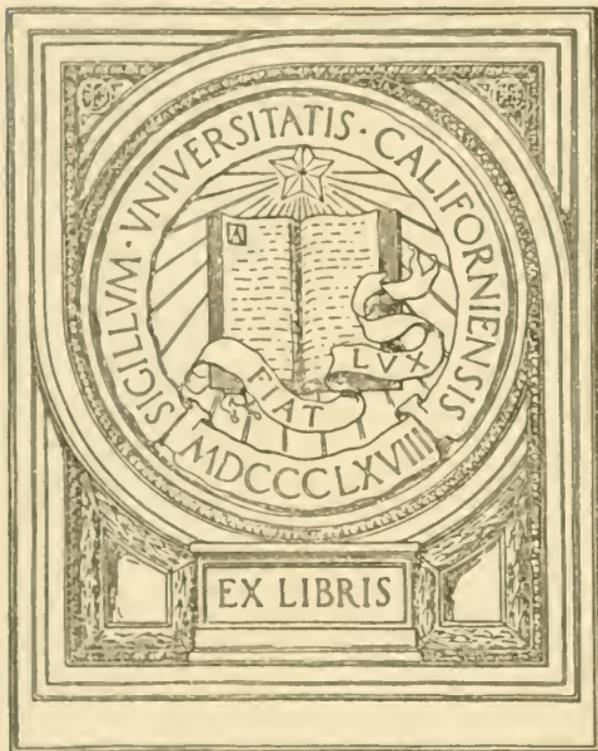


ANCIENT WORLD
WEST
REVISED EDITION



PART ONE
GREECE AND THE EAST

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



GIFT OF
DR. KATE GORDON

ALLYN AND BACON'S SERIES OF SCHOOL HISTORIES

THE
ANCIENT WORLD

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 800 A.D.

PART I
GREECE AND THE EAST

BY

WILLIS MASON WEST

REVISED EDITION

ALLYN AND BACON

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FOREWORD

My *Ancient World* appeared nine years ago. The generous welcome given to it necessitates new plates; and I have taken advantage of the opportunity to rewrite the book.

In the nine years, my own interest has shifted from political history to industrial history. This change, I believe, has been general; and I trust that teachers will approve the corresponding change in the book. Less space is given to "constitutions," and more to industrial and economic development and to home life. Many generalizations, too, are omitted, to make room for more narrative; and the publication of Dr. Davis' *Readings*¹ makes it advisable to omit most of the "illustrative extracts" of the old volume, except where they can be easily woven into the story.

The *Readings* is accountable for another modification here. That volume presents much of the story of the ancient peoples, as they themselves told it, in so simple and charming a manner as to make the best possible collateral reading. Every high school pupil, I feel, should own the book, or at least have easy access to copies on reference shelves.² Other library reference in this book has been reduced, accordingly, to a minimum.

In the *Ancient World* I ventured to present views of the "Mycenaeans" and "Achaean," which at that time were perhaps somewhat radical for an elementary text. Subsequent discoveries, however, have fully confirmed them, and have also opened up a new and intensely interesting chapter of an earlier Aegean world, besides adding much to our knowledge in other fields of ancient history. These new results I am glad to have a chance to incorporate here.

It is doubtful if a textbook of this sort should give room to

¹ William Stearns Davis, *Readings in Ancient History*. Two volumes: "Greece and the East," and "Rome and the West." Each \$ 1.00. Allyn and Bacon.

² This view, together with the plan of library work for this volume, is explained more fully on page 9.

any incident which the student cannot articulate with the life of to-day — or which is not essential to understanding the evolution of important conditions which can be so articulated. This principle has not been adhered to so rigidly as to forbid inclusion of stories of universal human interest, independent of time; but it has led to the omission of many names and events commonly found in such a textbook, and it also explains the various references to present-day conditions. For allied reasons, too, I have retained the emphasis of the former volume upon the Hellenistic world and the Roman imperial world — on which our modern life is so directly based — at some cost to the *legendary* periods of Greece and Rome.

Perhaps the most fundamental change is yet to be mentioned. My first book in this field — the *Ancient History*, of twelve years ago — was designed avowedly both for high schools and for “more advanced” students. Something of the same sort lingered in the *Ancient World*, the successor of that first volume. But in writing the present book I have kept steadily in mind the first-year high-school pupil.

Several new maps have been added; and the numerous old ones have been made more serviceable for teaching, and have been carefully adapted to the new text. The maps for “general reference,” however, still contain a few names not used in the text, to assist the student in his outside reading. Through the generosity of the publishers, the book has been enriched with many new illustrations, which, in numerous cases, give emphasis to industrial and social life.

It is impossible to catalogue here all the friends who have contributed to making this volume better than the author alone could have made it. But I must at least take space to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. William Stearns Davis. Dr. Davis has read the complete book in proof sheets. To his scholarship I owe the avoidance of various errors, and to his fine dramatic sense the inclusion of some striking incidents.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

WINDAGO FARM,
May, 1913.

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PART I
GREECE AND THE EAST

THE ANCIENT WORLD

INTRODUCTION

THE PART OF MAN'S LIFE TO STUDY

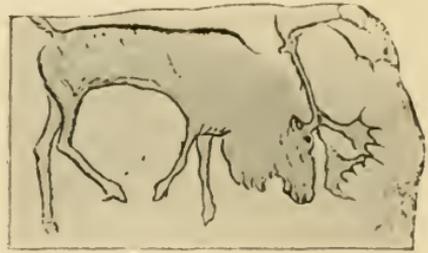
*Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.*

—TENNYSON.

1. **The first men** had no history. They lived a savage life, more backward and helpless than the lowest savages in the world to-day. They had not even fire, or knife, or bow and arrow. In thoughts and acts they were brutelike; and in brain power they were only a little above the beasts about them. Their chief desires were to satisfy hunger, to keep warm, and to outwit more powerful animals. Through thousands on thousands of years, man has been lifting himself from this earliest savagery to our many-sided civilization.

Civilization is the opposite of savagery. To raise regular food crops, instead of depending upon hunting and fishing or upon nuts and wild rice, was a great step toward civilization. To learn to use oar and sail, to work mines, to build roads and canals, to exchange the products of one region for those of another, to invent tools and machinery — the spinning wheel, the threshing machine, the locomotive, the dynamo — all these things were steps. But civilization includes more than these *material* gains: it includes all improvements that make men better and happier. It has to do with mental growth, with art, literature, manners, morals, home life, religion, laws, education. The civilization of a people is the sum of its advances in all these lines, material, intellectual, and moral.

The first steps upward were probably the slowest and most stumbling. We know little about them. No people leaves written records until it has advanced a long way from primitive savagery. And so we cannot tell just how men came to invent the bow, or how they came to use stone heads for their arrows, and stone knives, and stone axes; or how they found a way to make fire, and to bake clay pots in which to cook food; or how they tamed the dog and cow; or how they learned to live together in families and tribes. These precious



REINDEER, BY CAVE-DWELLERS (OLD STONE AGE).

On slate, in France.

On horn, in Switzerland.

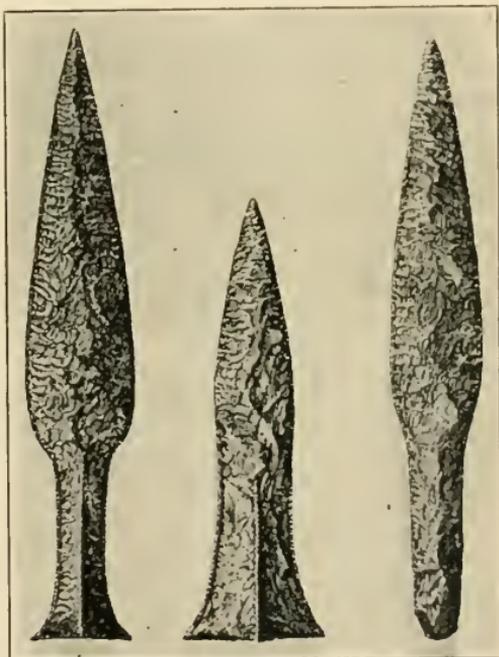
(For some thousands of years, the reindeer has been extinct in these countries. Compare these drawings with modern pictures for accuracy of detail; and note the remarkable spirit and action depicted by the prehistoric artists.)

beginnings were doubtless found and lost and found again many times in different regions; but before history begins anywhere, they had become the common property of many races.

However, though we shall never know the full story of these gains, we do know something of the *order* in which they came about. Embedded in the soil, sometimes many feet below the present surface, there are found relics of early man, — tools, weapons, drawings on ivory tusks, and the bones of animals which he ate or by which he was eaten.¹ Sometimes such re-

¹ Some of these companions of early man are now wholly extinct, like the huge mammoth, the fierce cave-bear, and the terrible saber-toothed tiger. Geologists, however, find skeletons of these animals, corresponding closely with the drawings of prehistoric artists.

mains are found in caves, where primitive man made his home; sometimes, in refuse heaps where he cast the remnants from his food; sometimes in the gravel of old river beds where he fished. As a rule in such deposits, the lowest layers of soil contain the rudest sort of tools, while higher layers contain similar remains somewhat less primitive. By the study of many thousands of these deposits, scholars have learned how one tool developed out of another simpler one, and have been able to trace many of the steps by which man rose from savagery. This study, then, gives us a series of pictures of the life of primitive man; but we cannot get a continuous story from it. It is quite apart from history. All this early time, until man begins to leave *written records* of his life, is called *prehistoric*.

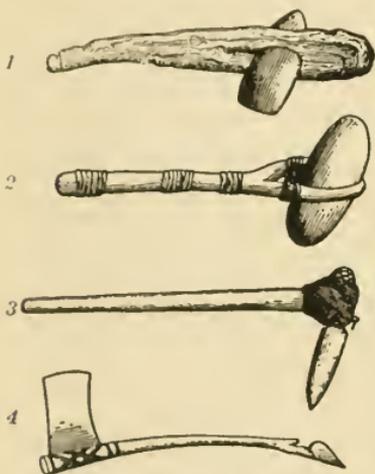


PREHISTORIC STONE DAGGERS FROM
SCANDINAVIA.

2. **Prehistoric time** is conveniently divided into the *Old Stone Age*, the *New Stone Age*, and the *Bronze Age*, according to the material from which tools were made. In the first period, arrow heads and knives were pieces of flint merely *chipped* roughly to give them a sort of edge. The New Stone Age begins when men learned to give these stone weapons a truer edge and more polished form by *grinding* them with other stones. The men of this age possessed flocks and herds. They knew how to till the soil, to spin and weave, to make

pottery and decorate it, and in some places, before the close of the long period, to build cities with immense palaces and temples of stone or sun-baked brick. Commonly they buried their dead with food and tools in the grave. This indicates that they had come to believe in a future life, somewhat like the one on earth.

At last, perhaps by a lucky accident, some Stone Age man found that fire would separate copper from the ore. Now better tools were possible, and a more rapid advance began. But copper tools were still clumsy and quickly lost their edge. Soon men learned to mix a little tin with the copper in the fire. This formed a metal we call bronze. Bronze is easily worked, and after cooling, it is much harder than either of its parts alone. The men of the Bronze Age equipped themselves with tools and weapons of keener and more lasting edge, and more convenient form, than ever before. With these, they easily conquered the more poorly armed Stone Age



SERIES OF AXES:

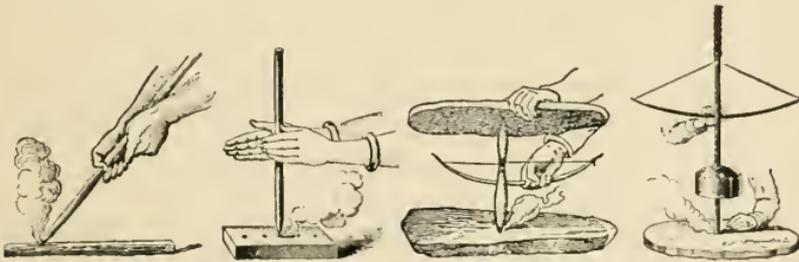
1 and 2, Old Stone Age; 3, New Stone; 4, Bronze Age.

men about them, and also added to their own physical comfort. The use of bronze seems to have developed independently in various centers; and by war and trade, it spread over wide regions.

Finally, men learned to smelt and use iron. This marked a still greater advance, — the most important gain after the discovery of fire. By the opening of the *Iron Age*, or soon afterward, man has usually invented or adopted an alphabet, and his history proper has begun. Sometimes, as with the peoples we shall study first, history begins long before the close of the Bronze Age.

Men have advanced at different rates in different parts of the earth. When Columbus discovered America, all the natives of the Western Hemisphere were in some part of the Stone Age, — as are still some remote tribes in our Philippines and in parts of South America, Africa, and Australia. But in the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, the peoples we are first to study had risen out of this stage at least 7000 years ago. Even among the same people, the different “ages” overlapped. Nobles and leaders used bronze weapons, while the poorer classes had still only their stone implements.

3. **Our Inheritance from Prehistoric Man.** — We are in position now to appreciate dimly how the earliest *civilization* rested



SOME STAGES IN FIRE-MAKING. — FROM TYLOR.

upon the *unrecorded stricings of primitive man* through uncounted thousands of years. Five prehistoric contributions are so supremely important as to deserve special mention.

a. The use of fire seems to have been the thing that first set man distinctly above other animals. Without fire, he was limited to raw food and to stone implements. *The Story of Ab*¹ pictures a youth of the Stone Age discovering the use of fire from a burning natural gas (presumably set aflame by lightning). Other scholars have guessed that the first source of fire was volcanic lava, or a tree trunk ablaze from lightning. Certainly, at some early period of the Old Stone Age, man had conquered that dread of flame which all wild animals show and had come to know fire as his truest friend. Charred fragments

¹ This little book by Stanley Waterloo is an admirable attempt to portray some of the steps in early human progress in the form of a story. It will be enjoyed by any high school boy or girl.

of bone and wood are common among the earliest human deposits. One of the oldest tools in the world is the "fire-borer," a hard stick of wood with which man started a fire by boring into a more inflammable wood. The methods of making fire which are pictured on the preceding page were all invented by prehistoric man; and the stick and bow-string was the best way known to any of the great historic nations that we shall study in this book.

b. Most of the domestic animals familiar to us in the barnyard or on the farm had been tamed into useful friends by prehistoric man. The Asiatic lands where civilization began were their native homes. This, no doubt, is one great reason why civilization began in those lands,—just as the almost total lack of animals fit for domestic life is a reason why the American hemisphere remained backward until discovered by the Old World.

c. Wheat, barley, rice, and nearly all our important food grains and garden vegetables were tamed also by the prehistoric man of Asia. Out of the myriads of wild plants, all our marvelous progress in science has failed to reveal even one other in the Old World so useful to man as those which prehistoric man selected for cultivation. Their only rivals are the potato and maize (Indian corn), which the New World aborigines, in the stage of savagery, selected for cultivation.

d. Language is one of the most precious parts of our inheritance from the ages. It is not merely the means by which we exchange ideas with one another: it is also the means by which we do our thinking. No high order of thought is possible without words. Some very primitive savages to-day have only a few words. They can count only by fingers and toes or by bundles of sticks, and they communicate with one another somewhat as the higher animals do. In the dark they can hardly talk at all. The first word-making is slow work; but through the long prehistoric ages, among the more progressive peoples, there were developed from rude beginnings several rich and copious languages.

e. The invention of writing multiplied the value of language. Not only is it an "artificial memory"; it also enables us to speak to those who are far away, and even to those who are not yet born. Many early peoples used a *picture writing* such as is common still among North American Indians. In this kind of writing, a picture represents either an object or some idea connected with that object. A drawing of an animal with wings may stand for a *bird* or for *flying*; or a character like this ☉ stands for either the *sun* or for *light*. At first such pictures are true drawings: later they are simplified into forms agreed upon. Thus in ancient Chinese, *man* was represented by 人, and in modern Chinese by 人.

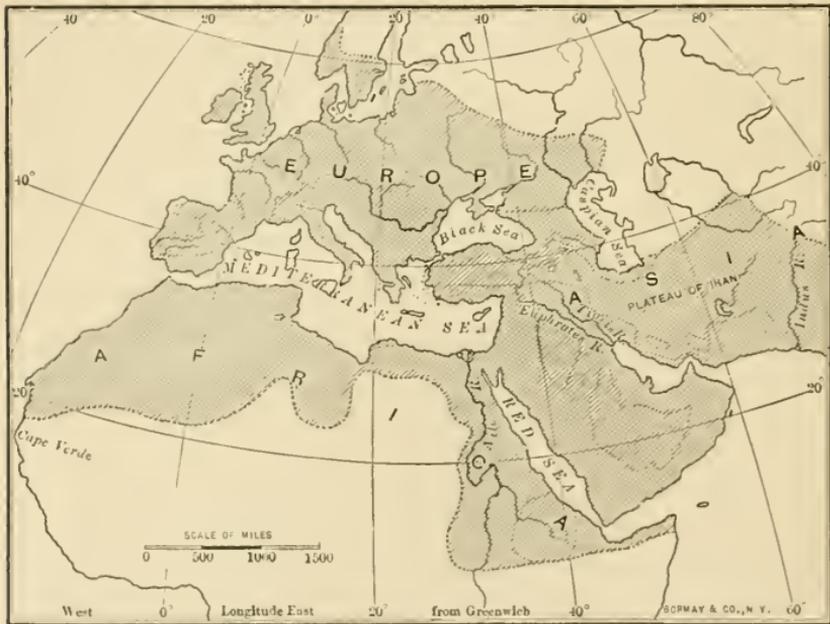
Vastly important is the advance to a *rebus stage of writing*. Here a symbol has come to have a *sound value* wholly apart from the original object, as if the symbol ☉ above were used for the second syllable in *delight*. So in early Egyptian writing, 𐀀, the symbol for "mouth," was pronounced *râ*. Therefore it was used as the last syllable in writing the word *khopirâ*, which meant "to be," while symbols of other objects in like manner stood for the other syllables.

This representation of *syllables* by pictures of objects is the first stage in *sound writing*, as distinguished from picture writing proper. Finally, some of these characters are used to represent not whole syllables, but *single sounds*. One of Kipling's *Just So* stories illustrates how such a change might come about. Then, if these characters are kept and all others dropped, we have a *true alphabet*. Picture writing, such as that of the Chinese, requires many thousand symbols. Several hundred characters are necessary for even simple syllabic writing. But a score or so of letters are enough for an alphabet. Several primitive peoples developed their writing to the syllabic stage; and about 1000 B.C., in various districts about the eastern Mediterranean, alphabetic writing appeared.

4. The Field of History.—History is the story of the *recorded* life of man. But even when we leave out prehistoric ages, there is still too much human life for us to study properly.

We cannot deal with all historic peoples. We must narrow the field. We care most to know of those peoples whose life has borne fruit for our own life. *We shall study that part of the recorded past which explains our present.*

Thus we bound our study in space as well as in time. We omit, for instance, the ancient civilizations of the Chinese and Hindoos, because they have not much affected our progress.



THE FIELD OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TO 800 A.D.

Until after Columbus, our interest centers in Europe. And when we look for the early peoples who shaped European life, we see three preëminent,—*the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons.*

Ancient History deals especially with these three peoples, from their earliest records until their separate stories become merged in one. By 800 A.D. this merging has taken place. Then *ancient history* may be said to cease and *modern history* to begin. This book will deal only with *ancient history*.

Of these three chief peoples of ancient Europe the Greeks were the first to rise to civilized life. But the civilization of the Greeks was not wholly their own. It was partly shaped by certain older civilizations outside Europe, near the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The history of these Oriental peoples covered thousands of years; but we shall view only fragments of it, and we do that merely by way of introduction to Greek history. Oriental history is a sort of dim anteroom through which we pass to European history.

One of the Oriental peoples, the *Hebrews*, has been a mighty influence in our highest life. They are not here counted a fourth among the great historic races, because, after all, their influence came to us largely through Greece and Rome. They will, however, receive particular attention among the Oriental peoples.

The field of ancient history, then, is small, compared with the world of our day. It was limited, of course, to the Eastern hemisphere, and covered only a small part of that. At its greatest extent, it reached north only through Central Europe, east through less than a third of Asia, and south through only a small part of Northern Africa. Over even this territory it spread very slowly, from much more limited areas. For the first four thousand years, it did not reach Europe at all.

No Further Reading is suggested, at this stage, in connection with the class work on the preceding topics. But students who wish to read further for their own pleasure will find treatments which they will enjoy and understand in any of the following books: Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*; Keary, *Dawn of History*; Starr, *Some First Steps in Human Progress*; Joly, *Man before Metals*; Clodd, *Story of the Alphabet*; Clodd, *Story of Primitive Man*.

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS FOR LIBRARY WORK IN ANCIENT HISTORY

The appearance of William Stearns Davis' *Readings in Ancient History* puts the matter of high school work in the library on a new basis. As a result, the author of the present textbook will confine his special suggestions for library work in Greek history (up to the period of Alex-

ander) to the *Readings* and to one other single-volume work, — J. B. Bury's *History of Greece*, — with occasional *alternatives* suggested for the latter. While it is desirable that every student should possess a copy of the *Readings*, in cases where that is impossible, from five to twenty copies of these two works (according to the size of classes) will equip the school library fairly well for the work.

In like manner, for Rome (to the Empire), the *Readings* and either Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History* or How and Leigh's *History* afford satisfactory material. For Oriental history, there is no one satisfactory volume to go with the *Readings*; but library work is less important for that period. Unfortunately, single volumes of the right sort are missing also for the important periods of later Greek history and of the Roman Empire. So far as possible, however, the suggestions for reading on those periods, too, follow this same principle. The select bibliography in the appendix names a few more of the most desirable volumes for high school students.

PART I

THE ORIENTAL PEOPLES

*Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
Half-sunk, a shattered visage lies.*

*And on the pedestal, these words appear:
"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings
Look on my works, Ye Mighty, and despair!"
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away.* — SHELLEY.

CHAPTER I

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

5 The Rediscovery of Early History. — Until about a century ago very little was known about the ancient history of the East. There were only the brief statements of Hebrew writers in the Old Testament and some stories preserved by the Greeks. In the Nile valley there had been found a few ancient inscriptions, carved upon stone in unknown characters, but no one could read them.

But, about 1800 A.D., some soldiers of Napoleon in Egypt, while laying foundations for a fort at the Rosetta mouth of the Nile (map, page 16), found a curious slab of black rock. This "Rosetta Stone" bore three inscriptions: one of these was in Greek; one, in the ancient hieroglyphs of the pyramids (§ 22); and the third, in a later Egyptian writing, which had likewise been forgotten. A French scholar, Champollion,

guessed shrewdly that the three inscriptions all told the same story and used many of the same words; and in 1822 he proved this to be true. Then, by means of the Greek, he found the meaning of the other characters, and so learned to read the long-



PORTION OF ROSETTA STONE, containing the hieroglyphs first deciphered.
From Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*.

forgotten language of old Egypt. Soon afterward a like task was accomplished for the old Assyrian language (§ 75, note).

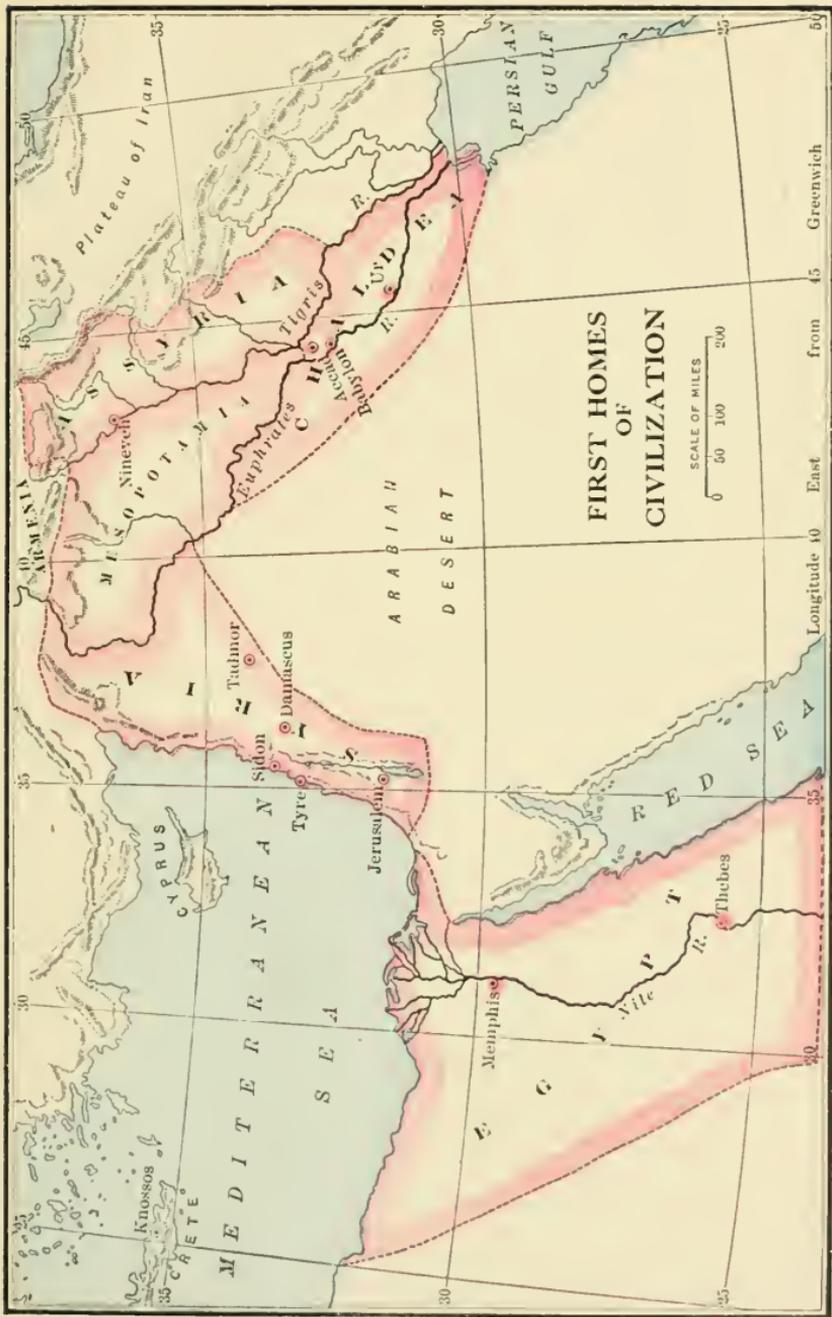
At first there was little to read; but a new interest had been aroused, and, about 1850, scholars began extensive explorations in the East. Sites of forgotten cities, buried beneath



PART OF THE ABOVE INSCRIPTION, on a larger scale.

desert sands, were rediscovered. Many of them contained great libraries on papyrus,¹ or on stone and brick. A part of these have been translated; and since 1880 the results have begun to appear in our books. The explorations are still going on; and very recent years have been the most fruitful of all in discoveries.

¹ The papyrus was a reed which grew abundantly in the Nile and the Euphrates rivers. From slices of its stem a kind of "paper" was prepared by laying them together crosswise and pressing them into a smooth sheet. Our word "paper" comes from "papyrus."



Plateau of Iran

ARMENIA

MESOPOTAMIA

Nineveh

Babylon

Acad

Uruk

Euphrates

ARABIAN DESERT

TYRE

Sidon

Damascus

Tadmor

Jerusalem

EGYPT

Memphis

Thebes

Nile R.

RED SEA

PERSIAN GULF

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Crete

Knossos

Scale of Miles: 0, 50, 100, 200

Longitude: from 30° East to 50° Greenwich

FIRST HOMES OF CIVILIZATION

6. The Two Centers. — The first homes of civilization were Egypt and Chaldea, — the lower valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. In the Euphrates valley the wild wheat and barley afforded abundant food, with little effort on the part of man. The Nile valley had the marvelous date palm and various grains. In each of these lands there grew up a dense population, and so part of the people were able to give attention to other matters than getting food from day to day.

In a straight line, Egypt and Chaldea were some eight hundred miles apart. Practically, the distance was greater. The only route fit for travel ran along two sides of a triangle, — north from Egypt, between the mountain ranges of western Syria, to the upper waters of the Euphrates, and then down the course of that river.

Except upon this Syrian side, Egypt and Chaldea were shut off from other desirable countries. In Asia, civilizations rose at an early date in China and in India (§ 4); but they were separated from Chaldea by vast deserts and lofty mountains. In Africa, until Roman days, there was no great civilization except the Egyptian, unless we count the Abyssinian on the south (map on page 16). The Abyssinians were brave and warlike, and they seem to have drawn some culture from Egypt. But a desert extended between Abyssinia and Egypt, a twelve-day march; and intercourse by the river was cut off by long series of cataracts and rocky gorges. It was hard for trade caravans to travel from one country to the other, and extremely hard for armies to do so. To the west of Egypt lay the Sahara, stretching across the continent, — an immense, inhospitable tract. On the north and east lay the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and these broad moats were bridged only at one point by the isthmus.

7. Syria a Third Center.¹ — Thus, with sides and rear protected, Egypt faced Asia across the narrow Isthmus of Suez.

¹ The term "Syria" is used with a varying meaning. In a narrow sense, as in this passage, it means only the coast region. In a broader use, it applies to all the country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates.

Here, too, the region bordering Egypt was largely desert; but farther north, between the desert and the sea, lay a strip of habitable land. This Syrian region became the trade exchange and battle-ground of the two great states, and drew civilization from them.

Syria was itself a nursery of warlike peoples. Here dwelt the Phoenicians, Philistines, Canaanites, Hebrews, and Hittites, whom we hear of in the Bible. Usually all these peoples were tributary¹ to Egypt or Chaldea; and from those countries they drew their civilization. Despite Syria's perilous position on the road from Africa to Asia, its inhabitants might have kept their independence, if they could have united against their common foes. But rivers and ranges of mountains broke the country up into five or six districts, all small, and each hostile to the others. At times, however, when both the great powers were weak, there did arise independent Syrian kingdoms, like that of the Jews under David.

¹ A tributary country is one which is subject to some other country, without being absolutely joined to it. The "tributary" pays "tribute" and recognizes the authority of the superior country, but for most purposes it keeps its own government.

CHAPTER II

EGYPT

GEOGRAPHY

Egypt as a geographical expression is two things—the Desert and the Nile. As a habitable country, it is only one thing—the Nile.

—ALFRED MILNER.

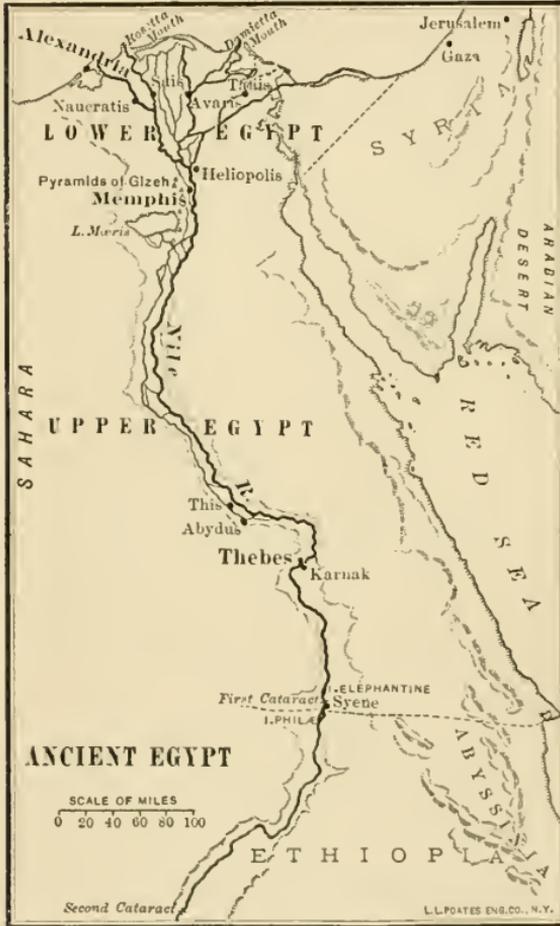
8. The Land.—Ancient Egypt, by the map, included about as much land as Colorado or Italy; but seven eighths of it was only a sandy border to the real Egypt. The real Egypt is the valley and delta of the Nile—from the cataracts to the sea. It is smaller than Maryland, and falls into two natural parts.

Upper Egypt is the valley proper. It is a strip of rich soil about six hundred miles long and usually about ten miles wide—a slim oasis between parallel ranges of desolate hills (map, page 16). For the remaining hundred miles, the valley broadens suddenly into the delta. This *Lower Egypt* is a squat triangle, resting on a two-hundred-mile base of curving coast where marshy lakes meet the sea.

9. The Nile.—The ranges of hills that bound the “valley” were originally the banks of a mightier Nile, which, in early ages, cut out a gorge from the solid limestone for the future “valley.” The “delta” has been built up out of the mud which the stream has carried out and deposited on the old sea bottom.

