers countries they had never seen before. After once subduing the various tribes of Gaul, he was finally called upon to suppress a general insurrection, led by a powerful leader called Vercin-get'orix. The conquest of Gaul was then completed.

A large part of the population had been either slain in war or reduced to slavery. The new territory was pacified by bestowing honours upon the Gallic chiefs, and self-government upon the surviving tribes. The Roman legions were distributed through the territory; but Cæsar established no military colonies like those of Sulla. The Roman arts and manners were encouraged; and Gaul was brought within the pale of civilization.

III. The Supremacy of Cæsar

Dissolution of the Triumvirate.—While Cæsar was absent in Gaul, the ties which bound the three leaders together were becoming weaker and weaker. The position of Crassus tended somewhat, as long as he was alive, to allay the growing suspicion between the two great rivals. But after Crassus departed for the East to take control of his province in Syria, he invaded Parthia, was badly defeated, lost the Roman standards, and was himself killed (53 B. C.). The death of Crassus practically dissolved the triumvirate; or we might rather say, it reduced the triumvirate to a duumvirate. But the relation between the two leaders was now no longer one of friendly support, but one of mutual distrust.

Cato the Younger

Alliance of Pompey with the Senate.—Pompey was not only drawing away from Cæsar; he was also coming into closer relations with the senate, which felt the need of some strong military support. The city was distracted by

continual street fights between the armed bands of Clodius, the demagogue, and those of T. Annius Milo, who professed to be defending the cause of the senate. In one of these broils Clodius was killed. His excited followers made his death the occasion of riotous proceedings. His body was burned in the Forum by the wild mob, and the senate house was destroyed by fire. In the anarchy which followed, the senate felt obliged to confer some extraordinary power upon Pompey. On the proposal of Cato, he was appointed "consul without a colleague." Under this unusual title Pompey restored order to the state, and was looked upon as "the saviour of society." He became more and more closely bound to the cause of the senate; and the senate recognized its obligations to him by prolonging his command in Spain for five years.

Rupture between the Senate and Cæsar.—It was a part of the agreement made at the conference of Lucca, we remember, that Cæsar was to receive the consulship at the close of his command in Gaul. He naturally wished to retain the control of his army until he had been elected to his new office. The senate was determined that he should not, but should present himself at Rome as a private citizen before his election. Cæsar well knew that he would be helpless as a private citizen in the presence of the enemies who were seeking to destroy him. Cato had already declared that he would prosecute him as soon as he ceased to be proconsul in Gaul. Cæsar promised, however, to give up his province and his army, if Pompey would do the same; but Pompey refused. The senate then called upon Cæsar to give up two of his legions, on the plea that they were needed in the Parthian war. The legions were given up; but instead of being sent to the East they were stationed in Campania. Upon further demands, Cæsar agreed to give up eight legions of his army if he were allowed to retain two legions in Cisalpine Gaul until the time of his election. This the senate refused; and demanded that he must give up his province and his whole army by a certain day, or be declared a public enemy. The senate had offered him humiliation or war. He chose war, and crossed the Rubicon

(49 B. C.), the stream which separated his province of Cisalpine Gaul from Italy.

Civil War between Pompey and Cæsar.—The contest was now reduced to a struggle between Pompey, the champion of the senate, and Cæsar, the champion of the people. Cæsar knew the value of time; at the instant when he decided upon war, he invaded Italy with a single legion. Pompey, unprepared for such a sudden move and not relying upon the two legions which the senate had taken from Cæsar, was obliged to withdraw to Brundisium. Besieged in this place by Cæsar, he skilfully withdrew his forces to Greece, and left Cæsar master of Italy.

The campaigns of Cæsar against Pompey and his supporters may be summed up as follows: (1) He dispatched his Gallic legions across the Pyrenees into Spain (49 B. C.) and destroyed the armies of Pompey's lieutenants. (2) He crossed the Adriatic Sea into Greece; was defeated at Dyrra'chium, and then in the decisive battle at Pharsa'lus (48 B. C.) defeated Pompey, who fled to Egypt and was treacherously slain by an Egyptian soldier. (3) He entered Egypt to quell a civil war between the young Egyptian prince, Ptolemy, and his sister, Cleopa'tra; defeated the army of Ptolemy, and placed Cleopatra on the Egyptian throne. (4) On his return to Italy by way of Asia Minor, he defeated (at Zela, 47 B. C.), Phar'naces, the king of Pontus and son of the great Mithridates, who was trying to stir up a revolt in the eastern provinces,—sending to the senate the famous dispatch, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" (5) He passed over into Africa, and at the battle of Thapsus (46 B. C.) defeated the senatorial forces led by Cato, who committed suicide after the battle. (6) At the battle of Munda in Spain (45 B. C.) he crushed the last attempt at resistance, led by the sons of Pompey.

Cæsar's Triumphs and Titles.—When Cæsar returned to Rome, he came not as the servant of the senate, but as master of the world. He crowned his victories by four splendid triumphs, one for Gaul, one for Egypt, one for Pontus, and one for Africa. He made no reference to the civil war; and no citizens were led among his captives.

His victory was attended by no massacres, no proscriptions, no confiscations. He was as generous in peace as he had been relentless in war. Cæsar was great enough to forgive his enemies. A general amnesty was proclaimed; and friend and foe were treated alike. During the period of his rule (49-44 B. C.) he exercised his power under various titles. He was consul, dictator, controller of public morals (*præfectus morum*), tribune, pontifex maximus, and chief of the senate (*princeps senatus*). He thus gathered up in his own person the powers which had been scattered among the various republican officers. The name of "impera'tor," with which the soldiers had been accustomed to salute a victorious general, was now made an official title, and prefixed to his name. In Cæsar was thus embodied the one-man power which had been growing up during the civil wars.

JULIUS CÆSAR (Capitol)

Cæsar's Legislation.—The only man of the Roman republic who can well be compared with Cæsar is Sulla. They both obtained an imperial position in the Roman state. They were also both able politicians and constructive statesmen. But a wide gulf separates the constitution of Sulla from the legislation of Cæsar. The one was based upon the narrow interests of a selfish aristocratic class; the other rested upon the common interests of the Roman people. In the light of this whole period which we are now studying, we may say that the constitution of Sulla was an obstacle to the general drift of popular reform; while the legislation of Cæsar brought to a successful issue the beneficent movement begun by the Gracchi. Let us make a brief summary of what Cæsar did during his brief career as political ruler:

(1) He took away the aristocratic character of the senate

by raising the number of its members to nine hundred, including representative men from all classes in Italy and the provinces.

(2) He extended the right of citizenship to the people beyond the Po and to many communities in Gaul and Spain.

(3) He opened colonies in the provinces, by which 80,000 landless citizens in Italy were provided with homes.

(4) He revived the municipal life of Italy, and reorganized the municipal system so as to make it apply equally to Italy and the provinces.

(5) He changed the oppressive system of taxation in the provinces by dispensing with the avaricious tax-gatherer and permitting each town to collect its own fixed share of the tax.

(6) He reënacted the old Licinian law which provided for a certain number of free labourers on every estate.

(7) He passed a bankruptcy law which relieved debtors from their obligations by relinquishing their entire estates to their creditors—thus doing away with imprisonment for debt.

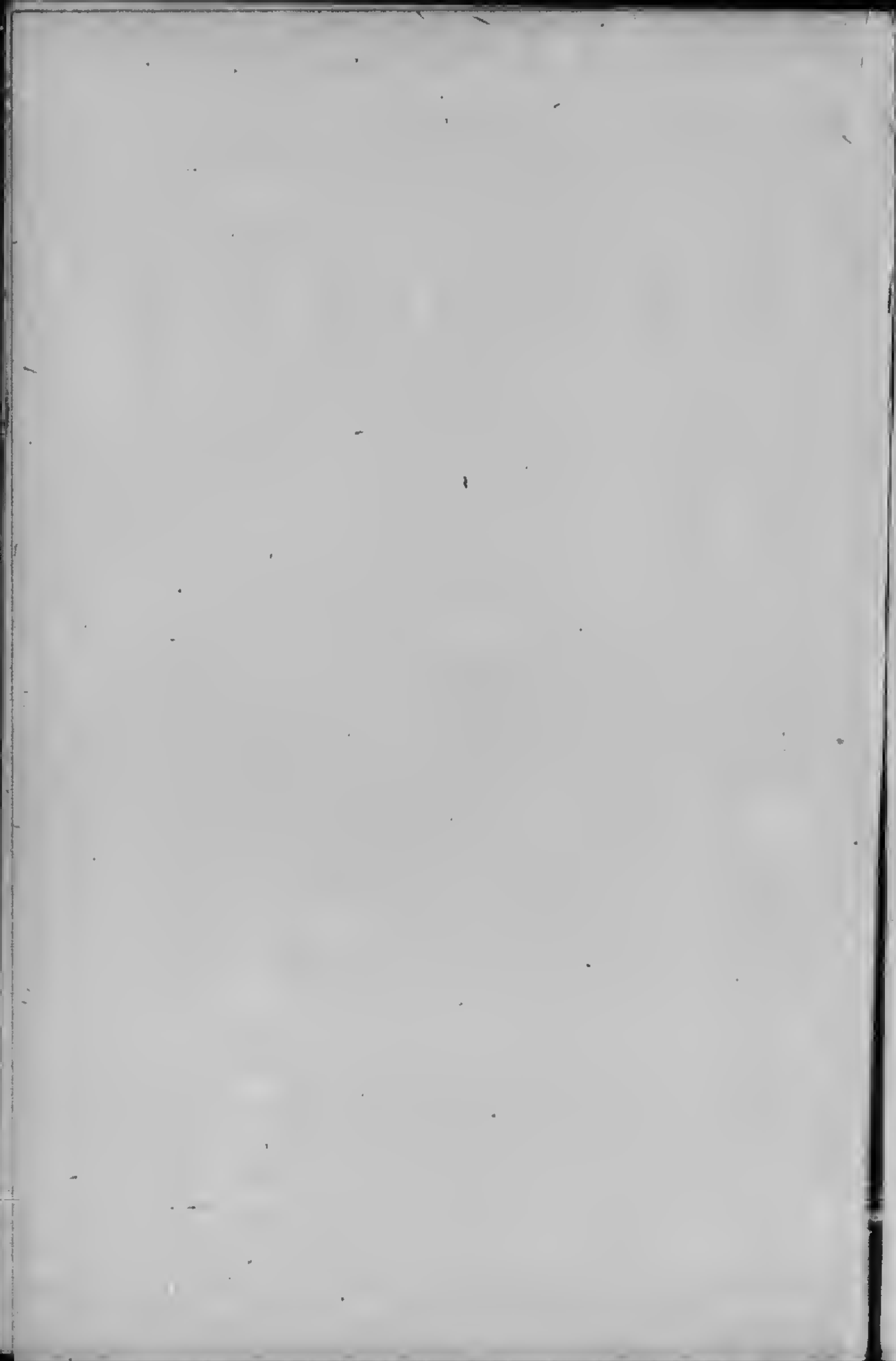
(8) He reduced the number of poor receiving state aid from 320,000 to 150,000, and afforded means of employment by encouraging public works.

(9) He also reformed the calendar, which has remained substantially as he fixed it, to the present day; and he provided for a regular census which should apply not only to Rome but to every Roman community.

Besides these acts it was his purpose also to codify the Roman law; to provide for the founding of public libraries; to improve the architecture of the city; to drain the Pontine Marshes for the improvement of the public health; to cut a channel through the Isthmus of Corinth; and to extend the empire to its natural limits, the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine. These acts and projects illustrate the comprehensive mind of Cæsar. They show that the one-man power which he had established had for its object the highest welfare of the whole Roman state.

The Assassination of Cæsar.—If Cæsar failed in anything it was in not adjusting himself sufficiently to the conserva-

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 16.



tive spirit of the time. There were still living at Rome men who were blindly attached to the old republican forms. To them the reforms of Cæsar looked like a work of destruction, rather than a work of creation. They saw in his projects a scheme for reviving the kingship. It was said that when Cæsar was offered a crown he looked at it wistfully; and that he had selected his nephew Octavius as his royal heir.

The men who hated Cæsar, and who conspired to kill him, were men who had themselves received special favours from him. The leading conspirators, M. Brutus and C. Cassius, had both served in Pompey's army, and had been pardoned by Cæsar and promoted to offices under his government. Joined by some fifty other conspirators, these men formed a plot to kill Cæsar in the senate house. The story of his assassination has been told by Plutarch and made immortal by Shakespeare. When the appointed day came, the Ides of March (March 15, 44 B. C.), Cæsar was struck down by the daggers of his treacherous friends, and he fell at the foot of Pompey's statue. It has been said that the murder of Cæsar was the most senseless act that the Romans ever committed. His death deprived Rome of the greatest man she ever produced. But the work of the conspirators did not destroy the work of Cæsar.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Rise of Pompey and Crassus.—The Drift of Roman Politics.—The Three Revolts: Lepidus, Sertorius, Spartacus.—The Consulship of Pompey and Crassus.—Overthrow of the Sullan Constitution.—The Military Supremacy of Pompey.

II. The Coalition of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus.—The Rise of Julius Cæsar.—Cicero and the Catilinian Conspiracy.—Formation of the "First Triumvirate."—The Consulship of Cæsar.—Renewal of the Triumvirate at Lucca.—Cæsar and the Conquest of Gaul.

III. The Supremacy of Cæsar.—Dissolution of the Triumvirate.—Alliance of Pompey with the Senate.—Rupture between the Senate and Cæsar.—Civil War between Pompey and Cæsar.—Cæsar's Triumphs and Titles.—Cæsar's Legislation.—The Assassination of Cæsar.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE TIMES OF ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS

I. The Rise of Antony and Octavius

The Confusion after Cæsar's Death.—We need not be surprised that the death of Cæsar was followed by confusion and dismay. His murderers considered themselves as "liberators" of the republic. But their rash act gave to Rome another period of strife and civil war. They had killed Cæsar; but they had provided for no one to take his place. If they thought that the senate would be restored to its old position they were greviously mistaken. The only leading man of the senate who had survived the last civil war was Cicero; but Cicero with all his learning and eloquence could not take the place of Cæsar. Soon there appeared new actors upon the scene, men struggling for the supreme power in the state—M. Anto'nius (An'tony), the friend of Cæsar and his fellow-consul; C. Octavius, his adopted son and heir; M. Æmilius Lepidus, his master of horse; Sextus Pompeius, his previous enemy and the son of his greatest rival; while Cicero still raised his voice in defence of what he regarded as his country's freedom.

Antony

The Elevation of Antony. — The man who had stood

nearest to Cæsar was Antony, his fellow-consul. He claimed that it was his duty to carry out the purpose of his murdered chief. He got possession of Cæsar's will and treasures, and influenced the senate to confirm all of Cæsar's acts. He called upon the people to rise up and avenge the death of their greatest friend. The liberators were obliged to flee from the city. They hastened to the provinces to which they had previously been assigned by Cæsar—Cassius to Syria, Marcus Brutus to Macedonia, and Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul.

The Appearance of Octavius.—The only person who could well dispute the claims of Antony was Octavius—a young man of nineteen, who was Cæsar's grandnephew and adopted heir. This young man assumed his adopted name Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavia'nus and disputed with Antony the right to act as Cæsar's representative. By his great generosity he won the favour of the people, who called him by the magic name of Cæsar. He now began to show that adroit skill for which he was afterwards noted. His first purpose was to weaken Antony, who had deprived him of his inheritance. He therefore saw fit to unite his cause with that of the senate, which was already opposed to the ambitious schemes of Antony. By this piece of diplomacy Octavius gained the influence of Cicero, the leader of the senatorial party.

THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS

Cicero's Attack upon Antony.—The hostility between Cicero and Antony grew to be bitter and relentless; and they were pitted against each other on the floor of the senate.

But in a war of words Antony was no match for Cicero. By a series of famous speeches known as the "Philippics," the popularity of Antony was crushed; and he retired from Rome to seek for victory upon other fields. He claimed Cisalpine Gaul as his province. But this province was still held by Decimus Brutus, one of the liberators, to whom the senate looked for military support.