And what the river has made, it sustains. This was what the Greeks meant when they called Egypt “the gift of the Nile.” Rain rarely falls in the valley; and toward the close of the eight cloudless months before the annual overflow, there is a brief period when the land seems gasping for moisture,—“only half alive, waiting the new Nile.” The river begins to

rise in July, swollen by tropical rains at its upper course in distant Abyssinia; and it does not fully recede into its regular channel until November. During the days while the flood is at its height, Egypt is a sheet of turbid water, spreading be-



tween two lines of rock and sand. The waters are dotted with towns and villages, and marked off into compartments by raised roads, running from town to town; while from a sandy plateau, at a distance, the pyramids look down upon the scene, as they have done each season for five thousand years. As the water retires, the rich loam dressing, brought down from the hills of Ethiopia, is left spread over the fields, renewing their wonderful fertility from year to year;

while the long soaking supplies moisture to the soil for the dry months to come.

10. The Inhabitants.—The oldest records yet found in Egypt reach back to about 5000 B.C. At that time the use of bronze was already well advanced. Remains in the soil

show that there had been earlier dwellers using rude stone implements and practising savage customs. How many thousands of years it took for this savagery to develop into the culture of 5000 B.C. we do not know.

Culture is almost a synonym for *civilization*; but it is also used in a somewhat broader sense, to include the stages of savagery and barbarism that precede true civilization. It is common to speak of the invention of pottery as the point at which *savagery* passes into *barbarism*, and the invention of the alphabet as the transition from barbarism to *civilization*.



PHOTOGRAPH OF A MODERN EGYPTIAN WOMAN SITTING BY A SCULPTURED HEAD OF AN ANCIENT KING.—From Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*. Notice the likeness of feature. The skulls of the modern peasants and of the ancient nobles are remarkably alike in form.

Probably the cheap food of the valley attracted tribes from all the neighboring regions at an early date. The struggles of these peoples, and the intermingling of the strongest of them, at length produced the vigorous Egyptian race of history. That race contained the blood of Abyssinian, Berber,¹ Negro,

¹ The Berbers are the short dark race of North Africa from whom the Moors are descended.

and Arabian, and possibly of other peoples; but before the beginning of history these had all been welded into one type which has lasted to the present day.

11. Growth of a Kingdom.—The first inhabitants lived by fishing along the streams and hunting fowl in the marshes. When they began to take advantage of their rare opportunity for agriculture, new problems arose. Before that time, each tribe or village could be a law to itself. But now it became necessary for whole districts to combine in order to drain marshes, to create systems of ditches for the distribution of



BOATMEN FIGHTING ON THE NILE.—Egyptian relief¹; from Maspero.

the water, and to construct vast reservoirs for the surplus. Thus the Nile, which had made the land, played a part in making Egypt into one state.² To control the yearly overflow was the first *common* interest of all the people. At first, no doubt through wasteful centuries, separate villages strove only to get each its needful share of water, without attention to the needs of others. The engravings on early monuments show the people of neighboring villages waging bloody wars along the dikes, or in rude boats on the canals, before they learned the costly lesson of coöperation. But such hostile action,

¹ A relief is a piece of sculpture in which the figures are only partly cut away from the solid rock.

² The word "state" is commonly used in history not in the sense in which we call Massachusetts a state, but rather in that sense in which we call England or the whole United States a state. That is, the word means a *people, living in some definite place, with a government of its own.*

cutting the dams and destroying the reservoirs year by year, was ruinous. From an early period, men in the Nile valley must have felt the need of agreement and of political union.

Accordingly, before history begins, the multitudes of villages had combined into about forty petty states. Each one extended from side to side of the valley and a few miles up and down the river; and each was ruled by a "king." In order to secure prompt action against enemies to the dikes, and to direct all the forces of the state at the necessary moment, the ruler had to have unlimited power. So these kings became absolute despots, and the mass of the people became little better than slaves. Then the same forces which had worked to unite villages into states tended to combine the many small states into a few larger ones. Memphis, in the lower valley, and Thebes, 350 miles farther up the river, were the greatest of many rival cities. After centuries of conflict, *Menes*, prince of Memphis, united the petty principalities around him into the kingdom of Lower Egypt. In like manner Thebes became the capital of a kingdom of Upper Egypt. About the year 3400 before Christ, the two kingdoms were united into one. Later Egyptians thought of *Menes* as the first king of the whole country.

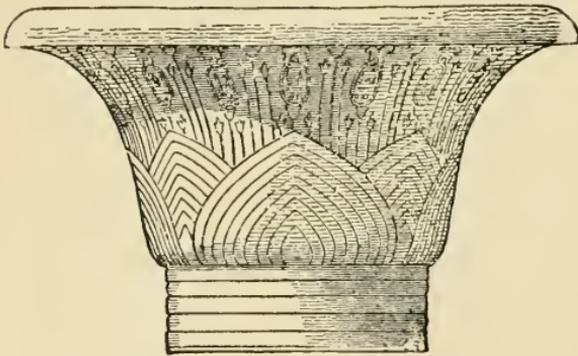
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

12. Social Classes. — *The king* was worshiped as a god by the mass of the people. His title, *Pharaoh*, means The Great House, — as the title of the supreme ruler of Turkey in modern times has been the Sublime Porte (Gate). The title implies that the ruler was to be a refuge for his people.

The pharaoh was the absolute owner of the soil. The Old Testament gives an account of how this ownership was made complete through a "corner in wheat" arranged by Pharaoh's adviser, the Hebrew Joseph. But probably the kings had taken most of the soil for their own from the first, in return for protecting it by their dikes and reservoirs. At all events, this ownership helped to make the pharaoh absolute master of the

inhabitants, — though in practice his authority was somewhat limited by the power of the priests and by the necessity of keeping ambitious nobles friendly.¹ Part of the land he kept in his own hands, to be cultivated by peasants under the direction of royal stewards; but the greater portion he parceled out among the nobles and temples.

In return for the land granted to him, a *noble* was bound to pay certain amounts of produce, and to lead a certain number of soldiers to war. Within his domain, the noble was a petty



A CAPITAL FROM KARNAK. — From Lübke.

monarch: he executed justice, levied his own taxes, kept up his own army. Like the king, he held part of his land in his own hands, while other parts he let out to smaller nobles.

These men were dependent upon him, much as he was dependent upon the king.

About a third of the land was turned over by the king to the temples to support the worship of the gods. This land became the property of the *priests*. The priests were also the scholars of Egypt, and they took an active part in the government. The pharaoh took most of his high officials from them, and their influence far exceeded that of the nobles.

The *peasants* tilled the soil. They were not unlike the peasants of modern Egypt. They rented small "farms," — hardly more than garden plots, — for which they paid at least a third of the produce to the landlord. This left too little for a family; and they eked out a livelihood by day labor on the land of the nobles and priests. For this work they were paid by a small part of the produce. The peasant, too, had to

¹ See Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 2.

remain under the protection of some powerful landlord, or he might become the prey of any one whom he chanced to offend.

Still, in quarrels with the rich, the poor were perhaps as safe as they have been in most countries. The oldest written "story" in the world (surviving in a papyrus of about 2700 B.C.) gives an interesting illustration. A peasant, robbed through a legal trick by the favorite of a royal officer, appeals to the judges and finally to the king. The king commands redress, urging his officer to do justice "like a praiseworthy man praised by the praiseworthy." The passage in quotation marks shows that there was a strong public opinion against injustice. Probably such appeals by the poor were no more difficult to make than they were in Germany or France until a hundred years ago. And we have not yet learned how to give the poor man an absolutely equal chance with the rich in our law courts.

In the towns there was a large *middle class*, — merchants, shopkeepers, physicians, lawyers,¹ builders, artisans (§ 20).

Below these were the *unskilled laborers*. This class was sometimes driven to a strike by hunger.

Maspero, a famous French scholar in Egyptian history, makes the following statement (*Struggle of the Nations*, 539): —

"Rations were allowed each workman at the end of every month; but, from the usual Egyptian lack of forethought, these were often consumed long before the next assignment. Such an event was usually followed by a strike. On one occasion we are shown the workmen turning to the overseer, saying: 'We are perishing of hunger, and there are still eighteen days before the next month.' The latter makes profuse promises; but, when nothing comes of them, the workmen will not listen to him longer. They leave their work and gather in a public meeting. The overseer hastens after them, and the police commissioners of the locality and the scribes mingle with them, urging upon the leaders a return. But the workmen only say: 'We will not return. Make it clear to your superiors down below there.' The official who reports the matter to the authorities seems to think the complaints well founded, for he says, 'We went to hear them, and they spoke true words to us.'"

Throughout Egyptian society, the son usually followed the father's occupation; but there was no law (as in some Oriental countries) to prevent his passing into a different class. Some-

¹ These were mainly *notaries*, — to draw up business papers, record transfers of property, and so on.

times the son of a poor herdsman rose to wealth and power. Such advance was most easily open to the *scribes*. This learned profession was recruited from the brightest boys of the middle and lower classes. Most of the scribes found clerical work only; but from the ablest ones the nobles chose confidential secretaries and stewards, and some of these, who showed

special ability, were promoted by the pharaohs to the highest dignities in the land. Such men founded new families and reinforced the ranks of the nobility.

The *soldiers* formed an important profession. Campaigns were so deadly that it was hard to find soldiers enough. Accordingly recruits were tempted by offers of special privileges. Each soldier held a farm of some eight acres,¹ free from taxes; and he was kept under arms only when his services were needed. Besides this regular soldiery, the peasantry were called out upon occasion, for war or for garrisons.



PORTRAIT STATUE OF AMTEN, a "self-made" noble of 3200 B.C.

There was also a large body of *officials*, organized in many grades like the officers of an army. Every despotic government has to have such a class, to act as eyes, hands, and feet; but

¹ For Egypt this was a large farm. See page 20.

in ancient Egypt the royal servants were particularly numerous and important. Until the seventh century B.C. the Egyptians had no money. Thus the immense royal revenues, as well as all debts between private men, had to be collected "in kind." The tax-collectors and treasurers had to receive geese, ducks, cattle, grain, wine, oil, metals, jewels, — "all that the heavens



EGYPTIAN NOBLE HUNTING WATERFOWL ON THE NILE with the "throwstick" (a boomerang). The birds rise from a group of papyrus reeds. — Egyptian relief; after Maspero.

give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its mysterious sources," as one king puts it in an inscription. To do this called for an army of royal officials. For a like reason, the great nobles needed a large class of trustworthy servants.

13. Summary of Social Classes. — Thus, in Egyptian society, we have at the top an *aristocracy*, of several elements: (1) the nobles; (2) the powerful and learned priesthood, whose influence almost equaled that of the pharaoh himself; (3) scribes

and physicians; (4) a privileged soldiery; and (5) a mass of privileged officials of many grades, from the greatest rulers next to the pharaoh, down to petty tax collectors and the stewards of private estates. Lower down there was *the middle class*, of shopkeepers and artisans, whose life ranged from comfort to a grinding misery; while at *the base of society* was a large mass of toilers on the land, weighted down by all the other classes. It is not strange that, in time, upper and lower classes came to differ in physical appearance. The later monuments represent the nobles tall and lithe, with imperious bearing; while the laborer is pictured heavy of feature and dumpy in build.

14. Life of the Wealthy. — For most of the well-to-do, life was a very delightful thing, filled with active employment and varied with many pleasures.¹ Their homes were roomy houses with a wooden frame plastered over with sun-dried clay. Light and air entered at the many latticed windows, where, however, curtains of brilliant hues shut out the occasional sand storms from the desert. About the house stretched a large garden with artificial fish-ponds gleaming among the palm trees.²

15. The Life of the Poor. — There were few *slaves* in Egypt; but the condition of the great mass of the people fell little short of practical slavery. Toilers on the canals, and on the pyramids and other vast works that have made Egypt famous, were kept to their labor by the whip. "Man has a back," was a favorite Egyptian proverb. The monuments always picture the overseers with a stick, and often show it in use. The people thought of a beating as a natural incident in their daily work.

The peasants did not live in the country, as our farmers do. They were crowded into the villages and poorer quarters of the

¹ The student who has access to Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization* (or to various other illustrated works on Early Egypt) can make an interesting report upon these recreations from what he can see in the pictures from the monuments.

² A full description of a noble's house is given in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 5.

towns, with the other poorer classes. The house of a poor man was a mud hovel of only one room. Such huts were separated from one another merely by one mud partition, and were built in long rows, facing upon narrow crooked alleys filled with filth. A "plague of flies" was natural enough; and only the extremely dry air kept down that and worse pes-



LEVYING THE TAX.—An Egyptian relief from the monuments; from Maspero.

tilences. Hours of toil were from dawn to dark. Taxes were exacted harshly, and the peasant was held responsible for them with all that he owned, even with his body. An Egyptian writer of about 1400 B.C. exclaims in pity:—

“Dost thou not recall the picture of the farmer, when the tenth of his grain is levied? Worms have destroyed half of the wheat, and the hippopotami have eaten the rest. There are swarms of rats in the fields; the grasshoppers alight there; the cattle devour; the little birds pilfer; and if the farmer lose sight for an instant of what remains upon the ground, it is carried off by robbers. The thongs, moreover, which bind the iron and the hoe are worn out, and the team [of cows] has died at the plow. It is then that the scribe steps out of the boat at the landing place to levy the tithe, and there come the keepers of the doors of the granary with cudgels and the Negroes with ribs of palm-leaves [very effective whips], crying: ‘Come now, corn!’ There is none, and they throw the cultivator full length upon the ground; bound, dragged to the canal, they fling him in head first [probably a figurative way of saying that he was forced to work out his tax on the canals]; his wife is bound with him, his children are put into chains; the neighbors, in the meantime, leave him and fly to save their grain.”

Still, judging from Egyptian literature, the peasants seem to have been careless and gay, petting the cattle and singing at their work. Probably they were as well off as the like class has been during the past century in Egypt or in Russia.

16. The position of women was better than it was to be in the Greek civilization, and much better than in modern Oriental countries. The poor man's wife spun and wove, and ground grain into meal in a stone bowl with another stone. Among the upper classes, the wife was the companion of the man. She was not shut up in a harem or confined strictly to household duties: she appeared in company and at public ceremonies. She possessed equal rights at law; and sometimes great queens ruled upon the throne. In no other country, until modern times, do pictures of happy home life play so large a part.

INDUSTRY AND LEARNING

17. The Irrigation System. — Before the year 2000 B.C., the Egyptians had learned to supplement the yearly overflow of the Nile by an elaborate irrigation system. Even earlier, they had built dikes to keep the floods from the towns and gardens; and the care of these embankments remained a special duty of the government through all Egyptian history. But between 2400 and 2000 B.C. the pharaohs created a wonderful reservoir system. On the one hand, tens of thousands of acres of marsh were drained and made fit for rich cultivation: on the other hand, artificial lakes were built at various places, to collect and hold the surplus water of the yearly inundation. Then, by an intricate network of ditches and "gates" (much like the irrigation ditches of some of our western States to-day), the water was distributed during the dry months as it was needed. The government opened and closed the main ditches, as seemed best to it; and its officers oversaw the more minute distribution of the water, by which each farm in the vast irrigated districts was given its share. Then, from the main ditch of each farm, the farmer himself carried the water in smaller water courses

to one part or another of his acres,—these small ditches gradually growing smaller and smaller, until, by moving a little mud with the foot, he could turn the water one way or another at his will. Ground so cultivated was divided into square beds, surrounded by raised borders of earth, so that the water could be kept in or out of each bed.

The most important single work of this system of irrigation was the artificial *Lake Moeris* (map, page 16). This was constructed by improving a natural basin in the desert. To this depression, a canal was dug from the Nile through a gorge in the hills for a distance of eight miles. At the Nile side, a huge dam, with gates, made it possible to carry off through the canal the surplus water at flood periods. The canal was 30 feet deep and 160 feet wide; and from the “lake,” smaller canals distributed the water over a large district which had before been perfectly barren. This useful work was still in perfect condition two thousand years after its creation, and was praised highly by a Roman geographer who visited it then.

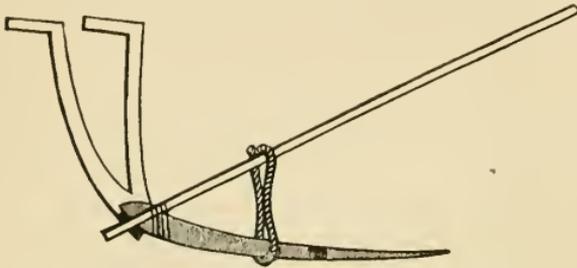
So extensive were these irrigation works in very early times that more soil was cultivated, and more wealth produced, and a larger population maintained, than in any modern period until English control was established in the country a short time ago. Herodotus (§ 21) says that in his day Egypt had twenty thousand “towns” (villages).

18. Agriculture.—Wheat and barley had been introduced at an early time from the Euphrates region, and some less important grains (like sesame) were also grown. Besides the grain, the chief food crops were beans, peas, lettuce, radishes, melons, cucumbers, and onions. Clover was raised for cattle, and flax for the linen cloth which was the main material for clothing.¹ Grapes, too, were grown in great quantities, for the manufacture of a light wine.

Herodotus says that seed was merely scattered broadcast on the moist soil as the water receded each November, and then trampled in by cattle and goats and pigs. But the pictures on

¹ There was also some cotton raised, and the abundant flocks of sheep furnished wool.

the monuments show that, in parts of Egypt anyway, a light wooden plow was used to stir the ground. This plow was drawn by two cows. Even the large farms were treated almost like gardens; and the yield was enormous, — reaching



EGYPTIAN PLOW. — After Rawlinson.

the rate of a hundred fold for grain. Long after her greatness had departed, Egypt remained “the granary of the Mediterranean lands.”

The various crops matured at different seasons, and so kept the farmer busy through most of the year. Besides the plow, his only tools were a short, crooked hoe (the use of which bent him almost double) and the sickle. The grain was cut with this last implement; then carried in baskets to a threshing floor, — and trodden out by cattle, which were driven round and round, while the drivers sang, —

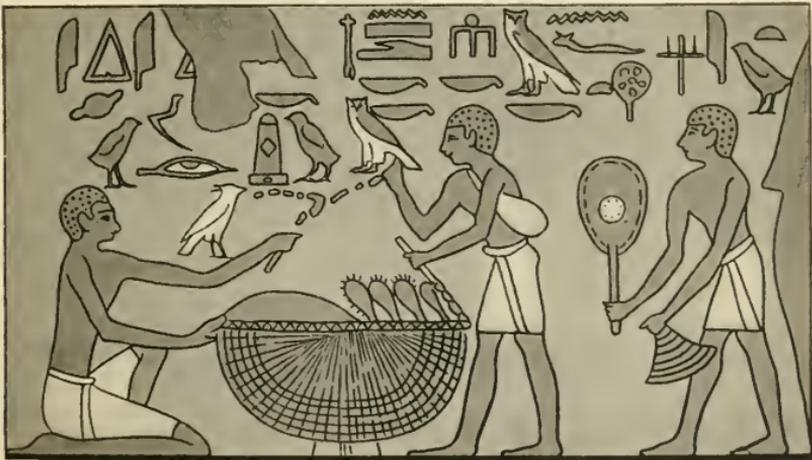
“Tread, tread, tread out the grain.
Tread for yourselves, for yourselves.
Measures for the master; measures for yourselves.”

An Egyptian barnyard contained many animals familiar to us (cows, sheep, goats, scrawny pigs much like the wild hog, geese, ducks, and pigeons), and also a number of others like antelopes, gazellés, and storks. Some of these it proved impossible to tame profitably. We must remember that *men had to learn by careful experiment, through many generations of animal life, which animals it paid best to domesticate*. The hen was not known; nor was the horse present in Egypt until a late period (§ 29). Even then he was never common enough to use in agriculture or as a draft animal.

During the flood periods cattle were fed in stalls upon clover and wheat straw. The monuments picture some exciting

scenes when a rapid rise of the Nile forced the peasants to remove their flocks and herds hurriedly, through the surging waters, from usual grazing grounds to the flood-time quarters. Veal, mutton, and antelope flesh were the common meats of the rich. The poor lived mainly on vegetables and goats' milk.

19. Trade.—Until about 650 B.C., the Egyptians had no true money. For some centuries before that date, they had used rings of gold and silver to some extent, somewhat as we use money; but these rings had no fixed weight, and had to be



MARKET SCENE. — Egyptian relief from the monuments.

placed on the scales each time they changed hands. During most of Egypt's three thousand years of greatness, indeed, exchange in her market places was by *barter*. A peasant with wheat or onions to sell squatted by his basket, while would-be customers offered him earthenware, vases, fans, or other objects with which they had come to buy, but which perhaps he did not want. (The student will be interested in an admirable description of a market scene in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 7. The picture above, from an Egyptian monument, is one of those used as the basis of that account.)

We hardly know whether to be most amazed at the wonderful progress of the Egyptians in some lines, or at their failure

to invent money and an alphabet, when they needed those things so sorely and approached them so closely.

In spite of this serious handicap, by 2000 B.C. the Egyptians carried on extensive trade. One inscription of that period describes a ship bringing from the coast of Arabia "fragrant woods, heaps of myrrh, ebony and pure ivory, green gold, cinnamon, incense, cosmetics, apes, monkeys, dogs, and panther skins." Some of these things must have been gathered from distant parts of Eastern Asia.

20. The Industrial Arts.—The skilled artisans included brickworkers, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths,



SHOEMAKERS. — Egyptian relief from the monuments; from Maspero.

upholsterers, glass blowers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, armorers, and almost as many other trades as are to be found among us to-day. In many of these occupations, the workers possessed a marvelous dexterity, and were masters of processes that are now unknown. The weavers in particular produced delicate and exquisite linen, almost as fine as silk, and the workers in glass and gold and bronze were famous for their skill. Jewels were imitated in colored glass so artfully that only an expert to-day can detect the fraud by the appearance. Iron was not much used until about 800 B.C. A few pieces of iron have been found in Egyptian ruins of earlier date; but plainly these are "free" iron, such as is occasionally discovered in many parts of the world. Their presence in Egypt does not mean that the early inhabitants knew how to work in iron.

21. The chief fine arts were architecture, sculpture, and painting. The Egyptian art, indeed, was the architecture of the temple and the tomb.

The most famous Egyptian buildings are the *pyramids*. They were the tombs of kings. That is, they were exaggerated imitations, in stone, of savage grave mounds like those of our

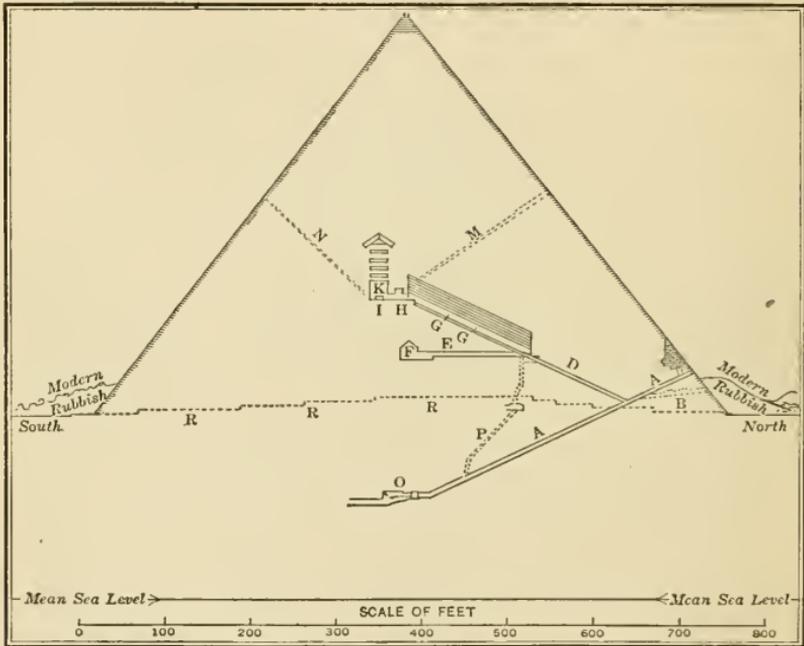


SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS.—From a photograph. (The human head of the sphinx is supposed to have the magnified features of a pharaoh. It is set upon the body of a lion, as a symbol of power.)

American Indians. The skill shown in the construction of the pyramids implies a remarkable knowledge of mathematics and of physics for such early times; and their impressive massiveness has always placed them among the wonders of the world.

The most important pyramids stand upon a sandy plateau a little below the city of Memphis (map, page 16). The largest, and one of the oldest, is known as the Great Pyramid. It is thought to have been built by King *Cheops* more than 3000 years before Christ, and it is by far the largest and most massive

building in the world. Its base covers thirteen acres, and it rises 481 feet from the plain. More than two million huge stone blocks went to make it,—more stone than has gone into any other building in the world. Some single blocks weigh over fifty tons; but the edges of the blocks that form the faces are



VERTICAL SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID, LOOKING WEST, showing passages.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------------|
| A Entrance passage. | F Queen's chamber. | K King's chamber. |
| B A later opening. | G G Grand gallery. | M N Ventilating chambers. |
| D First ascending passage. | H Antechamber. | O Subterranean chamber. |
| E Horizontal passage. | I Coffer. | P Well, so called. |
| R R R Probable extent to which the native rock is employed to assist the masonry of the building. | | |

so polished, and so nicely fitted, that the joints can hardly be detected; while the interior chambers, and long, sloping passages between them, are built with such skill that, notwithstanding the immense weight above them, there has been no perceptible settling of the walls in the lapse of five thousand years.

Herodotus, a Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., traveled in Egypt and learned all that the priests of his day could tell him regarding these wonders. He tells us that it took thirty years to build the Great Pyramid, — ten of those years going to piling the vast mounds of earth, up which the mighty stones were to be dragged into place, — which mounds had afterwards to be removed. During that thirty years, relays of a hundred thousand men were kept at the toil, each relay for three months at a stretch. Other thousands, of course, had to toil through a lifetime of labor to feed these workers on a monument to a monarch's vanity. All the labor was performed by mere human strength: the Egyptians of that day had no beasts of burden, and no machinery, such as we have, for moving great weights with ease.

The pyramids were the work of an early line of kings, soon after the time of Menes. Later monarchs were content with smaller resting places for their own bodies,¹ and built instead gigantic *temples* for the gods. In their private dwellings the Egyptians sometimes used graceful *columns* and the true *arch*, but for their temples they preferred massive walls and rows of huge, close-set columns, supporting roofs of immense flat slabs of rock. The result gives an impression of stupendous power, but it lacks grace and beauty.

On the walls of the temples and within the tombs we find the inscriptions and the papyrus rolls that tell us of ancient Egyptian life. With the inscriptions there are found long bands of pictures ("reliefs") cut into the walls, illustrating the story. There are found also many full statues, large and small. Much of the early sculpture was lifelike; and even the unnatural colossal statues, such as the Sphinxes, have a gloomy grandeur in keeping with the melancholy desert that stretches about them. Later sculpture has less character and less finish.

The painting lasted in the closed rock tombs with perfect freshness, but it fades quickly upon exposure to the air. The painters used color well, but they did not draw correct forms. Like the "relief" sculptures, the painting lacked perspective and proportion.

¹ Often, however, they used the old pyramids, already constructed, for their tombs, sometimes casting out the mummy of a predecessor.

22. Literature and the Hieroglyphs. — The Egyptians wrote religious books, poems, histories, travels, novels, orations, treatises upon morals, scientific works, geographies, cook-books,



RA-HOTEP, a noble of about 3200 B.C. PRINCESS NEFERT, a portrait statue
Perhaps the oldest portrait statue in 5000 years old. Now in the Cairo
the world. Now in the Cairo Museum. Museum.

catalogues, and collections of fairy stories, — among the last a tale of an Egyptian Cinderella, with her fairy glass slipper. On the first monuments, writing had advanced from mere

pictures to a rebus stage (cf. § 3 *e*). This early writing was used mainly by the priests in connection with the worship of the gods, and so the characters were called *hieroglyphs* ("priest's writing"). The pictures, though shrunken, compose "a delightful assemblage of birds, snakes, men, tools, stars, and beasts." Some of these signs grew into real letters, or *signs of single*



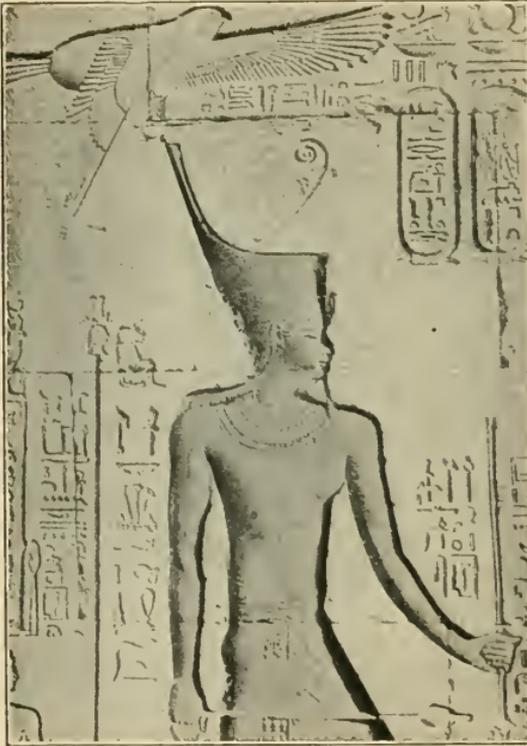
TEMPLE OF EDFU.—A village between Thebes and the First Cataract. This is one of the best preserved Egyptian temples. It is the basis of the article on Egyptian Architecture in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition.

sounds. If the Egyptians could have kept these last and have dropped all the rest, they would have had a true alphabet. But this final step they never took. Their writing remained to the last a curious mixture of *thousands* of signs of things, of ideas, of syllables, and of a few single sounds.¹ This was what made the position of the scribes so honorable and profitable. To master such a system of writing required long schooling,

¹ A good account of the hieroglyphs is given in Keary's *Dawn of History*, 298-303. Another may be found in Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 221-224, and there is a pleasant longer account in Clodd's *Story of the Alphabet*.

and any one who could write was sure of well-paid employment.

When these characters were formed rapidly upon papyrus or pottery (instead of upon stone), the strokes were run together, and the characters were gradually modified into a running script, which was written with a reed in black or red ink. The dry air of the Egyptian tombs has preserved to our day great numbers of buried papyrus rolls.



RELIEF FROM THE TEMPLE OF HATHOR (goddess of the sky and of love), at Dendera, 28 miles north of Thebes. This temple belongs to a late period. Notice the "conventionalized" wings, and the royal "cartouches." In Egyptian inscriptions, the name of a king is surrounded by a line, as in the upper right-hand corner of this relief. Such a figure is called a "cartouch." See the Rosetta stone, on page 12.

23. Science.—The Nile has been called the father of Egyptian science. The frequent need of surveying the land after an inundation had to do with the skill of the early Egyptians in *geometry*. The need of fixing in advance the exact time of the inundation directed attention to the true "year," and so to *astronomy*.

Great progress was made in both these studies. We moderns, who learn glibly from books and diagrams the results of this early labor, can hardly understand how difficult was the task of these first scientific observers.

Uncivilized peoples count time by "moons" or by "winters"; but to fix the exact length of the year (the time in which the sun apparently passes from a given point in the heavens, through its path, back again to that point) requires long and patient and skillful observation, and no little knowledge. Indeed, to find out that there is such a thing as a "year" is no simple matter. If the student will go out into the night, and look upon the heavens, with its myriads of twinkling points of light, and then try to imagine how the first scientists, without being told by any one else, learned to map out the paths of the heavenly bodies, he will better appreciate their work.

The Egyptians understood the revolution of the earth and planets around the sun, and they fixed the year at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, less a fraction, and invented a curious leap year arrangement. Their "year," together with their calendar of months, we get from them through Julius Caesar (slightly improved about three hundred years ago by Pope Gregory XIII). In *arithmetic* the Egyptians dealt readily in numbers to millions, with the aid of a notation similar to that used later by the Romans. Thus, 3423 was represented by the Romans: M M M C C C C XX III and by the Egyptians:





All this learning is older than the Greek by almost twice as long a time as the Greek is older than ours of to-day. No wonder, then, that (according to a Greek story) in the last days of Egyptian greatness, a priest of Saïs exclaimed to a traveler from little Athens: "O Solon, Solon! You Greeks are mere children. There is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition, nor any science hoary with age!" It must be remembered, however, that this science was the possession only of the priests, and perhaps of a few others.

24. Religion. — There was a curious mixture of religions. Each family worshiped its ancestors. Such *ancestor worship* is found, indeed, among all primitive peoples, along with a belief in evil spirits and malicious ghosts. There was also a *worship of animals*. Cats, dogs, bulls, crocodiles, and many other animals were sacred. To injure one of these "gods," even by accident, was to incur the murderous fury of the people. Probably this worship was a degraded kind of ancestor worship

known as *totemism*, which is found among many peoples. North American Indians of a wolf clan or a bear clan — with a fabled wolf or bear for an ancestor — must on no account injure the ancestral animal, or “totem.”¹ Even Rome, with its legend of Romulus nursed by a wolf, gives some curious survivals of an earlier worship of this sort. In Egypt, however, the worship

of animals became more widely spread, and took on grosser features, than has ever been the case elsewhere.

Above all this, there was a worship of countless deities and demigods representing sun, moon, river, wind, storm, trees, and stones. Each village and town had its special god to protect it; and the gods of the great capitals became national deities. The populace thought that these nature gods dwelt in the bodies of animals; but with the better classes this *nature worship* mounted sometimes to a lofty and pure worship of one God.

“God,” say some of the inscriptions, “is a spirit: no man



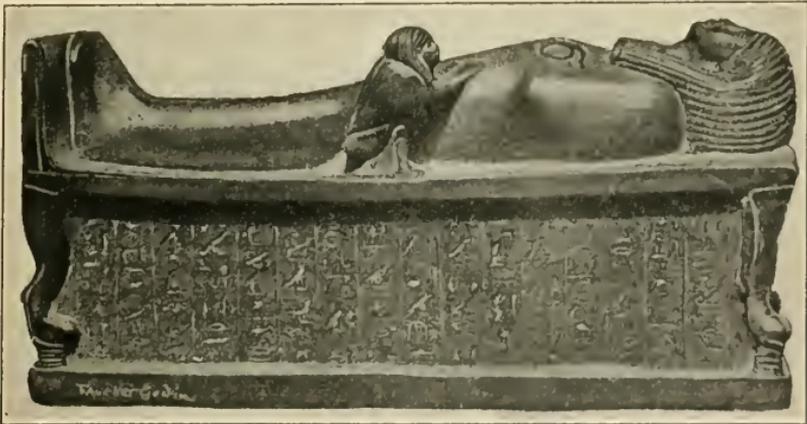
Isis, goddess of the sky, holding her son, HORUS, the rising sun.

knoweth his form,” and again, — “He is the creator of the heavens and the earth and all that is therein.” These lofty thoughts never spread far among the people; but a few thinkers in Egypt seem to have risen to them earlier than the Hebrew prophets did. The following hymn to Aten (the Sun-disk), symbol of Light and Life, was written by an Egyptian king of the fifteenth century B.C.

¹ Students who know Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* will recall an illustration of totemism.

"Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
 O living Aten, the beginning of life ! . . .
 Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.
 Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.
 Thou bindest them with thy love. . . .
 The birds fly in their haunts —
 Their wings adoring thee. . . .
 The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell —
 Thou givest it breath within the egg. . . .
 How many are the things which thou hast made !
 Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,
 With peoples, herds, and flocks. . . .
 Thou givest to every man his place, thou framest his life."

25. The idea of a future life was held in two or three forms. Nearly all savage peoples believe that after death the body remains the home of the soul, or at least that the soul lives on

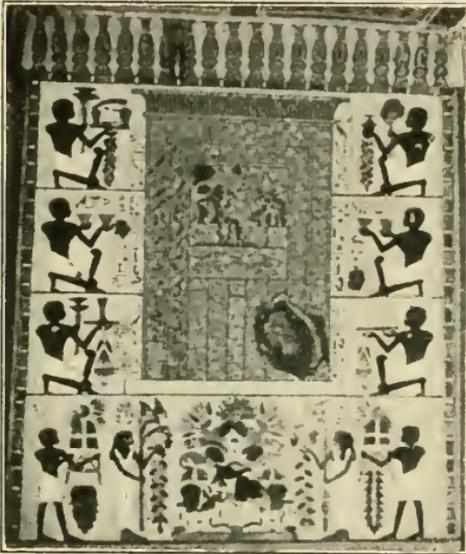


SCULPTURED FUNERAL COUCH: the soul is represented crouching by the mummy. — From Maspero.

in a pale, shadowy existence near the tomb. If the body be not preserved, or if it be not given proper burial, then, it is thought, the soul becomes a wandering ghost, restless and harmful to men.

The early Egyptians held some such belief. The universal

practice of embalming¹ the body before burial was connected with it. They wished to preserve the body as the home for the soul. In the early tombs, too, there are always found dishes in which had been placed food and drink for the ghost, just as is done by savage peoples to-day.



A TOMB PAINTING, showing offerings to the dead.

These practices continued through all ancient Egyptian history.² But upon some such basis as this there finally grew up, among the better classes, a belief in a truer immortality for those who deserved it. The dead, according to these more advanced thinkers, lived in a distant Elysium, where they had all the pleasures of life without its pains. This haven, however, was only for those ghosts who knew

certain religious formulas to guard against destruction on the perilous spirit journey, and who, on arrival, should be declared worthy by the "Judges of the Dead." Other souls were thought to perish. After this stage of belief was reached, the practice of embalming the body may have come to have some connection with a growing thought of its resurrection.

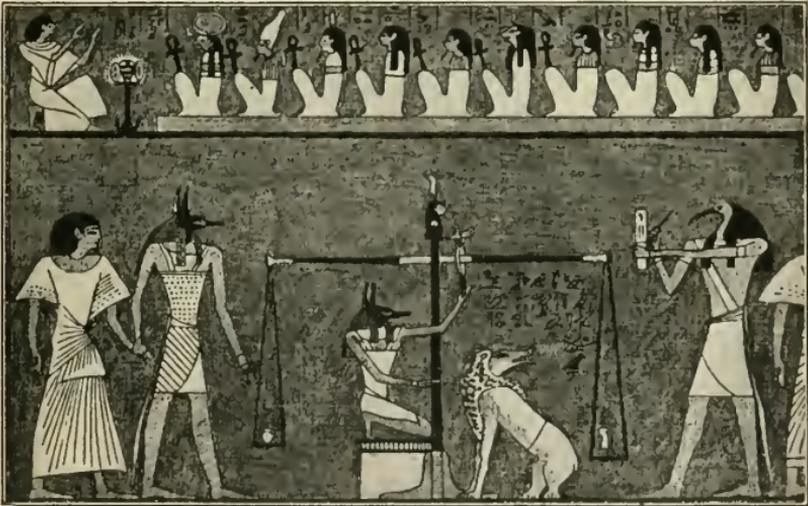
The following noble extract comes from the "Repudiation of Sins." This was a statement which the Egyptian believed he ought to be able to

¹ "Embalming" is a process of preparing a dead body with drugs and spices, so as to prevent decay.

² In part they continue to-day, after these six thousand years of different faiths. The Egyptian peasant still buries food and drink with his dead. Such customs last long after the ideas on which they were based have faded; *but there must always have been some live idea in them at first.*

say truthfully before the "Judges of the Dead." It shows a keen sense of duty to one's fellow men, which would be highly honorable to any religion.

"Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! . . . I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! . . . I have not laid labor upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! . . . I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man, I have not made any to weep, . . . *I have not pulled down the scale of the*



WEIGHING THE SOUL in the scales of truth before the gods of the dead.— Egyptian relief; after Maspero. (The figures with animal heads are gods and their messengers. The human forms represent the dead who are being led to judgment.)

balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings. . . .

"Grant that he may come unto you — he that hath not lied nor borne false witness, . . . *he that hath given bread to the hungry and drink to him that was athirst, and that hath clothed the naked with garments.*"

Some other declarations in this statement run: "I have not blasphemed;" "I have not stolen;" "I have not slain any man treacherously;" "I have not made false accusation;" "I have not eaten my heart with envy." These five contain the substance of half of the Ten Commandments, — hundreds of years before Moses brought the tables of stone to the Children of Israel.

26. Moral Character. — The ideal of character, indicated above, is contained in many other Egyptian inscriptions. Thus, some three thousand years before Christ, a noble declares in his epitaph: "I have caused no child of tender years to mourn; I have despoiled no widow; I have driven away no toiler of the soil [who asked for help] . . . None about me have been unfortunate or starving in my time."¹ Of course, like other people, the Egyptian fell short of his ideal. On the other hand, it is not fair to expect him to come up to our modern standard in all ways. The modesty and refinement which we value were lacking among the Egyptians; but they were a kindly people. The sympathy expressed by their writers for the poor (§ 15) is a note not heard elsewhere in ancient literature. Scholars agree in giving the Egyptians high praise as "more moral, sympathetic, and conscientious than any other ancient people." These words belong to Professor Petrie, the great authority on Egyptian antiquities. The same scholar sums up the matter thus: "The Egyptian, without our Christian sense of sin or self-reproach, sought out a fair and noble life. . . . His aim was to be an easy, good-natured, quiet gentleman, and to make life as agreeable as he could to all about him."

THE STORY

27. The Old Kingdom. — It is convenient to mark off seven periods in the history of Egypt (§§ 27–33). For more than a thousand years after Menes (3400–2400 B.C.), the capital remained at Memphis in Lower Egypt. This period is known as the Old Kingdom. It is marked by the complete consolidation of the country under the pharaohs, by the building of the pyramids and sphinxes, and by the rapid development of the civilization which we have been studying. The only names we care much for in this age are Menes and Cheops (§ 21).

28. The Middle Kingdom. — Toward 2400 B.C., the power of the pharaohs declined; but the glory of the monarchy was re-

¹ The same ideas of duty are set forth more at length in extracts given in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 9 and 10.

stored by a new line of kings at *Thebes* in the upper valley. Probably this was the result of civil war between Upper and Lower Egypt. The Theban line of pharaohs are known as the Middle Kingdom. Their rule lasted some four hundred years (2400–2000 B.C.), and makes the second period. The two features of this period are *foreign conquest* and a new *development of resources at home*.

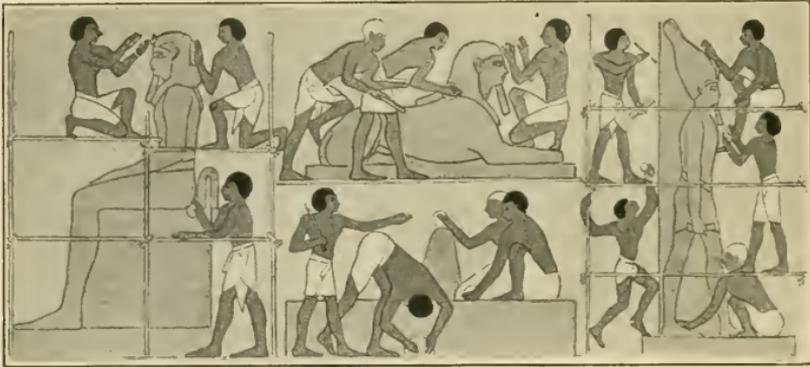
Ethiopia, on the south, was subdued, with many Negro tribes; and parts of Syria were conquered; but the chief glory of this age, and of all Egyptian history, was the development of the marvelous system of irrigation that has been described in § 17 above. The pharaohs of this period, in happy contrast with the vain and cruel pyramid-builders, cared most to encourage trade, explore unknown regions, improve roads, establish wells and reservoirs. A king of 2200 B.C. boasts in his epitaph — probably with reason —

that all his commands had “ever increased the love” of his subjects toward him. Egyptian commerce now reached to Crete on the north, and probably to other islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and to distant parts of Ethiopia on the south. One of the greatest works of the time was the opening of a canal from a mouth of the Nile to the Red Sea, so that ships might pass from that sea to the Mediterranean. This gave a great impulse to trade with Arabia (§ 19).



CHEOPS (more properly called Khufu), builder of the Great Pyramid: a portrait-statue discovered in 1902 by Flinders Petrie. As Professor Petrie says, “The first thing that strikes us is the enormous driving power of the man.”

29. The Hyksos. — This outburst of glory was followed by a strange decay (2000–1600 B.C. — the “third period”), during which Egypt became the prey of roving tribes from Arabia. From the title of their chiefs, these conquerors were called *Hyksos*, or *Shepherd Kings*. They maintained themselves in Egypt about two hundred years. For a time they harried the land cruelly, as invaders; then, from a capital in the lower Delta, they ruled the country through tributary Egyptian



SCULPTORS at work on colossal figures. — From an Egyptian relief.

kings; and finally they acquired the civilization of the country and became themselves Egyptian sovereigns. It was this Arabian conquest that first brought the horse into Egypt (§ 18). After this period, kings and nobles are represented in war chariots and in pleasure carriages.

30. The New Empire. — A line of native monarchs had remained in power at Thebes, as under-kings. About 1600 B.C., after a long struggle, these princes expelled the Hyksos. During this “fourth period,” 1600–1330, Egypt reached its highest pitch of military grandeur. The long struggle with the Hyksos had turned the attention of the people from industry to war; and the horse made long marches easier for the leaders. A series of mighty kings recovered Ethiopia, conquered all western Syria, and at last reached the Euphrates, ruling for a brief time even over Babylonia.

Here, on the banks of a mighty river, strangely like their own Nile, they found the home of another civilization, equal to their own, but different. For nearly four thousand years,



these two earliest civilizations had been growing up in ignorance of each other.¹ Now a new era opened. The long ages of isolation gave way to an age of intercourse.² The vast dis-

¹ The Egyptians did know something of the Euphrates culture, because it had, long before, extended into Syria (§ 38), which Egyptian armies and traders had visited occasionally for some centuries; but now first they saw it in its full magnificence.

² Egypt did not admit foreigners into her own Nile district, except the official representatives of other governments. But the Syrian lands were the middle ground where the two civilizations held intercourse.

tricts between the Euphrates and the Nile became covered with a network of roads. These were garrisoned here and there by fortresses; and over them, for centuries, there passed hurrying streams of officials, couriers, and merchants. The brief supremacy of Egypt over the Euphrates district was also the *first political union of the Orient*. In some degree it paved the way for the greater empires to follow, — of Assyria, of Persia, of Alexander, and of Rome. The most famous Egyptian rulers of

this age are *Thûtmosis*¹ *III*, and *Rameses II*. The student will find interesting passages about both these monarchs in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I.



SCULPTURED HEAD OF THÛTMOSIS III (about 1470 B.C.), who in twelve great campaigns first carried Egyptian arms from the isthmus to Nineveh.

31. Decline. — A long age of weakness (the "fifth period," about 1330–640) soon invited attack. The priests had drawn into their hands a large part of the land of Egypt. This land paid no taxes, and the pharaohs felt obliged to tax more heavily the already over-

urdened peasantry. Population declined; revenues fell off. Early in this period of decline, the Hebrews escaped from Egypt. Driven by famine, they had come from Syria during the rule of the Arabian Hyksos, who were friendly to them. The great monarchs of the New Empire reduced them to serfdom. Now they escaped from a weak pharaoh, to seek refuge again in the desert (§ 59).

The government was no longer strong enough in armies for the defense of the frontiers. Dominion in both Africa and

¹ All difficult proper names have the pronunciation shown in the index.

Asia shrank, until Egypt was driven back within her ancient bounds. The Hittites (§ 7), descending from the slopes of the Taurus Mountains (map, page 45), overthrew Egyptian power in Syria; and the tribes of the Sahara, aided by "strange peoples of the sea" (Greeks among them), threatened to seize even the Delta itself. In 730 B.C. the Ethiopians overran the country; and, in 672, *Egypt finally became subject to Assyria* (§ 40).

Dates are not fixed *exactly* in Egyptian history until about this time. For all earlier periods, a margin of a century or two must be allowed for errors in calculation. We know the order of events, but not their precise year.

This vagueness is due to the fact that ancient peoples did not count time as we do from one fixed point: instead, they reckoned from the building of a city, or from the beginning of the reigns of their kings. An inscription may tell us that a certain event took place in the tenth year of the reign of Rameses; but we do not know positively in just what year Rameses began to reign.



RAMESES II, a conquering pharaoh of about 1375 B.C. This colossal statue stands in the ruins of the palace at Luxor.

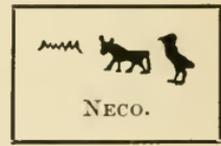
32. The Sixth Period, 653-525. — After twenty years of Assyrian rule, *Psammetichus* restored Egyptian independence and became the pharaoh. He had been a military adventurer, apparently of foreign blood; and had been employed by the Assyrians as a tributary prince. During her former greatness, although her own traders visited other lands, Egypt had kept herself jealously closed against strangers. But *Psammetichus* threw open the doors to foreigners. In particular, he welcomed

the Greeks, who were just coming into notice as soldiers and sailors. Not only did individual Greek travelers (§§ 21, 23, 156) visit the country, but a Greek colony, *Naucratis*, was established there, and large numbers of Greek soldiers served in the army. Indeed *Sais*, the new capital of Psammetichus and his son, thronged with Greek adventurers. This was the time, accordingly, when Egypt “fulfilled her mission among the nations.” She “had lit the torch of civilization” ages before; now she passed it on to the western world through this younger race.

Neco, the second monarch of this new line of kings, ruled about 600 B.C. He was greatly interested in reviving the old



Egyptian commerce. His efforts to restore Egyptian influence in Syria and Arabia were foiled by the rise of a new empire in the Eu-



phrates valley (§ 42); and he failed also in a noble attempt to reopen the ancient canal connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean (§ 28). But, in searching for another route for vessels between those waters, he did succeed in a remarkable attempt. *One of his ships sailed around Africa*, starting from the Red Sea and returning, three years later, by the Mediterranean. Herodotus (§ 21), who tells us the story, adds: “On their return the sailors reported (others may believe them but I will not) that in sailing from east to west around Africa they had the sun on their right hand.” This report, which Herodotus could not believe, is good proof to us that the story of the sailors was true.

33. Egyptian History merges in Greek and Roman History.—The last age of Egyptian independence lasted only 128 years. Then followed the “seventh period,”—one of long dependence upon foreign powers. Persia conquered the country in 525 B.C. (§ 72), and ruled it for two centuries under Persian governors. Then Alexander the Great established Greek sway over all the Persian world (§§ 278 ff.). At his death Egypt became again a

separate state; but it was ruled by the *Greek Ptolemies* from their new Greek capital at Alexandria. Cleopatra, the last of this line of monarchs, fell before Augustus Caesar in 30 B.C., and Egypt became a Roman province. Native rule has never been restored.

EXERCISES. — 1. Make a summary of the things we owe to Egypt.
2. What can you learn from those extracts upon Egypt in Davis' *Readings*, which have not been referred to in this chapter? (If the class have enough of those valuable little books in their hands, this topic may make all or part of a day's lesson: if only a copy or two is in the library, one student may well make a short report to the class, with brief readings.)
3. Do you regard the first pyramid or Lake Moeris or the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea as the truest monument to Egyptian greatness?
4. Students who wish to read further upon ancient Egypt will find the titles of three or four of the best books for their purpose in the Appendix, — Baikie, Breasted, Hommel, or Myers.

CHAPTER III

THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES STATES

GEOGRAPHY

34. The Two Rivers. — Across Asia, from the Red to the Yellow Sea, stretches a mighty desert. Its smaller and western part, a series of low, sandy plains, is really a continuation of the African desert. The eastern portion (which lies almost wholly beyond the field of *our* ancient history, § 4) consists of lofty plateaus broken up by rugged mountains. The two parts are separated from each other by a patch of luxuriant vegetation, reaching away from the Persian Gulf to the northwest.

This oasis is the work of the Tigris and Euphrates. (In this connection see map facing p. 13.) These twin rivers have never interested men so much as the more mysterious Nile has; but they have played a hardly less important part in history. Rising on opposite sides of the snow-capped mountains of Armenia, they approach each other by great sweeps until they form a common valley; then they flow in parallel channels for the greater part of their course, uniting just before they reach the Gulf. The land between them has always been named from them. The Jews called it "Syria of the Two Rivers"; the Greeks, *Mesopotamia*, or "Between the Rivers"; the modern Arabs, "The Island."

35. Divisions of the Valley. — The valley had three distinct parts, two of which were of special importance. The first of these was *Chaldea*,¹ the district near the mouth of the rivers.

¹ This is the name that has been used for many centuries. It seems best to keep it, though we know now that it is inaccurate for the early period. The Chaldeans proper did not enter the valley until long after its civilization began.

Like the delta of the Nile, Chaldea consisted of deposits of soil carried out in the course of ages into the sea. In area it equaled modern Denmark, and was twice the size of the real Egypt. As with Egypt, its fertility in ancient times was maintained by an annual overflow of the river, regulated by dikes, canals, and reservoirs. Wheat and barley are believed to have been native there. Certainly it was from Chaldea that they spread west to Europe.

The Euphrates district is more dependent upon artificial aids for irrigation than the Nile valley is; and in modern times Chaldea has lost its ancient fertility. During the past thousand years, under Turkish rule, the last vestiges of the ancient engineering works have gone to ruin. The myriads of canals are choked with sand; and, as a result, in this early home of civilization, the *uncontrolled* overflow of the river turns the eastern districts into a dreary marsh; while on the west the desert has drifted in, to cover the most fertile soil in the world;— and the sites of scores of mighty cities are only shapeless mounds, where sometimes nomad Arabs camp for a night.

To the north of Chaldea, the rich plain gives way to a rugged table-land. The more fertile portion lies on the Tigris side, and is the second important part of the valley. It was finally to take the name *Assyria*.

The western half of the upper valley is sometimes called *Mesopotamia Proper*. This third district was less fertile than the others, and never became the seat of a powerful state. It opened, however, upon the northern parts of Syria, and so made part of the great roadway between the Euphrates and the Nile.

THE STORY

36. The People.— The rich Euphrates valley, like the Nile region, attracted invaders from all sides in prehistoric times. It was less completely walled in, indeed, than Egypt (§§ 6, 7); and such inroads therefore continued longer and on a larger scale than in the Nile lands. Successive waves of conquering tribes from the Arabian desert finally established a *Semitic*¹

¹ *Semites* and *Semitic* are explained in a paragraph on the following page.

language in Chaldea; but the bulk of the inhabitants never became Semites in appearance or blood. They kept in large measure the characteristics of older peoples, who had originally developed the civilization of the valley, and who had spoken a tongue which in historic times had become a "dead language."

That older civilization, however, had not taken so firm a hold on the Tigris district; and the Assyrians became mainly Semitic, — allied to the Arabs in blood. The men of the south (Chaldeans, or Babylonians) were quick-witted, industrious, gentle, pleasure-loving, fond of literature and of peaceful pursuits. The hook-nosed, larger-framed, fiercer Assyrians cared mainly for war and the gains of commerce, and had only such arts and learning as they could borrow from their neighbors. They delighted in cruelty and gore. In the old inscriptions, their kings brag incessantly of torturing, flaying alive, and impaling thousands of captives.

The languages of the Arabs, Jews, Assyrians, and of some other neighboring peoples, such as the ancient Phoenicians (§ 54), are closely related. The whole group of such languages is called Semitic, and the peoples who speak them are called Semites (descendants of *Shem*). Similarity of languages does not necessarily prove that the peoples are related in blood: it means more commonly only that their civilizations have been derived one from another. But these Semitic races do seem to have had a close blood relationship.

37. The Early City-States. — As in Egypt, so in this double valley there clustered many cities at a very early time, — before 5000 B.C. Each such city was a "state" (§ 11, note) by itself, under its own king, and it controlled the surrounding hamlets and farming territory. These little states waged innumerable wars with one another and with outside invaders; but they also managed to develop the culture which was to characterize the country in its historic age. Each city, indeed, had a literature of its own, written in libraries of brick (§ 48), and our scholars are learning more of this ancient period every day from the study of the remains recently discovered. Only four cities, out of scores, will be mentioned in this book, — four leading

cities, whose names, too, are familiar from the Old Testament, — *Accad* (Agade), *Ur*, *Babylon*, and *Nineveh*. The first three are in the southern Euphrates district: Nineveh is in Assyria, on the Tigris.

Gradually, war united the rival states into larger ones; and then contests for power among these, with outside conquests, gave rise to *three great empires*, whose story we shall survey rapidly. Two of these empires were in the south, with their chief center at Babylon (First and Second Babylonian Empires). Between their two periods there arose the still mightier Assyrian Empire, with Nineveh for its capital.

An *empire* is a state containing many sub-states and one ruling state. Egypt was called a *kingdom* while it was confined to the Nile valley, but an *empire* when its sway extended over Ethiopia and Syria (§ 30).

38. Early Attempts at Empire. — About 2800 B.C., *Sargon*,¹ king of Accad, made himself ruler of all Chaldea. Then in a series of victorious campaigns, he carried his authority over the northern part of the river valley, and even to the distant Mediterranean coast. His empire fell to pieces with his death, from lack of organization; *but his campaigns had transplanted the Euphrates culture into Syria to take lasting root there.* Chaldean traders spread the seed more widely. For more than two thousand years, the fashions of Chaldea were copied in the cities of Syria; and her cuneiform² script was used, and her literature was read, by great numbers of people all over western Asia.

Ur succeeded Accad as mistress of the land. But the cities of the valley were soon overrun by new barbarians from the Arabian desert. These conquerors finally adopted thoroughly the civilization of the country, and took *Babylon* for their chief city.

¹ The Babylonians of about 600 B.C. rediscovered a certain inscription of the son of Sargon, long buried even in that day, and fixed his date from it at 3200 years before their own time. Very recent discoveries, however, prove that they placed him a thousand years too early. Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 17, gives the Babylonian story.

² See § 47 for explanation of this term.

39. The First Babylonian Empire begins strictly with the rule of *Hammurabi*, who lived about as many years before the birth of Christ as we do after it. In 1917 B.C. he completed the consolidation of the states of the Euphrates valley into one empire. Later, he extended the rule of Babylon to the bounds of Sargon's conquests — and with more lasting results. Ever since, the name Babylon has remained a symbol for magnificence and power.

During the fourth century of this empire (about 1500 B.C.), it came in contact with the "New Empire" of Egypt to which for a time it lost most of its dominions (§ 30).

40. The Assyrian Empire. — Assyria first comes to notice in the nineteenth century B.C. It was then a dependent province, belonging to the Babylonian Empire. Six hundred years later it had become a rival; but its supremacy begins two centuries later still, about 1100 B.C. New invaders from Arabia were harrying the Euphrates country; and this made it easier for *Tiglath-Pileser I*, king of Assyria, to master Babylonia. This king ruled from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean; but after his death his dominions fell apart. The real Assyrian Empire dates from 745 B.C.

In that year, the adventurer *Pul* seized the throne. He had been a gardener. Now he took the name of the first great conqueror, *Tiglath-Pileser (II)*, and soon established the most powerful empire the world had so far seen. It was larger than any that had gone before it (map opposite), and *it was better organized*. In the case of each of the earlier empires, the subject kingdoms had been left under the native rulers, as tributary kings. Such princes could never lose a natural ambition to become again independent sovereigns; and if they attempted revolt, the people were sure to rally loyally to them as to their proper rulers. Thus this loose organization tempted constantly to rebellion. It now gave way to a stronger one. The subject kingdoms were made more completely into parts of one state and *were ruled by Assyrian lieutenants (satraps)*. We call such subordinate parts of an empire by the name *provinces*. This

new invention in government *was Assyria's chief bequest to the later world.*

The next great Assyrian king was *Sargon II*, who carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (722 B.C.). This transplanting of a rebellious people, or at least of the better classes among them, to prevent rebellion, was a favorite device



of the Assyrians. Longfellow's picture, in *Evangeline*, of the removal of a small population in modern times with all possible gentleness, will help us to imagine the misery that must have come from such transportation of whole nations by overland journeys of a thousand miles.

Sargon's son, *Sennacherib*, is the most famous Assyrian monarch. He subdued the king of Judah,¹ but he will be

¹ 2 Kings xviii. For the Assyrian story see Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 12.

better remembered from the Jewish account of a mysterious destruction of his army, perhaps in another expedition, — smitten by “the angel of the Lord.” This is the incident commemorated by Byron’s lines: —

“The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold.

Like leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
That host, on the morrow, lay withered and strown.”

The empire recovered quickly from this disaster; and in 672 B.C. Sennacherib’s son, *Esarhaddon*, subdued Egypt (§ 31). *This was the second political union of the East.* It was much more complete than the first one of several centuries earlier (§ 30); and the territory was larger, for the Assyrians were reaching out west and east into the new regions of Asia Minor and of Media on the Plateau of Iran.

41. Fall of Assyria. — This wide rule was short-lived, — happily so, for no other great empire has ever so delighted in blood. Disagreeable as it is, the student should read one of the records in which an Assyrian king exults over his fiendish cruelties. The following one is by Assur-Natsir-Pul, 850 B.C.: —

“They did not embrace my feet. With combat and with slaughter I attacked the city and captured it; three thousand of their fighting men I slew with the sword. Their spoil, their goods, their oxen, and their sheep I carried away. The numerous captives I burned with fire. I captured many of the soldiers alive. I cut off the hands and feet of some; I cut off the noses, the ears, and the fingers of others; the eyes of the numerous soldiers I put out. I built up a pyramid of the living and a pyramid of heads. In the middle of them I suspended their heads on vine stems in the neighborhood of their city. Their young men and their maidens I burned as a holocaust. The city I overthrew, dug up, and burned with fire. I annihilated it.”

Of another city: “The nobles, as many as had revolted, I flayed; with their skins I covered the pyramid. Some of them I immured in the midst of the pyramid; others above the pyramid I impaled on stakes; others round about the pyramid I planted on stakes.”

See also Sennacherib’s boast, at the close of No. 12 in Davis’ *Readings*, Vol. I.

Against such cruelty and against the crushing Assyrian taxation, there rankled a passionate hatred in the hearts of the oppressed peoples.¹ After twenty years of subjection, Egypt broke away. Twenty years later, Babylon followed. Scythian hordes poured in repeatedly from the north, to devastate the empire; and in 606 the new power of the *Medes* (§ 72), aided by Babylonia, captured Nineveh itself. The Assyrian Empire disappeared, and the proud "city of blood," which had razed so many other cities, was given over to sack and pillage. Two hundred years later the Greek Xenophon could not even learn the name of the crumbling ruins, when he came upon them, in the "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" (§ 257). All signs of human habitation vanished, and the very site was forgotten, until its rediscovery in recent times.

Ancient and modern judgments upon Assyria are at one. Nahum closed his passionate exultation, — "All that hear the news of thy fate shall clap their hands over thee; for whom hath not thy wickedness afflicted continually." And says Dr. Davis (Introduction to No. 14 of his *Readings*, Vol. I): "Its luxuries and refinements were all borrowed from other lands: its insatiable love of conquest and slaughter was its own."

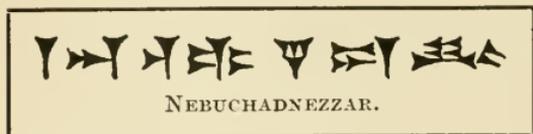
42. The New Babylonian Empire. — Babylon had risen in many a fierce revolt during the five centuries of Assyrian rule. Sennacherib declares, with great exaggeration certainly, that on one occasion he razed it to the ground in punishment: "I laid the houses waste from foundation to roof with fire. Temple and tower I tore down and threw into the canal. I dug ditches through the city, and laid waste its site. Greater than the deluge was its annihilation."

In 625 came a successful rebellion. Then (as noticed in § 41) Babylonia and Media soon shared between them the old Assyrian Empire. The Second Babylonian Empire lasted less than a century. The middle half of the period — the most glorious

¹ The student should read the terrible denunciation of Nineveh by the Hebrew prophet in the year of its fall (Book of Nahum, iii, 1-19). Cf. also Isaiah xiii, 16-22, and Jeremiah I and li.

part, 604–561 B.C. — falls to the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The reviving Egyptian power, under Neco, was checked in its effort to extend its sway into Asia (§ 32). Rebellious Jerusalem was sacked, and the Jews were carried away into the Babylonian captivity. The ancient limits of the First Empire were restored, with some additions. Babylon was rebuilt on a more

magnificent scale, and the ancient engineering works were renewed.¹ But in 538, soon after this reign,



Babylon fell before the rising power of the Persians (§ 72), and her independent history came to an end.

SOCIETY, INDUSTRY, CULTURE

43. The king was surrounded with everything that could awe and charm the masses. Extraordinary magnificence and splendor removed him from the common people. He gave audience, seated on a golden throne covered with a purple canopy which was supported by pillars glittering with precious stones. All who came into his presence prostrated themselves in the dust until bidden to rise. His rule was absolute; but he worked through a large body of trusted officials, largely taken from the priests.

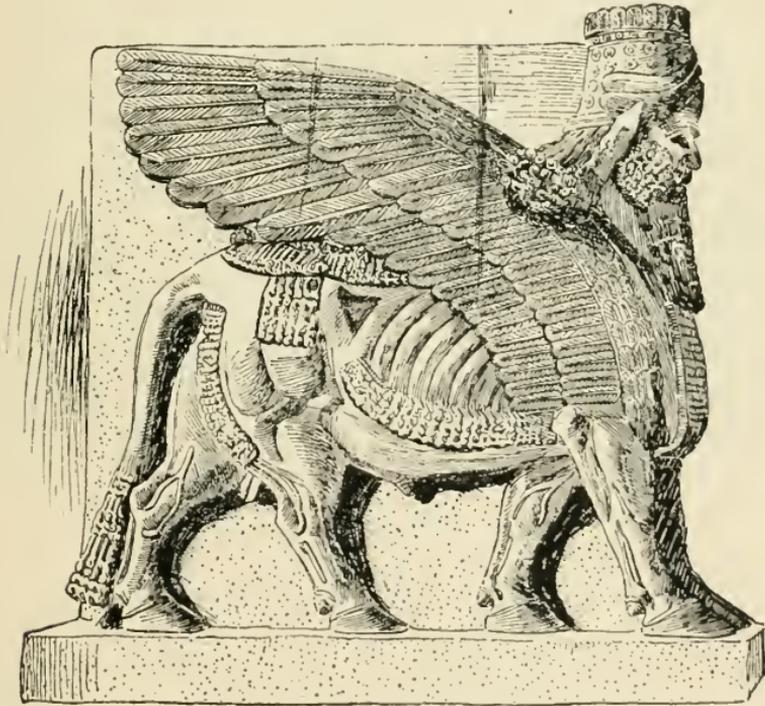
44. Classes of Society. — Chaldea had no class like the nobles of Egypt. Wealth counted for more, and birth for less, than in that country. There were really only two classes, — rich and poor, with a mass of slaves.