When Antony attempted to gain possession of this territory, Cicero thought he saw an opportunity to use Octavius in the interests of the senate. Accordingly Antony was declared a public enemy; Octavius was made a senator with the rank of consul, and was authorized to conduct the war against Antony. In this war—the so-called war of Mu′tina (44-43 B. C.)—Octavius was successful. As a reward for his victory he demanded of the senate that he receive a triumph and the consulship. Cicero and the senate had intended Decimus Brutus for this office, and the request of Octavius was refused. But the young heir, then twenty years of age, following the example of Cæsar, enforced his claim with the sword; he took possession of the city, and obtained his election to the consulship. Octavius thus became the ruling man in Rome.

Formation of the Second Triumvirate (43 B. C.).—The senate had lost the support of Octavius by opposing his election to the consulship. The young leader now sought to secure his position by reconciling his previous enemy, Antony. Antony was supported by Lepidus, who had an army in Transalpine Gaul. A coalition was formed between these three leaders—Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus—usually called the "Second Triumvirate." Unlike the First Triumvirate, this was sanctioned by a law of the tribal assembly. The leaders agreed to oppose the senate, to divide among themselves the western provinces, and then to make war upon the chief liberators, Brutus and Cassius, who held possession of the eastern provinces. They assumed a dictatorial power for five years, with the right of appointing all magistrates. Their decrees were to have the force of law without the approval of either the senate or the people. It is to the eternal disgrace of these men who professed

to espouse the cause of Cæsar, that they abandoned the humane policy of their great exemplar, and returned to the infamous policy of Marius and Sulla. Antony especially desired a proscription, as he was surrounded by thousands of personal enemies, chief among whom was Cicero, the author of the "Philippics." It is said that three hundred senators and two thousand equites were outlawed and their property was confiscated; besides, a large number of persons were slain. The most distinguished victim of this horrible work was Cicero. When the old man was warned of his danger and urged to flee, he replied, "Let me die in my fatherland, which I have so often saved."

War against the Liberators; Battle of Philippi (42 B. C.).—Having murdered their enemies at home, the triumvirs were now prepared to crush their enemies abroad. There were three of these enemies whom they were obliged to meet—Brutus and Cassius, who had united their forces in the East; and Sextus Pompeius, who had got possession of the island of Sicily, and had under his command a powerful fleet. While Lepidus remained at Rome, Antony and Octavius invaded Greece to meet the two liberators, Brutus and Cassius. The hostile forces met near Philip'pi (42 B. C.), a town in Macedonia on the northern coast of the Ægean Sea. Octavius was opposed to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. Octavius was driven back by Brutus, while Antony, more fortunate, drove back the wing commanded by Cassius. As Cassius saw his flying legions, he thought that all was lost, and stabbed himself with the same dagger, it is said, with which he struck Cæsar,

BATTLE OF PHILIPPI

This left Brutus in sole command of the opposing army; but he also was defeated in a second battle, and, following the example of Cassius, committed suicide. By the battle at Philippi the last opposition to the triumvirs was destroyed.

II. Civil War Between Antony and Octavius

New Division of the Provinces.—The Roman world was now under the power of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, who proceeded to a redivision of the provinces. But Lepidus was too weak to receive much consideration. Antony was to take control of the eastern provinces, and to push the Roman conquests if possible into Parthia. Octavius was to preserve the peace of Italy and the western provinces, and to destroy the fleet of Sextus Pompeius, which was interfering with Roman commerce and threatening to cut off the grain supplies of Italy. Lepidus had to be satisfied with the small province of Africa.

Octavius in the West.—Octavius proceeded to secure his position in the West by means of force and craft. He first put down an insurrection incited by the partisans of Antony. The young conqueror won the affections of the people, and tried to show them that peace and prosperity could come only through his influence. Next, with the help of his friend and able general, Agrip'pa, and with the aid of a hundred ships lent him by Antony, Octavius destroyed the forces of Sextus Pompeius. The defeated general fled to the East, and was killed by the soldiers of Antony.

Octavius was then called upon to deal with a treacherous friend. This was the weak and ambitious Lepidus, who with twenty legions fancied that he could defeat Octavius and become the chief man of Rome. But Octavius did not think the emergency grave enough to declare war. He defeated Lepidus without a battle. Unarmed and almost unattended he entered his rival's camp, and made an eloquent appeal to the soldiers. The whole army of Lepidus deserted to Octavius. Lepidus was deposed from his position as triumvir, but was generously allowed to retain the office of pontifex maximus. By the use of force and diplomacy Octavius thus

baffled all his foes in the West, and he and Antony were now the undisputed rulers of the Roman world.

Antony in the East.—While everything in the West was turning in favour of Octavius, all things in the East were also contributing to his success. But this was due not only to his own skill but to the weakness and folly of Antony. Octavius had tried to cement the league of the triumvirs by giving his sister Octavia to Antony in marriage. But Antony soon grew tired of Octavia, and became fascinated by Cleopatra, the "Serpent of the Nile." He aspired to the position of an Oriental monarch. He divided the Roman provinces with Cleopatra, who was called "the queen of kings." The Roman people were shocked when he desired his disgraceful acts to be confirmed by the senate. They could not help contrasting this weak and infatuated slave of Cleopatra with their own Octavius, the strong and prudent governor of the West. While Octavius was growing in popularity, Antony was thus becoming more and more an object of detestation.

CLEOPATRA

Rupture between Antony and Octavius.—The strong feeling at Rome against Antony, Octavius was able to use to his own advantage. The people suspected Antony of treasonable designs, as they saw his military preparations, which might be used to enthrone himself as king of the East, or to install Cleopatra as queen of Rome. All doubt as to Antony's real character and purpose was settled when his will was found and published. In it he had made the sons of Cleopatra his heirs, and ordered his own body to be buried at Alexandria beside that of the Egyptian queen. This was looked upon as an insult to the majesty of Rome. The citizens were aroused. They demanded that war be declared against the hated triumvir. Octavius suggested that it would be more wise to declare war against Cleopatra than against Antony and the deluded citizens who had espoused his cause. Thus what was really a civil war between Octav-

ius and Antony assumed the appearance of a foreign war between Rome and Egypt. But Antony well understood against whom the war was directed; and he replied by publicly divorcing Octavia, and accepting his real position as the public enemy of Rome.

Battle of Actium (31 B. C.).—When war was declared, Antony and Cleopatra united their forces against Rome. Antony gathered together an immense army and occupied the western coasts of Greece, where he could either threaten Italy or resist the approach of Octavius. His main army was posted at Actium, south of the strait leading into the Gulf of Ambracia. His fleet was for the most part moored within the gulf. Octavius, with the aid of his trusted general Agrippa, succeeded in transporting an army to the coast of Epirus, and took up a position north of the strait and opposite the land forces of Antony. His fleet was stationed outside of the strait to await the approach of the enemy's vessels. Antony, on the advice of his ablest officers, desired that the battle should be waged with the land forces. But Cleopatra, proud of her navy, insisted that it should be fought on the sea. The contest was therefore decided by a naval battle. As the fleet of Antony emerged from the strait, it was immediately attacked by Octavius and Agrippa. But scarcely had the battle begun when Cleopatra with her squadron withdrew from the line, and was quickly followed by Antony. Their sailors fought on until their fleet was destroyed. The battle of Actium closed the political career of Antony, and left Octavius the sole master of the Roman world.

BATTLE OF ACTIUM

Before returning to Rome Octavius restored order to the eastern provinces, and followed the fugitives to Egypt. Antony, defeated and ruined, committed suicide; and Cleo-

patra followed his example rather than be led a captive in a Roman triumph. Together this wretched pair were laid in the mausoleum of the Ptolemies. Egypt was annexed as a province of the new empire (30 B. C.). Octavius returned to Rome (29 B. C.), where he was given a triple triumph—for Dalmatia (part of Illyricum, where he had won some previous victories), for Actium, and for Egypt. The temple of Janus —the doors of which were always left open in time of war— was now closed for the first time since the second Punic war; and the Romans, tired of civil strife and bloodshed, looked upon the triumph of Octavius as the dawn of a new era of peace and prosperity.

III. Review of the Period of the Civil Wars

Political Progress at Rome.—There is no period of Roman history more eventful or instructive than that which we have just considered—extending from the time of the Gracchi to the triumph of Octavius. If we look merely at the surface of events, it may perhaps seem to be hardly more than a period of strife, of turmoil, of revolution, and of civil war. But if we compare the wretched condition of things which Tiberius Gracchus first sought to remedy, with the new system which Julius Cæsar established and Octavius sought to make permanent, we must conclude that it was during this time that the Roman people were working out the greatest political problems of their history. In the midst of the greatest discouragements, and often under incompetent leaders, they continued to fight for justice, until they at last found a chieftain capable of defending their interests. The people learned that they could not secure their rights by means of unwieldy assemblies, which were often ruled by ambitious demagogues—and they had not discovered the modern principle of representation. If they could not obtain a government *by* the people, they could at least obtain a government *for* the people, under the control of an efficient magistrate devoted to their interests. With our advanced political ideas and experience, we may not believe that Roman imperialism is the best form of government; it was

yet the highest and most successful form of government developed in the ancient world. By such a government, the Roman people secured political equality, and perhaps as much political freedom as was possible without representative institutions.

Improvement of the Roman Law.—It was also during this time that the Romans were developing that remarkable system of law which surpassed that of any other ancient people. The basis of this law was the XII Tables. In earlier times, only the patricians possessed legal rights; but these rights came to be extended to the plebeians, and with every enlargement of the Roman state there had been an extension of civil rights. As to his civil rights, every free person was a Roman citizen, a Latin, or a foreigner. A Roman citizen had both the *conubium* and the *commercium*—that is, he had, first, the rights growing out of the family organization, such as the paternal power and inheritance, and, second, the rights growing out of commercial transactions, such as property and contract. A Latin had only the *commercium*;[1] while the foreigners (including the Italian allies) had at first no rights under the Roman law. During this time, however, the rights of citizens and of Latins were continually being extended. But more than this, the rights of all foreigners in Italy came to be protected by a special prætor (*prætor peregrinus*). Under this new prætor there was gradually developed a new body of law, called the *jus gentium*, a law common to the nations of Italy which applied to those whose rights were not protected by the old XII Tables. After the "Social war" all the inhabitants of Italy were admitted to the full rights of citizenship; and the *jus gentium* came to be extended so as to apply to all provincials whose rights could not otherwise be secured. In this way, the Romans developed a system of law by which every free person in the Roman world could have his civil rights protected, in some way or other, in a court of justice.

Advancement in Literature.—Another evidence of the progress of the Romans during the period of the civil wars is

[1] This applies to the later *Latinitas*, after this franchise was extended beyond the limits of Latium to the Latin colonies throughout Italy.

seen in their literature. It was at this time that the influence of Hellenism became very marked, and that under this influence Rome began to produce writers whose names belong to the literature of the world. Cæsar wrote his "Commentaries on the Gallic War," which is a fine specimen of clear historical narrative. Sallust wrote a history of the Jugurthine war and an account of the conspiracy of Catiline, which give us graphic and vigorous descriptions of these events. Lucre'tius wrote a great poem "On the Nature of Things," which expounds the Epicurean theory of the universe and reveals powers of description and imagination rarely equalled by any other poet, ancient or modern. Catul'lus wrote lyric poems of exquisite grace and beauty. Cicero was the most learned and prolific writer of the age; his orations, letters, rhetorical and philosophical essays furnish the best models of classic style, and have given him a place among the great prose writers of the world.

Progress in Architecture.—That the Romans were also improving in their culture and taste is shown by the new and splendid buildings which were erected during this period. While some public buildings were destroyed by the riots in the city, they were replaced by finer and more durable structures. Many new temples were built—temples to Hercules, to Minerva, to Fortune, to Concord, to Honour and Virtue. There were new basilicas, or halls of justice, the most notable being the Basilica Julia, which was commenced by Julius Cæsar. A new forum, the Forum Julii, was also laid out by Cæsar, and a new theatre

TEMPLE OF FORTUNE

was constructed by Pompey. The great national temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was burned during the civil war of Marius and Sulla, was restored with great magnificence by Sulla, who adorned it with the columns of the temple of the Olympian Zeus brought from Athens. It was during this period that the triumphal arches were first erected, and became a distinctive feature of Roman architecture. With the exception of the use of the arch, the general features of Roman architecture show the strong influence of Greek ideas—especially in the construction of temples, and in the use of columns, which the Romans generally surmounted with the Corinthian capitals.

Roman Education.—The influence of Hellenism is also seen in the increasing attention which the Romans paid to education. Roman education, like that of the Greeks, was intended to develop all the mental powers, and to train the young man for public life. Children—both boys and girls—began to attend school at six or seven years of age. The elementary studies were reading, writing and arithmetic. The children were taught to write from a copy set upon their tablets, and to cipher by means of the counting board (*abacus*) and counters (*calculi*). The higher education comprised what were called the liberal arts (*artes liberales*), including the Latin and Greek languages, composition and oratory, and mental and moral philosophy. An important part of education consisted in public recitals and declamations which were intended to train young men for the forum, and were often held in the temples.

BOY WITH CALCULATING BOARD

Decay of Religion and Morals.—While the Romans, during this period, showed many evidences of progress in their laws, their literature, and their art, they were evidently declining in their religious and moral sense. Their religion was diluted more and more with Oriental superstitions and degrading

ceremonies. In their moral life they were suffering from the effects of their conquests, which had brought wealth and the passion for luxury and display. Ambition and avarice tended to corrupt the life of the Roman people. The only remedy for this condition of religious and moral decay was found in the philosophy of the Greeks, which, however, appealed only to the more educated classes.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. THE RISE OF ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS.—The Confusion after Cæsar's Death.—The Elevation of Antony.—The appearance of Octavius.—Cicero's Attack upon Antony.—Formation of the Second Triumvirate.—War against the Liberators; Battle of Philippi.

II. CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS.—New Division of the Provinces.—Octavius in the West.—Antony in the East.—Rupture between Antony and Octavius.—Battle of Actium.

III. REVIEW OF THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WARS.—Political Progress at Rome.—Improvement of the Roman Law.—Advancement in Literature.—Progress in Architecture.—Roman Education.—Decay of Religion and Morals.

PERIOD IV. THE ROMAN EMPIRE (31 B. C.-395 A. D.)

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS (31 B. C.—14 A. D

I. THE NEW IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

The Policy of Augustus.—There was no other man so well fitted to put the new monarchy into an attractive form as Octavius, whom we may now call by his official title of Augustus. We have been accustomed to think of this man as merely a shrewd politician. But when we contrast the distracted condition of Rome during the last hundred years with the peace and prosperity which he brought with him, we shall be inclined to look upon him as a wise and successful statesman. His whole policy was a policy of conciliation.

He wished to wipe out the hatreds of the civil war. He regarded himself as the chief of no party, but as the head of the whole state. He tried to reconcile the conservative and the progressive men of his time. All the cherished forms of the republic he therefore preserved; and he exercised his powers under titles which were not hateful to the senate or the people.

Titles and Powers of Augustus.—Soon after returning to Rome, Augustus resigned the powers which he had hitherto exercised, giving "back the commonwealth into the hands of the senate and the people" (27 B. C.). The first official title which he then received was the surname *Augustus*, bestowed by the senate in recognition of his dignity and his services to the state. He then received the proconsular power (*imperium proconsulare*) over all the frontier provinces, or those which required the presence of an army. He had also conferred upon himself the tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*), by which he became the protector of the people. He moreover was made pontifex maximus, and received the title of *Pater Patriæ*. Although Augustus did not receive the permanent titles of consul and censor, he occasionally assumed, or had temporarily assigned to himself, the duties of these offices. He still retained the title of *Imperator*, which gave him the command of the army. But the title which Augustus chose to indicate his real position was that of *Princeps Civitatis*, or "the first citizen of the state." The new "prince" thus desired to be looked upon as a magistrate rather than a monarch—a citizen who had received a trust rather than a ruler governing in his own name.

THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS

Augustus and the Senate.—Augustus showed his conciliatory policy in fixing the position which the senate was to assume in the new government. He did not adopt fully the plan either of Sulla or of Julius Cæsar; but reconciled as far as possible their different ideas. He restored to the senate the dignity which it had in the time of Sulla. He did this by excluding the provincials and freedmen whom Cæsar had introduced into it, and by reducing its number from nine hundred to six hundred members. But still he did not confer upon it the great legislative power which Sulla intended it should have; he rather made it a kind of advisory body, according to Cæsar's idea. In theory the senate was to assist the emperor in matters of legislation, and hence the new government is sometimes called a "dyarchy"; but in fact the senate was simply to approve the proposals which the emperor submitted to it.