The *peasants* tilled the rich land in misery. As in Egypt they paid for their holdings with half of the produce. In a poor year, this left them in debt for seed and living. The creditor could charge exorbitant interest; and, if not paid, he could levy not only upon the debtor's small goods, but also upon wife or child, or upon the person of the farmer himself, for

¹ Nebuchadnezzar's own account is given in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I. No. 13.

slavery. As early as the time of Hammurabi (§§ 39, 45), however, the law ordered that such slavery should last only three years.

The *wealthy class* included landowners, officials, professional men, money lenders, and merchants. The merchant in particular was a prominent figure. The position of Chaldea, at the

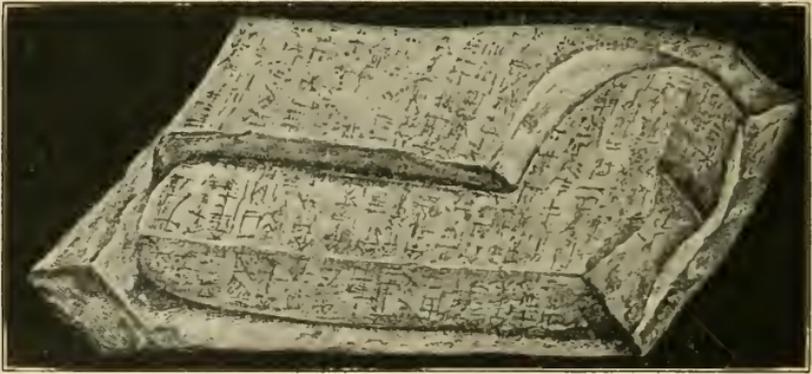


COLOSSAL MAN-BEAST IN ALABASTER. — From the Palace of Sargon (now in the Louvre).

head of the Persian Gulf, made its cities the natural mart of exchange between India and Syria; and for centuries, Babylon was the great commercial center of the ancient world, far more truly than London has been of our modern world. Even the extensive wars of Assyria, cruel as they were, were not merely for love of conquest: *they were largely commercial in purpose*, — to secure the trade of Syria and Phoenicia, and to ruin in

those lands the trade centers¹ that were competing with Nineveh.

45. Law and Property.—In 1902 A.D., a French explorer found a valuable set of Babylonian inscriptions containing a collection of 280 laws. This “code” asserts that it was enacted by Hammurabi (§ 39). It is the oldest known code of laws in the world; and it shows that the men for whom it was made were already far advanced in civilization, with many



ASSYRIAN CONTRACT TABLET IN DUPLICATE.—The outer tablet is broken and shows part of the inner original, which could always be consulted if the outside was thought to have been tampered with.

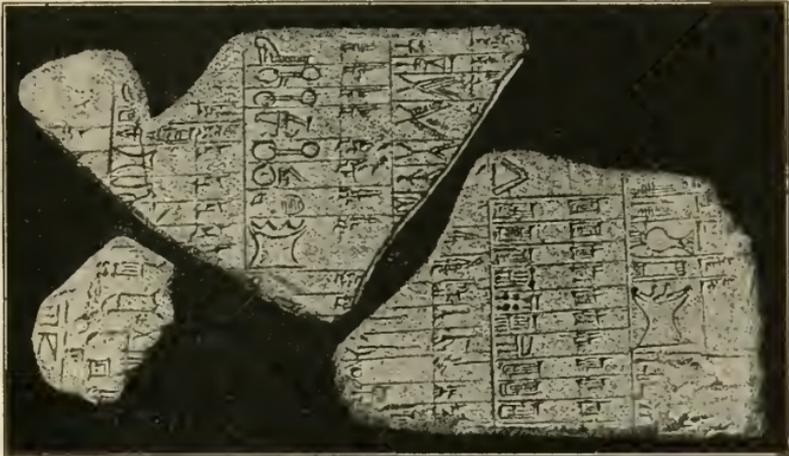
complex relations with one another. It tries to guard against bribery of judges and witnesses, against careless medical practice, against ignorant or dishonest building contractors. (About a tenth of the code is reproduced in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 20.)

Other discoveries prove that rights of property were carefully guarded. Deeds, wills, marriage settlements, legal contracts of all kinds, survive by tens of thousands. The numerous signatures of witnesses, in a variety of “hand writings,” testify to a widespread ability to write the difficult cuneiform text.

¹ Damascus, Jerusalem, Tyre, and others whose names have less meaning to us to-day. Tyre, often besieged and reduced to a tributary state, was not actually captured, owing to her mastery of the sea.

From the contracts we learn that a woman could control property and carry on business independently of her husband.

46. Law and Men. — Criminal law is the term applied to that portion of a code which relates, not to property, but to the personal relations of men to one another. Here the code



ASSYRIAN TABLETS, showing the older hieroglyphics and the later cuneiform equivalents (apparently for the purpose of instruction).

of Hammurabi in many provisions reminds us of the stern Jewish law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

“If a man has caused a man of rank to lose an eye, one of his own eyes must be struck out. If he has shattered the limb of a man of rank, let his own limb be broken. If he has knocked out the tooth of a man of rank, his tooth must be knocked out.”

Injuries to a poor man, however, could be atoned for in money.

“If he has caused a poor man to lose an eye, or has shattered a limb, let him pay one maneh of silver” (about \$32.00 in our values).

47. Cuneiform Writing. — The early inhabitants of Chaldea had a system of hieroglyphs not unlike the Egyptian. At first they painted these on the papyrus, which grew in the Euphrates as well as in the Nile. At a later time they came to press the

characters with a sharp metal instrument into clay tablets (which were then baked to preserve them). This change of material led to a change in the written characters. The pictures shriveled and flattened into wedge-shaped symbols, which look like scattered nails with curiously battered heads. (This writing is called *cuneiform*, from the Latin *cuneus*, wedge.)

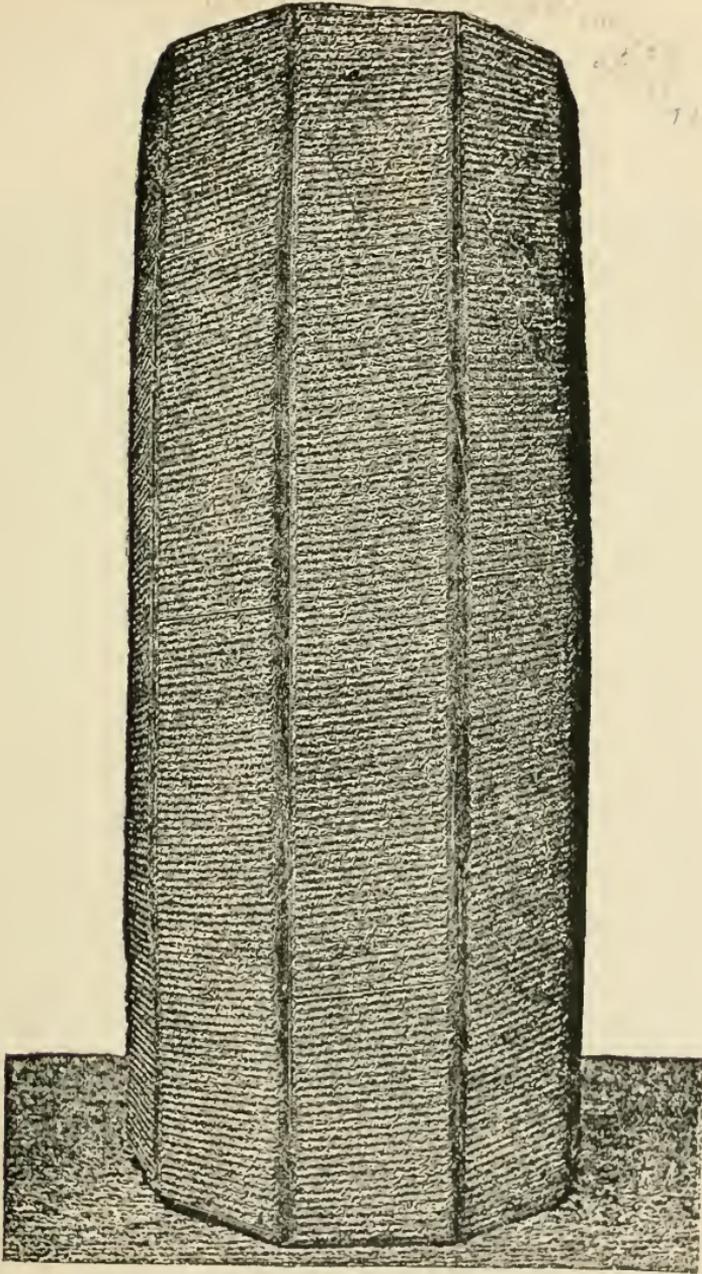
The Semitic conquerors adopted this writing and used it in such minute characters—six lines to an inch sometimes—that some authorities believe magnifying glasses must have been used. This surmise was strengthened when the explorer Layard found a lens among the ruins of the Nineveh library.

48. Literature.—The remains of Chaldean literature are abundant. Each of the numerous cities that studded the valley of the twin rivers had its library, sometimes several of them. A library was a collection of clay tablets or bricks covered with cuneiform writing. In Babylon the ruins of one library contained over thirty thousand tablets, of about the date 2700 B.C., all neatly arranged in order. Originally the libraries contained papyrus rolls also, but these the climate has utterly destroyed.

A tablet, with its condensed writing, corresponds fairly well to a chapter in one of our books. Each tablet had its library number stamped upon it, and the collections were carefully catalogued. The kings prided themselves on keeping libraries open to the public; and Professor Sayce is sure that “a considerable portion of the inhabitants (including many women) could read and write.”¹

The literary class studied the “dead” language of the pre-Semitic period, as we study Latin; and the merchants were obliged to know the languages spoken in Syria in that day. The libraries contained dictionaries and grammars of these languages, and also many translations of foreign books, in columns parallel with the originals. Scribes were constantly employed in copying and editing ancient texts, and they seem

¹ The evidence he collects in his *Social Life among the Babylonians*, 41-43. “The ancient civilized East was almost as full of literary activity as is the world of to-day,” adds the same eminent scholar, in an extreme statement.



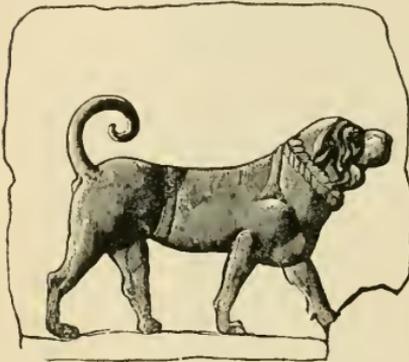
AN ASSYRIAN "BOOK."—An octagon Assyrian brick, now in the British Museum; after Sayce. This representation is about one third the real size.

to have been very careful in their work: when they could not make out a word in an ancient copy, they tell us so and leave the space blank.

49. Science.—In *Geometry* the Chaldeans made as much advance as the Egyptians; in *Arithmetic* more. Their notation combined the decimal and duodecimal systems. Sixty was a favorite unit, because it is divisible by both ten and twelve:

it was used as the hundred is by us.

Scientific *Medicine* was hindered by a belief in charms and magic; and even *Astronomy* was studied largely as a means of fortune-telling by the stars.¹ Some of our boyish forms for “counting out”—“eeny, meeny, mīny, moe,” etc.—are remarkably like the solemn forms of divination used by Chaldean magicians.

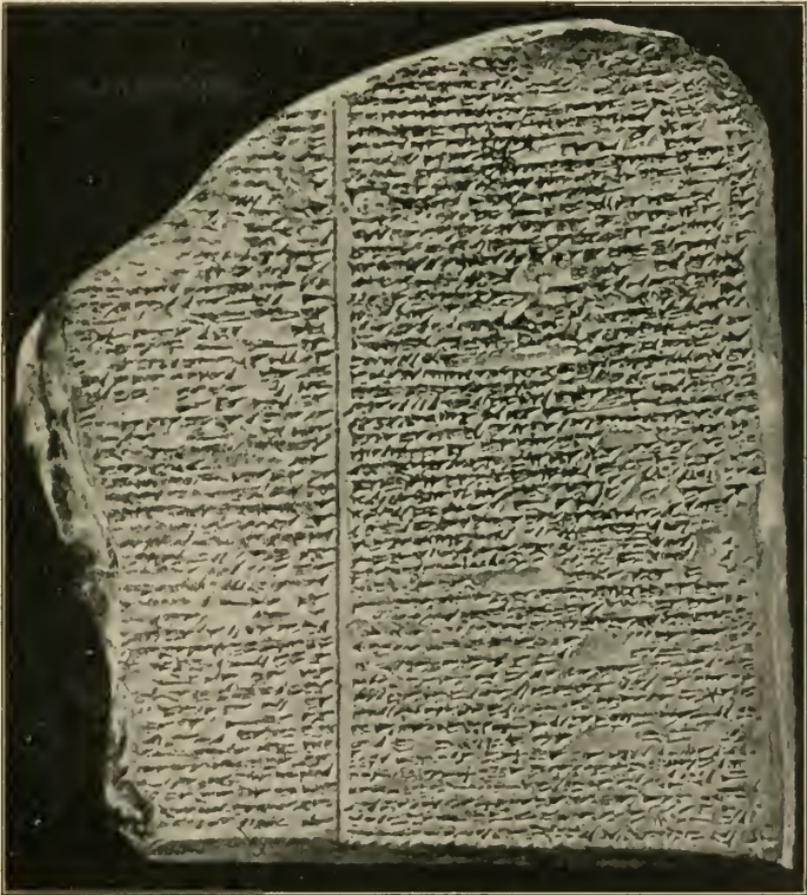


AN ASSYRIAN DOG.—Relief on a clay tablet; after Rawlinson.

Still, in spite of such superstition, important progress was made. As in Egypt, the level plains and clear skies invited to an early study of the heavenly bodies. The Chaldeans foretold eclipses, made star maps, and marked out on the heavens the apparent yearly path of the sun. The “signs of the zodiac” in our almanacs come from these early astronomers. Every great city had its lofty observatory and its royal astronomer; and in Babylon, in 331 B.C., Alexander the Great found an unbroken series of observations running back nineteen hundred years. As we get from the Egyptians our year and months, so from the Chaldeans we get the *week* (with its “seventh day of

¹For hundreds of years the stars were believed to have influence upon human life, and a class of fortune tellers claimed to be able to discover this influence, and to foretell the future, by studying the heavens. This pretended science is called *astrology*, to distinguish it from real astronomy. It lasted in England as late as the days of Queen Elizabeth: and all through the middle ages in Europe an astrologer was called “a Chaldean.”

rest for the soul") and the division of the day into *hours*, with the subdivision into *minutes*. Their notation, by 12 and 60, we still keep on the face of every clock. The *sundial* and the *water clock* were Assyrian inventions to measure time.



FRAGMENT OF ASSYRIAN "DELUGE-TABLET," with part of the story of a deluge. *1705 Flood*

50. Chaldean Legends. — Besides this scientific and scholarly literature, the Babylonians had many stories, including an ancient collection of legends which claimed to carry their history back seven hundred thousand years, to the creation of

the world. Their story of the creation resembled, in many features, the later Hebrew Genesis; and one of their legends concerned a "deluge," from which only one man — favorite of the gods — was saved in an ark, with his family and with one pair of every sort of beasts. These stories, however, have an exaggerated style, and lack the noble simplicity of the Bible narrative.

51. Industries and their Arts. — More than the other ancient peoples, the men of the Euphrates made practical use of their science. They understood the *lever* and *pulley*, and used the *arch* in making vaulted drains and aqueducts. They invented



ASSYRIAN CYLINDER SEALS.

the *potter's wheel* and an excellent *system of weights and measures*. Their measures were based on the length of the finger, breadth of the hand, and length of the arm; and, with the system of weights, they have come down to us through the Greeks. The symbols in the "Apothe-

caries' Table" in our arithmetics are Babylonian in origin. Books upon *agriculture* passed on the Babylonian knowledge of that subject to the Greeks and Arabs. They had surpassing skill in *cutting gems*, enameling, inlaying. Every well-to-do person had his seal with which to sign letters and legal papers. The cheaper sort were of baked clay, but the richer men used engraved precious stones, in the form of cylinders, arranged to revolve on an axis of metal. Thousands of these have been found. Some of them, made of jasper or chalcedony or onyx, are works of art which it would be hard to surpass to-day. Assyrian looms, too, produced the finest of *muslins* and of fleecy *woolens*, to which the *dye* gave the most brilliant colors. The

rich wore long robes of those cloths, decorated with embroideries. Tapestries and carpets, also, wonderfully colored, were woven, for walls and floors and beds. In many such industries, little advance has been made since, so far as the products are concerned.

52. Architecture and Sculpture.—The Euphrates valley had no stone and little wood. Brick making, therefore, was, next to agriculture, the most important industry. Ordinary houses



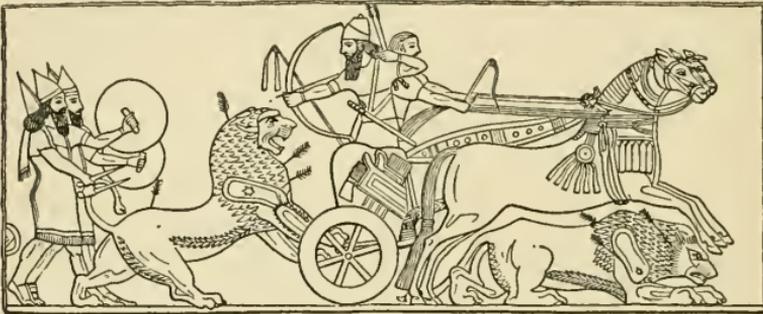
IMPRESSION FROM A KING'S CYLINDER SEAL.—The figure in the air represents the god who protects the king in his perils.

were built of cheap *sun-dried* bricks. The same material was used for all but the outer courses of the walls of the palaces and temples¹; but for these outside faces, a kiln-baked brick was used, much like our own. With only these imperfect materials, the Babylonians constructed marvelous tower-temples and elevated gardens, in imitation of mountain scenery. The "Hanging Gardens," built by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife (from the Median mountains), rose, one terrace upon another, to a height of one hundred and fifty feet. They were counted by the Greeks among the "seven wonders of the

¹The extensive use of sun-dried brick in Chaldean cities explains their complete decay. In the course of ages, after being abandoned, they sank into shapeless mounds, indistinguishable from the surrounding plain.

world." The Babylonian *palaces* were usually one story only in height, resting upon a raised platform of earth. But the *temples* rose stage upon stage, as the drawing opposite shows, with a different color for each story.

Assyria abounded in excellent stone. Still for centuries her builders slavishly used brick, like the people from whom they borrowed their art. Finally, however, they came to make use of the better material about them for sculpture and for at least the facings of their public buildings. Thus in architec-



A LION HUNT.—Assyrian relief; from Rawlinson.

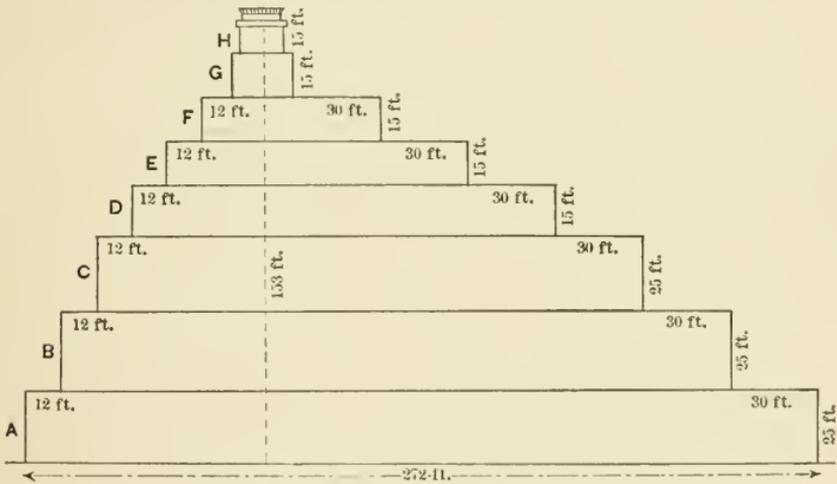
ture and sculpture, though in no other art, Assyria, land of stone, excelled Babylonia, land of brick. In the royal palaces, especially, the almost unlimited power of the monarchs, and their Oriental passion for splendor and color, produced a sumptuous magnificence which the more self-restrained modern world never equals.

The following description of a palace of ancient Nineveh is taken from Dr. J. K. Hosmer's *The Jews*. The passage is partly condensed.

"Upon a huge, wide-spreading, artificial hill, faced with masonry, for a platform, rose cliff-like fortress walls a hundred feet more, wide enough for three chariots abreast and with frequent towers shooting up to a still loftier height. Sculptured portals, by which stood silent guardians, colossal figures in white alabaster, the forms of men and beasts, winged and of majestic mien, admitted to the magnificence within. . . . Upward, tier above tier, into the blue heavens, ran lines of colonnades, pillars of costly cedar, cornices glittering with gold, capitals blazing with vermilion, and, between them, voluminous curtains of silk, purple, and scarlet, inter-

woven with threads of gold. . . . In the interior, stretching for miles, literally for miles, the builder of the palace ranged the illustrated record of his exploits. . . . The mind grows dizzy with the thought of the splendor — the processions of satraps and eunuchs and tributary kings, winding up the stairs, and passing in a radiant stream through the halls — the gold and embroidery, the ivory and the sumptuous furniture, the pearls and the hangings.”

A description with more precise details and less “color” is given in Davis’ *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 19. See also No. 18, “An Assyrian City.”



SECTION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SEVEN SPHERES, according to a “restoration.” — From Rawlinson.

H is a sacred shrine. The seven stages below it were colored in order from the bottom as follows : black, orange, red, golden, yellow, blue, silver.

53. Religion and Morals. — Babylonians and Assyrians both worshiped ancestors. Mingled with this religion was a nature worship, with numerous gods and demigods. Ancestor worship is usually accompanied by a belief in witchcraft and in unfriendly ghosts and demons. In Chaldea these superstitions appeared in an exaggerated form. Indeed, the pictures in early Christian times, representing the devil with horns, hoofs, and tail, came from the Babylonians, through the Jewish Talmud.¹

¹ A Hebrew book containing much learning and many legends.

Nature worship, in its lower stages, is often accompanied by debasing rites, in which drunkenness and sensuality appear as acts of worship. In Babylonia, revolting features of this kind remained throughout her history. It was this character that called down upon Babylon the stern reproaches of the Hebrew prophets, — through whom her name has become a symbol for dissoluteness.

At the same time, as with the Egyptian higher classes, some hymns and prayers rise to a pure worship of one god; and the Assyrian felt strongly that sense of sin which the Egyptian lacked and which has played so great a part in the Jewish and Christian religions. (See extract below.)

The idea of a future life was of a primitive sort. Each tomb had an altar at the head for offerings of food. With a man were buried his arms; with a girl, her scent bottles, combs, ornaments, and cosmetics. Most Chaldeans, even of the intelligent classes, never rose to a higher idea of a future life than these customs indicate. It was to be, in their thought, a disagreeable, gloomy, half-alive state, in or near the tomb. At the same time, for a few thinkers there did arise another belief: some souls were to suffer in a hell of tortures; others, who knew how to secure the divine favor, were to dwell amid varied pleasures in distant Isles of the Blest.

The following passages show some of the higher religious thought. (See also Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 22 and 24.)

From a Chaldean hymn, composed in the city of Ur, before the time of Abraham.

“Father, long suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds
the life of all mankind! . . .

First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none
who may fathom it! . . .

In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow
their faces.

As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below
kiss the ground.”

From an Assyrian prayer for remission of sins.

“O my god, my sins are many! . . . O my goddess, . . . great are my misdeeds! I have committed faults and I knew them not. I have fed upon misdeeds and I knew them not. . . . I weep and no one comes to me; I cry aloud and no one hears me; . . . I sink under affliction. I turn to my merciful god and I groan, Lord, reject not thy servant, — and if he is hurled into the roaring waters, stretch to him thy hand! The sins I have committed, have mercy upon them! my faults, tear them to pieces like a garment!”

A prayer of Nebuchadnezzar.

“Thou hast created me. . . . Set thou the fear of thy divine power in my heart. Give me what seemest good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life.”

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDDLE STATES

The two Syrian peoples that demand notice in a book of this kind are the Phoenicians and the Hebrews. Each of these was an important factor in the development of civilization.

I. THE PHOENICIANS

54. Early Sailors. — Before 1000 B.C. the Phoenicians had become *the traders of the world*. Their vessels carried most of the commerce of Babylonia and Egypt. Phoenician sailors manned the ship that Neco sent to circumnavigate Africa. Indeed the fame of these people as sailors so eclipsed that of earlier peoples that it has been customary to speak of them as “the first men who went down to the sea in ships.”

The Phoenicians dwelt on a little strip of broken coast, shut off from the rest of the continent by the Lebanon Mountains (map, page 77). The many harbors of their coast invited them seaward, and the “cedar of Lebanon” furnished the best of masts and ship timber. When history first reveals the Mediterranean, about 1600 B.C., it is dotted with the adventurous sails of the Phoenician navigators, and for centuries more they are the only real sailor folk. Half traders, half pirates, their crews crept from island to island, to barter with the natives or to sweep them off for slaves, as chance might best offer.

Farther and farther their merchants daringly sought wealth on the sea, until they passed even the Pillars of Hercules,¹ into

¹ The Greeks gave this name to two lofty, rocky hills, one on each side of the Strait of Gibraltar. They were generally believed by the ancients to be the limit of even the most daring voyage. Beyond them lay inconceivable dangers. (See map after page 132.)

the open Atlantic. And at last we see them exchanging the precious tin of Britain, the yellow amber of the Baltic, and the slaves and ivory of West Africa, for the spices, gold, scented wood, and precious stones of India.

55. The chief Phœnician cities were *Tyre* and *Sidon*. For many centuries, until the attacks by Assyria in the eighth century B.C., these cities were among the most splendid and wealthy in the world. Ezekiel (xxvi, xxvii) describes the grandeur of Tyre in noble poetry that teaches us much regarding Phœnician trade and life:—

“O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, which art the merchant of the peoples unto many isles, . . . thou, O Tyre, hast said, I am perfect in beauty. *Thy borders are in the heart of the seas*; thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir trees. . . . They have taken cedars from Lebanon to be masts for thee; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood from the isles of Kitim [Kition in Cyprus]. Of fine linen with broideder work from Egypt was thy sail, . . . blue and purple from the isles of Elishah [North Africa] was thy awning. . . . All the ships of the sea were in thee to exchange thy merchandise. . . . Tarshish [Tartessus, southwestern Spain] was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches. With silver, iron, tin, and lead they traded for thy wares. Javan [Greek Ionia], Tubal, and Mesheck [the lands of the Black and Caspian seas], they were thy traffickers. . . . They of the house of Togarmah [Armenia] traded for thy wares with horses and mules. . . . Many isles were the mart of thy hands. They brought thee bones of ivory and of ebony.” Ezekiel names also, among the articles of exchange, emeralds, coral, rubies, wheat, honey, oil, balm, wine, wool, yarn, spices, lambs, and goats.

56. Place in History.—*The Phœnicians were the first colonizers on the sea*,—the forerunners of the Greeks and the English. They fringed the larger islands and the shores of the Mediterranean with trading stations, which became centers of civilization. Carthage, Utica, Gades (Cadiz, on the Atlantic), were among their colonies (map after page 132). They worked tin mines in Colehis, in Spain, and finally in Britain, and so made possible the manufacture of bronze on a larger scale than before, to replace stone implements. Probably they first introduced bronze into many parts of Europe.

Phoenician articles are found in great abundance in the ancient tombs of the Greek and Italian peninsulas — the earliest European homes of civilization. In a selfish but effective way, the Phoenicians became the “missionaries” to Europe of the culture that Asia and Africa had developed. *It was their function, not to create civilization, but to spread it.* Especially did they teach the Greeks, who were to teach the rest of Europe.

Phoenician.	Old Greek.	Roman.
𐤀	A	A
𐤁	B	B
𐤂	C	<C
𐤃	𐤆𐤆	D
𐤄	E	E
𐤅𐤆	EH	H
𐤇	K	K
𐤈	L	𐤌
𐤉	M	M
𐤊	N	N
𐤋	O	O
𐤌	𐤍	𐤎𐤎
𐤍	PR	R
𐤎	𐤏𐤏	𐤐S
𐤏	T	T

PARTS OF
ALPHABET.

we find them with a true alphabet of twenty-two letters. They seem to have taken these from the symbols for sounds among the Egyptian hieroglyphs (§ 22), though some scholars think they got them from Crete (§ 96).

57. Society. — The Phoenicians in themselves do not interest us particularly. They spoke a Semitic tongue (§ 36); but their religion was revolting, especially for the cruel sacrifice of the firstborn to Baal, the sun god, and for the licentious worship of Astarte, the moon goddess.

The chief export of the Phoenicians, some one has said, was *the alphabet*. They were only one of several early peoples (as we have recently discovered) to develop a true alphabet; but it is theirs which has come down to us through the Greeks and Romans. When the Egyptians conquered Syria about 1500 B.C. (§ 30), the Phoenicians were using the cuneiform script of Babylon, with its hundreds of difficult characters. It was natural that, for the needs of their commerce, they should seek a simpler means of communication: and about 1100 B.C., after a gap of some centuries in our knowledge of their writing,



Egyptian
Hieroglyph.



Egyptian
Script.



Phoenician.



Ancient
Greek.



Ancient Latin.



Later Latin.

GROWTH OF THE
LETTER A.

Several cities were grouped loosely about Sidon and Tyre; but they never formed a united state. Satisfied with the profits of trade, they submitted easily, as a rule, to any powerful neighbor — Assyria or Egypt. As tributaries, they sent workmen to construct the magnificent buildings of Assyria or to develop the mines of Egypt, and they furnished the fleets of either empire in turn.

About 730 B.C. Tyre was reduced in power, by attacks from Assyria; but it remained a great mercantile center until its capture by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.). From this downfall the city never fully recovered, and fishermen now spread their nets to dry in the sun on the bare rock where once its proud towers rose.

II. THE HEBREWS

THEIR STORY

58. The Patriarchs. — As the Phoenicians were men of the sea, so the early Hebrews were men of the desert. They appear first as *wandering shepherds* on the edge of the Arabian sands. *Abraham*, the founder of the race, emigrated from “Ur of the Chaldees,” about 2000 B.C. He and his descendants, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, lived and ruled as patriarchal chiefs, much as Arab sheiks do in the same regions to-day. The Book of Genesis tells their story with a simple charm that makes it the best-known history in the world.

59. The Egyptian Captivity. — Finally, “the famine was sore in the land.” This famine seems to have caused one of those periodic invasions of Babylonia by tribes of the desert, already mentioned. *Jacob* and his sons, however, with their tribesmen and flocks, sought refuge in the other direction, crossing into Egypt. Here they found *Joseph*, one of their brethren, already high in royal favor. The rulers of Egypt at this time, too, were the Hyksos, themselves originally Arabian shepherds. Accordingly, the Hebrews were welcomed cordially, and allowed to settle in the fertile pasturage of Goshen, an Egyptian dis-

trict near the Red Sea, where flitting Arab tribes have always been wont to encamp. Thus the life of the Hebrews was at first not much changed by their change of home. But soon the native Egyptian rule was restored by the Theban pharaohs, "who knew not Joseph." These powerful princes of the New Empire (§ 30) reduced the Hebrews to slavery and employed them on their great public works, and "made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick and in all manner of service in the field." Three centuries later, while the Egyptian government was in a period of weakness and disorder (§ 31), the oppressed people escaped to the Arabian desert again.

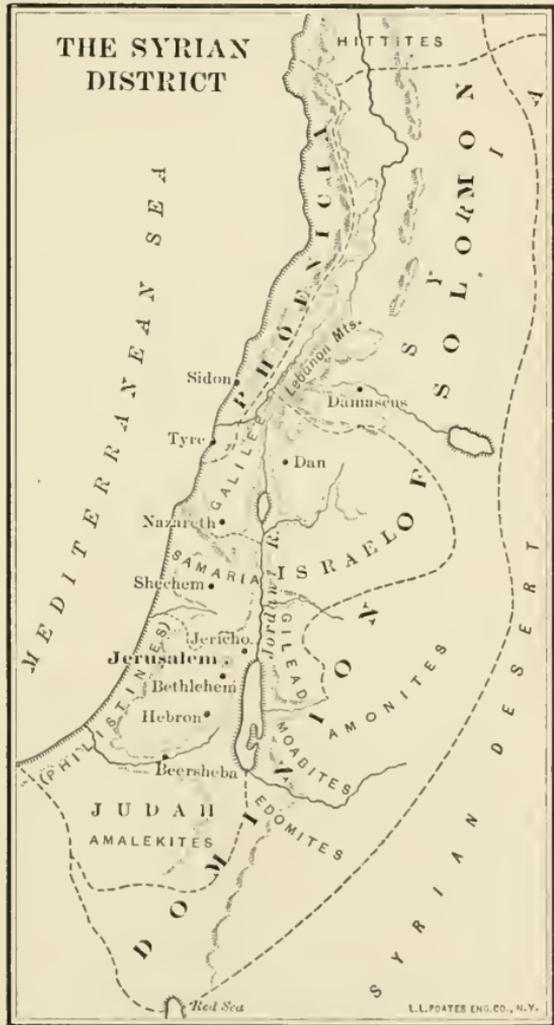
60. Settlement in Palestine. — In their flight from Egypt, the Hebrews were guided by *Moses*. Though a Hebrew, Moses had been brought up as a noble, through the favor of an Egyptian princess, and was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." But "it came to pass in those days when Moses was grown, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens." With splendid courage, he gave up his pleasant life to share their hard condition; and he became their leader and lawgiver.