The Assemblies of the People.—Augustus did not formally take away from the popular assemblies their legislative power, but occasionally submitted to them laws for their approval. This was, however, hardly more than a discreet concession to custom. The people in their present unwieldy assemblies, the emperor did not regard as able to decide upon important matters of state. Their duties were therefore practically restricted to the election of the magistrates, whose names he usually presented to them.

The Republican Magistrates.—In accordance with his general policy Augustus did not interfere with the old republican offices, but allowed them to remain as undisturbed as possible. The consuls, prætors, quæstors, and other officers continued to be elected just as they had been before. But the emperor did not generally use these magistrates to carry out the details of his administration. This was performed by other officers appointed by himself. The position of the old republican magistrates was rather one of honour than one of executive responsibility.

The Imperial Army.—While the emperor knew that his power must have some military support, he was careful not to make the army a burden to the people. He therefore reduced the number of legions from fifty to twenty-five. As

each legion contained not more than six thousand men, the whole army did not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. These legions were distributed through the frontier provinces; the inner provinces and Italy were thus not burdened by the quartering of troops. To support the imperial authority at home, and to maintain public order, Augustus organized a body of nine thousand men called the "prætorian guard," which force was stationed at different points outside of Rome.

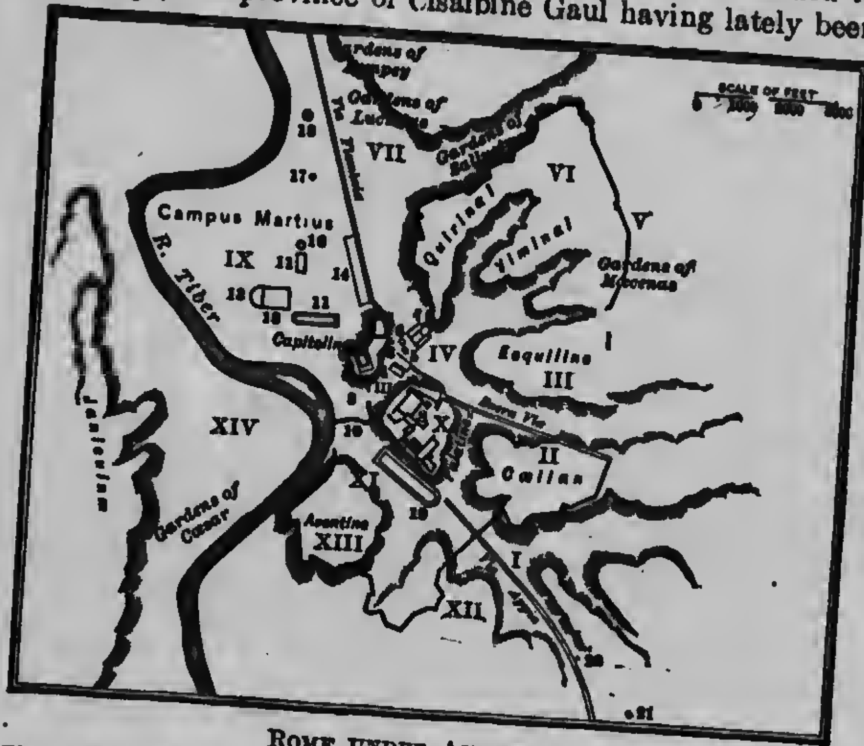
II. The Imperial Administration

The Administration of Rome.—The whole empire may be regarded as made up of three parts—Rome, Italy, and the provinces. We are now to look at the improvements which Augustus made in these three spheres of administration. We have read enough of the distracted condition of the Roman city during the last hundred years to see the need of some improvement. Augustus met this need by creating certain new officers to keep the city under better control. He established a city police under the charge of a chief (*præfectus urbi*), to preserve order and prevent the scenes of violence which had been of such frequent occurrence. He created a fire and detective department under the charge of another chief (*præfectus vigilum*), to have jurisdiction over all incendiaries, burglars, and other night-prowlers. He placed the grain supply under a regular officer (*præfectus annonæ*) who was to superintend the transportation of grain from Egypt, and was held responsible for its proper distribution. Moreover, he broke up the "secret clubs" which had been hot beds of disorder, and substituted in their place more orderly socie-

Prætorian Guards

ties under the supervision of the government. For administrative purposes the city was divided into fourteen districts, or wards. By these arrangements, life and property became more secure, and the populace became more orderly and law-abiding.

The Administration of Italy.—Italy was now extended to the Alps, the province of Cisalpine Gaul having lately been



ROME UNDER AUGUSTUS

The "Regions" of Augustus: I., Porta Capena; II., Caelimontium; III., Isis et Serapis; IV., Templum Pacis; V., Esquiliae; VI., Alta Semita; VII., Via Lata; VIII., Forum Romanum; IX., Circus Flaminius; X., Palatium; XI., Circus Maximus; XII., Piscina Publica; XIII., Aventinus; XIV., Trans Tiberim.

Chief Buildings: 1, Arx; 2, Capitolium; 3, Forum Romanum; 4, Basilica Julia; 5, Curia (Senate House); 6, Forum of Julius; 7, Forum of Augustus; 8, Palace of the Caesars; 9, Forum Boarium; 10, Cloaca Maxima; 11, Circus Flaminius; 12, Portico of Pompey; 13, Theatre of Pompey; 14, Saepta Julia (voting booths); 15, Baths of Agrippa; 16, Pantheon; 17, Solarium (obelisk); 18, Mausoleum of Augustus; 19, Circus Maximus; 20, Tomb of Scipio; 21, Temple of Mars.

joined to the peninsula. The whole of Italy was divided by Augustus into eleven "regions," or administrative districts. In order to maintain the splendid system of roads which had

been constructed during the republican period, the emperor appointed a superintendent of highways (*curator viarum*) to keep them in repair. He also established a post system by which the different parts of the peninsula could be kept in communication with one another. He suppressed brigandage by establishing military patrols in the dangerous districts. It was his policy to encourage everywhere the growth of a healthy and vigorous municipal life. To relieve the poverty of Italy he continued the plan of Julius Cæsar in sending out colonies into the provinces, where there were better opportunities to make a living.

The Administration of the Provinces.—During the reign of Augustus the number of provinces was increased by taking in the outlying territory south of the Rhine and the Danube. The new frontier provinces were Rhætia, Nor′icum, Pannonia, and Mœsia. The provinces were not only increased in number, but were thoroughly reorganized. They were first divided into two groups,—the *senatorial*, or those which remained under the control of the senate; and the *imperial*, or those which passed under the control of the emperor. The latter were generally on the frontiers, and required the presence of an army and a military governor. The governors of the imperial provinces were lieutenants (*lega′ti*) of the emperor. Appointed by him, and strictly responsible to him, they were no longer permitted to prey upon their subjects, but were obliged to rule in the name of the emperor and for the welfare of the people. The senatorial provinces, on the other hand, were still under the control of proconsuls and proprætors appointed by the senate. But the condition of these provinces was also greatly improved. The establishment of the new government thus proved to be a great benefit to the provincials. Their property became more secure, their commerce revived, their cities became prosperous and their lives were made more tolerable.

The Finances of the Empire.—With the division of the provinces, the administration of the finances was also divided between the senate and the emperor. The revenues of the senatorial provinces went into the treasury of the senate, or the *ærarium;* while those of the imperial provinces passed

into the treasury of the emperor, or the *fiscus*. The old wretched system of farming the revenues, which had disgraced the republic and impoverished the provincials, was reformed. The collection of the taxes in the senatorial as well as the imperial provinces was placed in the charge of imperial officers. It was not long before the cities themselves were allowed to raise by their own officers the taxes due to the Roman government. Augustus also laid the foundation of a sound financial system by making careful estimates of the revenues and expenditures of the state; and by raising and expending the public money in the most economical and least burdensome manner.

The Frontiers of the Empire.—By the wars of Augustus, the boundaries of the empire were extended, generally speaking, to the Rhine and the Danube on the north, to the Atlantic Ocean on the west, to the desert of Africa on the south, and nearly to the Euphrates on the east. The only two great frontier nations which threatened to disturb the peace of Rome were the Parthians on the east and the Germans on the north. The Parthians still retained the standards lost by Crassus; but Augustus by his skilful diplomacy was able to recover them without a battle. He abandoned, however, all design of conquering that Eastern people. But his eyes looked longingly to the country of the Germans. He invaded their territory; and after a temporary success his general, Varus, was slain and three Roman legions were utterly destroyed by the great German chieftain, Arminius, in the Teutoburg forest (9 A. D.). The attempt to conquer Germany thus proved a failure. The frontiers remained for many years where they were fixed by Augustus; and he advised his successors to govern well the territory which he left to them rather than to increase its limits.

III. The Age of Augustus

The Advisers of Augustus.—The remarkable prosperity that attended the reign of Augustus has caused this age to be called by his name. The glory of this period is largely due to the wise policy of Augustus himself; but in his work he

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was greatly assisted by two men whose names are closely linked to his own. These men were Agrippa and Mæce'nas.

Agrippa had been from boyhood one of the most intimate friends of Augustus, and during the trying times of the later republic had constantly aided him by his counsel and his sword. The victories of Augustus before and after he came to power were largely due to this able general. By his artistic ability Agrippa also contributed much to the architectural splendour of Rome.

MÆCENAS

The man who shared with Agrippa the favour and confidence of Augustus was Mæcenas, a wise statesman and patron of literature. It was by the advice of Mæcenas that many of the important reforms of Augustus were adopted and carried out. But the greatest honour is due to Mæcenas for encouraging those men whose writings made this period one of the "golden ages" of the world's literature. It was chiefly the encouragement given to architecture and literature which made the reign of Augustus an epoch in civilization.

En'couragement to Architecture.—It is said that Augustus boasted that he "found Rome of brick and left it of marble." He restored many of the temples and other buildings which had either fallen into decay or been destroyed during the riots of the civil war. On the Palatine hill he began the construction of the great imperial palace, which became the magnificent home of the Cæsars. He built a new temple of Vesta, where the sacred fire of the city was kept burning. He erected a new temple to Apollo, to which was attached

a library of Greek and Latin authors; also temples to Jupiter Tonans and to the divine Julius. One of the noblest and most useful of the public works of the emperor was the new Forum of Augustus, near the old Roman Forum and the Forum of Julius. In this new forum was erected the temple of Mars the Avenger (*Mars Ultor*), which Augustus built to commemorate the war by which he had avenged the death of Cæsar. We must not forget to notice the massive Pantheon, the temple of all the gods, which is to-day the best preserved monument of the Augustan period. This was

THE PANTHEON (Restoration)

built by Agrippa, in the early part of Augustus's reign (27 B. C.), but was altered to the form shown above by the emperor Ha'drian (second century A. D.).

Patronage of Literature.—But more splendid and enduring than these temples of marble were the works of literature which this age produced. At this time was written Vergil's "Æneid," which is one of the greatest epic poems of the world. It was then that the "Odes" of Horace were composed, the grace and rhythm of which are unsurpassed. Then, too, were written the elegies of Tibul'lus, Proper'tius, and Ov'id. Greatest among the prose writers of this time was Livy, whose "pictured pages" tell of the miraculous

origin of Rome, and her great achievements in war and in peace. During this time also flourished certain Greek writers whose works are famous. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote a book on the antiquities of Rome, and tried to reconcile his countrymen to the Roman sway. Strabo, the geographer, described the subject lands of Rome in the Augustan age. The whole literature of this period was inspired with a growing spirit of patriotism and an appreciation of Rome as the great ruler of the world.

Religious and Social Reforms.—With his encouragement of art and literature Augustus also tried to improve the religious and moral condition of the people. The old religion was falling into decay. With the restoration of the old temples, he hoped to bring the people back to the worship of the ancient gods. The worship of Juno, which had been neglected, was restored, and assigned to the care of his wife, Livia, as the representative of the matrons of Rome. Augustus tried to purify the Roman religion by discouraging the introduction of the foreign deities whose worship was corrupt. He believed that even a great Roman had better be worshipped than the degenerate gods and goddesses of Syria and Egypt; and so the divine Julius was added to the number of the Roman gods. He did not favour the Jewish religion; and Christianity had not yet been preached at Rome.

LIVIA, WIFE OF AUGUSTUS

With the attempt to restore the old Roman religion, he also wished to revive the old morality and simple life of the past. He himself disdained luxurious living and foreign fashions. He tried to improve the lax customs which prevailed in respect to marriage and divorce, and to restrain the vices

which were destroying the population of Rome. But it is difficult to say whether these laudable attempts of Augustus produced any real results upon either the religious or the moral life of the Roman people.

Death and Character of Augustus.—Augustus lived to the age of seventy-five; and his reign covered a period of forty-five years. During this time he had been performing "the difficult part of ruling without appearing to rule, of being at once the autocrat of the civilized world and the first citizen of a free commonwealth." His last words are said to have been, "Have I not played my part well?" But it is not necessary for us to suppose that Augustus was a mere actor. The part which he had to perform in restoring peace to the world was a great and difficult task. In the midst of the conflicting views which had distracted the republic for a century, he was called upon to perform a work of reconciliation. And it is doubtful whether any political leader ever performed such a work with greater success. When he became the supreme ruler of Rome, he was fully equal to the place, and brought order out of confusion. He was content with the substance of power and indifferent to its form. Not so great as Julius Cæsar, he was yet more successful. He was one of the greatest examples of what we may call the "conservative reformer," a man who accomplishes the work of regeneration without destroying existing institutions.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The New Imperial Government.—The Policy of Augustus.—Titles and Powers of Augustus.—Augustus and the Senate.—The Assemblies of the People.—The Republican Magistrates.—The Imperial Army.

II. The Imperial Administration.—The Administration of Rome.—The Administration of Italy.—The Administration of the Provinces.—The Finances of the Empire.—The Frontiers of the Empire.

III. The Age of Augustus.—The Advisers of Augustus.—Encouragement to Architecture.—Patronage of Literature.—Religious and Social Reforms.—Death and Character of Augustus.

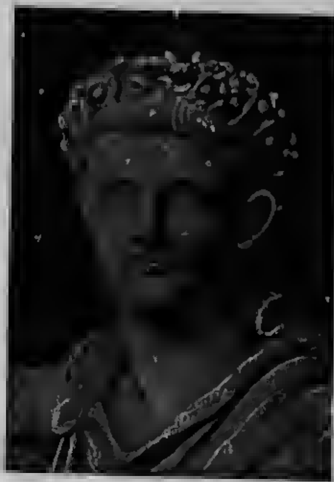
CHAPTER XXVIII

THE EARLY EMPIRE FROM AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN

I. The Julian Emperors (14-69 A. D.)

Tiberius and Caligula.—We shall now see that the imperial system established by Augustus was put to a severe test by the character of the men who immediately followed him. These rulers were related to the family of Julius and Augustus; but they had neither the great ability of Julius nor the adroit skill of Augustus. Of the first two of these emperors—Tiberius and Calig′ula—the one is usually characterized as a tyrant, and the other as a maniac.

Tiberius (14-37 A. D.) was the adopted stepson of Augustus. He was an able general, and had had considerable experience as an administrator. But in his personal character, he presented a striking contrast to his predecessor. Instead of being generous and conciliatory like Augustus, he was sour and suspicious, and often severe and cruel in his treatment of others. He was, on this account, a very unpopular ruler. Even at his accession, the Roman legions on the Rhine and Danube were not disposed to accept his authority. But under the loyal generals—especially German′icus, the nephew of



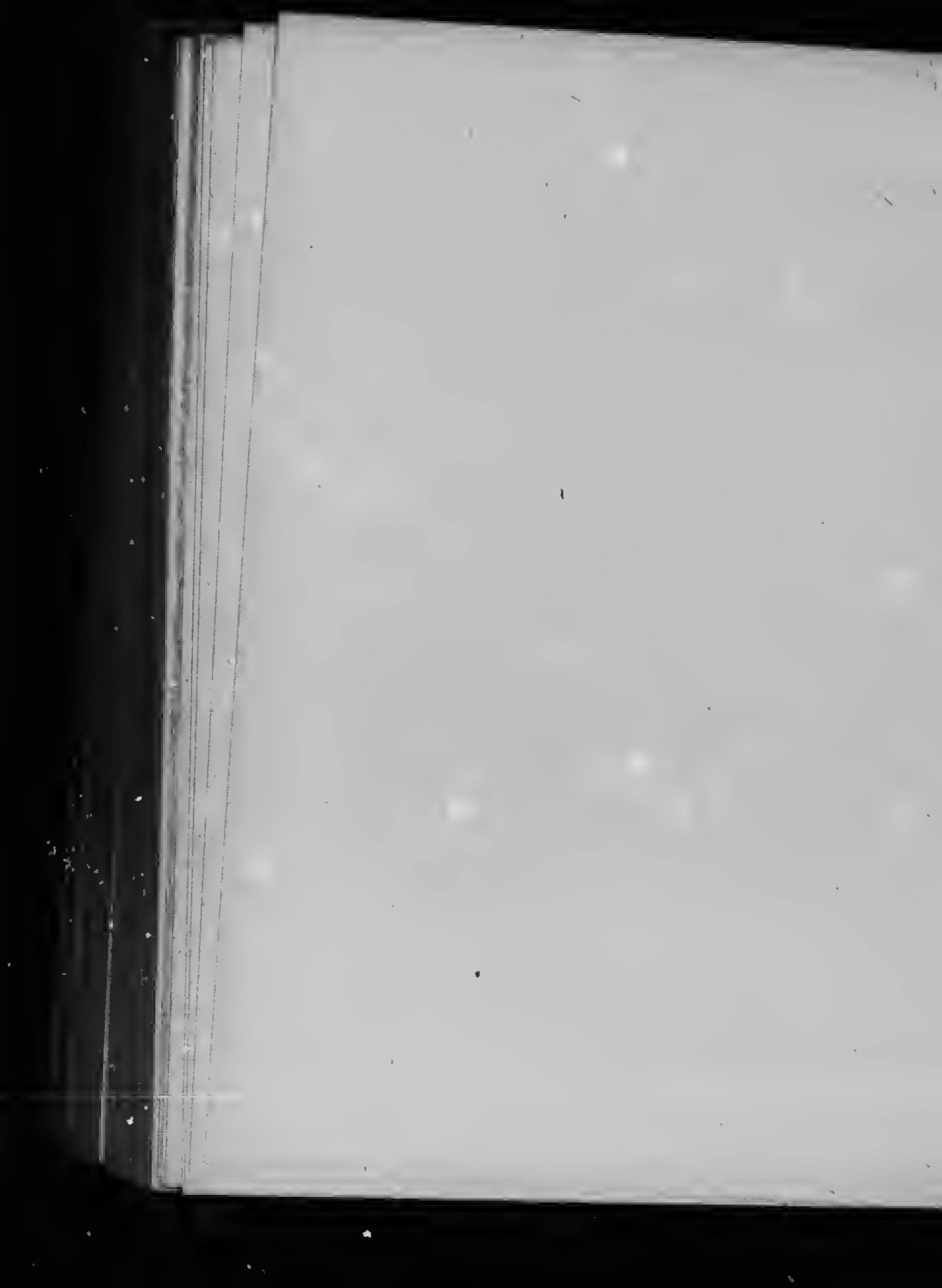
TIBERIUS

Tiberius—they became reconciled and made successful campaigns against the frontier nations. It is true that Tiberius tried to follow in general the policy of Augustus; but sur-

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 17.

ROMAN DOMINIONS
At the Death of Augustus
A.D. 14

Italy and the Provinces
Dependent States.



rounded, as he was, by those whom he could not trust, he sought to strengthen his position by severe and tyrannical methods. His administration was at first vigorous, and the people prospered. He maintained the frontier, and managed the finances with skill and economy; and he also protected the provinces from the rapacity of the governors. But his life at Rome was embittered by court jealousies and intrigues. He retired at last to the island of Capri in the bay of Naples, leaving the control of affairs to his favourite adviser Seja'nus, the commander of the prætorian guards. Sejanus proved to be a more cruel and unscrupulous despot than Tiberius; and the last part of this reign was to a large extent filled with his wickedness and crimes.

Tiberius made no provision for a successor. The senate, therefore, chose as emperor a young favourite of the army, Gaius Cæsar, the son of the famous general Germanicus, who was a descendant of Augustus. Gaius (37-41 A. D.) is usually known as Caligula ("Little Boots"), a nickname given to him, when a boy, by the soldiers. After a brief period, in which he showed his respect for the senate and the people, his mind, already diseased, gave way; and he indulged in all the wild freaks of an insane person. Many strange stories are told of this delirious young man, which should perhaps excite our pity quite as much as our condemnation. His brief reign of four years has little political significance, except as showing that the empire could endure even with a mad prince on the throne.

CALIGULA

Claudius and Nero.—Of the two remaining princes of the Julian line—Claudius and Nero—one is generally known as a moral weakling, and the other as a moral monster. Claudius (41-54 A. D.) was the brother of Germanicus, and was proclaimed by the soldiers. Although the senate did not con-

sider him as a fit person to rule, still the choice of the sol
was ratified. The Roman nobles were disgusted with

Claudius

new emperor, because he
ceived the advice of freed
and provincials. But a
matter of fact these freed
were often educated Gre
and proved to be wise coun
lors and skilled administrat
Although Claudius was pers
ally a weak and timid man,
held before him the exam
of Augustus. He maintai
the purity of the senate.
extended the franchise to o
lying communities. He aba
doned the tyrannical metho
of Tiberius. He construct
many public works which benefited the people; and
looked after the interests of the provinces. We may lo
upon Claudius personally as a weakling; but his reign was marked by prudence and a wise regard for the interests of his subjects.

Nero

Claudius was followed by a ruler whose career proved to be as disgraceful as that of Caligula, and far more criminal. This ruler was Nero (54-68), a grandson of Germanicus. He was proclaimed by the soldiers and accepted by the senate. The early part of the reign was full of hope and promise. During this time he was under the influence of the wise philosopher Sen′eca, and the able commander of the prætorian guards, Burrhus. After five years of beneficent rule (the *quinquennium Neronis*) the young prince threw aside his counsellors, and abandoned himself not to a diseased mind,

like Caligula, but to his own depraved nature. Then followed a career of wickedness, debauchery, extortion, and atrocious cruelty which it is not necessary to describe, but which has rendered the name of this prince a synonym of all that is vicious in human nature and despicable in a ruler.

The Emperor and the Empire.—If we could get a correct idea of the Roman world under the Julian line, we must distinguish between the character of the emperors and the condition of the empire. When we consider the severe and tyrannical methods of Tiberius, the wild vagaries of Caligula, the weakness and timidity of Claudius, and the cruelty and wickedness of Nero, we can find little to admire in the personal character of these princes. But when we turn from the princes themselves to the world over which they professed to rule, we find that the empire itself was little affected by their peculiarities. While the palace and the capital may have presented scenes of intrigue and bloodshed, the world in general was peaceful and prosperous. This condition of things was no doubt due to the thoroughness of the work done by the great founders of the empire, Julius and Augustus. The imperial system, which had for its purpose the welfare of the people, was not overthrown. The empire prospered in spite of the emperors. But it should be said that when the emperors or their advisers seriously considered the needs of the empire at all, they generally followed the policy of Augustus; and when they were oblivious of these needs, the world moved peacefully on without their aid.

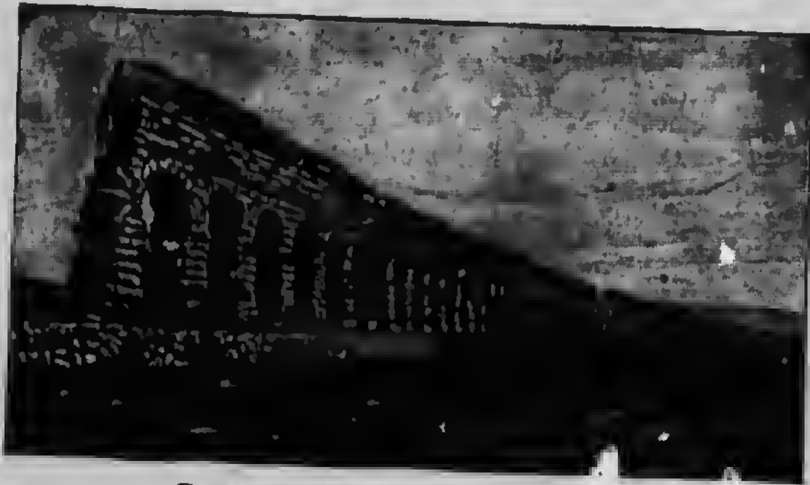
Monarchical Tendencies.—So far as there were any actual changes made in the government, they tended to strengthen the monarchical power. Such changes were made chiefly by Tiberius. In the first place, this emperor took away from the assemblies the power of electing the magistrates, and transferred this power to the senate; so that the people could now neither make their own laws, nor choose their own officers. In the next place, Tiberius changed the existing law of treason (*lex maiestatis*), so that it applied not only to offences against the state, but to offences against the emperor himself; and to carry out this law he instituted a class of informers or detectives (*delatores*) to spy out the enemies

of the prince. Moreover, to give a stronger military suppor
to his authority, Tiberius gathered together into a singl
camp near Rome the prætorian guard, which had hithert
been scattered over Italy. Finally, there was growing u
during the Julian period an imperial council, made up o
persons selected by the emperor, whom he could consult i
preference to the senate. These changes were intended t
strengthen the power of the prince, and to weaken the power
of the senate and the people. It should be noticed, however,
in this connection, that the law of high treason and the practice of "delation," established by Tiberius, were discouraged
especially by Claudius, and also by the other emperors
during the sane periods of their administration.

Condition of the Provinces.—Although we must see a great deal in the early imperial system of which we in our day do not approve, still the establishment of the empire was a great benefit to the Roman provinces. The provincials, speaking generally, suffered no longer from the oppression and extortion which existed under the old republic. They were no longer plundered to support an avaricious class of nobles at Rome. Even Tiberius, who was tyrannical in many respects, was especially anxious concerning the welfare of the provinces. Claudius, also, was generous in extending the rights of citizenship. It is true that the public or political right involved in the *civitas* had now no special importance; but it is also true that the private or civil rights were still a valuable possession for Roman subjects. During this time, also, the provinces were extended (by the emperor Claudius) so as to include Thrace, Lycia in Asia Minor, Mauretania in Africa, and the southern part of Britain.

Public Works.—The encouragement given to public works by Augustus was continued by his successors, especially by Claudius. This emperor constructed the Claudian aqueduct, which brought water to the city of Rome from a distance of forty-five miles. He also built a new harbour —the *Portus Romanus*—at the mouth of the Tiber near Ostia. To improve the agriculture of certain districts in central Italy he constructed a great tunnel to drain the

Fucine lake—a work which required the labour of thirty thousand men for eleven years. During the reign of Nero a great fire occurred at Rome, which consumed a large part



RUINS OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUE[illegible]T

of the city. This resulted in the rebuilding of the city on a more magnificent scale, with wider streets and more splendid edifices.

The Christians at Rome.—The burning of Rome was charged by Nero upon the Christians, in order, as Tacitus says, to remove the burden of suspicion from himself. This is the first time that the Christians are noticed by the Roman historians. The new religion had appeared in Judea about half a century before this time, and had made rapid progress in the eastern provinces. As the Romans were generally tolerant of all religions, there was at first no opposition to the spread of Christianity. There was now a large community of Christians at Rome, made up of converted Jews and other persons from the lower classes. They were despised by the upper classes; and the fire at Rome furnished the occasion of the first persecution. The innocent disciples of the new religion were subjected by Nero to the most revolting tortures—which alone should make the name of this emperor execrated by the human race.

II. The Flavian Emperors (69-96 A.D.)

The Disputed Succession.—With the death of Nero Julian line, which traced its descent from Julius and Aug tus, became extinct. We may now discover one gr defect of the imperial system—that is, the lack of a definite law of succession. In theory, the selection of new emperor rested with t senate, with which he was su posed to share his power. B in fact, it depended upon t army, upon which his pow rested for support. Since t time of Tiberius, the choice the prince had been assumed b the prætorian guards. But no the provincial armies also claim ed the right to name the em peror's successor; so that i seemed evident, as Tacitus says "that a prince could be made elsewhere than at Rome." Bu it was not so clear which of the armies had the greatest right to make this choice. Hence we find different claimants for the throne—Galba, supported by the Spanish soldiers, and soon afterwards Otho, supported by the prætorian guards, Vitellius by the troops on the Rhine, and Vespa'sian by the army in Syria. These disputed claims led to a war of succession, which lasted about a year—the first civil war which had occurred within a century, or since the battle of Actium. After the other claimants had ruled in succession for brief terms, Vespasian was finally victorious and made his position secure.

Galba

Vespasian and Titus.—With Vespasian (Flavius Vespasianus; 69-79 A.D.) began a new line of emperors, known as the Flavian line; this consisted of Vespasian himself and his two sons, Titus and Domitian (*do-mish'i-an*). The rule of Vespasian and that of his older son Titus were so nearly alike and were so closely related to each other as to form

almost one continuous reign. Vespasian did not belong to any of the old Roman families, but was born in one of the outlying towns of Italy, and might be called a man of the people. He proved to be an able, upright, and efficient prince, and his judicious rule brought in a new era of prosperity for the empire. He restored Rome from the disorder resulting from the recent civil war. By his economy he rescued the treasury from the bankrupt condition into which it had been plunged by his predecessors. He constructed new buildings for the capital, the most important of which was the great Colosse'um, or Flavian Amphitheatre. He appointed good governors for the provinces, and extended the Latin right to the people of Spain. The only important disturbances during his rule were the revolt of Civi'lis, the governor of Gaul, which was speedily put down, and an unfortunate rebellion of the Jews, which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem.

VESPASIAN

TITUS

Titus (79-81 A. D.) had already been associated with Vespasian in the government, so that the change to the new reign was scarcely noticeable. The new prince ruled but a short time. But during this brief period he followed the benevolent policy of his father, and won from the people the title of "the Delight of Mankind." The story is told of him that one evening he recalled the fact that he had granted no favour to any one since the morning, and in regret ex-

claimed to his friends, "I have lost a day." But the s
reign of Titus, delightful as it was, was marked by two g
calamities. One was a very destructive fire which sw
over the city; and the other was a terrible eruption of
Vesuvius, which destroyed the cities of Pompe'ii and H
cula'neum.

The Tyranny of Domitian.—The happy period begun
Vespasian and Titus was interrupted by the exceptio
tyranny of Domitian (87-96 A.D.). The reign of this pri
stands out by itself as a d
blot upon an era of general ha
piness and prosperity. Inste
of following in the footsteps
his father and elder brother,
seems to have taken for h
models Tiberius and Ne
Morose and severe by natur
he became cruel and tyrannica
He revived the almost obsole
law of Tiberius regarding trea
son, restored the wretched prac
tice of delation, and resorted t
extortions and confiscations. H
persecuted the Jews and th
Christians. Like Tiberius, he
was suspicious of those about him

DOMITIAN

and lived in perpetual fear of assassination. His fears were
finally realized, and he was murdered by a freedman of the
palace. The most important event of his reign was the
extension of the Roman power in Britain under the able
governor and general Agric'ola—which event paved the
way for the advance of civilization in that province.

Classes of Roman Society.—If we now look at the condition
of society under the Flavian emperors, we shall notice that
certain changes had taken place since the time of the republic.
The general tendency of the imperial system was to create
a greater degree of equality among the various classes.
The wide distinctions which existed under the republic were
breaking down, and the social grades were merging together.

This will appear by considering the different classes of the Roman people:

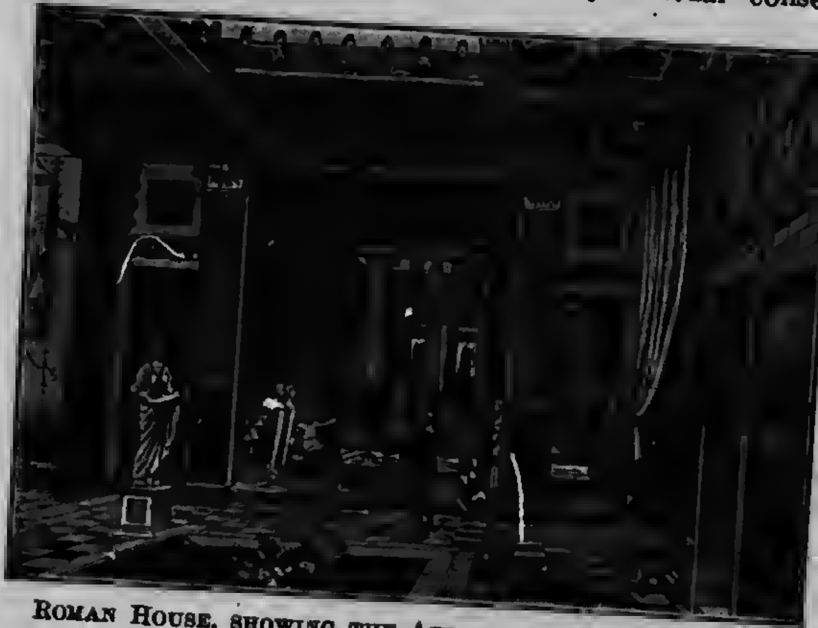
(1) At the top of the social scale were the emperor and the imperial household. Although the position of the emperor was becoming more and more exalted, it was also becoming recognized that the position could be held by a man of humble origin, as in the case of Vespasian. Nearest the emperor were the so-called "friends of Cæsar," who made up his household and the coterie of his selected guests. These persons were chosen from all classes and were often freedmen and provincials, whose honoured position depended solely upon the favour of the prince.