For a lifetime, the fugitives wandered to and fro in the desert, after their ancient manner; but they were now a numerous people and had become accustomed to fixed abodes. About 1250 B.C., under *Joshua*, to whom Moses had turned over the leadership, they began to conquer the mountain valleys of Palestine for their home. Then followed two centuries of bloody warfare with their neighbors, some of whom had long before taken on the civilization of Babylonia. The most powerful of their enemies were the *Philistines*, who held the coast between the Hebrew mountain valleys and the sea. It was from these people, indeed, that Palestine took its name.

61. The Judges. — During this period the Hebrews remained a loose alliance of twelve shepherd tribes. The only central authority was exercised by a series of popular heroes, like *Samson*, *Jephthah*, *Gideon*, and *Samuel*, known as Judges.

Much of the time there was great and ruinous disorder, and bands of robbers drove travelers from the highways. Finally, the Philistines for a time overran the land at will.

62. Kings and Prophets. — Such conditions made the Hebrews feel the necessity of a stronger government. *Saul*, a mighty warrior, roused them against the Philistine spoilers of the land, and led them to victory. In return they made him their first king. Alongside this monarch and his successors, however, there stood religious teachers with great authority. They were no longer leaders in war, like the Judges. Indeed these "prophets" had no official position; but they did not hesitate to rebuke or oppose a sovereign.



63. David and Solomon, the second and third kings (1055–975), completely subdued the Philistines and various other neighboring peoples, and raised the Hebrew state to the position of a considerable empire. Under Solomon, it included all western

Syria except Phoenicia and a small district next Egypt. The way for such a Syrian state had just been cleared. The Hittites (§ 31) had ruined the Egyptian power in Syria, and, in turn, had been shattered by Tiglath-Pileser; and then the Assyrian dominion had been checked by new invasions from the Arabian desert.

David will be remembered longest, not for his deeds as a daring warrior nor even as a wise organizer of an empire, but rather as "the sweet singer of Israel." He was originally a shepherd boy, who attracted Saul's favor by his beauty and his skill upon the harp; and, in the most troublous days of his kingship, he sought rest and comfort in composing songs and poems, which are now included in the sacred Book of Psalms. So great was his repute in this respect, that the later Hebrews attributed to him many other hymns of which the true authors were unknown.

David had planned a noble temple at Jerusalem for the worship of Jehovah; but the work was actually carried out by his son, Solomon. The Hebrews had little ability in architecture; but King Hiram of Tyre sent skilled Phoenician builders for the work, and it was completed with great magnificence. Through the rest of their history it remained the chief pride and center of interest for the Hebrew people.

Until this period, Hebrew life had been plain and simple. They were still merely herdsmen and tillers of the soil. Not till after the Babylonian captivity, later, did they engage in commerce. But Solomon built rich palaces with his foreign workmen, and copied within them all the magnificence and luxury of an Oriental court. *His reign closed the brief age of political greatness for the Hebrews.*

64. Division and Decline. — The twelve tribes had not come to feel themselves really one nation. They had been divided into two groups in earlier times: ten tribes in one group; two in the other. David had belonged to the smaller group, and his early kingship had extended over only the two tribes. Jealousies against the rule of his house had smoldered all

along among the ten tribes. Now came a final separation. Solomon's taxes had sorely burdened the people. On his death, the ten tribes sent a petition to his son for relief. The young king (*Rehoboam*) replied with haughty insult:—

“Whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.”

Then arose at once a stern old war cry of the tribes:—

“The people answered the king, saying, ‘What portion have we in David? . . . *To your tents, O Israel!*’”

Thus the ten tribes set up for themselves as the *Kingdom of Israel*, with a capital at Samaria. Only the tribes of Benjamin and Judah remained faithful to the house of David. These took the name of the *Kingdom of Judah*, with the old capital, Jerusalem.

65. The Captivities.—The Kingdom of Israel lasted 250 years, until Sargon carried the ten tribes into that Assyrian captivity in which they are “lost” to history (§ 40). Judah lasted four centuries after the separation, most of the time tributary to Assyria or to Babylon. Finally, in punishment for rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the people into the *Babylonian captivity* (§ 42).

66. Priestly Rule.—This event closed the separate political history of the Jews. The more zealous of them were allowed to return to Judea when the Persians conquered Babylon (§§ 42, 72). Thereafter in internal matters Judea was ruled by its priesthood. The most valuable part of its religious life was still to come; but from that time, politically, it formed only a subject province of the Persian, Greek, or Roman Empire (except for a few glorious years under the Maccabees; § 467). A series of stubborn rebellions against Rome finally brought a terrible punishment, in the year 70 A.D. After a notable siege, Jerusalem was sacked, and the remnant of inhabitants were sold into slavery. They remain dispersed among all lands to this day.

THEIR MISSION

“If the Greek was to enlighten the world, if the Roman was to rule the world, if the Teuton was to be the common disciple and emissary of both, it was from the Hebrew that all were to learn the things that belong to another world.” — FREEMAN, *Chief Periods*, 66.

67. The Faith in One God. — The Hebrews added nothing to material civilization: they did not profit the world by build-



JERUSALEM TO-DAY, from the southwest, with the road to Bethlehem.

ing roads, perfecting trades, or inventing new processes in industry. Nor did they contribute directly to any art. Their work was higher. Their religious literature was the noblest the world had seen, and has passed into all the literatures of the civilized world; but even this is valuable not so much for its literary merit as for its moral teachings. *The true history of the Hebrews is the record of their spiritual growth.* Their religion was infinitely purer and truer than any other of the ancient world; and out of it was to grow the religion of Christianity.

Among other ancient nations, *individuals* had risen at times to noble religious thought; but the Hebrews first *as a whole people* felt strenuously the obligation of the moral law, and first attained to a pure worship of one God.

68. Growth of the Faith. — At first this lofty faith belonged to only a few — to the patriarchs and later to the prophets, with a small following of the more spiritually minded of the nation. For a thousand years the common people, and even some of the kings, were constantly tending to fall away into the superstitions of their Syrian neighbors. But it is the supreme merit of the Hebrews that a remnant always clung to the higher religion, until it became the universal faith of a whole people.

No doubt the Babylonian captivity helped make this faith universal. The few devoted men and women who found their way back to Judea through so many hardships were indeed a "chosen" and sifted people. Among them there was no more tendency to idolatry. The faith of the patriarchs and prophets became the soul of a nation, — as a later and higher development of that faith was to become the soul of our whole civilization.

This, then, was the mission of the Hebrews. As Renan well says (*History of Israel*, I, 22): "What Greece was to be as regards intellectual culture, and Rome as regards politics, these nomad Semites were as regards religion." The Jews, therefore, are sometimes counted a fourth influence, with Greeks, Romans, and Teutons, in making our world (§ 4). But, after all, Judaism was an exclusive religion. It did not make converts among other people; and did not *directly* affect the great world outside Judea. The rise and spread of Christianity belong, not solely to Jewish influence, but rather to the history of the later Roman world.

EXERCISE. — 1. Locate on the map four centers of civilization for 1500 B.C.; and note when they would naturally come into touch with one another. (One more center for this same age — Crete — is yet to be treated, §§ 93-97.) 2. What new center of civilization appeared between 1500 and 1000 B.C.?

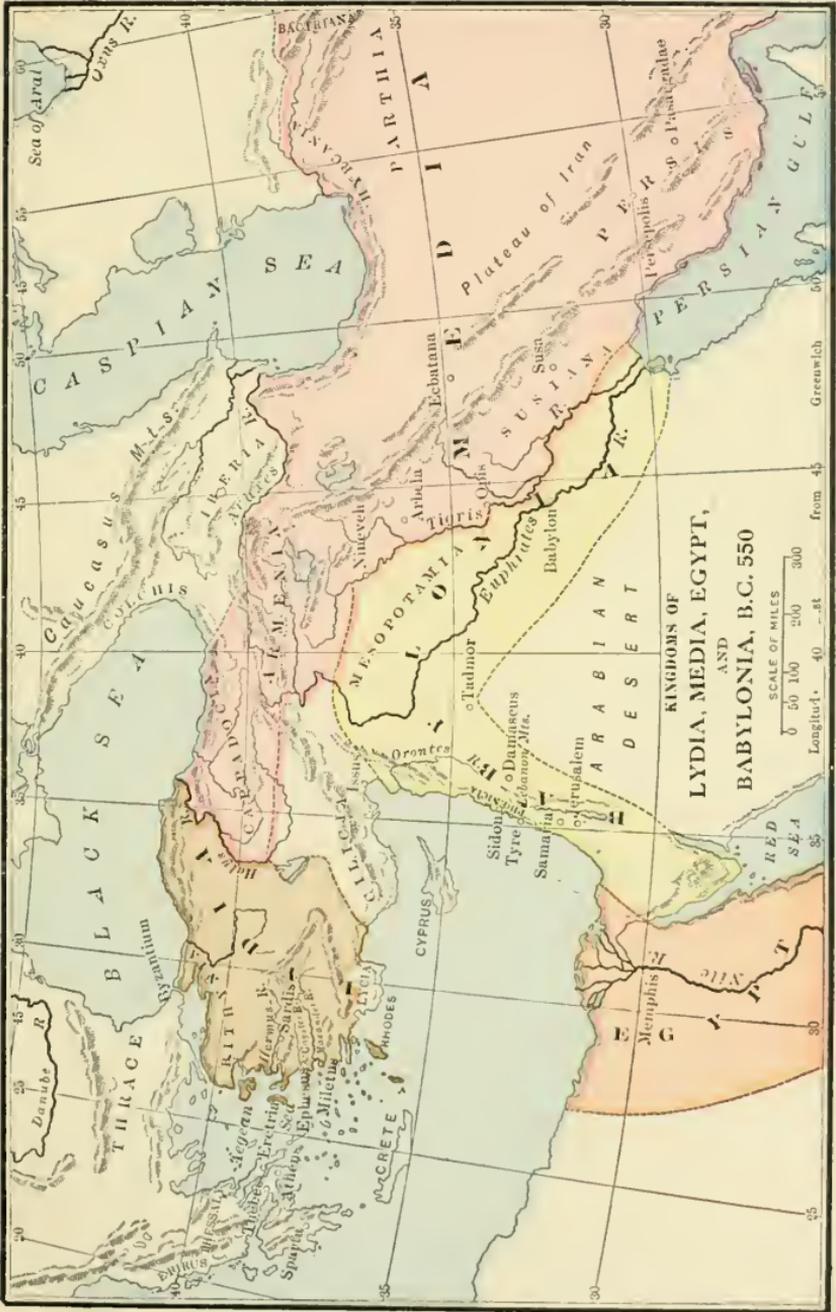
CHAPTER V

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

69. The Map grows. — So far, we have had to do only with the first homes of civilization — the Nile and Euphrates valleys — and with the middle land, Syria. Assyria did reach out somewhat, east and west (see map, page 55); but her new regions had no special importance in her day, and made no contributions to civilized life. But shortly before the overthrow of Babylon, two new centers of power appeared, one on either side of the older field. These were Persia and Lydia.

70. Expansion on the West. — *Lydia* was a kingdom in western Asia Minor. Somewhat before 550 B.C. its sovereign, *Croesus*, united all Asia Minor west of the Halys River under his sway. This made the Lydian Empire for a time one of the great world-powers (see map following). The region was rich, especially in metals; and the wealth of the monarch so impressed the Greeks that "rich as Croesus" became a by-word. Croesus counted among his subjects the Greek cities that fringed the western coast of Asia Minor. We have noticed that, shortly before, Greeks had been brought into close touch with Egypt. *From this time, history has to do with Europe as well as with Asia and Egypt*; and soon that new field was to become the center of interest.

Lydia's own gift to the world was the invention of *coinage*. As early as 650 B.C., a Lydian king stamped upon pieces of silver a statement of their weight and purity, with his name and picture as guarantee of the truth of the statement. Until this time, little advance had been made over the old Egyptian method of trade, except that the use of silver rings and bars had become more common. The Babylonians, along with their



**KINGDOMS OF
LYDIA, MEDIA, EGYPT,
AND
BABYLONIA, B.C. 550**

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
Longitude: 40 — at from 45 Greenwich

other weights and measures, had taught the world to count riches in *shekels*, — a certain weight of silver, — but there were no *coined* shekels. The ring and bar “money” had to be weighed each time it passed from hand to hand; and even then there was little security against cheaper metals being mixed with the silver.¹ The true money of Lydia could be received anywhere at once at a fixed rate. This made all forms of trade and commerce vastly easier. Other states began to adopt systems of coinage of their own. Ever since, the coinage of money has been one of the important duties of governments.

We must not suppose, however, that the old sort of “barter” vanished at once. It remained the common method of exchange in all but the great markets of the world for centuries; and in new countries it has appeared, in the lack of coined money, in very modern times. In our early New England colonies there were times when people paid taxes and debts “in kind,” much after the old Egyptian fashion. One student at Harvard college, who afterward became its president, is recorded as paying his tuition with “an old cow.”

71. Expansion in the East. — On the farther side of the Euphrates and Tigris lay the lofty and somewhat arid Plateau of Iran. This was the home of the *Medes and Persians*. These peoples appeared first about 850 B.C., as fierce barbarians, whom Assyria found it needful to subdue repeatedly. Gradually they adopted the civilization of their neighbors; then, about 625 B.C., a chieftain of the Medes united the western tribes of the plateau into a firm monarchy; and in 606, as we have seen, this new power conquered Assyria.

We are now ready to take up again the story of the growth of the great Oriental empires, where we left it at the close of Chapter III. Chapter IV, dealing with the small Syrian states, was a necessary interruption to that story.

72. Rise of the Persian Empire. — The destruction of Assyrian rule, which we noted toward the close of § 41, took place some

¹ In all this ancient period, silver was more valuable than gold, and so was taken for the standard of value.

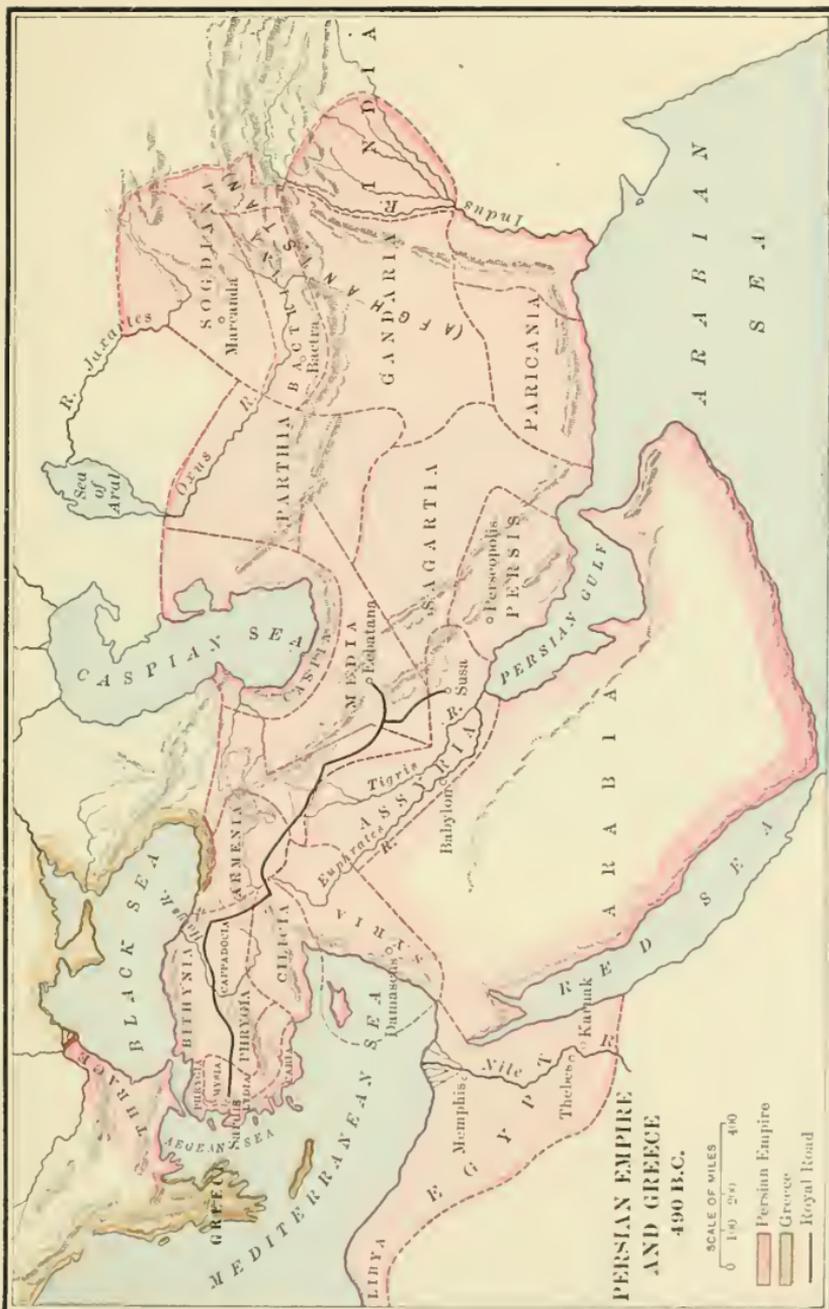
years before 600 B.C. Then the civilized world was divided, for three generations,¹ between four great powers, — Babylon, Egypt, Lydia, and Media. Most of that time, these kingdoms were bound together in a friendly alliance; and the civilized world had a rare rest from internal war. Media, it is true, busied herself in extending her dominions by war with barbarous tribes on the east. By such means she added to her territory all the Plateau of Iran and the northern portion of the old Assyrian Empire. This made her far the largest of the four states. But in 558 B.C., *Cyrus*, a tributary prince of the Persian tribes, threw off the yoke of the Medes and set up an independent Persian monarchy.²

Then Persia quickly became the largest and most powerful empire the world had known. The war with Media resulted in the rapid conquest of that state. This victory led Cyrus into war with Lydia and Babylon, which were allies of Media. Again he was overwhelmingly victorious. He conquered Croesus of Lydia and seized upon all Asia Minor. Then he captured Babylon, and so was left without a rival in the Euphrates and Syrian districts. A few years later his son subdued Egypt. *Thus the new empire included all the former empires, together with the new districts of Iran and Asia Minor.*

With the Greeks Persia came into conflict, about thirty years after the death of Cyrus. The story belongs to European history (§§ 158 ff.). It is enough here to note that the Persians were finally defeated. Their empire lasted, however, a century and a half more, until Alexander the Great conquered it and united it with the Greek world (§§ 276 ff.).

¹ It is time for the student to have a definite understanding of this term, which is used constantly in measuring time. A *generation* means the average interval that separates a father from his son. This corresponds in length, also, in a rough way, to the active years of adult life, — the period between early manhood and old age. *It is reckoned at twenty-five or thirty years.*

² This prince is known in history as *Cyrus the Great*. He is the earliest sovereign whose name we distinguish in that way. A student may well make a special report to the class upon the stories connected with his life. Any large history of ancient times gives some of these stories; and they may be found, in the original form in which they have come down to us, in a translation of Herodotus. See also Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 25 and 26.



**PERSIAN EMPIRE
AND GREECE
490 B.C.**

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400

- Persian Empire
- Greece
- Royal Road

73. Extent of the Empire. — *The field of history now widened again.* The next three Persian kings (after Cyrus and his son) added vast districts to the empire: on the east, modern Afghanistan and northwestern India, with wide regions to the northeast beyond the Caspian Sea; and on the west, the European coast from the Black Sea to the Greek peninsula and the islands of the Ægean.

This huge empire contained about seventy-five million people. Its only civilized neighbors were India and Greece. Else-



IMPRESSION FROM PERSIAN CYLINDER SEAL.

where, indeed, it was bounded by seas and deserts. The eastern and western frontiers were farther apart than Washington and San Francisco. The territory included some two million square miles. It was four times as large as the Assyrian Empire, and equaled more than half modern Europe.

74. Industry and Art. — Originally, the Persians were lowly shepherds. Later, they were soldiers and rulers. After their sudden conquests, the small population had to furnish garrisons for all the chief cities of the empire, while the nobles were busied as officers in the vast organization of the government. Accordingly, Persian art and literature were wholly borrowed, — mainly from Babylonia. The cuneiform writing

was adopted from that land; and even the noble palaces, which have been rediscovered at Persepolis, were only copies of Assyrian palaces, built in stone instead of in clay. *Persia's services to the world* were four: the immense *expansion of the map* already discussed; the *repulse of Scythian savages* (§ 75); a *better organization of government* (§§ 76, 77); and the *lofty character of her religion* (§ 78).¹

75. Persia and the Scythians. — About 630 B.C., shortly before the downfall of Nineveh, the frozen steppes of the North had poured hordes of savages into western Asia (§ 40). By the Greeks these nomads were called Scythians, and their inroads were like those of the Huns, Turks, and Tartars, in later history. They plundered as far as Egypt; and they were a real danger to all the culture the world had been building up so painfully for four thousand years. Assyria and Lydia both proved helpless to hold them back; but the Medes and Persians saved civilization. The Medes drove the ruthless ravagers back to their own deserts; and the early Persian kings made repeated expeditions into the Scythian country. By these means the barbarians were awed, and for centuries the danger of their attacks was averted.

Darius, the greatest of the successors of Cyrus, seems to have justified his conquests on the ground of this service to civilization. In a famous inscription enumerating his conquests, he says: "Ahura-Mazda [the God of Light] delivered unto me these countries when he saw them in uproar. . . . By the grace of Ahura-Mazda I have brought them to order again."

The lengthy inscription from which this passage is taken is cut into a rock cliff, 300 feet from the base, in three parallel columns, in different languages, — Persian, Babylonian, and Tartar. It served as the "Rosetta Stone" of the cuneiform writing (§ 5). Enough of the Persian was known so that from it scholars learned how to read the Babylonian. *Davis' Readings*, Vol. I, No. 27, gives a large part of this inscription.

¹ Observe that three of the four were connected with political history, — as we might expect with a people like the Persians.

which is one of the most important documents of early history, throwing much light upon Persian life and ideals.

76. The Imperial Government. — The empires which came before the Assyrian had very simple machinery for their government. The tributary states kept their old kings and their separate languages, religions, laws, and customs. Two subject kingdoms might even make war upon each other, without interference from the head king. Indeed, the different kingdoms within an empire remained almost as separate as before they became parts of the conquering state, except in three respects: they had to pay tribute; they had to assist in war; and their kings were expected, from time to time, to attend the court of the imperial master.¹

Plainly, such an empire would fall to pieces easily. If any disaster happened to the ruling state, — if a foreign invasion or the unexpected death of a sovereign occurred, — the whole fabric might be shattered at a moment. Each of the original kingdoms would become independent



PERSIAN QUEEN: fragment of a bronze statue. The dress seems very "modern."

¹The brief empire of the Jews, for instance, had been of this nature. Solomon, the Book of Kings tells us, "reigned over *all the Kingdoms . . . unto the border of Egypt; they brought presents and served Solomon.*"

again; and then would follow years of bloody war, until some king built up the empire once more. Peace and security could not exist under such a system.

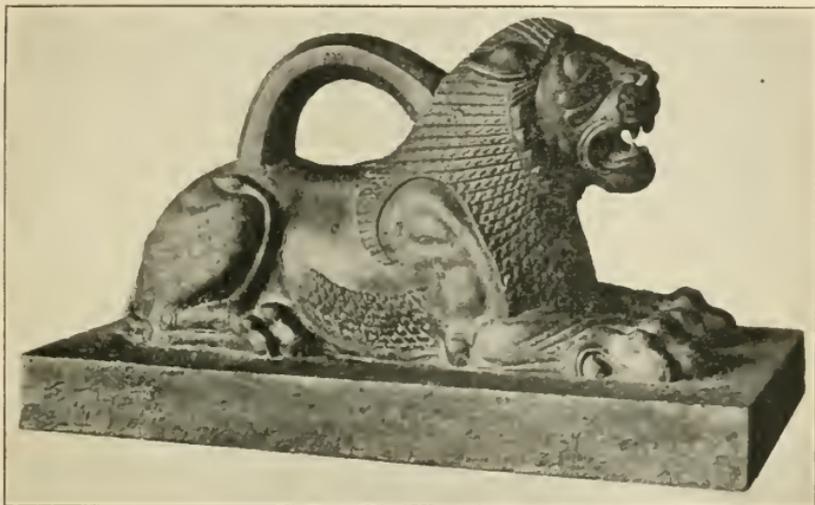
Assyria, it is true, had begun to reform this system. The great Assyrian rulers of the eighth century were not simply conquerors. They were also organizers. They left the subject peoples their own laws and customs, as before; but they broke up some of the old kingdoms into *satrapies*, or provinces, ruled by appointed officers (§ 40).

The system, however, was still unsatisfactory. In theory the *satraps* were wholly dependent upon the will of the imperial king; but in practice they were very nearly kings themselves, and they were under constant temptation to try to become independent rulers, by rebellion.

This was the plan of imperial government as the Persians found it. They adopted and extended the system of satraps; and *Darius*, the fourth Persian king (521—485 B.C.), introduced *three checks upon rebellion*. In each of the twenty provinces, power was divided between the satrap himself and the commander of the standing army. In each province was placed a royal secretary (the "King's Ear") to communicate constantly with the Great King. And, most important of all, a special royal commissioner (the "King's Eye"), backed with military forces, appeared at intervals in each satrapy to inquire into the government, and, if necessary, to arrest the satrap.

Darius is well called "*the Organizer*." Political organization advanced no farther until Roman times. Not much had been done to promote a *spirit of unity* among the diverse peoples of the empire. Each still kept its separate language and customs. Still, for the age, the organization of Darius was a marvelous work. It was the most satisfactory ever devised by Orientals; and indeed it was nearer to the later Roman imperial government than to the older and looser Asiatic system of kingdom-empires. The modern Turkish empire, in its best days, has used this system.

77. **Post Roads.** — The Persians, too, were more thoughtful of the welfare of their subjects than the Assyrians had been. To draw the distant parts of the empire closer, Darius built a magnificent system of post roads, with milestones and excellent inns, with ferries and bridges, and with relays of horses for the royal couriers. The chief road, from Susa to Sardis (map, after page 84), was over fifteen hundred miles



PERSIAN BRONZE LION, at Susa.

long; and it is said that dispatches were sometimes carried its whole length in six days, although ordinary travel required three months. Benjamin Ide Wheeler writes of this great highway (*Alexander the Great*, 196-197): —

“ All the diverse life of the countries it traversed was drawn into its paths. Carians and Cilicians, Phrygians and Cappadocians, staid Lydians, sociable Greeks, crafty Armenians, rude traders from the Euxine shores, nabobs of Babylon, Medes and Persians, galloping couriers mounted on their Bokhara ponies or fine Arab steeds, envoys with train and state, peasants driving their donkeys laden with skins of oil or wine or sacks of grain, stately caravans bearing the wares and fabrics of the south to exchange for the metals, slaves, and grain of the north, travelers and traders seeking to know and exploit the world, — all

were there, and all were safe under the protection of an empire the roadway of which pierced the strata of many tribes and many cultures, and helped set the world a-mirring."

78. Religion and Morals. — While they were still barbarous tribes, the early Persians had learned to worship the forces of nature, — especially sun, moon, stars, and fire. This worship was in the hands of priests, called *Magi*, who were believed to possess what we call *magic* powers over nature and other men.

Even this early religion had few of the lower features that we have noted in the worship of the Egyptians and Babylonians. But the Persians of the historic age had risen to a far nobler worship. This is set forth in the *Zend-Avesta* (the Persian Bible), and it had been established about 1000 B.C.¹ by *Zoroaster*. According to this great teacher, the world was a stage for unceasing conflict between the powers of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil. It was man's duty to assist the good power by resisting evil impulses in his own heart and by fighting injustice among men. It was also his place to kill harmful beasts, to care tenderly for other animals, and to make the earth fruitful.

The superstitions of *Magism* continued to crop out among the masses of the people; and the earlier nature worship survived, too, in the belief in a multitude of angels, good and bad; but idolatry was not permitted, and this Zoroastrian faith was by far the purest of the ancient world, except that of the Hebrews. When the Persians became supreme, they showed marked favor to the Hebrews. Cyrus permitted them to return from the Babylonian captivity (§ 66), and even helped them to rebuild the Temple. These friendly relations were due in part, no doubt, to similarity in religious thought.

The following passage from the *Zend-Avesta* shows the Persian idea of the future life.

At the head of the Chinvat Bridge, betwixt this world and the next, when the soul goes over it, there comes a fair, white-armed and beautiful

¹ This date is uncertain. Some scholars put Zoroaster as late as 600 B.C.

figure, like a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world. And the soul of the true believer speaks to her, "What maid art thou, — all surpassing in thy beauty?" And she makes answer, "O youth of good thought, good words, good deeds, and of good religion: — *I am thine own conscience.*"

Then pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura-Mazda, of the Archangels, to . . . "The Abode of Song."

Another passage tells how the souls of the wicked are met by a foul hag and are plunged into a hideous pit, to suffer endless torment.¹

The cardinal virtue was *truthfulness*. Darius' instructions to his successor began: "Keep thyself utterly from lies. The man who may be a liar, him destroy utterly. If thou do thus, my country will remain whole." A century later, the Greek Herodotus admired the manly sports of the Persians and the simple trainings of their boys, — "to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth."

Conquest and dominion corrupted in some measure their early simplicity; but to the last, the Persians fought gallantly, and the Greeks conquered in battle because of improved weapons and better generalship, not from superior bravery.

FOR FURTHER READING. — There is an admirable twenty-page treatment of the Persian Empire in Benjamin Ide Wheeler's *Alexander the Great* (pp. 187–207), — a book which for other reasons deserves a place in every school library.

EXERCISE. — Would you have expected the Persians to adopt the Egyptian hieroglyphs or the cuneiform writing? Why? In what ways was the organization of the Persian empire an improvement upon that of the Assyrian? In what way did Assyrian organization improve upon Egyptian?

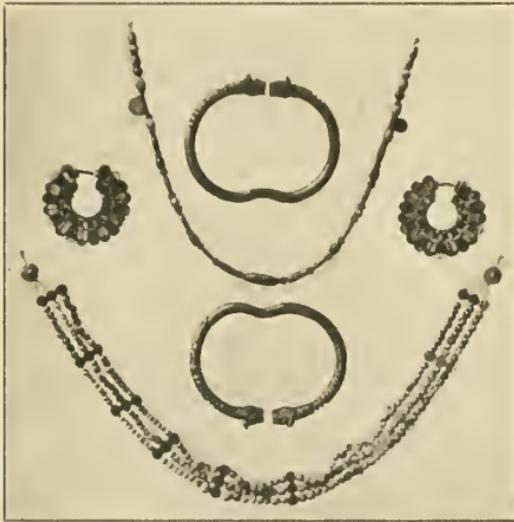
¹ Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 27 (later portion), 28, 29, 30, 31, contain much interesting material upon Persian religion and morals.

CHAPTER VI

A SUMMARY OF ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

A compact summary, like the following, is best suited for *reading in class*, with comment or questions.

79. **The Bright Side.**—Seven thousand years ago, in the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, men developed a remarkable



PERSIAN JEWELRY.

civilization. They invented excellent tools of bronze (and later of iron), and practised many arts and crafts with a skill of hand that has never been surpassed. They built great cities, with pleasant homes for the wealthy, and with splendid palaces for their princes. They learned how to record their thoughts and doings and inventions in writing, for one an-

other and for their descendants. They built roads and canals; and with ships and caravans, they sought out the treasures of distant regions, while the wealth, so heaped up, was spent by their rulers with gorgeous pomp and splendor. They found out part of the value of government (to hold together a large society of men), and the need of human law, to regulate their relations with one another. Their thinkers, too, found in their own consciences some of the highest moral truths, and taught the duty of truthfulness, justice, and mercy.

War and trade carried this culture slowly around the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean; and before 1000 B.C. Phœnician traders had scattered its seeds more widely in many regions. Five hundred years later, Persia saved the slow gains of the ages from barbarian ravagers, and united and organized all the civilized East under an effective system of government.

80. The Dark Side.—This Oriental culture, however, was marred by serious faults.

Its benefits were for a few only.

Government was despotic. The people worshiped the monarch with slavish submission.

Art was unnatural. Sculpture mingled the monstrous and grotesque with the human; and architecture sought to rouse admiration by colossal size, rather than by beauty and true proportion. Most literature was pompous and stilted, or defaced by extravagant fancies,—like the story of a king who lived many thousand years before his first gray hair appeared.

Learning was allied to absurd and evil superstition. Men's minds were enslaved by tradition and custom; and progress was hampered by fear of the mysterious in nature.

Most religions (along with better features) fostered lust and cruelty. Toward the close of the period, it is true, there had grown up among the Hebrews a pure worship, whose truth and grandeur were to influence profoundly the later world. But, for centuries more, this religion was the possession of only one small people. Nor did the lofty religious ideas of the Persians much affect any other people of the ancient world. These were not *missionary* religions.

There was little variety in the different civilizations of the Orient. They differed in certain minor ways, but not as the later European nations did. *Thus they lacked a wholesome rivalry to stimulate them to continued progress.* Each civilization reached its best stage early, and then hardened into set customs.

81. The Question of Further Progress.—Whether the Oriental world would have made further progress, if left to itself, we

cannot know surely. It seems not likely. China and India, we know, made similar beginnings, but became stationary, and have remained so for centuries since. In like fashion, the Oriental civilizations which we have been studying appear to have been growing stagnant. Twice as long a period had already elapsed since their beginning, as has sufficed for all our Western growth. Very probably, they would have crystallized, with all their faults, had not new actors appeared. To these new actors and their new stage we now turn.

SUGGESTIONS FOR REVIEW

Let the class prepare review questions, each member five or ten, to ask of the others. Criticize the questions, showing which ones help to bring out important facts and contrasts and likenesses, and which are merely trivial or curious. The author of this volume does not think it worth while to hold students responsible for dates in Part I, unless, perhaps, for a few of the later ones. The table in § 158 below may be used for cross reference and reviews. It is well to make lists of important names or terms for rapid drill, demanding brief but clear explanation of each term, *i.e.*, *cuneiform*, *shekel*, Hyksos, papyrus. Read over the "theme sentences," in quotation, at the top of Chapters or Divisions (on pages 1, 11, 15, 80), and see whether the class feel, in part at least, their applications.

Sample Questions: (1) Why is Chaldea (whose civilization has been overthrown) better worth our study than China (where an ancient civilization still exists)? (2) In what did the Egyptians excel the Babylonians? (3) In what did the Babylonians excel the Egyptians? (4) In what did the Persians excel both? (5) Trace the growth of the map for civilized countries. (6) Name four contributions to civilization, not mentioned in § 79, but important enough to deserve a place there if space permitted.

Caution: Make sure that the terms "empire," "state," "tributary state," "civilization," have a definite meaning for the student. (See preceding text or footnotes.)

It does not seem to the author advisable to recommend young high school students to read widely upon the Oriental peoples in connection with the first year in history. The material in Davis' *Readings* is admirable for all classes. And a few select titles for the school library are given in the appendix, from which the teacher may make assignments if it seems best.



PART II

THE GREEKS

Greece — that point of light in history! — HEGEL.

We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece. — SHELLEY.

Except the blind forces of nature, there is nothing that MOVES in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin. — HENRY SUMNER MAINE.

STUDY OF THE MAPS AFTER PAGES 94 AND 98

Note the three great divisions: *Northern Greece* (Epirus and Thessaly); *Central Greece* (a group of eleven districts, to the isthmus of Corinth); and the *Peloponnesus* (the southern peninsula). Name the districts from Phocis south, and the chief cities in each, as shown on the map. Which districts have no coast? Locate Delphi, Thermopylae, Tempe, Parnassus, Olympus, Olympia, Salamis, Ithaca, eight islands, three cities on the Asiatic side. Draw the map with the amount of detail just indicated. **Examine the map frequently in preparing the next lesson.** (*The index tells on what map each geographical name used in the book can be found, — except in a few cases, like Pacific Ocean.*)

CHAPTER VII

INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHY

82. Europe contrasted with Asia. — Asia and Egypt had developed the earliest civilizations. But, for at least half of their four thousand years, another culture had been rising slowly along the coasts and islands of southern Europe. *This European civilization began independently of the older ones.* It drew from them in many ways (as we shall see more clearly a little farther on); but it always kept a distinct character of

its own. *The difference was due, in part at least, to differences in physical geography.* Four features of European geography were specially important:—

Europe is a peninsula. The sea is easy of access.¹

Europe has a more temperate climate than the semitropical river valleys of Asia; and food crops demand more cultivation. These conditions called for greater exertion upon the part of man. Moreover, the natural products of Europe were more varied than those of Asia. This led to greater variety in human occupations. The beginnings of civilization were slower in Europe; but man was finally to count for more there than in Asia.

In contrast with the vast Asiatic plains and valleys, *Europe is broken into many small districts, fit to become the homes of distinct peoples.* Thus many separate civilizations grew up in touch with one another. Their natural boundaries kept one from absorbing the others. So they remained mutually helpful by their rivalry and intercourse.

Europe could not easily be conquered by the Asiatic empires. This consideration was highly important. Some districts of Asia, such as western Syria and parts of Asia Minor, had a physical character like that of Europe. Accordingly, in these places, civilizations had begun, with a character like that of later European peoples. But these states were reached easily by the forces of the earlier and mightier river-empires; and in the end the "Asiatic character" was always imposed upon them. Europe was saved, partly by its remoteness, but more by the Mediterranean.

83. The Mediterranean has been a mighty factor in European history. Indeed, through all ancient history, European civilization was merely "Mediterranean civilization." It never ventured far from the coasts of that sea. The Mediterranean was the great *highway* for friendly intercourse, and the great

¹Through all "ancient history" (§ 4), "Europe" means southern and central Europe. Russian Europe, indeed, is really part of Asia in geography, and it has always been Asiatic rather than European in culture.

barrier against Asiatic conquest. Thus, Persia subdued the Asiatic Greeks, almost without a blow: the European Greeks she failed to conquer even by supreme effort.

To understand this value of the sea as a barrier, we must keep in mind the character of ships in early times. The sea was the easiest road for merchants, traveling in single vessels and certain of friendly welcome at almost any port. But oars were the main force that drove the ship (sails were used only when the wind was very favorable); and the small vessels of that day could not carry many more people than were needed to man the benches of oarsmen. To transport a large army, in this way, with needful supplies, — in condition, too, to meet a hostile army at the landing place, — was almost impossible.

84. Greece was typical of Europe in geography and civilization. The Greeks called themselves *Hellenes* (as they do still). Hellas meant not European Greece alone, but *all the lands of the Hellenes*. It included the Greek peninsula, the shores and islands of the Aegean, Greek colonies on the Black Sea, to the east, and in Sicily and southern Italy, to the west, with scattered patches elsewhere along the Mediterranean.

Still, the central peninsula remained the heart of Hellas. Epirus and Thessaly had little to do with Greek history. Omitting them, the area of Greece is less than a fourth of that of New York. In this little district are found all the characteristic traits of European geography. It has been well called the "*most European of European lands,*" and it became the first home of European culture.

85. Greek Geography and its Influence. — Certain factors in Greek geography deserve special mention even though we repeat part of what has been said of Europe as a whole.

a. The islands and the patches of Greek settlements on distant coasts made *many distinct geographical divisions*. Even the little Greek peninsula counted more than twenty such units, each shut off from the others by its strip of sea and its mountain walls. Some of these divisions were about as large as an American township, and the large ones (except Thessaly and Epirus) were only seven or eight times that size.

The little states which grew up in these divisions differed widely from one another. Some were monarchies; some, oligarchies; some, democracies.¹ In some, the chief industry was trade; in some, it was agriculture. In some, the people were slow and conservative; in others, they were enterprising and progressive. Oriental civilizations, we have seen (§ 80), were marked by too great *uniformity*; the civilizations of European countries have been marked by a wholesome *diversity*. This character was found especially among the Greeks.

b. Mountain people, living apart, are usually rude and conservative; but *from such tendencies Greece was saved by the sea*. The sea made friendly intercourse possible on a large scale, and brought Athens as closely into touch with Miletus (in Asia) as with Sparta or Olympia. This value of the sea, too, held good for different parts of "European Greece" itself. The peninsula has less area than Portugal, but a longer coast line than all the Spanish peninsula. The very heart of the land is broken into islands and promontories, so that it is hard to find a spot thirty miles distant from the sea.

c. *Certain products of some districts made commerce very desirable.* The mountain slopes in some parts, as in Attica, grew grapes and olives better than grain. Wine and olive oil had much value in little space. Thus they were especially suited for commerce. Moreover, such mountain districts had a limited grain supply; and, if population was to increase, the people were driven to trade. Now, sailors and traders come in touch constantly with new manners and new ideas, and they are more likely to make progress than a purely agricultural people. Exchanging commodities, they are ready to exchange ideas also. The *seafaring* Greeks were "always seeking some new thing."

¹A monarchy, in the first meaning of the word, is a state ruled by one man, a "monarch." An oligarchy is a state ruled by a "few," or by a small class. A democracy is a state where the whole people govern. In ancient history the words are used with these meanings. Sometimes "aristocracy" is used with much the same force as oligarchy. (In modern times the word "monarchy" is used sometimes of a government like England, which is monarchic only in form, but which really is a democracy.)



d. These early seekers found valuable new things within easy reach. Fortunately, this most European of all European lands lay nearest of all Europe to the old civilizations of Asia and Egypt. Moreover, it faced this civilized East rather than the barbarous West. On the other side, toward Italy, the coast of Greece is cliff or marsh, with only three or four good harbors. On the east, however, the whole line is broken by



SCENE IN THE VALE OF TEMPE.—From a photograph. Cf. § 173.

deep bays, from whose mouths, chains of inviting islands lead on and on. In clear weather, the mariner may cross the Aegean without losing sight of land.

e. Very important, too, was the appearance of the landscape. A great Oriental state spread over vast plains and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. But, except in Thessaly, Greece contained no plains of consequence. It was a land of intermingled sea and mountain, with everything upon a moderate scale. There were no mountains so astounding as to

awe the mind. There were no destructive earthquakes, or tremendous storms, or overwhelming floods. Oriental man had bowed in superstitious dread before the mysteries of nature, with little attempt to explain them. But in Greece, nature was not terrible; and men began early to search into her secrets. *Oriental submission to tradition and custom was replaced by fearless inquiry and originality.* In like manner, *Oriental despotism gave way to Greek freedom.* No doubt, too, the moderation and variety of the physical world had a part in producing the many-sided genius of the people and their lively but well-controlled imagination. And the varied beauty of hill and dale and blue, sunlit sea, the wonderfully clear, exhilarating air, and the soft splendor of the radiant sky helped to give them intense joy in mere living.

86. Summary. — We have noted five features of Greek geography: the many separate districts; the sea roads; the inducements to trade; the vicinity of the open side to Eastern civilization; and the moderation, diversity, and beauty of nature. Each of these five features became a force in history. The Greeks produced many varieties of society, side by side, to react upon one another. They learned quickly whatever the older civilizations could teach them. They inquired fearlessly into all secrets, natural and supernatural, instead of abasing themselves in Oriental awe. They had no controlling priesthood, as the Egyptians had; and they never submitted long to arbitrary government, as the great Asiatic peoples did. Above all other peoples, they developed *a love for harmony and proportion.* Moderation became their ideal virtue, and they used the same word for *good* and *beautiful.*

EXERCISE. — Review the topic — Influence of Geography upon History — up to this point. See Index, *Physical Geography.*

CHAPTER VIII

HOW WE KNOW ABOUT "PREHISTORIC" HELLAS

87. **The Homeric Poems.** — The Greeks were late in learning to use writing, and so our knowledge of early Greek civilization is imperfect. Until recently, what knowledge we had came mainly from two famous collections of early poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The later Greeks believed that these were composed about 1100 B.C. by a blind minstrel¹ named Homer. We still call them "the Homeric poems," though scholars now believe that each collection was made up of ballads by many bards. The poems were not put into manuscript until about 600 B.C.; but they had been handed down orally from generation to generation for centuries. The *Iliad* describes part of the ten-year siege of Troy (*Ilium*) in Asia. A Trojan prince had carried away the beautiful Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta; and, under the leadership of the great king Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus, the chiefs had rallied from all parts of Greece to recover her. Finally they captured and burned the city. The *Odyssey* narrates the wanderings of Odysseus (Ulysses), one of the Greek heroes, in the return from the war.

The Trojan war may be fact or fiction.² In either case, the pictures of society in the poems must be true to life. In rude ages a bard may invent stories, but not manners and customs.³

¹ In early times, the poet did not write his poems. He chanted them, to the accompaniment of a harp or some such instrument, at festivals or at the meals of chieftains. Such a poet is called a minstrel, or bard, or harper.

² A well-known Homeric scholar has just published an ingenious book to prove that there was a real Trojan war, and that it was fought by the Greeks to secure control of the Hellespont — and so of the Black Sea trade. Teachers will find this latest contribution to the Homeric problem intensely interesting: Walter Leaf, *Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography*, Macmillan.

³ *To-day* a novelist inclines naturally to make the people in his story talk and act like the people in real life around him. To be sure, now, he may try.

Thus these Homeric poems teach us much about what the Greeks of 1000 or 1100 B.C. thought, and how they lived.

88. Remains in the Soil.—Quite recently another source of information has been opened to us. Students of Greek history strangely neglected *the remains buried in the soil*, long after the study of such objects in the Orient had disclosed many wonders; but in 1870 A.D. Dr. Schliemann, a German scholar, turned to this kind of investigation. He hoped to prove the Homeric stories true. His excavations, and those of others since, have done a more important thing. They have added much to our knowledge of Homer's time, *but they have also opened up two thousand years of older culture, of which Homer and the later Greeks never dreamed.*

89. Henry Schliemann's own life was as romantic as any story in Homer. His father was the pastor in a small German village. The boy grew up with perfect faith in fairies and goblins and tales of magic treasure connected with the old history of the place. His father told him the Homeric stories, and once showed him a fanciful picture of the huge "Walls of Troy." The child was deeply interested. When he was told that no one now knew just where Troy had stood, and that the city had left no traces, he insisted that such walls *must* have left remains that could be uncovered by digging in the ground; and his father playfully agreed that sometime Henry should find them. Later, the boy learned that the great scholars of his day did not believe that such a city as Troy had ever existed. This aroused in him a fierce resentment; and to carry out his childhood dream of finding the great walls of Homer's city became the passion of his life. To do this he must have riches. He was very poor. Six years he worked as a grocer's boy; then, for many years more as clerk for various larger firms. All this time he studied zealously, learning many languages. This made it possible for his employers to send him to foreign countries, in connection with their business. In this way he found opportunities to amass wealth for himself, and, at the age of forty-eight, he was ready to begin his real work.

purposely, to represent a past age (historical novel), or he may try foolishly to represent some class of people about whom he knows little. But *in an early age*, like that of the Homeric minstrels, a poet cannot know any society except the simple one about him, and he knows all phases of that. If he tells a story at all, even of a former age, he makes his actors like men of his own time.

Three incidents in the explorations are treated in the following paragraphs.

90. Excavations at Troy. — Dr. Schliemann began his excavation at a little village in “Troy-land,” three miles from the shore, where vague tradition placed the scene of the *Iliad*. The explorations continued more than twenty years and disclosed the remains of *nine* distinct towns, one above another.

The oldest, on native rock, some fifty feet below the present surface, was a rude village of the Stone Age. The second was thought by Dr. Schliemann to be Homer’s Troy. It showed powerful walls, a citadel that had been destroyed by fire, and a civilization marked by bronze weapons and gold ornaments. We know now that this city passed away more than a thousand years before Homer’s time, so that no doubt the very memory of its civilization had perished before the real Troy was built. Above it, came the remains of three inferior settlements, and then — *the sixth layer from the bottom* — a much larger and finer city, which had perished in conflagration some twelve hundred years before Christ. Extensive explorations in the year 1893 (after Schliemann’s death) proved this sixth city to be the Troy of Homer, with remarkable likeness to the description in the *Iliad*.

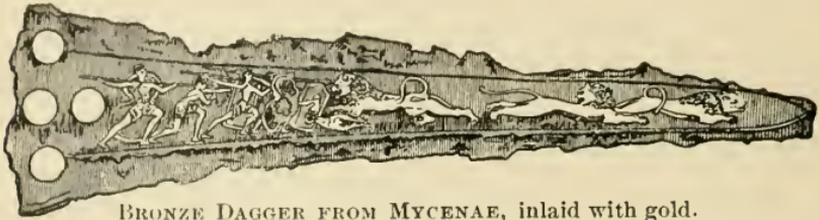
Above this Homeric Troy came an old Greek city, a magnificent city of the time of Alexander the Great, a Roman city, and, finally, the squalid Turkish village of to-day.

91. Excavations at Mycenae. — Homer places the capital of Agamemnon, leader of all the Greeks, in Argolis at “Mycenae, rich in gold.” Here, in 1876, Schliemann uncovered the remains of an ancient city, with peculiar, massive (“Cyclopean”) walls. Within, were found a curious group of tombs, where lay in state the embalmed bodies of ancient kings, —

“in the splendor of their crowns and breastplates of embossed plate of gold; their swords studded with golden imagery; their faces covered strangely in golden masks. The very floor of one tomb was thick with gold dust — the heavy gilding from some perished kingly vestment. In another was a downfall of golden leaves and flowers. And amid this pro-

fusion of fine fragments were rings, bracelets, smaller crowns, *as for children*, dainty butterflies for ornaments, and [a wonderful] golden flower on a silver stalk."

One tomb, with three female bodies, contained 870 gold objects, besides multitudes of very small ornaments and countless gold beads. In another, five bodies were "literally smothered in jewels." And, with these ornaments, there were skillfully and curiously wrought weapons for the dead, with whetstones to keep them keen, and graceful vases of marble and alabaster, carved with delicate forms, to hold the funeral food



BRONZE DAGGER FROM MYCENAE, inlaid with gold.

and wine. Near the entrance lay bodies of slaves or captives who had been offered in sacrifice.

92. These discoveries confirmed much in "Homer." Like "Troy," so this ancient Mycenae had perished in fire long before Homer's day. But similar cities must have survived, in some parts of Hellas, to be visited by the wandering poet. From remains of many palaces, it may be seen now that the picture of Menelaus' palace in the *Odyssey* (VII, 84 ff.) was drawn from life,—the friezes of glittering blue glass, the walls flashing with bronze and gleaming with plated gold, the heroes and their guests feasting through the night, from gold vessels, in halls lighted by torches held on massive golden statues.

93. Excavations in Crete. — Schliemann's discoveries amazed and aroused the world. Scores of scholars have followed him, exploring the coasts of the Aegean at many points. The most wonderful discoveries of all have been made in Crete, — mainly since the year 1900. Old legends of the Greeks represented that island as one source of their civilization and as the home

of powerful kings before Greek history began. These legends used to be regarded as fables; but we know now that they were based upon true tradition. At Knossos, a palace of

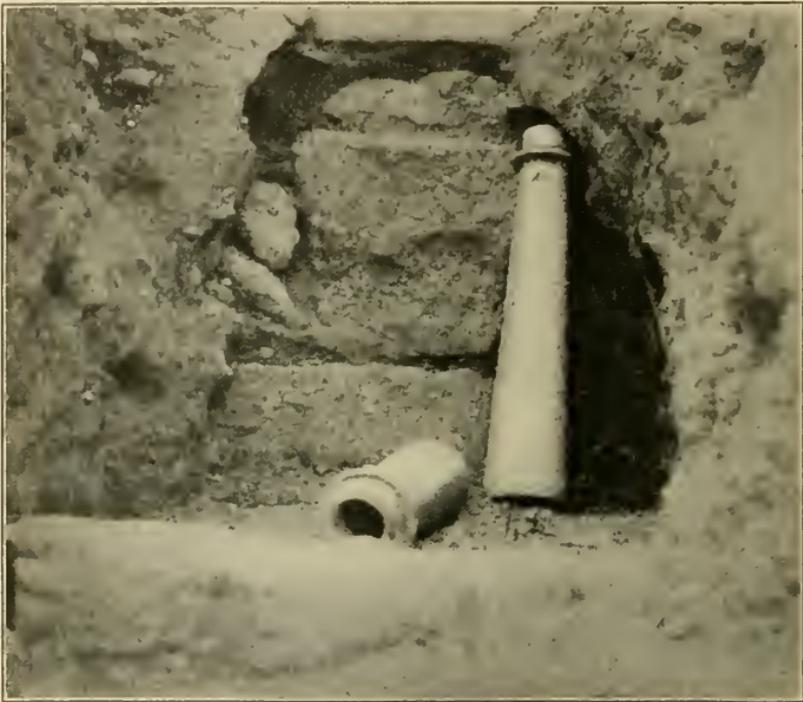


THE GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENAE.

The huge stone at the top of the gate, supporting the lions, is 15 feet long and 7 feet thick. Enemies could reach the gate only by passing between long stone walls — from behind which archers could shoot down upon them.

“*King Minos*” has been unearthed, spreading over more than four acres of ground, with splendid throne rooms, and with halls and corridors, living rooms, and store rooms. In these

last, there were found multitudes of small clay tablets covered with writing, — apparently memoranda of the receipt of taxes. No one can yet read this ancient Cretan writing; but the sculptures and friezes on the walls, the paintings on vases, and the gold designs inlaid on sword blades teach us much about this forgotten civilization. Especially amazing are the admirable



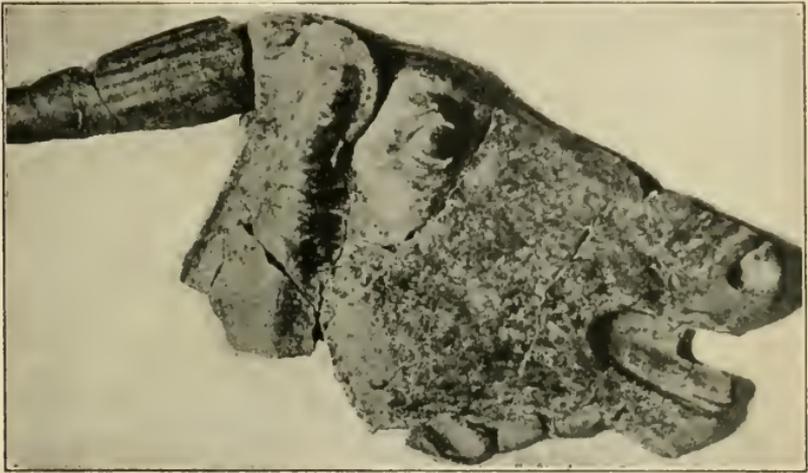
MOUTH OF PALACE SEWER AT KNOSSOS, with terracotta drain pipes, — showing method of joining pipes. From Baikie.

bath rooms of the palace, with a drainage system which has been described as “superior to anything of the kind in Europe until the nineteenth century.” The pipes could be flushed properly, and a man-trap permitted proper inspection and repair. Back of the Queen’s apartments, stood a smaller room with a baby’s bath. Like Troy and Mycenae, the remains show that Knossos was burned and ravaged — about 1500 B.C.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST CIVILIZATION OF HELLAS

94. Antiquity of "Cretan Culture." — Not long ago it was the habit of scholars to call the Greeks a "young" people (com-



HEAD OF A BULL, from a Knossos relief.

pared with Oriental nations), and to wonder how they could have risen to so high a civilization almost at a bound. Sometimes the blossoming of Greek culture was compared to the fabled birth of Athene, the Greek goddess of wisdom, who sprang to life, fully armed, from the forehead of her father Zeus. But now we have learned that "obscure milleniums preceded the sudden bloom."

We have traced the *sources of our knowledge* of the early periods in the order of their discovery. But this is not the order in which the civilization developed. Troy and Mycenae

were older than "Homer" — who sang of a golden past — and Cretan culture runs back two thousand years before Mycenae was built. Still, the civilization of Mycenae was merely a late branch of a widespreading tree which had its roots and its highest development in Crete. Schliemann's "Second City" at Troy belonged to an early stage of it, and his "Sixth City" to a late stage.

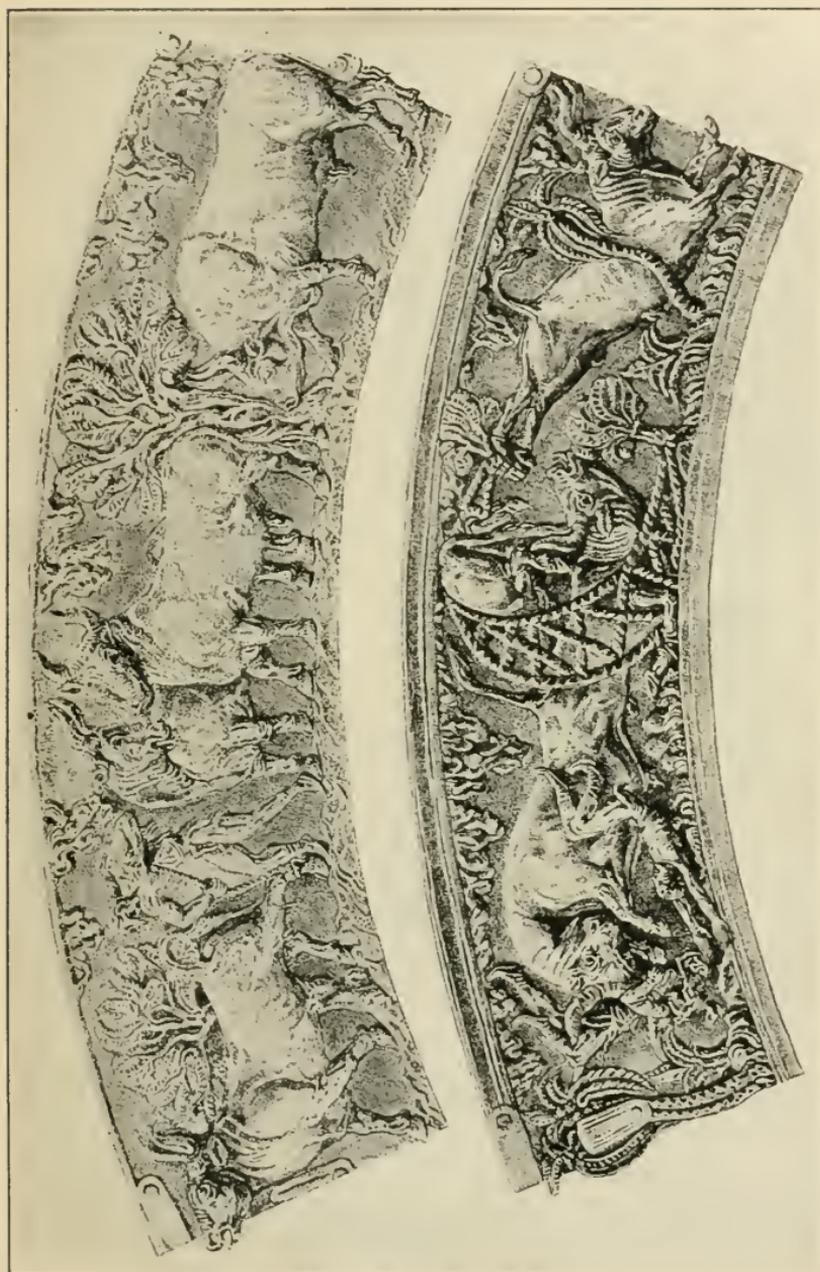
About 1900 A.D., scholars first began to recognize this pre-Homeric culture. For a few years they called it *Mycenaean*.



"VAPHIO CUPS": $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; 8 ounces each. Found at Vaphio, in the Peloponnesus, in 1889 A.D., and dating back at least to 1800 or 2000 B.C. Probably Cretan in origin. Very delicate and yet vigorous goldsmith work. See the scroll on the page opposite.

This name is still used sometimes for the last period of it, on the mainland. But it is best to use the name *Cretan civilization* for the whole culture preceding the Homeric age. We are now to trace the rise of that culture, and its character.

95. Native to the Aegean Regions. — Explorations prove that this early civilization was not confined to Crete and Troy and Mycenae. It spread along the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, in patches, from Cyprus to Sardinia. *It was very nearly an "Aegean civilization."* It was the work of the slim, short, dark-skinned men of southern Europe, between 3500 and 1200 B.C. *This culture was native, not borrowed. Steady prog-*



SCROLL FROM THE VAPHIO CUPS. — Stages in the netting and taming of wild bulls. The complete scroll shows them at the plow.

ness appears from rude stone tools and crude carvings, through many stages, up to magnificent bronze work and highly developed art. There are no sudden leaps, or breaks in the chain of development, such as might suggest the wholesale introduction of a foreign civilization.

The oldest settlement that Schliemann unearthed on the bare rock underlying the site of Troy, we have noted, was a village of the Stone Age. By 3500 or 4000 B.C., people were living in such villages (made up of round huts) all about the Aegean Sea. Their pottery was made by hand, not with a wheel; but the decoration shows skill and love of beauty. Everywhere, the better sort of knives and arrow-heads were made from a peculiar dark hard stone (obsidian), which, for these regions, is found in any considerable quantity only in the island of Melos. There must have been no little trade, then, during this Stone Age, to scatter this material so widely.

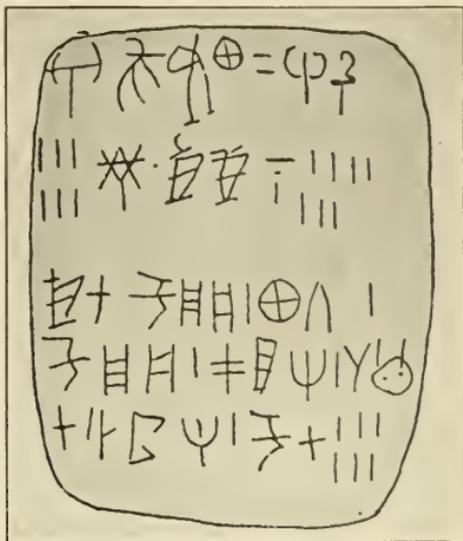


VASE FROM KNOSSOS
(about 2200 B.C.),
with characteristic
sea-life ornament.
From Baikie.

Before 2500 B.C., Crete, at least, extended this trade as far as Egypt and Syria. Egyptian remains of that period are common among the Cretan ruins. Crete stretches its long body across the mouth of the Aegean and forms the natural stepping stone from Egypt to Europe. Very possibly, this fact made it the leader in developing primitive Aegean civilization to higher levels. The use of bronze may have come from Egypt. Surely, the Cretan traders imported from the older civilizations much that was more valuable than articles of commerce. But they did not merely imitate and copy: *they made foreign inventions and ideas their own, by adapting them to their own life and by improving upon them.*

96. The Best Stages. — At all events, by 2500 B.C., Crete had advanced far in the bronze age of culture; and for the next thousand years her civilization (in material things, at least) was quite equal to that of Egypt. The old hand-made pottery gave way to admirable work on the potter's wheel; and the vase paintings, of birds and beasts and plant and sea life, are vastly more life-like and graceful than any that Egyptian art can show. The

walls of houses were decorated with a delicate "egg-shell" porcelain in artistic designs. Gold inlay work, for the decoration of weapons, had reached great perfection. A system of syllabic writing had been developed, seemingly more advanced than the Egyptian. Unhappily scholars have not yet found a key to it; but some believe that it may have been the common ancestor of the Phoenician and the Greek alphabets.¹ The palace at Knossos (§ 94) was built about 2200 B.C., and rebuilt and improved about 1800. Its monarch must have ruled all the island, and probably (as the Greek legends taught) over wide regions of the sea. The city had no walls to shut out an enemy: Crete relied upon her sea power to ward off invaders. We may think



CRETAN WRITING. (Plainly, some of these characters are numerals. Others have a strong likeness to certain Greek letters, especially in the oldest Greek writing.)

of the Cretan lawgiver, Minos, seated on his throne at Knossos, ruling over the surrounding seas, at about the time Abraham left Ur to found the Hebrew race, or a little before the lawgiver, Hammurabi, established the Old Babylonian Empire, or

¹ One old Roman writer (Diodorus Siculus) has preserved the interesting fact that the Cretans themselves in his day claimed to have been the inventors of the alphabet. He says: "Some pretend that the Syrians were the inventors of letters, and that the Phoenicians learned from them and brought the art of writing to Greece. . . . But the Cretans say that the first invention came from Crete, and that the Phoenicians only changed the form of the letters and made the knowledge of them more general among the peoples." Modern Cretans had forgotten this claim for many centuries, but recent discoveries go far to prove it true.

as a contemporary of some of the beneficent pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt.

From the palace frescoes, Dr. Arthur J. Evans (the English pioneer in Cretan excavation) describes the brilliant life of the lords and ladies of the court:—



So-called THRONE OF MINOS in the palace at Knossos. Says Baikie (*Sea Kings of Crete*, 72): "No more ancient throne exists in Europe, or probably in the world, and none whose associations are anything like so full of interest."

Sometimes the dependants of the prince march into the palace in stately procession, bringing gifts. Sometimes the court is filled with gayly adorned dames and curled gentlemen [Cretan nobles wore the hair in three long curls], standing, sitting, flirting, gesticulating [after the fashion of southern Europeans in conversation to-day]. We see the ladies . . . trying to "preserve their complexion" with veils. And says another of the discoverers,—"The women who dance and converse on Knossian walls have a self-assurance and sparkle that modern belles might envy." Frequently, too, the court is pictured watching a troop of bull trainers tame wild bulls.¹

The chief article of male dress was a linen cloth hanging from the waist or drawn into short trousers (like the dress of men on the Egyptian monuments). To this, except in war or hunting, the noble sometimes added a short, sleeveless mantle, fastened over one shoulder with a jeweled pin; and a belt,

¹The bull was a favorite subject for Cretan art. See some illustrations in these pages. Compare also the later story of the Athenian hero Theseus and the Cretan *Minotaur* (bull), in any collection of Greek legends, as in Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales*.

drawn tight about the waist, always carried his dagger, inlaid with gold figures. Women's dress was elaborate, with "careful fitting, fine sewing, and exquisite embroidery." The skirts were bell-shaped — like a modern fashion of fifty years ago — and flounced with ruffles; and the bodice was close-fitting, low-necked, and short-sleeved, — much more like female dress to-day than the later Greek and Roman robes were. Men and women



COOKING UTENSILS, found in one tomb at Knossos.

alike wore gold bracelets and rings, and women added long coils of beaded necklaces.