(2) Next were the aristocratic classes, who still formed a sort of nobility—the senators and equites. But the senatorial order was not now restricted, as formerly, to certain favoured Roman families. On the contrary, the senators were selected by the emperor on account of their wealth, ability, or influence, and were chosen from persons from every part of the empire—Rome, Italy, and the provinces. The equestrian order, also, was becoming less and less an exclusive body, and admission to it was a gift of the prince. It had no important political privileges, although it came to be customary for the emperor to select his officials from its members.

(3) The great body of the common people consisted of the professional classes, the lawyers, teachers, writers, physicians; the commercial classes, the merchants, bankers, traders; the artisan classes, the smiths, weavers, fullers, bakers, etc.; and the agricultural classes, the farmers and free labourers. So far as their strictly civil rights were concerned—that is, the rights of person, of property, of inheritance, of contract, and of suing in a court of justice—all these people were on a plane of practical equality with the upper classes.

(4) The slaves were, of course, at the bottom of the social scale, and were deprived of civil rights. But their condition was better than in the time of the republic. They were treated with more respect; their lives were protected; and there were increased facilities for manumission.

Domestic Life; Houses, Food, Dress.—To obtain a ge idea of the life of the Rc an people under the empire may first look at the Roman citizen in his own home, w he ruled as the head of his houshold. The Romans now beginning to look upon the family more as a legal t as a religious institution. The formal ceremonies wh in ancient times, had usually accompanied marriage often dispensed with; and the relation between husb and wife was looked upon as a mere civil contract, wh might be entered into and broken by mutual cons



ROMAN HOUSE, SHOWING THE ATRIUM IN THE FOREGROUND

Divorces became common, and the general morals of society were corrupted. The home, especially in the city, did not present the simple, domestic life of the ancients, but was affected by the general passion for luxury and fondness for display. This is seen in the structure of the houses, the preparation of the food, and even in the character of the dress.

(1) The Roman houses were no longer the simple structures of the early republic, but were modelled after the

most elaborate houses of the later Greeks, which had begun to show the effect of an Oriental taste. The excavations among the ruins of Pompeii have given us much knowledge of this domestic architecture. The principal room was the large reception room (*atrium*), entered from the street by a vestibule; it was supported by marble columns, and paved with mosaic; it was lavishly decorated with ivory, gold, and precious stones, and adorned with statues of bronze and marble. On either side of the atrium were the library and the picture gallery, besides rooms for conversation. Leading to the rear was the peristyle, or open court, containing a garden and fountain, and surrounded by rows of columns. Beyond the peristyle were the dining-room, the dormitories, the bathrooms, the kitchen, and the larder. The furniture was elaborate and expensive—carved tables and chairs of valuable woods, besides cabinets in which silver vessels were displayed.

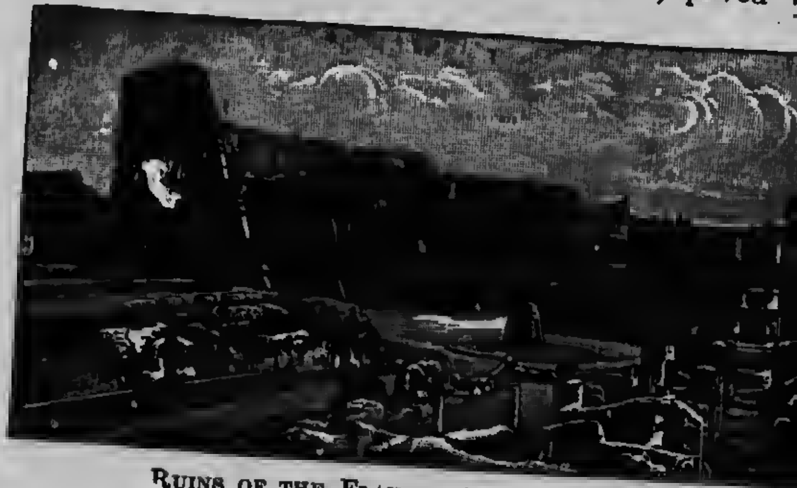
(2) In the elaborate preparation of their food and in their costly banquets the Romans showed great fondness for display. Not satisfied with the simple meals of their ancestors, they vied with one another in obtaining the rarest delicacies from Italy and other parts of the world. Fortunes were spent upon single feasts; and gluttony was reduced to what was supposed to be a fine art.

(3) In very ancient times the Romans wore but a single garment, the tunic, made of wool. Afterwards, the men adopted the *toga*, a loose garment thrown in ample folds about the person; and the women began to wear the *stola*, patterned after the Greek robe, together with the *palla*, or shawl, large enough to cover the whole figure. During the later republic and under the empire, the dress of the Romans became more expensive, being made of the richer materials of linen and silk imported from the East, and more elaborately trimmed; and a growing taste for expensive jewelry and other personal ornaments was developed among the Roman women.

Social Life and Amusements.—The social enjoyment of the Romans was in some respects like that of the Greeks, being found chiefly outside of the home. The Forum was to

Rome what the Agora was to Athens, a centre of publi[c] social life. But the ordinary Roman had not the [G] taste for intellectual companionship; he rather sough[t] chief recreation in the baths and in the crowds of the ci[rcus,] the theatre, and the amphitheatre.

(1) In their baths the Romans of the empire showed growing appreciation of the luxuries of life. The pri[vate] baths of the dwelling house no longer satisfied their ne[eds.] Public baths (*thermæ*) on an enormous scale were buil[t by] the emperors. These contained a large number of ro[oms] supported by columns of granite or marble, paved



RUINS OF THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE

mosaic, and adorned with works of art. They included no[t] only bathing rooms, but gymnasia for exercising, garden[s] for lounging, galleries of statues and paintings, libraries fo[r] reading, and halls for conversation. The baths became centres of social life, where the rich and poor, the emperor and the slave, met together—showing the democratic spirit of the life under the empire.

(2) The circus afforded a greater attraction for the people in general. The most important circus of Rome was the Circus Maximus. It was an inclosure about two thousand feet long and six hundred feet wide. Within it were arranged seats for different classes of citizens, a separate box being

reserved for the imperial family. The games consisted chiefly of chariot races. The excitement was due to the reckless driving of the charioteers, each striving to win by upsetting his competitors. There were also athletic sports; running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, throwing the quoit, and hurling the javelin. Sometimes sham battles and sea fights took place.

(3) The Romans were not very much addicted to the theatre, there being only three principal structures of this kind at Rome, those of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus. The theatre was derived from the Greeks and was built in the form of a semicircle, the seats being apportioned, as in the case of the circus, to different classes of persons. The shows consisted largely of dramatic exhibitions, of mimes, pantomimes, and dancing.

(4) The most popular and characteristic amusements of the Romans were the sports of the amphitheatre. This building was in the form of a double theatre, forming an entire circle or ellipse. Such structures were built in different cities of the empire, but none equalled the colossal building of Vespasian, known as the Colosseum. The sports of the amphitheatre were chiefly gladiatorial shows and the combats of wild beasts. The amusements of the Romans were largely sensational, and appealed to the tastes of the populace. Their influence was almost always bad, and tended to degrade the morals of the people.

Life in the Towns; Pompeii and the Graffiti.—When we attempt to get an idea of the life in the various towns scattered over the empire, we find it difficult on account of the few references made to this life by the ancient writers. We may say in general, however, that the cities of the eastern provinces remained to a great extent under the Græco-Oriental influence which followed the conquest of Alexander; while the cities of the western provinces became more thoroughly Romanized. These western towns may, therefore, be regarded as reflections in miniature of the capital city on the Tiber.

The uncovered ruins of Pompeii enable us to judge somewhat of the life in a Roman town. Here we find the remains

of a city of small dimensions, of narrow streets, of hou moderate size, but containing many features which v in Rome itself—forums, theatre, temples, as well basilica and an amphitheatre. These monuments inc a life quite similar to that of the metropolis. In some c houses—like the "House of Pansa"—we see the same for luxury, as is evident in the mosaic work, paintings other works of art. We also find some remarkable evid of the ordinary life of the townsmen in the *graffiti*, or wri left upon the walls of the buildings, some of which ha rise above the dignity of rude scribblings. These are numerous upon the buildings in those places most freque by the crowd. There are advertisements of public sh memoranda of sales, cookery recipes, personal lampo sentimental love effusions, and hundreds of similar rec of the ordinary life and thoughts of this ancient people.

Provincial Life, Travel, and Correspondence.—The gen features that we see in Pompeii were no doubt repeated the various towns throughout the provinces, especially the West. There was evidently the same tendency in cities of Gaul, Spain, and Africa to imitate the culture of central city, to adopt the Roman language, art, and manne But there were certain special features of provincial which are worthy of notice.

With the overthrow of the old system of official despoti that prevailed under the republic, there was a growing int est in public affairs on the part of the people. Each tov vied with other towns in the improvement of the publ works. The growing public spirit is shown in the buildin erected not only by the town itself, but by the generou contributions of wealthy private citizens.

The relations between the people of the provinces wer also becoming closer by the improvement in the means c communication. The empire became covered with a net work of roads, which were now used not merely for th transportation of armies, but for purposes of travel an correspondence. The Appian Way, originally built by Appius Claudius was reconstructed during this period and was the model for the other highways of the

empire. The Romans travelled for business and for pleasure; and by some persons travelling by land or by sea was regarded as a part of one's education. It was a mark of culture to have spent some time in Greece, Asia Minor, or Egypt. Many of the Roman highways were used as post-roads, over which letters might be sent by means of private runners or by government couriers. Foot-runners were accustomed to make a distance of twenty-five miles a day; while a mounted courier, with his relay of horses, might cover a hundred miles in the same time. The postal system of Rome, although hardly to be compared with that of modern times, afforded a useful means for the transmission of official dispatches and for the correspondence between private persons.

Industry and Commerce.—The industrial life of Rome still suffered from the introduction of slave labour which followed the great wars of conquest during the republican period. Practically all the agricultural and manufacturing labour was performed by slaves. This led to the degradation of these forms of industry. Hence Italy ceased to produce the commodities that she needed; and this in turn led to the necessity of importing from the provinces a large part of the grains and manufactured products necessary for consumption. Commerce, therefore, continued to be the most important industry during the imperial period. The mercantile pursuits—those of the merchant, the importer, the banker, the capitalist—were the most honoured occupations. Rome carried on an extensive commerce with all parts of the world. From Spain she imported lumber, wool, linen, and silver ore; from Africa and Egypt, grains and fruit; from Greece, wines. From the seaboard of the eastern Mediterranean she received the luxuries of the Orient—the perfumes of Arabia, the spices, ivory, and precious stones of India, and the silks of China. There were three great commercial routes from the far East—the first by way of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea to Alexandria; the second by way of the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates River, and the Syrian desert to Antioch; and the third by way of the Caspian Sea, the Volga, and the Don to Olbia on the Black Sea.

III. The Five Good Emperors (96-180 A.D.)

Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.—With the death of Dom the empire came back into the hands of wise and benefi rulers. The period of prosperity which began with Vesp was now continued for ne a century. These rulers known as "the five good perors"; and when we sider their uprightness character, their politi ability, and their uniform gard for the welfare of tl subjects, we probably can find in the history of the wo a like series of sovereigns, r ing with equal success for t same length of time. The fi of these rulers was Ner (96-98 A.D.), whose mildne and tolerance contrasted strongly with the severe qualiti of Domitian. Nerva was chosen neither by the prætoria nor by the legions, but by the senate—which fact indicat that the empire was returning to the normal political syste established by Augustus. Within his brief reign, he coul do little except to remedy the wrongs of his predecessor. H forbade the prosecutions for high treason and the practic of delation; he recalled the exiles of Domitian, and relieve the people of some oppressive taxes. In the words of Taci tus, "he blended things once irreconcilable, princely powe and liberty" (*principatum ac libertatem*). To prevent any disturbance at his death, he associated Trajan with himsel in the government.

NERVA

Trajan (98-117 A.D.) has the great distinction of being the first emperor who was not a native either of Rome or of Italy. He was a Spaniard by birth; and this fact shows that the dividing line between Roman and provincial was becoming effaced. Trajan was one of the greatest of the Roman sovereigns. He was a brave soldier, a wise states-

180 A.D.)

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ROMAN DOMINIONS
At the Death of Trajan
A.D. 117
The greatest extent of the Empire

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 18.

man, and an able adminstrator. He had something of the conciliatory spirit of Augustus, and preserved the forms of the republic, while maintaining the authority of the emperor. He restored to the people the right of electing the magistrates, which had been taken away by Tiberius. He respected the rights of the senate, and gave to it liberty of speech. He was also a liberal patron of literature and art. While Trajan followed in the main the policy of Augustus, he departed from this policy in one particular. He did not restrict the frontiers within the limits that Augustus had intended. Under him the Romans became once more a conquering people. This warlike emperor pushed his conquests across the Danube and acquired the new province of Dacia. He also extended his arms into Asia, and as a result of a war with the Parthians brought into subjection Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. It was during the reign of Trajan that the Roman empire reached its greatest extent.

TRAJAN

HADRIAN

The next emperor, Hadrian (117-138 A. D.), was proclaimed by the prætorians. But Hadrian did not regard this as a constitutional act, and requested to be formally elected by the senate. In some respects he was similar to Trajan, with the same statesmanlike ability, and the same desire for the welfare of his subjects. But he differed from Trajan in thinking that the greatness of Rome did not depend upon military glory. He therefore voluntarily gave up the extensive conquests which Trajan

had made in the East, and once more made the Euphrates the frontier of the empire. In this regard he returned to the policy of Augustus, which was to improve the empire rather than to enlarge it. Hadrian showed, if possible, a stronger sympathy with the provinces than any of his predecessors. To become acquainted with their condition and to advance their interests, he spent a large part of his time in visiting them; and he is hence sometimes called "the Traveller." Of his long reign of twenty-one years he spent nearly two-thirds outside of Italy. He made his temporary residence in the chief cities of the empire—in York, Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria—where he was continually looking after the welfare of his people. Hadrian also looked well to the defences of the empire, especially against the German tribes on the north. He not only established military garrisons along the line of frontier rivers, the Danube and the Rhine, but also is said to have erected a fortification connecting the head-waters of these rivers. The most durable evidence of his defensive policy is seen in the extensive wall built on the northern frontier of the province of Britain, the remains of which exist at the present day.

ANTONINUS PIUS

Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. — The two emperors that followed Hadrian belonged to the family of the An'tonines, and were among the purest and most upright characters that we find in Roman history. Antoni'nus Pius (138-161 A. D.) was a senator from the province of Gaul, whom Hadrian had recommended to the senate for election to the principate. As a man and a sovereign his life was inspired with the highest moral principles. As a private citizen he was simple and temperate in his habits; and as an emperor he was the same. His exalted character was reflected in his beneficent reign.

Although not so great a statesman as Hadrian, he was yet more honoured and beloved by his subjects. His reign of twenty-three years is usually known as the "uneventful reign," because there were no wars and calamities to mar the peaceful course of events. But while devoid of startling incidents, the reign of Antoninus was of great importance, because of the purifying influence which the emperor exercised upon law and legislation, and because it marked the beginning of the golden age of Roman jurisprudence.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A. D.), who came to the throne at the death of Antoninus, was in his personal character one of the most remarkable men of antiquity. He was a philosopher as well as an emperor; and his "Meditations" — a book on the conduct of life—has been highly esteemed as a moral text-book by all subsequent generations. But with all his personal worth, his reign was a period of misfortunes. It was now that Rome was afflicted with a deadly plague and famine, the most terrible in her history. In addition to this, the barbarians from the north—the Quadi and Marcomanni — were trying to break through the frontiers on the upper Rhine, and threatening to overrun the provinces. But the emperor met these dangers with courage and patience; and he died at his post of duty while resisting the enemies of Rome. The only blot upon the memory of this noble prince is the fact that he was led to persecute the Christians, whom he regarded as a turbulent sect and whom the people superstitiously believed were the cause of their calamities. This act was thus a great mistake made by a conscientious man.

MARCUS AURELIUS

The Culmination of the Empire.—The death of Marcus Aurelius closed the most prosperous period of Roman history and marks the culmination of the empire. When one looks

at the general condition of the Roman world it will not be difficult to see that the fall of the Roman republic and the establishment of the empire were not an evil, but a great benefit to the Roman people. In place of a century of civil wars and discord which closed the republic, we see more than two centuries of internal peace and tranquillity. Instead of an oppressive and avaricious treatment of the provincials, we see a treatment which is with few exceptions mild and generous. Instead of a government controlled by a proud and selfish oligarchy, we see a government controlled, generally speaking, by a wise and patriotic prince. From the accession of Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius (31 B. C. to 180 A. D.), a period of two hundred and eleven years, only three emperors who held power for any length of time—Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian—are known as tyrants; and their cruelty was confined almost entirely to the city, and to their own personal enemies. The establishment of the empire, we must therefore believe, marked a stage of progress and not of decline in the history of the Roman people. The Roman world reached its highest stage of development in the age of the Antonines, and the period has been called by Gibbon the happiest in the history of mankind.

The Imperial Government and Administration.—It was during this period that the imperial government of Rome furnished the highest example that the world has ever seen of what we may call a "paternal autocracy"—that is, a government in the hands of a single ruler, but exercised solely for the benefit of the people. In this respect the ideals of Julius and Augustus seem to have been completely realized. There was still a certain deference paid to the constitutional forms of the republic; but this deference to the past did not interfere with the emperor's present authority. The senate was treated with respect; but its members, being chosen by the emperor, were of course submissive to his will, and there was no occasion to protest against an authority which received the unqualified support of the people.

An effort was now made by the emperors to give to the administrative system a more complete organization. For

example, the body of advisers which had been occasionally consulted by the previous emperors was organized by Hadrian into a permanent council (*consilium principis*); and he included among its members some of the most eminent jurists. This emperor also gave a more complete organization to the civil service—that is, the body of administrative officers who executed the imperial will. Hitherto, the emperor had relied upon his own private dependents —freedmen and even slaves—to conduct his official business. But Hadrian organized a dignified body of officers drawn from the equites to preside over the departments of administration.

The Provincial and Municipal Systems.—The general organization of the provinces remained very much as it had been established by Augustus. There were still the two classes—the senatorial provinces governed by proconsuls and proprætors appointed by the senate; and the imperial provinces, governed by the *legati*, or emperor's lieutenants. But this distinction was now more formal than real, since the emperor exercised nearly the same supervision over the former as over the latter.

The province was, in fact, a collection of towns or cities; and the political freedom of the provincials depended upon the status of the towns in which they lived. These towns were not all alike. While they generally had their own government and chose their own officers, their relations to Rome were quite various. The different kinds of towns and their relative numbers in the provinces we may judge from Pliny's enumeration of the towns of Bæt'ica, a province in Spain. Here were nine colonies, eight *municipia*, twenty-nine Latin towns, six free towns, three federate towns, and one hundred and twenty tributary towns. The colonies were generally settlements of soldiers or poor citizens sent out from Italy and retaining full Roman rights. The *municipia* were native towns which had received the same rights. The Latin towns were those which received the partial rights of citizenship (*commercium*). The free towns were the native cities which were exempted from all burdens. The federate towns were related to Rome by a special treaty. The tributary towns, which comprised the great mass of

provincial cities, were subject to the Roman tribute or tax, which might be paid in money or in produce. The town had generally for its own government a municipal council (*curia* or *ordo decurionum*), composed of the landed aristocracy (*curiales*) and presided over by two magistrates (*duumviri*). The tendency of all the towns in the West was to conform to this model.

Literature of the Early Empire.—The influence of the early emperors upon the intellectual life of Rome may be seen in the literature. The literary period which followed the brilliant age of Augustus has sometimes been called the "Silver Age." The despotic rule of the Julian emperors was not favourable to letters. Two names of that period, however, stand out with some prominence, those of Seneca and Lucan. Seneca was a distinguished Stoic philosopher and wrote instructive essays upon moral subjects; Lucan wrote a lengthy epic poem describing the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar. Under the patronage of the Flavian emperors occurred a literary revival, which was marked by at least two distinguished writers, Pliny the Elder and Quintilian. Pliny, the most learned man of the day, wrote an extensive work on Natural History; while Quintilian, a native of Spain, was the author of an exhaustive treatise on Oratory. The revival which began under the Flavians culminated in the more vigorous literature of the time of the good emperors. During this time appeared two of the most distinguished of Roman writers—Tacitus, perhaps the greatest of Roman historians, and Ju′venal, the greatest of Roman satirists. Besides these may be mentioned Pliny the Younger, the writer of epistles, and Suetonius, the biographer of the "Twelve Cæsars."

Roman Architecture.—It was during the period of the five good emperors, especially under Trajan and Hadrian, that the architecture of Rome reached its highest development. Roman architecture was still modelled after that of the Greeks, but the Romans continued to use their skill for more practical purposes, and expressed in a remarkable manner the ideas of massive strength and imposing dignity. By their splendid works they have taken rank among the world's

greatest builders. We have already noticed the progress made in the age of Augustus. This progress was continued by his successors, and by the time of Hadrian Rome had become a city of magnificent public buildings. The architectural centre of the city was the Roman Forum, with the additional Forums of the emperors Julius, Augustus, Vespasian, Nerva, and Trajan. Here were the buildings in which the gods were worshipped, the laws were enacted,

MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN (Castle of St. Angelo)

and justice was administered. The most conspicuous buildings which would attract the eyes of one standing in the Forum were the splendid temples of Jupiter and Juno upon the Capitoline hill. Although it is true that the Romans obtained their chief ideas of architectural beauty from the Greeks, it is a question whether Athens, even in the time of Pericles, could have presented such a scene of imposing grandeur as did Rome in the time of Trajan and

Hadrian, with its forums, temples, aqueducts, basilicas, palaces, porticoes, amphitheatres, theatres, circuses, baths, columns, triumphal arches, and tombs.

Roman Philosophy.—As the Romans were essentially a practical people, they had little taste for pure philosophy. They adopted, however, some of the philosophical systems of the Greeks, and paid special attention to the practical or moral side of these systems. Their philosophy was largely the philosophy of life. The two systems which were most popular with them were Epicureanism and Stoicism. The Epicureans believed that happiness was the great end of life. But the high idea of happiness advocated by the Greek philosophers became degraded into the selfish idea of pleasure, which could easily excuse almost any form of indulgence. In Rome we see this idea of life exercising its influence especially upon the wealthy and indolent classes. The Stoics, on the other hand, believed that the end of life is to live according to the highest law of our nature. This doctrine tended to make strong and upright characters. It could not well have a degrading influence; so we find some of the noblest men of Rome adhering to its tenets—such men as Cato, Cicero, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius. But the study of philosophy was restricted mainly to the educated classes, and had little influence upon the common people. The lower classes still retained their old religious notions, or else were gradually accepting the new teachings of Christianity.

Roman Jurisprudence.—The most distinctive product of Roman civilization was the Roman law; and this too reached its highest development under the empire. The Romans had come to believe that law was based upon principles of equality and justice. The rights of all free persons—citizens, Latins, and provincials—were now fully recognized and protected by the Roman courts. This law had been growing and broadening with the growth and extension of the Roman power. It was now scattered in a vast number of decisions and edicts made by the Roman prætors and the provincial governors, as well as by the emperor himself. Hadrian directed one of his jurists—Salvius Julia'nus—to

make a collection of these laws, so that there could be a single code for the whole empire. This collection was called the Perpetual Edict (*Edictum Perpetuum*). But more than this, the Roman jurists were beginning to feel the influence of the Stoic philosophy and to recognize the truth of the high moral precepts laid down by such emperors as Antoninus Pius. They were led to believe that law is a science founded upon the principles of justice, and that the law of the state must be so interpreted as to conform to these principles.

IV. Decline of the Early Empire (180-284 A. D.)

The Period of Military Despotism.—The great defect of the imperial government was the fact that its power rested upon a military basis. It is true that most of the emperors were popular and loved by their subjects. But back of their power was the army, which now more than ever before asserted its claims to the government, and by its usurpation brought the empire to the verge of ruin. This period, extending from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the accession of Diocle'tian (180-284 A. D.), has therefore been called "the period of military despotism." It was a time when the emperors were set up by the soldiers, and generally cut down by their swords. During this period of one hundred and four years, the imperial title was held by twenty-nine different rulers,[1] some few of whom were able and high-minded men, but a large number of whom were weak and despicable. Some of them held their places for only a few months. The history of this time contains for the most part only the records of a declining government. There are few events of importance, except those which illustrate

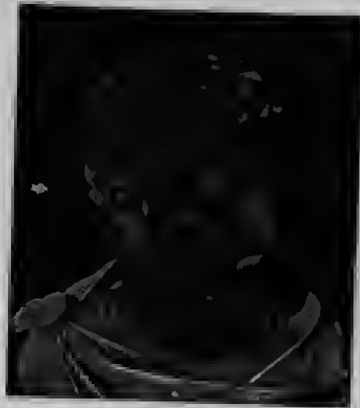
[1] The following table shows the names of these emperors and the date of their accession:

Emperor	Date	Emperor	Date	Emperor	Date
Com'modus	A.D. 180	Gordia'nus I., Gordianus II.	A.D. 237	Gallie'nus	A.D. 260
Per'tinax	" 193	Pupie'nus Maximus, Balbi'nus	" 238	Claudius II.	" 268
Julianus	" 193	Gordianus III.	" 238	Aurelian	" 270
Septimius Seve'rus	" 193	Philip'pus	" 244	Tacitus	" 275
Caracalla, Geta	" 211	Decius	" 249	Floria'nus	" 276
Macri'nus	" 217	Gallus	" 251	Probus	" 276
Elagab'alus	" 218	Æmilia'nus	" 253	Carus	" 282
Alexander Severus	" 222	Valerian	" 253	Cari'nus, Numeria'nus	" 283
Maximi'nus	" 235				

the tyranny of the army and the general tendency towards decay and disintegration.

Septimius Severus (193-211 A. D.).—The reign of Septimius Severus is noted for the re-forming of the prætorian guards, which Augustus had organized and Tiberius had encamped near the city. In place of the old body of nine thousand soldiers Septimius organized a Roman garrison of forty thousand troops selected from the best soldiers of the legions. This was intended to give a stronger military support to the government; but in fact it gave to the army a more powerful influence in the appointment of the emperors.

Edict of Caracalla (211 A. D.).—The Roman franchise, which had been gradually extended by the previous emperors, was now conferred upon all the free inhabitants of the Roman world. This important act was done by Caracalla, whose motive, however, was not above reproach. The edict was issued to increase the revenue by extending the inheritance tax, which had heretofore rested only upon citizens. Notwithstanding the avaricious motive of the emperor, this was in the line of earlier reforms and effaced the last distinction between Romans and provincials. The name of Caracalla is infamous, not only for his cruel proscriptions, but especially for his murder of Papinian, one of the greatest of the Roman jurists, who refused to defend his crimes.



CARACALLA

Elagabalus and Alexander Severus.—We need not dwell upon the different reigns of the dreary period extending from Caracalla to Claudius II; and we shall notice only two princes, who represented the most extreme types of the Roman character. The one was Elagabalus (218-222 A. D.), the most repulsive of the emperors, who took his name from the sun-god worshipped in the East, and who became a devotee of the grossest superstitions and a monster of

wickedness. The other was Alexander Severus (222-235 A. D.), a prince of the purest and most blameless life. He loved the true and the good of all times. It is said that he set up in his private chapel the images of those whom he regarded as the greatest teachers of mankind, including Abraham and Jesus Christ. He selected as his advisers the famous jurists, Ulpian and Paullus. The most important event of his reign was the successful resistance made to the Persians, who had just established a new monarchy (that of the Sassan′idæ) on the ruins of the Parthian empire.

Foreign Dangers of the Empire.—Ever since the time of Augustus it had been the policy of the emperors to maintain the frontiers on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. This policy had been generally carried out with success until the middle of the third century, when the outside nations began to break over these boundaries. There were several of these foreign peoples that were now encroaching upon the Roman territory. On the lower Rhine near the North Sea were a number of barbarous German tribes, united under the general name of Franks. On the upper Rhine in the vicinity of the Alps were various tribes gathered together under the name of Alemanni (all men). Across the Danube and on the northern shores of the Black Sea was the great nation of the Goths, which came to be the terror of Rome. On the east beyond the Euphrates was the new Persian monarchy (that of the Sassanidæ), which was now laying claim to all the Roman provinces in Asia. Under a succession of emperors whose names we need not remember, the Romans were engaged in wars with these various peoples—not now wars for the sake of conquest and glory as in the time of the republic, but wars of defence and for the sake of existence.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS

The Silent Invasions; the Coloni.—The continual pressur of the outside peoples—especially the Germans on the nort —led the emperors to adopt a conciliatory policy, and t grant to these barbarians peaceful settlements within th provinces. Sometimes whole tribes were allowed to settl upon lands assigned to them. Not only the Roman territor but the army and offices of the state were opened to German who were willing to become Roman subjects. The mos able of the barbarian chiefs were even made Roman generals This gradual infiltration of the barbarian population i sometimes called the "silent invasions." A part of the new population was treated in a manner new to them. Instead of being sold as slaves, like captives in war, they were given over to large landed proprietors, and attached to the estates as permanent tenants. This class of persons was called *colo'ni*; they were really serfs attached to the soil. The great body of *coloni* was made up not only of barbarian immigrants, but of manumitted slaves, and even of Roman freemen who could not support themselves. They formed a large part of the later population in the provinces.

Partial Recovery of the Empire (268-284 A. D.).—Under the leadership of five able rulers, the so-called Illyrian emperors—Claudius II, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus—the empire recovered somewhat from the disasters of the preceding years. Claudius II defeated the Goths who had crossed the Danube. Aurelian (270-275 A. D.) built a new and more extensive wall about the city of Rome, restored the Roman authority in the East, and destroyed the city of Palmy'ra, which had been made the seat of an independent kingdom ruled by the famous Queen Zenobia. The successful efforts of these emperors showed that the empire could still be preserved, if properly organized and administered. The events of the third century made it quite clear that if the empire was to continue, and the provinces were to be held together, there must be some radical change in the imperial government. The decline of the early empire thus paved the way for a new form of imperialism.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. THE JULIAN EMPERORS.—Tiberius and Caligula.—Claudius and Nero.—The Emperor and the Empire.—Monarchical Tendencies.—Condition of the Provinces.—Public Works.—The Christians at Rome.

II.—THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS.—The Disputed Succession. — Vespasian and Titus.—The Tyranny of Domitian.—Classes of Roman Society.—Domestic Life: Houses, Food, Dress. — Social Life and Amusements.—Life in the Towns; Pompeii and the Graffiti.—Provincial Life, Travel, and Correspondence.—Industry and Trade.

III. THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS.—Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.—Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.—The Culmination of the Empire.—The Imperial Government and Administration.—The Provincial and Municipal Systems.—Literature of the Early Empire.—Roman Architecture.—Roman Philosophy.—Roman Jurisprudence.