Each home wove its own cloth, as we learn from the loom-weights in every house. Each home, too, had its stone mortars for grinding the daily supply of meal. Kitchen utensils were varied and numerous. They include perforated skimmers and strainers, and charcoal carriers, and many other devices strangely modern in shape. Most cooking was done over an open fire of sticks — though sometimes there was a sort of recess in a hearth, over which a kettle stood. When the destroying foe came upon Knossos, one carpenter left his kit of tools hidden under a stone slab; and among these we find

“saws, hammers, adze, chisels heavy and light, awls, nails, files, and axes.” They are of bronze, of course, but in shape they are so like our own that it seems probable that this handicraft passed down its skill without a break from the earliest Euro-



CRETAN VASE of later period, showing a tendency to use “conventionalized” ornament. Critics believe that such vases indicate a period of decay in Cretan art.

pean civilization to the present. One huge cross-cut saw, like our lumberman’s, was found in a mountain town, — used probably to cut the great trees there into columns for the palaces.

97. The dark side of this splendid civilization has to do with its government and the organization of society. Here, Oriental features prevailed. The monarch was absolute; and a few nobles were the only others who found life easy and pleasant. The masses were far more abject and helpless than in later Greek history. The direct cause of the destruction of Cretan cul-

ture was a series of barbarian invasions; but the remains show that the best stages of art had already passed away. Probably the invasions were so completely successful only because of internal decay, such as usually comes to despotic states after a period of magnificence. Some excavators think they find evidence that the invaders were assisted by an uprising of the oppressed masses. In any event, fortunately, many of the better features of this early Aegean civilization were adopted by the conquerors and preserved for time to come.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 32, gives an interesting extract from an account of Cretan remains by one of the discoverers. Bury's *History of Greece*, 7-11, on *Cretan culture*; 11-33, on *remains near Mycenæ* (half these pages are given to illustrations); 65-69, on the *Homeric poems*. The student may best omit or disregard Professor Bury's frequent discussions as to whether Cretans or Trojans were "Greeks." The important thing about each new wave of invasion is *not its race*, but its *kind of culture*, and where that culture came from.

Additional, for students who wish wider reading: Hawes, *Crete the Fore-runner of Greece*; or Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete*. (Appendix.)

CHAPTER X

THE HOMERIC AGE

ORIGIN

98. **The Achaeans.** — Between 1500 and 1200 B.C. a great change took place in Greece. The civilization pictured by Homer differs greatly from the earlier one. *It was not a development from the earlier:* it was a separate culture, from a different source. The Mycenaeans and Cretans buried their dead, worshiped ancestors, used no iron, and lived frugally, mainly on fish and vegetable diet. Homer's Greeks burn their dead, adore a sun god, use iron swords, and feast all night mightily on whole roast oxen. So, too, in dress, manners, and personal appearance, as far as we can tell, the two are widely different. The early Greeks, as their pictures show, were short, dark, black-eyed, like the modern Greeks and like all the other aborigines of southern Europe. But Homer describes his Greeks, *or at least his chieftains*, as tall, fair, yellow-haired, and blue-eyed. In many ways, too, their civilization was ruder and more primitive than the one it replaced.

This second civilization of Hellas is called *Achaean*, — the name which "Homer" gives to the Greeks of his time. These Achaeans were part of a vigorous race dwelling in central Europe. They were semibarbarians in that home; *but some fortunate chance had taught them to use iron.* About 1500 B.C. bands of these fair-haired, blue-eyed, ox-eating warriors, drawn by the splendor and riches of the south, broke into Hellas, as barbarians of the north so many times since have broken into southern Europe. These mighty-limbed strangers, armed with long iron swords, established themselves among the short,

dark, bronze-weaponed natives, dwelt in their cities, became their chiefs, married their women, and possessed the land.

99. Nature of their Invasion. — The occupation of the land by the invaders was a slow process, involving unrecorded misery, generation after generation, for the gentler, peace-loving natives. An Egyptian inscription of the period declares that “the islands were restless and disturbed,” — and indeed the Achaean rovers reached even Egypt in their raids (§ 31). During most of the period, the newcomers merely filtered into Hellas, band by band, seizing a little island, or a valley, at a time. Occasionally, larger forces warred long and desperately about some stronghold. Knossos, without defensive walls, fell early before a fleet of sea-rovers. But in walled cities, like Troy and Mycenae, the old civilization lived on for three centuries. Much of the time, no doubt, there was peace and intercourse between the Achaeans and such cities; but finally the invaders mustered in force enough to master even these. Homer’s ten-year Trojan War may be based upon one of these closing struggles.

The fair-haired Achaeans imposed their language upon the older natives (as conquerors commonly do); but, in course of time, their blood was absorbed into that of the more numerous conquered people — as has happened to all northern invaders into southern lands, before and since. The physical characteristics of Homer’s Achaeans left no more trace in the later Greeks, than the tall, yellow-haired Goths who conquered Spain and Italy in the fifth century after Christ, have left in those countries.

The Achaean and Cretan cultures blended more equally than the two races did, — though not till the splendor and most of the art of the older civilization had been destroyed. The change of language explains in part the loss of the art of writing, — which probably had been the possession of only a small class of scribes, in any case. But the common people, we may be sure, clung tenaciously to their old customs and habits of life, and especially to their religion. When next we see the Greek

civilization clearly, the old worship of ancestors, of which the Homeric poems contain no mention, had reappeared and mingled with the newer worship of the Achaean gods.

Some features of the Achaean age are described below.

THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

100. The Clan.—In early times the smallest unit in Greek society was not a family like ours, but a clan (or gens). Each clan was a group of kindred, *an enlarged kind of family*. Some clans contained perhaps a score of members; others contained many score.

The nearest descendant of the forefather of the clan, counting from oldest son to oldest son, was the *clan elder*, or "king." *Kinship* and *worship* were the two ties which held a clan together. These two bonds were really one, *for the clan religion was a worship of clan ancestors*. If provided with pleasing meals at proper times and invoked with magic formulas (so the belief ran), the ghosts of the ancient clan elders would continue to aid their children. The food was actually meant for the ghost. Milk and wine were poured into a hollow in the ground, while the clan elder spoke sacred formulas inviting the dead to eat.¹

This worship was secret. The clan tomb was the altar, and the clan elder was the only lawful priest. For a stranger even to see the worship was to defile it; for him to learn the sacred formulas of the clan worship was to secure power over the gods.² It followed that *marriage became a "religious" act*. The woman renounced her own gods, and was accepted by her husband's gods into their clan. Her father, of course, or some male rela-

¹ Travelers describe similar practices among primitive peoples to-day. A Papuan chief prays: "Compassionate Father! Here is food for you. Eat it, and be kind to us!"

² Primitive races think of words as in some strange way related to the things they stand for (as the spirit to the body). This is one reason for belief in "charms." Those who knew the right words could "charm" the gods to do their will. The Romans, in the days of their power, always kept the real name of their chief god a secret, lest some foe might compel or induce him to surrender the city.

tive, renounced for her, and gave her to the bridegroom (the origin of "giving in marriage" to-day). After that, she and her future children were in law and in religion no longer "related" to her father and his clan. Legal relationship, and inheritance of property, came through males only.

101. **Later Family Worship.** — In like manner in later times, as the families of the clan became distinct units, each came to have its separate family worship. The Hearth was the family altar. Near it were grouped the *Penates*, or images of household gods who watched over the family. The father was the priest. Before each meal, he poured out on the Hearth the *libation*, or food-offering, to the family gods and asked their blessing. The family tomb was near the house, "so that the sons," says Euripides (a later Greek poet: § 221), "in entering and leaving their dwelling, *might always meet their fathers and invoke them.*"

102. **The Tribe.** — Long before history began, clans united into larger units. In barbarous society the highest unit is the tribe, which is a group of clans living near together and *believing in a common ancestor*. In Greece the clan elder of the leading clan was the *king of the tribe and its priest*.

103. **The Tribal City.** — Originally a tribe dwelt in several clan villages in the valleys around some convenient hill. On the hilltop was the place of common worship. A ring wall, at a convenient part of the slope, easily turned this sacred place into a *citadel*. In hilly Greece many of these citadels grew up *near together*; and so, very early, groups of tribes combined further. Perhaps one of a group would conquer the others and compel them to tear down their separate citadels and to move their temples to its center. *This made a city*. The chief of the leading tribe then became the priest-king of the city.

Sometimes, of course, a tribe grew into the city stage without absorbing other tribes; but, in general, as clans federated into tribes, so *tribes federated into cities*, either peaceably or through war. The later Athenians had a tradition that in very early times the hero *Theseus* founded their city by bringing together four tribes living in Attica.

104. The City the Political Unit. — *If the cities could have combined into larger units, Greece might have become a "nation-state," like modern England or France. But the Greeks, in the time of their glory, never got beyond a city-state. To them the same word meant "city" and "state." A union of cities, by which any of them gave up its complete independence, was repugnant to Greek feeling. One city might hold other cities in subjection; but it never admitted their people to any kind of citizenship.*¹ Nor did the subject cities dream of asking such a thing. What they wanted, and would never cease to strive for, was to recover their separate independence. *To each Greek, his city was his country.*

It followed, through nearly all Greek history, that the *political*² relations of one city with another five miles away were foreign relations, as much as its dealings with the king of Persia. *Wars, therefore, were constant and cruel. Greek life was concentrated in small centers. This made it vivid and intense; but the division of Greek resources between so many hostile centers made that life brief.*

GOVERNMENT OF THE EARLY CITY-STATE

105. The King. — The city had three political elements — king, council of chiefs, and popular assembly. In these we may see the germs of later monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic governments. (For these terms, see § 85, note.)

The king was *leader in war, judge in peace*, and *priest* at all times. His power was much limited by custom and by the two other political orders.

106. A council of chiefs aided the king, — and checked him. These chiefs were originally the clan elders and the members of the royal family. *Socially* they were the king's equals; and *in government* he could not do anything in defiance of their wish. If a ruler died without a grown-up son, the council could elect a king, although they chose usually from the royal family.

¹ Can the student see a connection between this fact and the "exclusive" character of clan and tribal and city-worship, as described above?

² "Political" means "relating to government." The word must be used frequently in history. In other relations, as in trade and religion and culture, the Greek cities did not think of one another as foreigners, to any such degree as in political matters.

107. The Assembly. — The common freemen came together for worship and for games; and sometimes the king called them together, to listen to plans that had been adopted by him and the chiefs. Then the freemen shouted approval or muttered disapproval. They could not start new movements. There were no regular meetings and few spokesmen, and the general reverence for the chiefs made it a daring deed for a common man to brave them. If the chiefs and king agreed, it was easy for them to get their way with the Assembly.

However, even in war, when the authority of the nobles was greatest, the Assembly had to be *persuaded*: *it could not be ordered*. Homer shows that sometimes a common man ventured to oppose the “kings.”

Thus, in one Assembly before Troy, the Greeks break away to seize their ships and return home. Odysseus hurries among them, and by persuasion and threats forces them back to the Assembly, until only Thersites bawls on, — “Thersites, uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words *wherewith to strive against the chiefs*. Hateful was he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, *for them he was wont to revile*. But now *with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings even upon goodly Agamemnon*.” Odysseus, it is true, rebukes him sternly and smites him into silence, while the crowd laughs. “Homer” sang to please the chieftains, his patrons, — and so he represents Thersites as a cripple, ugly and unpopular; but there must have been such popular opposition to the chiefs, now and then, or the minstrel would not have mentioned such an incident at all. Says a modern scholar, — A chieftain who had been thwarted, perhaps, by some real Thersites during the day, “would over his evening cups enjoy the poet’s travesty, and long for the good old times when [Odysseus] could put down impertinent criticism by the stroke of his knotty scepter.”¹

SOCIETY AND INDUSTRY

108. Society was simple. The Homeric poems attribute wealth and luxury to a few places (where probably some fragments of the Cretan civilization survived); but these are

¹ Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 33, reproduces the best Homeric account of an “Assembly” in war time. It contains also the Thersites story complete.

plainly exceptions to the general rule. When the son of Odysseus leaves his native Ithaca and visits Menelaus, he is astounded by the splendor of the palace, with its "gleam as of sun and moon," and whispers to his companion: —

"Mark the flashing of bronze through the echoing halls, and the flashing of gold and of amber and of silver and of ivory. Such like, methinks, is the court of Olympian Zeus. . . . Wonder comes over me as I look."¹

But mighty Odysseus had built *his* palace with his own hands. It has been well called — from the poet's description — "a rude farmhouse, where swine wallow in the court." And the one petty island in which Odysseus was head-king held scores of yet poorer "kings." So, too, when Odysseus is shipwrecked on an important island, he finds the daughter of the chief king — the princess Nausicaa — doing a washing, with her band of maidens (treading out the dirt by trampling the clothes with their bare feet in the water of a running brook). Just before, the "queen" was pictured, busy in gathering together the palace linen for this event. *Such descriptions are the typical ones in the poems.*

109. Manners were harsh. In the Trojan War, the Greeks left the bodies of the slain enemy unburied, to be half devoured by packs of savage dogs that hung about the camp for such morsels. The common boast was to have given a foe's body to the dogs.² When the noble Trojan hero, Hector, falls, the Greek kings gather about the dead body, "*and no one came who did not add his wound.*" The chiefs fought in bronze and iron armor, usually in chariots. The common free men followed on foot, without armor or effective weapons, and seem to have counted for little in war. Ordinary prisoners became slaves as a matter of course. But when the chiefs were taken, they were

¹ Read the story in the *Odyssey*, or in Vol. I, No. 37, of Davis' *Readings*.

² The *Iliad* opens with the story of a pestilence, which almost drove the Greeks from Troy. The poet ascribes it to the anger of the Sun-god, Apollo, who shot his arrows upon the camp. Little wonder that the sun's rays, in a warm climate, should produce pestilence, under such conditions!

murdered in cold blood, unless they could tempt the victor to spare them for ransom. Female captives, even princesses, expected no better fate than slavery.

On the other hand, there are hints of natural and happy family life, of joyous festivals, and games and dances, and of wholesome, contented work.¹

110. *Occupations.* — *The mass of the people were small farmers,* though their houses were grouped in villages.² Even the kings tilled their farms, in part at least, with their own hands. Odysseus can drive the oxen at the plow and “cut a clean furrow”; and when the long days begin he can mow all day with the crooked scythe, “pushing clear until late eventide.” *Slaves were few,* except about the great chiefs. There they served as household servants and as farm hands; and they seem to have been treated kindly.³ There had appeared, however, *a class of miserable landless freemen,* who hired themselves to farmers. When the ghost of Achilles (the invincible Greek chieftain) wishes to name to Odysseus the most unhappy lot among mortals, he selects that of the hired servant (§ 112).

Artisans and smiths were found among the retainers of the great chiefs. They were highly honored, but their skill was far inferior to that of the Cretan age. Some shields and inlaid weapons of that earlier period had passed into the hands of the Achaeans; and these were always spoken of as the work of Hephaestus, the god of fire and of metal work.

A separate class of traders had not arisen. The chiefs, in the intervals of farm labor, turned to trading voyages now and then, and did not hesitate to increase their profits by *piracy.* It was no offense to ask a stranger whether he came as a pirate or for peaceful trade. (*Odyssey*, III, 60–70.)

¹ Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 35.

² For farm life, see an extract in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 39.

³ When Odysseus returned from his twenty years of war and wandering, he made himself known first to a faithful swineherd and one other servant — both slaves; and “They threw their arms round wise Odysseus and passionately kissed his face and neck. So likewise did Odysseus kiss their heads and hands.”

111. Religious Ideas.—It has been said above that the Achaeans brought in a new worship of the forces of nature. Their lively fancy *personified these in the forms and characters of men and women*—built in a somewhat more majestic mold than human men. The great gods lived on cloud-capped Mount Olympus, and passed their days in feasting and laughter and other pleasures. When the chief god, Zeus, slept, things sometimes went awry, for the other gods plotted against his plans. His wife Hera was exceedingly jealous—for which she had much reason—and the two had many a family wrangle. Some of the gods went down to aid their favorites in war, and were wounded by human weapons.

The twelve great Olympian deities were as follows (the Latin names are given in parentheses):—

Zeus (Jupiter), the supreme god; god of the sky; “father of gods and men.”

Poseidon (Neptune), god of the sea.

Apollo, the sun god; god of wisdom, poetry, prophecy, and medicine.

Ares (Mars), god of war.

Hephaestus (Vulcan), god of fire—the lame smith.

Hermes (Mercury), god of the wind; messenger; god of cunning, of thieves, and of merchants.

Hera (Juno), sister and wife of Zeus; queen of the sky.

Athene (Minerva), goddess of wisdom; female counterpart of Apollo.

Artemis (Diana), goddess of the moon, of maidens, and of hunting.

Aphrodite (Venus), goddess of love and beauty.

Demeter (Ceres), the earth goddess—controlling fertility.

Hestia (Vesta), the deity of the home; goddess of the hearth fire.

The Greeks thought also of all the world about them as peopled by a multitude of lesser local gods and demigods—spirits of spring and wood and river and hill—all of whom, too, they personified as glorious youths or maidens. Surely to give the gods beautiful human forms, rather than the revolting bodies of lower animals and reptiles (§ 24) was an advance, even though it fell far short of the noble religious ideas of the Hebrews and Persians. And in a multitude of legends the Greek poets gave to these gods a delightful charm, which has

made their stories a lasting possession of the world's culture,¹—and which indeed kept this worship alive among the later Greeks long after the primitive ideas in that worship were really outgrown. Even in the early period, noble religious thoughts sometimes appear. In the *Odyssey* the poet exclaims: “Verily, the blessed gods love not froward deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men.”

112. Ideas of a Future Life.—The Greeks believed in a place of terrible punishment (*Tartarus*) for a few great offenders *against the gods*, and in an *Elysium* of supreme pleasure for a very few others particularly favored by the gods. But for the mass of men the future life was to be “a washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth”—its pleasures and pains both shadowy. Thus Odysseus tells how he met Achilles in the home of the dead:—

“And he knew me straightway, *when he had drunk the dark blood* [of a sacrifice to the dead]; yea, and he wept aloud, and shed big tears as he stretched forth his hands in his longing to reach me. But it might not be, *for he had now no steadfast strength nor power at all in moving*, such as was aforetime in his supple limbs. . . . But lo, other spirits of the dead that be departed stood sorrowing, and each one asked of those that were dear to them.” — *Odyssey*, xi, 390 ff.

And in their discourse, Achilles exclaims sorrowfully:—

“Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, O great Odysseus. *Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another*, even with a lack-land man who had no great livelihood, *than bear sway among all the dead.*”

FOR FURTHER READING.—*Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 33–38 (most of these already referred to in footnotes). *Additional*: Bury, pp. 69–79.

¹ The legends of heroes and demigods, like Hercules, Theseus, and Jason, are retailed for young people charmingly by Hawthorne, Gayley, Guerber, and Kingsley. The stories have no historical value that could be made clear in a book like this; but every boy and girl should know them.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE ACHAEANS TO THE PERSIAN WARS

(1000-500 B.C.)

A NEW AGE

113. The Dorian Conquest.—The Achaean conquests closed about 1200 B.C. For two centuries Hellas was troubled only by the usual petty wars between small states. But, about 1000 B.C., the revival of culture was checked again for a hundred years by new destructive invasions from the north.

The new barbarians called themselves *Dorians*. They seem to have been closely allied in language to the Achaeans; and they were probably merely a rear guard which had stopped for two hundred years somewhere in northern Hellas. They conquered because they had adopted a new and better military organization. The Achaeans fought still in Homeric fashion, — the chiefs in chariots, and their followers as an unwieldy, ill-armed mob. The Dorians introduced the use of heavy-armed infantry, with long spears, in regular array and close ranks.

By 900 B.C., the movements of the tribes had ceased. The conquering Dorians had settled down, *mainly in the Peloponnesus*. This district had been the center of the Mycenaean and Achaean glory, but it now lost its leadership in culture. When civilization took a new start in Hellas, soon after 900, it was from new centers — *in Attica and in Asia Minor*.

114. Phoenician Influence.— *The civilization which the Achaeans and Dorians had destroyed at Mycenae and Crete was restored to them in part by the Phoenicians*. After the overthrow of Cretan power, Phoenicia for many centuries was the leading sea-power of the Mediterranean (1500-600 B.C.). Especially

among the islands and coasts of the Aegean, did her traders barter with the inhabitants (much as English traders did two hundred years ago with American Indians), tempting them with strange wares of small value, and counting it best gain of all if they could lure curious maidens on board their black ships for distant slave markets. In return, however, they made many an unintentional payment. Language shows that the Phoenicians gave to the Greeks the names (and so, no doubt, the use) of linen, myrrh, cinnamon, frankincense, soap, lyres, cosmetics, and writing tablets. The forgotten art of writing they introduced again, — this time with a true alphabet. *But the lively Hellenes were not slavish imitators.* Whatever the strangers brought them, they improved and made their own.

115. The Gap in our Knowledge. — The Dorians had no Homer, as the Achaeans had, nor did they leave magnificent monuments, as the Mycenaeans did. Accordingly, after Homer, there is a *blank in our knowledge for nearly five centuries*. Great changes, however, took place during these obscure centuries; and in a rough way we can see what they were, *by comparing Homeric Greece with the historic Greece that is revealed when the curtain rises again.*

This “rising of the curtain” took place about 650 B.C. By that time the Greeks had begun to use the alphabet freely. The next 150 years, however, merely continued movements which were already well under way; and the whole period, from the Dorian conquest to the year 500, can be treated as a unit (§§ 116 ff.).

To that half thousand years belonged six great movements. (1) The Hellenes awoke to a feeling that they were one people as compared with other peoples. (2) They extended Hellenic culture widely by colonization. (3) The system of government everywhere underwent great change. (4) Sparta became a great military power, whose leadership in war the other Greek states were willing to recognize. (5) Athens became a democracy. (6) A great intellectual development appeared, manifested in architecture, painting, sculpture, poetry, and philosophy.

Each of the six movements will be described briefly.

I. UNITY OF FEELING

116. Greeks came to think of all Hellenes as one race, compared with other peoples—in spite of many subdivisions among themselves. The *Iliad* does not make it clear whether Homer looked upon the Trojans as Greeks or not. Apparently he cared little about the question. Five hundred years later such a question would have been a first consideration to every Greek. The Greeks had not become one nation: that is, they had not come under the same government. But they had come to believe in a kinship with each other, to take pride in their common civilization, and to set themselves apart from the rest of the world. The three chief forces which had created this oneness of feeling were *language*, *literature*, and the *Olympian religion*, with its games and oracles.

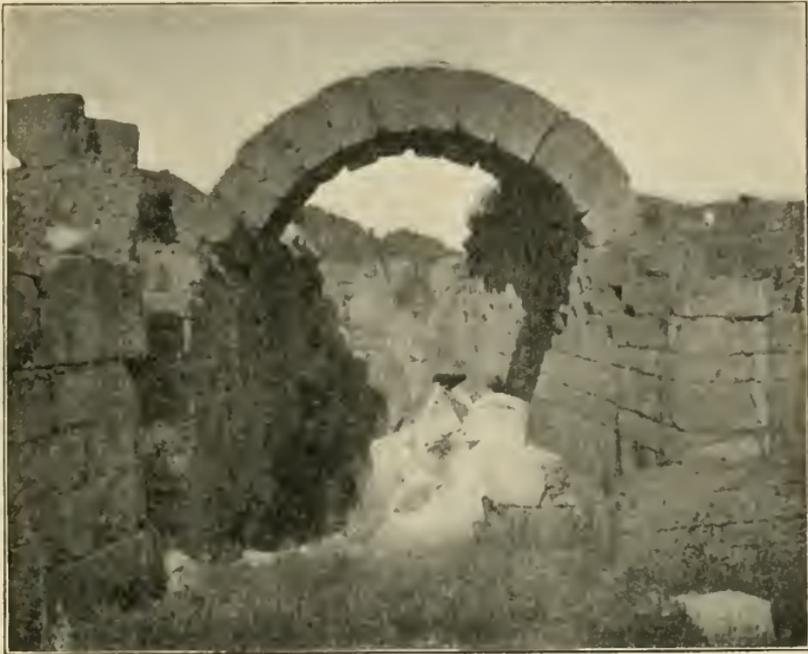
a. *The Greeks understood each other's dialects*, while the men of other speech about them they called "Barbarians," or babblers (*Bar'-bar-oi*). *This likeness of language made it possible for all Greeks to possess the same literature.* The poems of Homer were sung and recited in every village for centuries; and the universal pride in Homer, and in the glories of the later literature, had much to do in binding the Greeks into one people.

b. *The poets invented a system of relationship.* The first inhabitant of Hellas, they said, was a certain *Hellen*, who had three sons, Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Xuthus became the father of Achaëus and Ion. Aeolus, Dorus, Achaëus, and Ion were the ancestors of all Hellenes,—in the four great divisions, *Aeolians*, *Dorians*, *Achaëans*, and *Ionians*. *This system of fables made it easier for the Greeks to believe themselves connected by blood.*

c. Three special features of the Olympian religion helped to bind Greeks together, — the *Olympic Games*, the *Delphic Oracle*, and the various *Amphictyonies* (§§ 117, 118, 119).

117. **The Olympic Games.** — To the great festivals of some of the gods, men flocked from all Hellas. This was especially

true of the Olympic games. These were celebrated each fourth year at Olympia, in Elis, in honor of Zeus. The contests consisted of foot races, chariot races, wrestling, and boxing. The victors were felt to have won the highest honor open to any Greek. They received merely an olive wreath at Olympia; but at their homes they were honored with inscriptions and



RUINS OF THE ENTRANCE TO THE STADIUM (*athletic field*) AT OLYMPIA.

statues. Only Greeks could take part in the contests, and there was a strong feeling that all wars between Greek states should be suspended during the month of the festival.

To these games came merchants, to secure the best market for rare wares. Heralds proclaimed treaties there — as the best way to make them known through all Hellas. Poets, orators, and artists gathered there; and gradually the intellectual contests and exhibitions became the most important feature of the meeting. The oration or poem or statue which was praised

by the crowds at Olympia had received the approval of the most select and intelligent judges that could be brought together anywhere in the world.

These intellectual contests, however, did not become part of the sacred games. Nor was any prize given to the winner. The four-year periods between the games were called *Olympiads*. These periods finally became the Greek units in counting time: all events were dated from what was believed to be the first recorded Olympiad, beginning in 776 B.C. An *admirable account of the Olympic Games* is given in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 44. But the student will enjoy even more the vivid picture in Dr. Davis' novel, *A Victor of Salamis*.

118. The Delphic Oracle. — Apollo, the sun god, was also the god of prophecy. One of his chief temples was at Delphi, far up the slopes of Mount Parnassus, amid wild and rugged scenery. From a fissure in the ground, within the temple, volcanic gases poured forth. A priestess would, when desired, inhale the gas until she passed into a trance (or seemed to do so); and, while in this state, she was supposed to see into the future, by the aid of the god. *The advice of this "oracle" was sought by men and by governments throughout all Hellas.* (See further in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 41–43.)

119. Amphictyonies. — There was an ancient league of Greek tribes to protect the temple at Delphi. This was known as *the Amphictyonic League* (league of "dwellers-round-about"). Smaller amphictyonies, for the protection of other temples, were common in Greece. In early Greek history, they were the only hint of a movement toward a union of states. All these leagues, it is true, were strictly *religious* in purpose, and not at all like *political* unions. The Delphic Amphictyony, however, did in a way represent the whole Greek people. All important states sent delegates to its "Council," which held regular meetings; and every division of the Greek race felt that it had a share in the oracle and in its League.

120. Dorians and Ionians. — At the cost of some digression, this is the best place to note that through all later Greek history (after 600 B.C.) *the two leading races were the Dorians and the Ionians.* (See § 116 b. above.)

By 600 B.C. the Dorians had their chief strength in the Peloponnesus, while the Ionians held Attica and most of the islands of the Aegean. The Ionians seem to have been descendants of the original inhabitants of Greece, mixed with tribes of the Achaean invasion.

Athens was the leading city of the Ionians. The Athenians were seafarers and traders; they preferred a democratic government; they were open to new ideas — “always seeking some new thing”; and they were interested in art and literature. Sparta was the leading city of the Dorians. The Spartans were a military settlement of conquerors, in a fertile valley, organized for defense and ruling over slave tillers of the soil. They were *warriors*, not traders; *aristocratic*, not democratic; *conservative*, not progressive; *practical*, not artistic.

Some writers used to explain the differences between Athens and Sparta on the ground of *race*, and teach that all Ionians were *naturally* democratic and progressive, while all Dorians were *naturally* aristocratic and conservative. But it has been pointed out that Dorian colonies in Italy and Sicily (like Syracuse) resembled Athens more than they did Sparta. *Their physical surroundings were more like those of Athens, also.* To-day scholars look with suspicion upon all attempts to explain differences in civilization on the ground of inborn race tendencies. For Sparta and Athens, the explanation certainly is found mainly in the difference in physical surroundings.

II. EXPANSION BY COLONIZATION

121. First Period. — While Greek civilization was becoming more united in feeling, it was becoming more scattered in space. The old tribes which the Dorians drove out of the Peloponnesus jostled other tribes into motion all over Greece, and some of the fugitives carried the seeds of Greek culture more widely than before along the coasts of the Aegean.

This period of colonization lasted about a century, from 1000 to 900 B.C. Its most important fact was the Hellenizing of the western coast of Asia Minor. Some of this district had been Greek before; but now large reinforcements arrived from the main Greek peninsula, and all non-Hellenic tribes were subdued or driven out. Large bodies of Ionian refugees from the Peloponnesus had sought refuge in Ionian Attica. But Attica could not support them all; and soon they began to

cross the sea to Asia Minor. There they established themselves in twelve great cities, of which the most important were *Miletus* and *Ephesus*. The whole middle district of that coast took the name *Ionia*, and was united in an amphictyony.

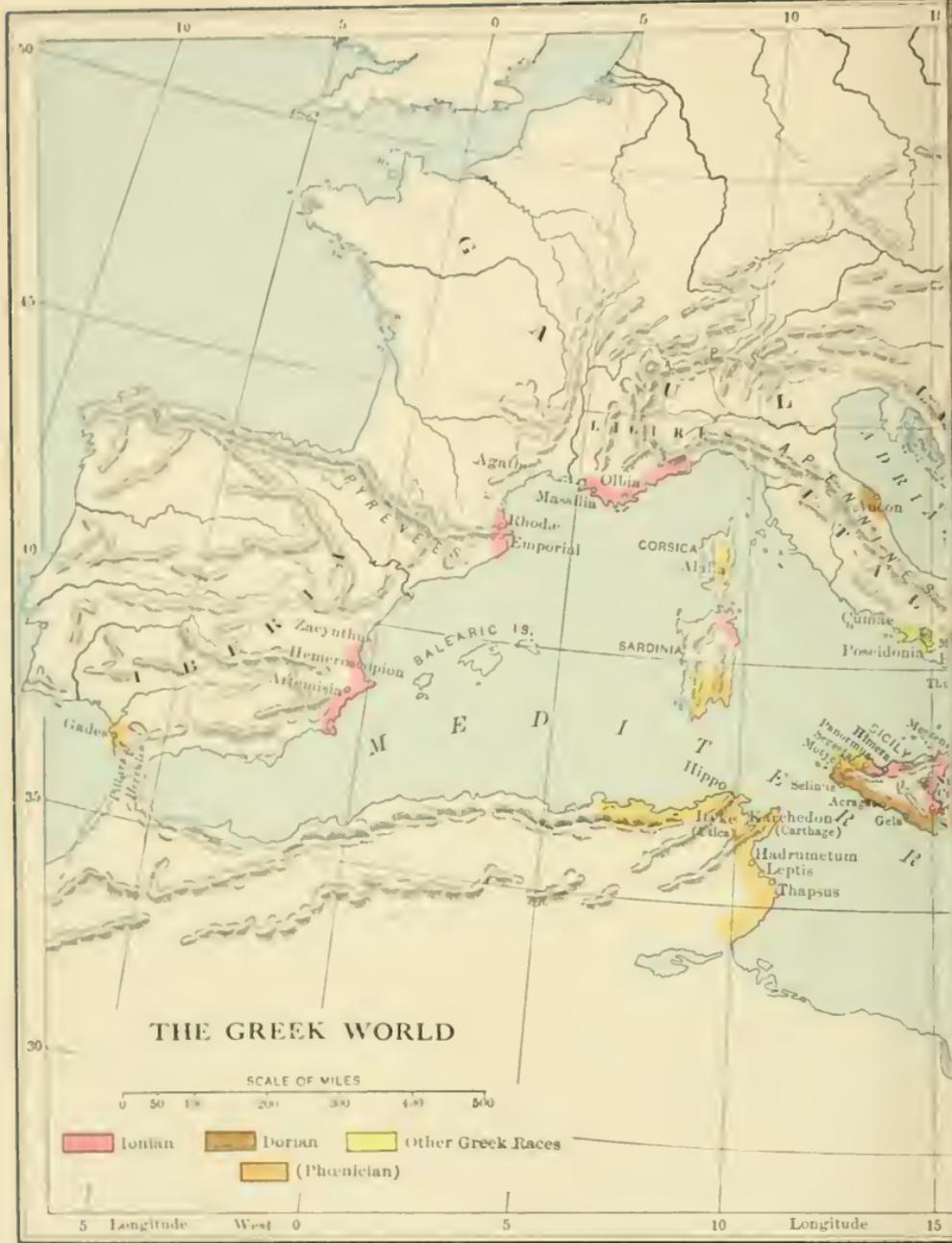
122. Second Period. — A century later, there began a still wider colonizing movement, which went on for two hundred years (800–600 B.C.), doubling the area of Hellas and spreading it far outside the old Aegean home. The cause this time was not war. Greek cities were growing anxious to seize the Mediterranean commerce from the Phoenicians. *The new colonies were founded largely for trading stations.*

Thus Miletus sent colony after colony to *the north shore of the Black Sea*, to control the corn trade there. Sixty Greek towns fringed that sea and its straits. The one city of Chalcis, in Euboea, planted thirty-two colonies *on the Thracian coast*, to secure the gold and silver mines of that region. On the west, *Sicily* became almost wholly Greek, and *southern Italy* took the proud name of *Magna Graecia* (Great Greece). Indeed, settlements were sown from end to end of the Mediterranean. Among the more important of the colonies were *Syracuse* in Sicily, *Tarentum*, *Sybaris*, and *Croton* in Italy, *Coreyra* near the mouth of the Adriatic, *Massilia* (Marseilles) in Gaul, *Olynthus* in Thrace, *Cyrene* in Africa, *Byzantium* at the Black Sea's mouth, and *Naucratis* in Egypt (§ 32).¹

123. Method of Founding Colonies. — Many motives besides the commercial assisted this movement. Sometimes a city found its population growing too fast for its grain supply. Often there was danger of class struggles, so that it seemed well to get rid of the more adventurous of the poorer citizens. Perhaps some daring youth of a noble family longed for a more active life than he found at home, and was glad to become the head of a new settlement on a distant frontier.