IV. DECLINE OF THE EARLY EMPIRE.—The Period of Military Despotism.—Septimus Severus.—Edict of Caracalla.—Elagabalus and Alexander Severus.—Foreign Dangers of the Empire.—The Silent Invasions; the Coloni.—Partial Recovery of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE LATER EMPIRE UNTIL ITS FINAL DIVISION

I. THE GOVERNMENT OF DIOCLETIAN (284-305 A. D.)

The New Imperialism.—It has been said that the early empire of Augustus and his successors was an absolute monarchy *disguised* by republican forms. This is in general quite true. But the old republican forms had for a long time been losing their hold, and at the time of Diocletian they were ready to be thrown away entirely. By the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine there was established a new form of imperialism—an absolute monarchy *divested* of republican forms. Some of their ideas of reform no doubt came from the new Persian monarchy, which was now the greatest rival of Rome. In this powerful monarchy the Romans saw certain elements of strength which they could use in giving new vigou[illegible] their own government. By

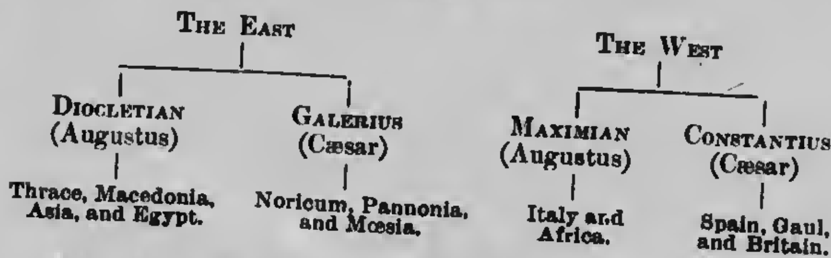
adopting these Oriental ideas, the Roman empire may be said to have become Orientalized.

Diocletian and his Policy.—The first step in the direction of the new imperialism was made by Diocletian. Born of an obscure family in Dalmatia (part of Illyricum), ho had risen by his own efforts to the high position of commander of the Roman army in the East. It was here that he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers. He overcame all opposition, assumed the imperial power, and mado his residence not at Rome, but in Nicomedia, a town in Asia Minor. His whole policy was to give dignity and strength to the imperial authority. He made of himself an Oriental monarch. He assumed the diadem of the East. He wore gorgeous robes of silk and gold such as were worn by Eastern rulers. He compelled his subjects to salute him with low prostrations, and to treat him not as a citizen, but as a superior being. In this way he hoped to make the imperial office respected by the people and the army. The emperor was to be the sole source of power, and as such was to be venerated and obeyed.

DIOCLETIAN

The "Augusti" and "Cæsars."—Diocletian saw that it was difficult for one man alone to manage all the affairs of a great empire. It was sufficient for one man to rule over the East, and to repel the Persians. It needed another to take care of the West and to drive back the German invaders. He therefore associated with him his trusted friend and companion in arms, Maximian. But he was soon convinced

that even this division of power was not sufficient. To each of the chief rulers, who received the title of *Augustus*, he assigned an assistant, who received the title of Cæsar. The two Cæsars were Gale'rius and Constan'tius; and they were to be regarded as the sons and successors of the chief rulers, the Augusti. Each Cæsar was to recognize the authority of his chief; and all were to be subject to the supreme authority of Diocletian himself. The Roman world was divided among the four rulers as follows:



The Last Persecution of the Christians.—In the latter part of his reign Diocletian was induced to issue an edict of persecution against the Christians. It is said that he was led to perform this infamous act by his assistant Galerius, who had always been hostile to the new religion, and who filled the emperor's mind with stories of seditions and conspiracies. An order was issued that all churches should be demolished, that the sacred Scriptures should be burned, that all Christians should be dismissed from public office, and that those who secretly met for public worship should be punished with death. The persecution raged most fiercely in the provinces subject to Galerius; and it has been suggested that the persecution should be known by his name rather than by the name of Diocletian.

Effects of Diocletian's Policy.—The general result of the new policy of Diocletian was to give to the empire a strong and efficient government. The dangers which threatened the state were met with firmness and vigour. A revolt in Egypt was quelled, and the frontiers were successfully defended against the Persians and the barbarians. Public works were constructed, among which were the great Baths of Diocletian at Rome. After a successful reign of twenty-

one years Diocletian voluntarily gave up his power, either on account of ill health, or else to see how his new system would work without his supervision. He retired to his native province of Dalmatia, and spent the rest of his days in his new palace at Salo'na on the shores of the Adriatic.

II. The Reign of Constantine (313-337 A. D.)

Accession and Policy of Constantine.—Even before the death of Diocletian, rivalries sprang up which led to civil war. By a succession of victories Con'stantine established his superiority and became the sole and undisputed ruler of the empire. He was a man of wider views than Diocletian, and had even a greater genius for organization. The work which Diocletian began, Constantine completed. He in fact gave to Roman imperialism the final form which it preserved as long as the empire existed, and the form in which it exercised its great influence upon the modern governments. We should remember that it was not so much the early imperialism of Augustus as the later imperialism of Constantine which reappeared in the empires of modern Europe. This fact will enable us to understand the greatness of Constantine as a statesman and a political reformer. His policy was to centralize all power in the hands of the chief ruler; to surround his person with an elaborate court system, and an imposing ceremonial; and to make all officers, civil and military, responsible to the head of the empire.

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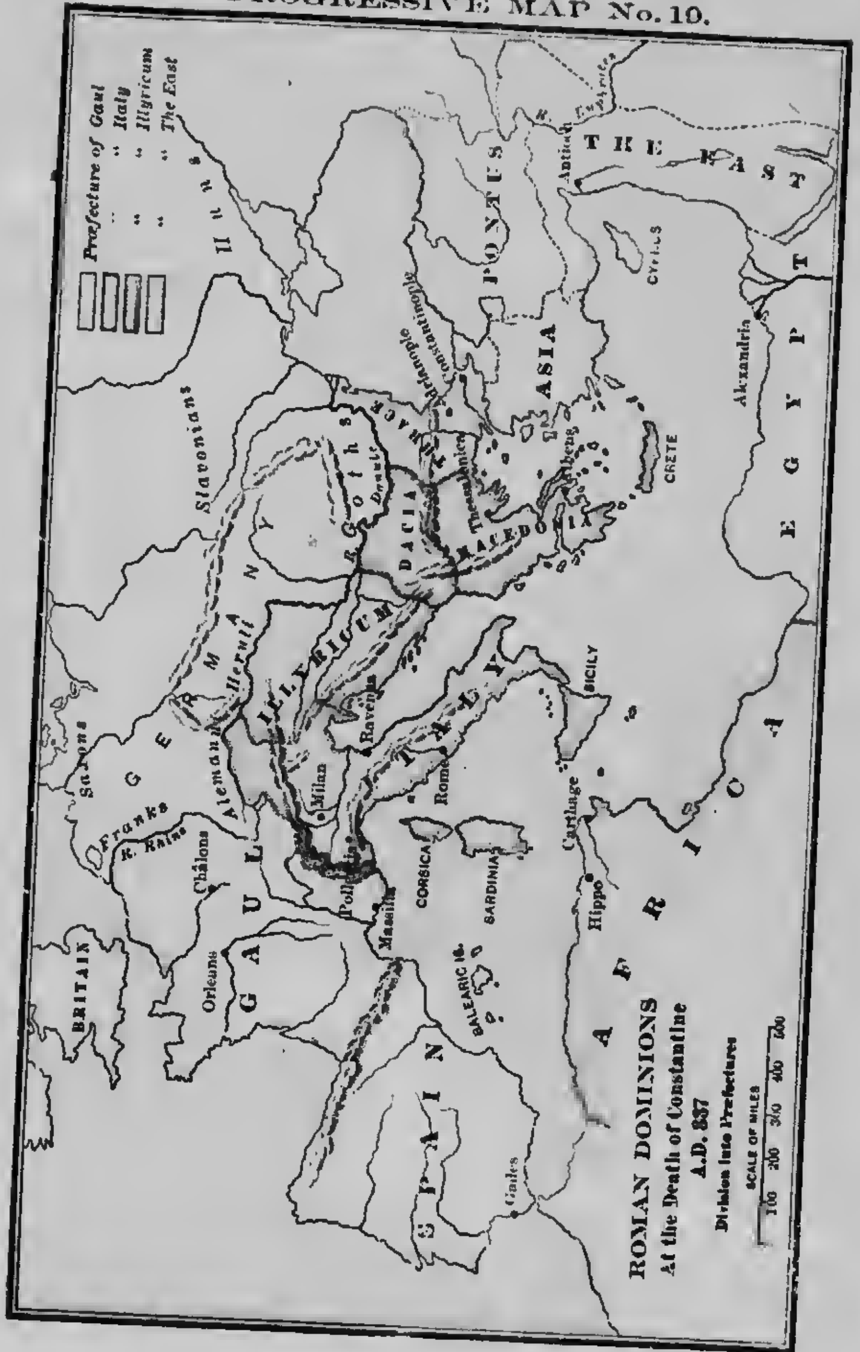

Conversion of Constantine.—Constantine is generally known as the "first Christian emperor." The story of his miraculous conversion is told by his biographer, Euse'bius. It is said that while marching against his rival Maxentius, he beheld in the heavens the luminous sign of the cross, inscribed with the words, "By this sign conquer." As a result of this vision, he accepted the Christian religion; he adopted the cross as his battle standard; and from this time he ascribed his victories to God, and not to himself. The truth of this story has been doubted by some historians; but that Constantine looked upon Christianity in an entirely different light from his predecessors, and that he was an avowed friend of the Christian church, cannot be denied. His mother, Hel'ena, was a Christian, and his father, Constantius, had opposed the persecutions of Diocletian and Galerius. He had himself, while he was ruler in only the West, issued an edict of toleration (313 A. D.) to the Christians in his own provinces.

Adoption of Christianity.—Constantine was therefore prepared, when he became the sole emperor, to reverse the policy of Diocletian and to recognize Christianity as the state religion. How far Constantine himself was a sincere Christian it is not for us to say; but no one can doubt that the adoption of Christianity was an act inspired by political wisdom. A large part of the empire was already Christian, and the recognition of the new religion gave stability to the new government. Constantine, however, in accepting Christianity as the state religion, did not go to the extreme of trying to uproot paganism. The pagan worship was still tolerated, and it was not until many years after this time that it was proscribed by the Christian emperors. For the purpose of settling the disputes between the different sects, Constantine called (325 A. D.) a large council of the clergy at Nice (*Nicæa*, in Asia Minor), which decided what should thereafter be regarded as the orthodox belief.[1]

The New Provincial System.—Another important reform

[1] This was the doctrine regarding the nature of the Son held by Athanasius, as opposed to the doctrine which was held by Arius and condemned as a heresy, receiving the name of "Arianism."

of Constantine was the reorganization of the Roman territory in a most systematic manner. This was based upon Diocletian's division, but was much more complete and thorough. The whole empire was first divided into four great parts, called "prefectures," each under a prætorian prefect subject to the emperor. Each prefecture was then subdivided into dioceses, each under a diocesan governor, called a vicar, subject to the prætorian prefect. Each diocese was further subdivided into provinces, each under a provincial governor called a consular, president, duke, or count. Each province was made up of cities and towns, under their own municipal governments. The new divisions of the empire may be indicated as follows:

(1) The Prefecture of the East—containing the five dioceses of the East, Egypt, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace.

(2) The Prefecture of Illyricum—containing the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia.

(3) The Prefecture of Italy—containing the three dioceses of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa.

(4) The Prefecture of Gaul—containing the three dioceses of Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

The New Military Organization.—Scarcely less important than the new provincial system was the new military organization. One of the chief defects of the early empire was the improper position which the army occupied in the state. This defect is seen in two ways. In the first place, the army was not subordinate to the civil authority. We have seen how the prætorian guards really became supreme, and brought about that wretched condition of things, a military despotism. In the next place, the military power was not separated from the civil power. In the early empire, every governor of a province had not only civil authority, but he also had command of an army, so that he could resist the central government if he were so disposed. But Constantine changed all this. He abolished the Roman garrison or prætorian guard. He gave to the territorial governors only a civil authority; and the whole army was organized under distinct officers, and made completely subject to the central power of the empire. This change tended to

prevent, on the one hand, a military despotism; and, on the other hand, the revolt of local governors.

The military ability of Constantine cannot be questioned. In commemoration of his early victories, the senate erected in the city of Rome a splendid triumphal arch, which stands to-day as one of the finest specimens of this kind of architecture.

The New Capital, Constantinople.—One very important act of Constantine was to break away from the traditions of the old empire by establishing a new capital. The old city

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

of Rome was filled with the memories of paganism and the relics of the republic. It was the desire of Constantine to give the empire a new centre of power, which should be favourably situated for working out his new plans, and also for defending the Roman territory. He selected for this purpose the site of the old Greek colony, Byzantium, on the confines of Europe and Asia. This site was favourable alike for defence, for commerce, and for the maintenance of an Oriental system of government. Constantine laid out-

the city on an extensive scale, and adorned it with new buildings and works of art. The new capital was called the city of Constantine, or Constantinople.

The New Court Organization.—Constantine believed with Diocletian that one of the defects of the old empire was the fact that the person of the emperor was not sufficiently respected. He therefore not only adopted the diadem and the elaborate robes of the Asiatic monarchs, as Diocletian had done, but reorganized the court on a thoroughly Eastern model. An Oriental court consisted of a large retinue of officials, who surrounded the monarch, who paid obeisance to him and served him, and who were raised to the rank of nobles by this service. All the powers of the monarch were exercised through these court officials.

These Oriental features were now adopted by the Roman emperor. The chief officers of the court comprised the grand chamberlain, who had charge of the imperial palace; the chancellor, who had the supervision of the court officials and received foreign ambassadors; the quæstor, who drew up and issued the imperial edicts; the treasurer-general, who had control of the public revenues; the master of the privy purse, who managed the emperor's private estate; and the two commanders of the bodyguard. The imperial court of Constantine furnished the model of the royal courts of modern times.

Effect of Constantine's Reforms.—If we should take no account of the effects of Constantine's reforms upon the liberties of the Roman people, we might say that his government was an improvement upon that of Augustus. It gave new strength to the empire, and enabled it to resist foreign invasions. The empire was preserved for several generations longer in the West, and for more than a thousand years longer in the East. But the expense necessary to maintain such a system, with its elaborate court and its vast number of officials, was great. The taxes were oppressive. The members of every city council (*curiales*) were held responsible for the raising of the revenues. The people were burdened and lost their interest in the state. Constantine also, like Augustus, failed to make a proper provision

for his successor. At his death (337 A. D.) his three sons divided the empire among them, and this division gave rise to another period of quarrels and civil strife.

III. The Successors of Constantine (337-395 A. D.)

Attempt to Restore Paganism.—The first event of grave importance after the reign of Constantine was the attempt of the Emperor Julian (360-363 A. D.) to restore the old pagan religion, for which attempt he has been called "the Apostate." Julian was in many respects a man of ability and energy. He repelled the Alemanni who had crossed the Rhine, and made a vigorous campaign against the Persians. But he was by conviction a pagan, and in the struggle between Christianity and paganism he took the part of the ancient faith. He tried to undo the work of Constantine by bringing back paganism to its old position. He did not realize that Christianity was the religion of the future, and was presumptuous in his belief that he could accomplish that in which Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian had failed. He may not have expected to uproot the new religion entirely; but he hoped to deprive it of the important privileges which it had already acquired. The religious changes which he was able to effect in his brief reign were reversed by his successsor Jovian (363-364 A. D.), and Christianity afterwards remained undisturbed as the religion of the empire.

Julian

Revolt of the Goths.—After the death of Jovian the empire was divided between Valentinian and his younger brother Valens, the former ruling in the West, and the latter in the East. Valentinian died (375 A. D.), leaving his sons in control of the West, while Valens continued to

rule in the East (till 378). It was during this latter period that a great event occurred which forewarned the empire of its final doom. This event was the irruption of the Huns into Europe. This savage race, emerging from the steppes of Asia, pressed upon the Goths and drove them from their homes into the Roman territory. It was now necessary for the Romans either to resist the whole Gothic nation, which numbered a million people, or else to receive them as friends and give then settlements within the empire. The latter course seemed the wiser, and they were admitted as allies, and given new homes south of the Danube, in Mœsia and Thrace. But they were soon provoked by the ill-treatment of the Roman officials, and rose in revolt, defeating the Roman army in a battle at Adriano'ple (378 A. D.), in which Valens himself was slain.

Theodosius and the Final Division of the Empire (379-395).—Theodo'sius I. succeeded Valens as emperor of the East. He was a man of great vigour and military ability, although his reign was stained with acts of violence and injustice. He continued the policy of admitting the barbarians into the empire, but converted them into useful and loyal subjects. From their number he reënforced the ranks of the imperial armies, and jealously guarded them from injustice. When a garrison of Gothic soldiers was once mobbed in Thessaloni'ca, he resorted to a punishment as revengeful as that of Marius and as cruel as that of Sulla. He gathered the people of this city into the circus to the number of seven thousand, and caused them to be massacred by a body of Gothic soldiers (390 A.D.). For this inhuman act he was compelled to do penance by St. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan—which fact

THEODOSIUS
Statue at Barletta, Italy

shows how powerful the Church had become at this time, to compel an emperor to obey its mandates. Theodosius was himself an ardent and orthodox Christian, and went so far as to be intolerant of the pagan religion, and even of the Christian heretics. In spite of his shortcomings he was an able monarch, and has received the name of "Theodosius the Great." He conquered his rivals and reunited for a brief time the whole Roman world under a single ruler. But at his death (395 A. D.), he divided the empire between his two sons, Arca'dius and Hono'rius, the former receiving the East, and the latter the West.

The death of Theodosius in 395 marks an important epoch, not only in the history of the Roman empire but in the history of European civilization. From this time the two parts of the empire—the East and the West—became more and more separated from each other, until they became at last two distinct worlds, having different destinies. The eastern part maintained itself for about a thousand years with its capital at Constantinople, until it was finally conquered by the Turks (1453 A. D.). The western part was soon overrun and conquered by the German invaders, who brought with them new blood and new ideas, and furnished the elements of a new civilization.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. THE GOVERNMENT OF DIOCLETIAN.—The New Imperialism.—Diocletian and his Policy.—The "Augusti" and "Cæsars."—The Last Persecution of the Christians.—Effects of Diocletian's Policy.

II. THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE.—Accession and Policy of Constantine.—Conversion of Constantine.—Adoption of Christianity.—The New Provincial System.—The New Military Organization.—The New Capital, Constantinople.—The New Court Organization.—Effects of Constantine's Reforms.

III. THE SUCCESSORS OF CONSTANTINE.—Attempt to Restore Paganism.—Revolt of the Goths.—Theodosius and the Final Division of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE GIFTS OF ROME TO CIVILIZATION.

I. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF ROME

Unity of the Ancient World.—In reviewing the most important features of the Roman empire, the first thing that we notice is the fact that Rome brought under her authority a great part of the civilized world. The great nations which had flourished on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea—Carthage, Macedonia, Greece, the nations of Asia Minor, Phœnicia, Judea, and Egypt—all became parts of one universal empire. The ideas and customs, the art and institutions of these countries were taken up, and notwithstanding their many differences were welded together into what was practically one civilization. The more barbarous peoples, also, which she conquered—like those of Spain, Gaul, and Britain—were transformed by her civilizing influence. Rome thus accomplished a result never before attained, to the same extent, by any other ancient people—the establishment of a world-unity in government, law, and religion.

The Roman Municipal System.—No nation before the Romans had shown such a genius for political organization, or had developed a system of government so well suited to maintain an authority over a wide territory. In looking at this political system we find that its fundamental element was the city. The Roman empire was, in fact, a collection of cities. The government which was established was a government over cities. Rome succeeded in giving to her cities not only local self-government, but also, in great measure, a uniform organization, patterned after that of the central city. Each city had its senate, or council (*curia*), somthing like that of Rome itself; its body of magistrates (*duumviri*, and other officers), like the magistrates of the

old republic; and in later times, its defender of the people (*defensor populi*), like the old plebeian tribune. The cities throughout the empire may thus be regarded as reflections of the central city of Rome; and they were bound to it by bonds of sympathy as well as by political ties.

The Roman Provincial System.—The next feature of the political organization was the provincial system, by which the cities were bound together under a common authority. This system was developed by the Romans, and passed through successive stages. In the first place, under the republic we see a number of cities in a certain territory grouped together and placed under the authority of a governor (*proprætor* or *proconsul*) having civil and military power, and also a quæstor, having charge of the finances—both officers being under the supervision of the senate. In the next place, under the early empire this senatorial supervision —which was still retained in what were called the "senatorial provinces"—was supplemented by the direct supervision of the emperor over other provinces, called "imperial provinces." In the latter case the province was governed by a military commander (*legatus*) appointed by the emperor, and accompanied by a financial officer (*procurator*). Finally, under the late empire, the military authority was taken away from the governor; the whole territory of the empire was arranged in divisions and subdivisions (prefectures, dioceses, and provinces) each under a civil governor (prefect, vicar, or præses)—each governor being subject to his immediate superior, and all being finally responsible to the emperor himself. The army was placed under a distinct set of imperial officers. By this arrangement the central authority was maintained throughout the whole Roman domain. For purposes of administration over a large territory, it was perhaps the most effective system ever devised.

The Roman Imperial Idea.—The Roman empire found its highest unity in the person of the emperor. The cities and the various territorial governments were all bound together under his supreme authority. We must keep in mind the fact that the Roman idea of imperialism was different from

the old Oriental idea of monarchy. The Oriental idea was that the monarch was the representative of divine authority on earth. It was essentially theocratic. The Roman idea, on the other hand, was that the emperor was the representative of the state, the supreme magistrate of the people. It was, in a certain sense, democratic. We are able to see this hy tracing the growth of the imperial idea. The *imperium* of the early kings was a delegated power, derived from the people and sanctioned hy a special law (*lex de imperio*). When the ancient king exercised his power in a despotic way, he was driven out of the city; and the *imperium* was conferred upon several magistrates. Again, when the repuhlican magistrates exercised this power selfishly in the interests of the aristocracy, the people revolted and placed the *imperium* once more in the hands of a single magistrate. And they did not rest until they found a ruler who could be regarded as the representative of the whole people. Such representatives they found in Julius Cæsar and Augustus.

The emperor was looked upon as the first man of the state (*princeps civitatis*, not merely *princeps senatus*). His authority was hased upon the *imperium* and the trihunician power; that is, he was regarded as both the supreme magistrate and the defender of the people. The imperial idea found its highest expression in the rule of the Antonines. This idea was, it is true, somewhat modified hy the Oriental influence under Diocletian and Constantine. But still the distinctive idea of Roman imperialism was this, that the emperor personified the authority of the state; and upon this idea was hased the maxim, "the will of the prince has the force of law."

II. The Legal System of Rome

Universality of the Roman Law.—The greatest addition which the Romans made to the civilization of the ancient world was no douht their system of law. This does not mean, of course, that the Romans were the first people who ever had laws. Every ancient people possessed a certain hody of laws. Even among tho early Babylonians we have

seen the evidence of legal customs relating to property and contracts, as well as the remains of written documents by which legal transactions were performed. The Egyptians, the Jews, and the Greeks possessed their own national laws. But the Romans were the first to develop a universal system of law, applicable not only to all the people of the empire, but to all times and places. With every enlargement of the Roman state, there was an expansion of their system of law. The expansion of the law was at first, no doubt, due merely to political and commercial expediency; but it afterwards recognized the rights of man as man and the principles of natural justice, and this gave it the character of a universal system.

Extension of the Franchise.—One of the methods by which the Roman law was broadened was by the extension of the franchise, or the rights of citizenship. We have seen that the civil rights of citizenship comprised: (1) the *commercium,* or the rights growing out of trade (as the rights of property and contract); (2) the *conubium,* or the rights growing out of domestic relations (as the paternal power and the right of inheritance). These rights were at first restricted to the original Roman citizens. The extension of the franchise began by granting the *commercium* to outsiders—first to the plebeians, then to the Latins, and then under the name of the "Latin right" to the people of Italy and the provinces. The granting of the *conubium* followed, as the exclusive spirit of the Romans passed away, until finally the full rights of citizenship were given to all the free inhabitants of the Roman world. This gradual extension of the franchise shows that the fundamental policy of Rome was not conquest but incorporation. The conquered people became not mere Roman subjects, but Roman citizens, sharing in all the privileges granted by the Roman law.

The Jus Gentium.—Another and more important way in which the Roman law broadened, was by the development of a new body of legal principles, which grew up by the side of the old law. The old law was called the *jus civile,* and was based upon the XII Tables. Being an old law it was narrow, and soon became antiquated; it did not meet the needs of a

growing community. Besides, this old law applied only to Roman citizens, and did not protect any persons before they had received the franchise. Now in early times before the extension of the franchise, there were many persons in Italy who were not yet citizens, but were subject-foreigners (*peregrini*). The Romans were obliged to trade with these foreigners; and hence disputes would arise between the Romans and such foreigners, or between the foreigners living in different cities—which disputes could not be settled by the old Roman law. To settle such disputes the Romans appointed a new prætor (*prætor peregrinus*); and this prætor was allowed to decide such cases in the way that seemed most fair and just, without reference to the old law. In the provinces, also, the governors were allowed to settle similar disputes. From the various decisions of the "foreign prætors" and provincial governors, there grew up an extensive body of legal principles, broader and more equitable than the old law. This new body of law was called the *jus gentium;* and it formed a great part of Roman jurisprudence, far more important in fact than the old *jus civile.*

Scientific Nature of the Roman Law.—By the extension of the old law and especially by the development of the new law, every free inhabitant of the Roman world could secure his civil rights in a court of justice. These influences made the Roman law the broadest system of jurisprudence that the world had yet seen. But there was another influence at work which gave to the law a truly scientific character. This was the influence of the Roman jurists. These men wrote treatises upon the law, and explained its real meaning. They gathered together the vast mass of legal rules, and reduced them to a system. Being schooled in the principles of the Stoic philosophy, they believed that law was founded upon natural justice and the universal rights of man. By reducing the law to a system and by discovering general principles that should govern it, they gave to it the character of a science. These men—like Gaius, Ulpian, Paullus, Modesti'nus, and Papinian—represent the highest genius of the Roman people. By their writings they built up a noble system of jurisprudence, suited not only to the wants of

the Roman empire, but to the needs of those nations which grew up after the Roman empire passed away.

III. CHRISTIANITY AND THE IMPERIAL CHURCH

The Spread of Christianity.—The Roman empire came to be one, not only in government and law, but also in religion; and this religion was Christianity. But it was a long time after its first appearance in the remote province of Judea that Christianity was accepted as the religion of the Roman world. The ancient Romans had already a religion of their own. This had grown out of an early ancestor worship and a polytheistic nature worship. With the extension of their power over other peoples, the Romans became tolerant of foreign religions; and had even accepted many of the features of these foreign systems. They accepted the Greek notions regarding the nature of the gods; and adopted some of the elements of the Syrian and Egyptian religions. The only spot in the empire where a pure monotheism existed, was in Judea; but even here the spiritual idea of religion had come to be obscured by an excessive attention to external forms and ceremonies.

Christianity arose from Judaism; but it emphasized the fact that true religion consists in a spiritual life, based upon love to God and love to man. The new religion spread from Judea to Syria, to the cities of Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, and finally to all the provinces of the empire. The early progress of Christianity was in the face of opposition and persecutions. These persecutions were excused on the ground of political necessity. But in spite of all apologies, the cruel and revolting barbarities which accompanied them must always remain a dark blot upon the history of the empire. The new religion could not be destroyed; it continued to spread, and to exercise its humanizing influence upon all the phases of Roman life. After Christianity became practically the religion of the Roman people, it was, as we have already noticed, accepted as the religion of the state.

Growth of the Church Organization.—With the spread of Christianity throughout the provinces there grew up an

ecclesiastical organization, patterned somewhat upon the organization of the empire. For example, in the town we find the parish church presided over by the parish priest. A number of parish churches were grouped together into a diocese and governed by a bishop. A number of dioceses were united into a province under a higher church officer, called a metropolitan or archbishop. In the East a few of the metropolitans—like those of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria—rose above the other bishops in dignity and authority, and became recognized as "patriarchs." In the West the bishop of Rome exercised even greater authority, and was recognized as the chief bishop. In this way there grew up in the church territorial divisions and subdivisions, and gradations of authority, similar to those that existed in the empire. And so it came about that while the Roman empire was becoming Christianized, Rome came to be recognized as the head and centre of Christianity.

Development of an Ecclesiastical Culture.—As the church acquired a distinct organization of its own, modelled after that of the empire, so it acquired a distinct culture of its own, derived to a certain extent from that of the empire. In the first place its architecture was borrowed from Rome. The early churches were modelled after the Roman basilica—the hall of justice or court house. But when the basilica was consecrated as a Christian church, it acquired a sacred character that distinguished it from the secular building. In the next place, the language of the church was the language of the empire. This language was in the eastern provinces principally Greek, and in the western provinces Latin; so that the eastern churches used the Greek language in their literature and ritual, while the western churches used the Latin language. Moreover, the thought of the church was greatly influenced by the modes of thinking which prevailed in different parts of the empire. The Greek mind was essentially speculative and philosophical; and so the eastern or Greek churches busied themselves in discussing difficult questions regarding the nature of the Father and the Son and their relations to each other. On the other hand the Roman mind was more practical and legal, and so

the western or Latin churches were more concerned with questions relating to the divine government and the relations of man to that government. By such means the church acquired an art, a literature, and a philosophy which, though they came to be distinctly ecclesiastical, were yet derived, in a certain sense, from the culture and ideas of the empire.

INTERIOR OF THE BASILICA OF TRAJAN (Restoration)

General Summary.—We may conclude that the Roman empire attained the highest unity and broadest culture of the ancient world, since it absorbed within itself the most important elements of civilization which had been developed by previous countries. From this point we are now prepared to look back over the long period of ancient history which has been the subject of our study, and note the successive stages of progress in the development of the old world.

(1) In the first place, we have seen the beginnings o
civilization in the East—the early struggle of man fo
existence, and the growth of agriculture, manufactures, an
commerce; the formation of cities, and the rise and fall o
great empires, and the initial stages in the development o
art, science, and religion. In our study of the Orienta
world we found that man first emerged from barbarism i
those centres which were best fitted by nature for huma
existence—the fertile valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile.
We found that the different forms of culture which were
developed in these localities by the Babylonians and th
Egyptians were brought together and commingled in Syria.
Here we saw the rise of two important nations which carried
to the highest point of development two phases of ancient
civilization—the commercial under the Phœnicians, and
the religious under the Hebrews. Then followed the consolidation of the Orient under the dominion of the Assyrians,
the first great world power, which brought into a closer
union the various civilizations of the East. The dissolution
of the Assyrian empire was followed by a still wider organization of the Oriental peoples under the second world power,
Persia, which represented the highest unity attained by the
Oriental world.

(2) In the next place, we have seen how civilization passed from the East to the West, and found a new centre in Greece—the heir of the Orient, the home of liberty, and the seat of a higher intellectual and æsthetic culture. In our study of the Greek world, we saw the rise of small city states scattered over the different parts of Hellas, each being the centre of an independent political life. We saw the united struggle of these cities against the encroachments of the East, resulting in their triumph and the establishment of a period of peace and prosperity, during which time they developed an art, a literature, and a philosophy unequalled by any other nation. We then saw how their great love of independence brought about jealousies and conflicts, leading to the interference of a foreign power, and the growth of the third great world empire under Alexander—an empire which joined the Greek and Oriental worlds in one common civilization.

(3) Finally, we have seen the shifting of the centre of the ancient world from Greece to Italy and the growth of the imperial dominion of Rome. In our special study of the Roman world, we saw not only the progress of the Roman arms and the expansion of the Roman territory, but the development of the idea of incorporation as a political principle—the bringing of conquered peoples within the state and the extension of the privileges of citizenship. We noticed that the struggles between different parties, however bitter they were, resulted in the more complete equalization of rights and the establishment of a universal peace. We saw that the Roman genius for organization was not exhausted until the most important civilized nations of the old world were brought under one system of government, law, and religion.

From the study of these successive movements, we must be convinced of the "continuity of history," of the fact that the achievements of one age or people have been transmitted to those succeeding, and also of the fact that, in spite of wars and revolutions, of the rise and fall of nations, the progress of the race as a whole has been onwards and upwards.

SYNOPSIS FOR REVIEW

I. The Political System of Rome.—Unity of the Ancient World.—The Roman Municipal System.—The Roman Provincial System.—The Roman Imperial Idea.

II. The Legal System of Rome.—Universality of the Roman Law.—Extension of the Franchise.—The Jus Gentium.—The Scientific Nature of the Roman Law.

III. Christianity and the Imperial Church.—The Spread of Christianity.—Growth of the Church Organization.—Development of an Ecclesiastical Culture.—General Summary.

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The long and short marks used with vowels have their usual meaning. In all the names in this index, c and g followed by e, i, or y have respectively the sounds of s and j; followed by a, o, or u, however, c has the sound of k, and g is sounded as in the word go.

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