In any case the oracle at Delphi was first consulted. If the reply was favorable, announcements were made and volunteers

¹ Map study: on outline maps, or on the board, locate the districts and cities mentioned in §§ 121 and 122.



THE GREEK WORLD

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400 500

- Ionian
- Dorian
- Other Greek Races
- (Phoenician)

5 Longitude

West 0

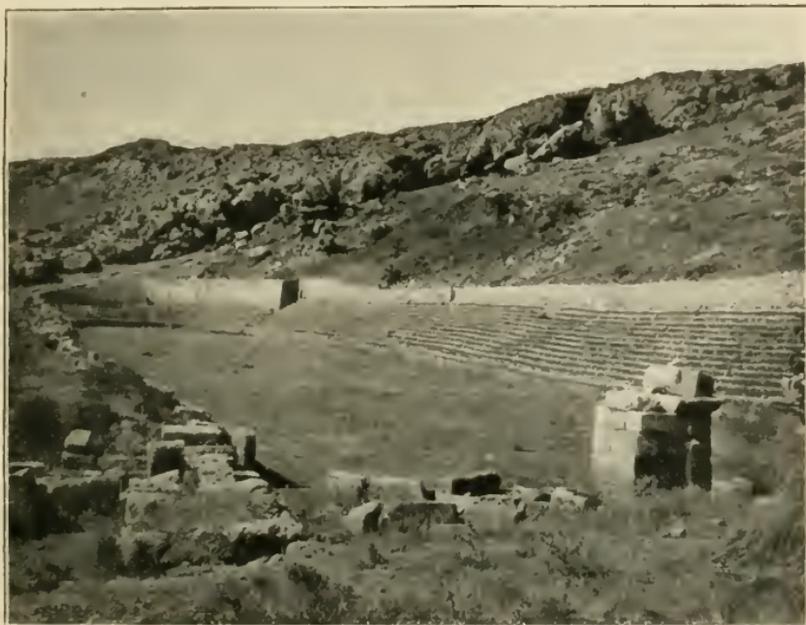
5

10

Longitude

15

were gathered for the expedition. The mother city always gave the sacred fire for the new city hearth, and appointed the "founder." This "founder" established the new settlement with religious rites and distributed the inhabitants, who thronged in from all sides, into *artificial* tribes and clans.



RUINS OF THE ATHLETIC FIELD AT DELPHI. Second only to the Olympic Games, and similar to them, was the Festival at Delphi in honor of Apollo.

The colonists ceased to be citizens of their old home, and the new city enjoyed complete independence. The colony recognized a religious connection with its "metropolis" (mother city), and of course there were often strong bonds of friendship between the two; but there was no political union between them — until Athens invented a new form of colony which will be described later (§ 148).

III. CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT

124. The Kings overthrown by Oligarchies. — Between 1000 and 500 B.C. the "kings" disappeared from every Greek city

except Sparta and Argos, and even in those cities they lost most of their old power. The change was the work of the nobles; and that class divided the royal power among themselves. Monarchies gave way to oligarchies.

A Homeric king, we have seen, had three kinds of duties: he was *war chief*, *judge*, and *priest*. The office of war chief could least safely be left to the accident of birth. Accordingly the nobles took away this part of the king's duties first, turning it over to officers whom they elected from among themselves. Then, as judicial work increased with the growth of city life, special judges were chosen to take over that part of the king's work. The priestly dignity was connected most closely with family descent (§§ 101, 102): therefore it was left longest a matter of inheritance.

This, then, was the general order of the changes by which *the rule of one man became the rule of "the few."* The process was gradual; the means and occasion varied. A contest between two rivals for the throne, or the dying out of a royal line, or a weak king or a minor, — any of these conditions made it easy for the nobles to encroach upon the royal power.

125. Oligarchies overthrown by Tyrants. — Originally, the aristocratic element consisted of the council of clan elders (§ 106), but with time it had become modified in many ways. Sometimes the families of a few great chiefs had come to overshadow the rest. In other places, groups of conquering families ruled the descendants of the conquered. Sometimes, perhaps, wealth *helped* to draw the line between "the few" and "the many." At all events, *there was in all Greek cities a sharp line between two classes*, — one calling itself "the few," "the good," "the noble"; and another called by these "the many," "the bad," "the base."

"The few" had succeeded the kings. "The many" were oppressed and misgoverned, and they began to clamor for relief. They were too ignorant as yet to maintain themselves against the intelligent and better united "few"; but the way was prepared for them by the "tyrants" (§ 126).

Why does it matter who controls the government? The student should begin to think upon this matter. Government is not a matter of dignity mainly, but a very practical matter. It touches our daily life very closely. In one of our States, for many years past, a certain railroad has controlled the legislature. Therefore it has escaped taxation, for the most part, upon its immense wealth; and every poor man in the State has had to pay unduly high taxes in consequence, leaving less money for his children's shoes and books. The same railroad has been permitted to charge exorbitant rates on freight. Every farmer has received too little for his wheat; and every citizen has paid too much for flour. So for forty years, in our own day and country, big business interests have striven constantly to own congress and legislatures and judges and governors, so as to get or keep monopolies or tariff advantages or other special privileges, by which they have heaped up riches — which, in the long run, have been drawn from the homes of the working people. In early society, class distinctions are drawn more sharply, and class rule was even more tyrannical. "The few" are usually wiser than "the many"; but all history proves that class rule by "the good" is sure to be a selfish, bad rule.

126. "Tyrants" pave the Way for Democracies. — Before 500 B.C. every city in the Greek peninsula, except Sparta, had its tyrant, or had had one. In the outlying parts of Hellas, tyrants were common through later history also, but by the year 500 they had disappeared from the main peninsula; and so the *two centuries from 700 to 500 B.C. are sometimes called the "Age of Tyrants."*

In Greek history a tyrant is not necessarily a bad or cruel ruler: he is simply a man who by force seizes supreme power. But arbitrary rule was hateful to the Greeks, and the murder of a tyrant seemed to them a good act. Sometimes, too, the selfishness and cruelty of such rulers justified the detestation which still clings to the name. But at the worst the tyrants seem to have been a necessary evil, to break down the greater evil of the selfish oligarchies. Many tyrants were generous, far-sighted rulers, building public works, developing trade, patronizing art and literature; but their main value in history was this: *they paved the way for democracy.*

Sometimes a tyrant had been an ambitious noble ; sometimes a man of the people, by birth. In either case, he usually won his mastery by coming forward, in some crisis of civil strife, as the champion of "the many." When he had made himself tyrant of his city, he surrounded himself with paid soldiers ; but he sought also to keep the favor of the masses, who had helped him to the throne. The nobles he could not conciliate. These he burdened with taxes, oppressed, exiled, and murdered. The story goes that Periander, tyrant of Corinth, sent to the tyrant of Miletus to ask his advice in government. The Milesian took the messenger through a grain field, striking off the finest and tallest ears as they walked, and sent him back without other answer.

Thus when the tyrants themselves were overthrown, democracy had a chance. The nobles were weaker than before, and the people had gained confidence. In the Ionian cities, the next step was usually a democratic government. In Dorian parts of Greece, more commonly there followed an aristocracy. But this was always much broader, and less objectionable, than the older oligarchies. The tyrants had done their work effectively.¹

This, then, was the *general order* of change : the kings give way to oligarchies ; the oligarchies are overthrown by tyrants ; and the tyrants, unintentionally, prepare the way for the rule of the people. We shall now trace the changes, with more detail, in the two leading cities of Hellas,—Sparta and Athens. *The first had less change than any other city. The second led the movement.*

IV. RISE OF SPARTA TO MILITARY HEADSHIP

127. Changes in Early Sparta.—The invading Dorians founded many petty states in the Peloponnesus. For a time one of the weakest of these was Sparta. Her territory covered only a

¹ EXERCISE.—Contrast the "tyrants" with the Homeric kings,—as to origin of power ; as to limitation by custom and public opinion ; as to security in their positions.

few square miles. It was shut off from the sea, and it was surrounded by powerful neighbors.

The later Spartans attributed their rise from these conditions to the reforms of a certain *Lycurgus*. Certainly, about the year 900, whether the reformer's name was Lycurgus or not, the Spartans adopted peculiar institutions which made them a marked people. The new laws and customs disciplined and hardened them; and they soon entered upon a brilliant career of conquest. Before 700, they had subdued all Laconia; before 650, Messenia also; while the other states of the Peloponnesus, except hostile Argos, had become their allies.

128. Government. — Sparta had *two kings*. An old legend explained this peculiar arrangement as due to the birth of twin princes. At all events in this city the royal power was weakened by division, and so the nobles were less tempted to abolish it.

There was also a *Senate* of thirty elders. In practice, this body was the most important part of the government. The kings held two of the seats, and the people elected the twenty-eight other senators.

No one under sixty years of age could be chosen. The candidates were led through the Assembly in turn, and as each passed, the people shouted. Judges, shut up in a room from which they could not see the candidates, listened to the shouts and gave the vacancy to the one whose appearance had called out the loudest welcome. Aristotle, a later Greek writer, calls this method "childish"; but it has an interesting relation to our *viva-voce* voting, where a chairman decides, in the first instance, by noise.

A *popular Assembly* of all Spartans chose senators and other officers, and decided important matters laid before it — subject to a veto by the Senate. The Assembly had no right to introduce new measures, and the *common* Spartan could not even take part in the debate.

About 725 B.C. new magistrates, called *Ephors*, became the chief rulers. Five Ephors were chosen each year by the Assembly, and any Spartan might be elected. The Ephors called the Assembly, presided over it, and acted as judges in all important matters. One or two of them accompanied the king in war,

with power to control his movements, and even to arrest him and put him to death. In practice, *the Ephors acted as the servants of the Senate*, which indeed really *controlled* the nominations and elections of these officers.

To the Greeks, all delegation of power, even to officers elected for short terms, seemed undemocratic. They would not have called our government by President, Congress, and Supreme Court a democracy at all. Our government is sometimes called a "*representative democracy*." To the Greeks, democracy always meant "*direct democracy*,"—a government in which each freeman took somewhat the same part that a member of Congress does with us—a system such that each citizen voted, not occasionally, to elect representatives, but constantly, on all matters of importance,—which matters he might also discuss in the ruling Assembly of his city. Even one of our State governments with the "initiative" and "referendum" would have seemed to the Greek a very mild sort of "*direct democracy*." By his standard, Sparta was exceedingly aristocratic.

129. *Classes in Laconia.*—Moreover, *the Spartans as a whole were a ruling class in the midst of subjects eight or ten times their number.* They were simply a camp of some nine thousand conquerors (with their families) living under arms in their unwallled city. They were wholly given to camp life. They had taken to themselves the most fertile lands in Laconia, but they did no work. Each man's land was tilled by certain slaves, or *Helots*.

The Helots numbered four or five to one Spartan. They were slaves, not to individual Spartans, but to the government. Besides tilling the Spartan lands, they furnished light-armed troops in war; but they were a constant danger. A secret police of active Spartan youth busied itself in detecting plots among them, and sometimes carried out secret massacres of the more intelligent and ambitious slaves.

Indeed it was *lawful* for any Spartan to kill a Helot without trial; and sometimes crowds of Helots vanished mysteriously when their numbers threatened Spartan safety. On one occasion, in the great struggle with Athens in the fifth cen-

ture (§§ 192 ff.), the Spartans gave the Helots heavy armor, but afterward they became terrified at the possible consequences. Thucydides (the Greek historian of that period) tells how they met the danger:—

“They proclaimed that a selection would be made of those Helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Spartans in the war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them: it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited and most likely to rise against their masters. So [the Spartans] selected about two thousand, who were crowned with garlands, and went in procession round the temples. They [the Helots] were supposed to have received their liberty, *but not long afterwards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any of them came to their end.*”

The inhabitants of the hundred small subject towns of Laconia were free men, *but they were not part of the Spartan state.* They kept their own customs and shared in the government of their cities, under the supervision of Spartan rulers. They tilled lands of their own, and they carried on such trades and commerce as existed in Laconia.

These subject Laconians were three or four to one Spartan; and they furnished, in large measure, the heavy-armed soldiers of the Spartan army. The Ephors could put them to death without trial, but they seem, as a rule, to have been well treated and well content.

Thus the inhabitants of Laconia were of three classes: *a small ruling body of warriors, living in one central settlement; a large class of cruelly treated, rural serfs, to till the soil for these aristocratic soldiers; another large class of well-treated subjects, — town-dwellers, — who, however, had no share in the Spartan government.*

130. “**Spartan Discipline.**” — Sparta kept its mastery in Laconia by sleepless vigilance and by a rigid discipline. That discipline is sometimes praised as “the Spartan training.” Its sole aim was to make soldiers. It succeeded in this; but it was harsh and brutal.

The family, as well as the man, belonged absolutely to the state. The Ephors examined each child, at its birth, to decide whether it was fit to live. If it seemed weak or puny, it was exposed in the mountains to die. The father and mother could not save it. If it was strong and healthy, it was returned to its parents for a few years. But after a boy reached the age of seven, he never again slept under his mother's roof: he was taken from home, to be trained with other boys under public officers, until he was twenty.

The boys were taught reading and a little martial music, but they were given no other mental culture. The main purpose of their education was to harden and strengthen the body and to develop self-control and obedience. On certain festival days, boys were whipped at the altars to test their endurance; and Plutarch (a Greek writer of the second century A.D.) states that they often died under the lash rather than utter a cry. This custom was much like the savage "sun-dance" of some American Indian tribes. Indeed, several features of Spartan life that are ascribed by legend to Lysurgus seem rather to have been survivals of a barbarous period that the Spartans never wholly outgrew.

From twenty to thirty, the youth lived under arms in barracks. There he was one of a mess of fifteen. From his land he had to provide his part of the barley meal, cheese, and black broth, with meat on holidays, for the company's food. The mess drilled and fought side by side, so that in battle each man knew that his daily companions and friends stood about him. These many years of constant military drill made it easy for the Spartans to adopt more complex tactics than were possible for their neighbors. They were trained in small regiments and companies, so as to maneuver readily at the word of command. This made them superior in the field. They stood to the other Greeks as disciplined soldiery always stand to untrained militia.

At thirty the man was required to marry, in order to rear more soldiers; but he must still eat in barracks, and live there

most of the time. He had no real home. Said an Athenian, "The Spartan's life is so unendurable that it is no wonder he throws it away lightly in battle."

There was certain virtue, no doubt, in this training. The Spartans had the quiet dignity of born rulers. In contrast with the noisy Greeks all about them, their speech was brief and pithy ("laconic" speech). They used only iron money. And their plain living made them appear superior to the weak indulgences of other men. After the introduction of Ephors, their form of government did not change for five hundred years; and this changeless character called forth admiration from the other Greeks, who were accustomed to kaleidoscopic revolutions. Spartan women, too, kept a freedom which unhappily was lost in other Greek cities. Girls were trained in gymnastics, much as boys were; and the women were famous for beauty and health, and for public spirit and patriotism.

131. The value of the Spartans to the world lay in the fact that *they made a garrison for the rest of Greece*, and helped save something better than themselves. In themselves, they were hard, ignorant, narrow. They did nothing for art, literature, science, or philosophy. *If the Greeks had all been Spartans, we could afford to omit the study of Greek history.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — All students should read the charming account of Spartan customs contained in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*. Davis' *Readings* has several pages of extracts from the more valuable part.

EXERCISE. — Name the three classes of people in Laconia. Which one alone had full political rights? What were the four parts of the government? State the powers of each.

V. BEGINNING OF DEMOCRACY AT ATHENS

132. Consolidation of Attica. — *Athens was the only city in Attica* — a considerable territory. Like Sparta, Athens was the result of more consolidation than was common with Greek cities. In other districts as large as Attica or Laconia there were always groups of independent cities. Boeotia, for instance, contained twelve cities, jealous of one another; and Thebes,

the largest among them, could at best hope for only a limited leadership over her rivals.

In Attica, before history really began, the beginnings of several cities had been consolidated in one (§ 103). Indeed, consolidation had been carried even farther than with Sparta. Athens was the *home* of all the free inhabitants of Attica, not merely the *camp* of one ruling tribe.

133. Favorable Conditions. — Attica is one of the most easily defended districts of all Greece — against any force not absolutely overwhelming. It is a peninsula; and on the two land sides, where it borders Megaris and Boeotia, it is reached only through fairly difficult passes. These facts explain, in part, why Attica was the one spot of southern Greece not overrun by conquerors at the time of the Dorian migration. Naturally, it became a refuge for Ionian clans driven from the Peloponnesus. The richest and strongest of these were adopted into the tribes of Attica. Others became dependants. The frequent and peaceful introduction of new blood helped to make the people progressive and open to outside influence.

134. Decline of the Homeric Kingship. — Like other Greek cities, Athens lost her kings in the dim centuries before we have any real history. The nobles began to restrict the royal power about 1000 B.C. The king's title had been *king-archon*. Alongside the king-archon the nobles first set up, from among themselves, a *war-archon* (*polemarch*). Then they created a *chief-archon*, usually called *the Archon*, to act as judge and as chief executive of the government. After that, the king-archon was only the city-priest. In 752, the office was made elective, for ten-year terms. For some time longer the king-archon was always chosen from the old royal family; but finally the office was thrown open to any noble. At last, in 682 B.C., the archons were all made annual officers, and the number was increased to nine, because of the growing judicial work.

135. Rule by the Nobles. — The nobles were known as *Eupatrids* (well-born). They were the chiefs of the numerous clans in Attica. Their council was called *the Areopagus*, from the

name of the hill where it met. The Areopagus chose the archons (from nobles, of course), and ruled Attica. The other tribesmen had even less influence than in Homeric times. *They no longer had a political Assembly.*

136. Economic¹ Oppression. — The nobles tyrannized over the common tribesmen in economic matters. *Most of the land had come to belong to the nobles.* They tilled it mainly by tenants, who paid *five sixths* of the produce for rent. A bad season or hostile ravages compelled these tenants to borrow seed or food, and to mortgage themselves for payment. If a debtor failed to pay promptly, he and his family could be dragged off in chains and sold into slavery.

Besides the great landlords and their tenants, there was a class of small farmers owning their own lands; but often these men also were obliged to borrow of the nobles. In consequence, many of them passed into the condition of tenants. Aristotle (a later Greek writer) says: —

“The poor with their wives and children were the very bondsmen of the rich, who named them Sixth-men, because it was for this wage they tilled the land. The entire land was in the hands of a few. If the poor failed to pay their rents they were liable to be haled into slavery. . . . They were discontented also with every other feature of their lot, for, to speak generally, *they had no share in anything.*” — *Constitution of Athens*, 2.

137. The first advance was to base political power in part upon wealth. The supremacy of the nobles had rested largely on their superiority in war. They composed the “knights,” or heavy-armed cavalry of Attica. In comparison with this cavalry, the early foot soldiery was only a light-armed mob. But, before 650, the Athenians adopted the Dorian plan of a heavy-armed infantry (“hoplites”), with shield, helmet, and long spear. *The serried ranks of this infantry proved able to repel cavalry.* The importance of the nobles in war declined, and there followed some decrease in their political power.

¹ “Economic” means “with reference to property,” or “with reference to the way of getting a living.” The word must not be confused with “economical.”

Each man furnished his own arms for war. So, in order that each might know just what military service was required from him, all tribesmen were divided into **four classes**, *according to their yearly income from land*.¹ The first and second classes (the richest ones) were obliged to serve as knights, or cavalry. Doubtless at first these were all nobles. The third class were to arm themselves as hoplites. The fourth class were called into the field less often, and only as light-armed troops.



GREEK SOLDIER.

This "census" was *designed only to regulate service in the army*, but it became a basis for the *distribution of political power*. All the heavy-armed soldiery — the three higher classes — came to have the right to vote on questions of peace and war, and in time they grew into a *new political Assembly*. This Assembly elected archons and other officers.

Thus political rights ceased to be based wholly on birth, and became partly a matter of wealth.

138. Civil Strife. — In general, however, the nobles seemed almost as safely entrenched under the new system by their wealth as they had been before by birth. Their rule continued selfish and incompetent; and nothing had been done to cure the sufferings of the poor. The people grew more and more bitter; and, at length, ambitious adventurers began to try to overthrow the oligarchy and make themselves tyrants. One young conspirator, *Cylon*, with his forces, actually seized the *Aeropolis*, the citadel of Athens. The nobles rallied, and *Cylon* was defeated; but the ruling oligarchy had received a fright, and they now made a great concession (§ 139).

¹ 500-measure men, 300-measure men, 200-measure men, and those whose income was less than 200 measures of wheat. (The Greek "measure" was a little more than half a bushel.)

139. Draco: Written Laws. — Until 621 B.C., Athenian law had been a matter of *ancient custom*. It was not written down, and much of it was known only to the nobles. All judges, of course, were nobles; and they abused their power in order to favor their own class. Therefore the Athenians clamored for a written code. They did not ask yet for *new laws*, but only that the old laws might be definitely fixed and known to all.

The nobles had long resisted this demand. But in 621, after the attempt of Cylon, they consented that *Draco*, one of the archons, should draw up a written code. This was done; and the "laws of Draco" were engraved on wooden blocks and set up where all might see them. Draco did not make new laws: he merely put old customs into fixed written form. The result was to make men feel how harsh and unfit the old laws were, — "*written in blood rather than ink*," as was said in a later age. The Athenians now demanded new laws.

140. Solon. — Just at this time Athens produced a rare man who was to render her great service. *Solon* was a descendant of the old kings. In his youth he had been a trader to other lands, even going as far as Egypt (§ 23). He was already famous as a poet, a general, and a philosopher; and he was to show himself also a statesman.

Solon's patriotism had been proven. At one time the internal quarrels had so weakened Athens that little Megara had captured Salamis. In control of this island, it was easy for Megara to seize ships trying to enter the Athenian ports. Efforts to recover this important place failed miserably; and, in despair, the Athenians had voted to put to death any one who should again propose the attempt. Solon shammed madness, — to claim a crazy man's privilege, — and, appearing suddenly in the Assembly, recited a warlike, patriotic poem which roused his countrymen to fresh efforts. Solon was made general; and he recovered Salamis and saved Athens from ruin.

Now, in peril of civil war, the city turned naturally to Solon. He was known to sympathize with the poor. In his poems he had blamed the greed of the nobles and had pleaded for reconciliation between the classes. All trusted him, and the poor loved him. He was elected *Archon, with special authority*, to

make new laws and to remodel the government. This office he held for two years, 594 and 593 B.C.

141. The "Shaking-off of Burdens."—The first year Solon swept away economic evils. *Three measures righted past wrongs:*—

a. The old tenants were given full ownership of the lands which they had formerly cultivated for the nobles.¹

b. All debts were canceled so as to give a new start.

c. All Athenians in slavery in Attica were freed.

Two measures aimed to prevent a return of old evils:—

d. It was made illegal to reduce Athenians to slavery.

e. To own more than a certain quantity of land was forbidden.

In later times the whole people celebrated these acts of Solon each year by a "Festival of the Shaking-off of Burdens."

142. Political Reform.—These economic changes resulted in political change, since political power was already based upon landed property. Up to the time of Solon, the nobles had owned most of the land. But now much of it had been *given* to the poor, and henceforth it was easy for any rich man to *buy* land. Many merchants now rose into the first class, while many nobles sank into other classes. Soon, the Eupatrid name disappeared.

Moreover, in the second year of his Archonship, *Solon introduced direct political changes which went far toward making Athens a democracy.*

a. A Senate was created, to prepare measures for the Assembly to act upon. The members were chosen each year *by lot*,² so that neither wealth nor birth could control the election. This new part of the government became the *guiding* part.

b. The Assembly (§ 137) was enlarged both as to size and

¹ In one of his poems, Solon speaks of "freeing the enslaved land," by removing the stone pillars which had marked the nobles' ownership.

² The lot in elections was regarded as an appeal to the gods, and its use was accompanied by religious sacrifices and by prayer. The early Puritans in New England sometimes used the lot in a similar way.

power. The "fourth class" (light-armed soldiery) were admitted to vote in it — though they were not allowed to hold office of any kind. This enlarged Assembly of all Athenian tribesmen *discussed* the proposals of the Senate and *decided* upon them; *elected* the archons; and *could try them for misgovernment* at the end of their year of office.

c. The Areopagus was no longer a council of nobles only. *It was composed of ex-archons.* Thus, it was elected, indirectly, by the Assembly. It had lost most of its powers to the Senate and Assembly; but it remained a court to try murder cases, and to exercise a supervision over the morals of the citizens, with power to impose fines for extravagance, insolence, or gluttony.

143. Additional Measures. — Solon also replaced Draco's bloody laws with a milder code; introduced a coinage (§ 70); made it the duty of each father to teach his son a trade; limited the wealth that might be buried with the dead; and restricted women from appearing in public.

144. The sixth century B.C. was one of great progress in Athens.

In 682 B.C., a few noble families still owned most of the soil, possessed all political power, and held the rest of the people in virtual slavery.

In 593 B.C., when Solon laid down his office, nearly all Athenian tribesmen were landowners. All were members of the political Assembly, which decided public questions.

Some elements of aristocracy were left. To hold office, a man had to possess enough wealth to belong to one of the three higher classes, and some offices were open only to the wealthiest class. But if this Athenian progress seems slow to us, we must remember that in nearly all the American states, for some time after the Revolutionary War, important offices and the right to vote were open only to men with property.

145. Anarchy Renewed. — The reforms of Solon did not end the fierce strife of factions. Bitter feuds followed between the *Plain* (wealthy landowners), the *Shore* (merchants), and the *Mountain* (shepherds and small farmers). Twice within ten years disorder prevented the election of archons.

146. *Pisistratus*, 560-527. — From such anarchy the city was saved by *Pisistratus*. In 560 B.C.¹ this noble made himself tyrant, by help of the Mountain (the most democratic faction). Twice the aristocracy drove him into exile, once for ten years. But each time he recovered his power, almost without bloodshed, because of the favor of the poorer people.

His rule was mild and wise. He lived simply, like other citizens. He even appeared in a law court, to answer in a suit against him. And he always treated the aged Solon (his kinsman) with deep respect, despite the latter's bitter opposition. Indeed, *Pisistratus governed through the forms of Solon's constitution*,² and enforced Solon's laws, *taking care only to have his own friends elected to the chief offices*. He was more like the "boss" of a great political "machine" than like a "tyrant." During the last period of his rule, however, he did banish many nobles and guarded himself by mercenary soldiers.

Pisistratus encouraged commerce; enlarged and beautified Athens; built roads, and an aqueduct to bring a supply of water to the city from the hills; and drew to his court a brilliant circle of poets, painters, architects, and sculptors, from all Hellas. The first written edition of the Homeric poems is said to have been put together under his encouragement. During this same time, *Anacreon* (§ 155) wrote his graceful odes at Athens, and *Thespis* (§ 155) began Greek tragedy at the magnificent festivals there instituted to Dionysus (god of wine). The tyrant gave new splendor to the public worship, and set up rural festivals in various parts of Attica, to make country life more attractive. He divided the confiscated estates of banished nobles among landless freemen, and thus increased the number of peasant landholders. Attica was no longer torn by dissension.

"Not only was he in every respect humane and mild and ready to forgive those who offended, but in addition he advanced money to the poorer people to help them in their labors.

¹ Two years before Cyrus became king of Persia.

² *Constitution*, here and everywhere in early history, means not a written document, as with us, but the general usages of government in practice.

“For the same reason [to make rural life attractive] he instituted local justices, and often made expeditions in person into the country to inspect it, and to settle disputes between persons, that they might not come to the city and neglect their farms. It was in one of these progresses, as the story goes, that Pisistratus had his adventure with the man in the district of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as the ‘Tax-free Farm.’ He saw a man digging at very stony ground with a stake, and sent and asked what he got out of such a plot of land. ‘Aches and pains,’ said the man, ‘and out of these Pisistratus must get his tenth.’ Pisistratus was so pleased with the man’s frank speech and industry that he granted him exemption from taxes.”—ARISTOTLE, *Constitution of Athens*, 17.

147. Expulsion of the Son of Pisistratus, 510 B.C. — In 527, Pisistratus was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Hipparchus, the younger brother, lived an evil life, and in 514 he was murdered because of a private grudge.¹ The rule of Hippias had been kindly, but now he grew cruel and suspicious, and Athens became ready for revolt.

Clisthenes, one of a band of exiled nobles, saw his opportunity to regain his home. The temple of Apollo at Delphi had just been burned, and Clisthenes engaged to rebuild it. He did so with great magnificence, using the finest of marble where the contract had called only for common limestone. After this, whenever the Spartans consulted the oracle, no matter what the occasion, they were always ordered by the priestess to “*first set free the Athenians.*” The Spartans had no quarrel with Hippias; but repeated commands from such a source could not be disregarded. In 510, a reluctant Spartan army, with the Athenian exiles, expelled the tyrant.

148. Vigor of Free Athens. — The Athenians were now in confusion again; but they were stronger than before the rule of Pisistratus, and better able to govern themselves. The oligarchy strove to regain its ancient control; but Clisthenes wisely threw his strength upon the side of the people, and drove out the oligarchs. The Thebans and Euboeans seized

¹ Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 53, gives the patriotic song of Athens that commemorated this event.

this time of confusion to invade Attica from two sides at once; but they were routed by a double engagement in one day. A Spartan army restored the oligarchs for a moment, but was itself soon besieged in the Acropolis and captured by the aroused democracy.

A century later an Athenian dramatist (Aristophanes, § 221) portrayed the Athenian exultation (and hinted some differences between Athenian and Spartan life) in the following lines:—

. . . “ For all his loud fire-eating,
The old Spartan got a beating,
And, in sorry plight retreating,
Left his spear and shield with me.
Then, with only his poor shirt on,
And who knows what years of dirt on,
With a bristling bush of beard,
He slunk away and left us free.”

The Athenians had enjoyed little fame in war, “but now,” says Aristotle, “they showed that men will fight more bravely for themselves than for a master.” Indeed, they were not content simply to defend themselves. Chalcis in Euboea was stormed, and its trade with Thrace (§ 122) fell to Athens.

Athens now began a new kind of colonization, sending four thousand citizens to possess the best land of Chalcis, and to serve as a garrison there. These men retained full Athenian citizenship. They were known as cleruchs, or out-settlers. In this way Athens found land for her surplus population, and fortified her influence abroad.

During these struggles, Clisthenes proposed further reforms in the government. The people adopted his proposals, *and so made Athens a true democracy.* (See §§ 149-152.)

149. There were four main evils for Clisthenes to remedy.

a. The constitution of Solon, though a great advance toward democracy, *had left the government still largely in the hands of the rich.* The poorest “class” (*which contained at least half of*

all the citizens) could not hold office; and the Assembly had not learned how to use its new powers.

b. The jealousy between the Plain, the Shore, and the Mountain (§ 145) still caused great confusion.

c. All voting was by clans; and there was strong temptation for each clan merely to rally around its own chief.

d. There was a bitter jealousy between the Athenian tribesmen (the citizens) and a large body of non-citizens. The presence of these calls for a further explanation.

150. The Non-citizen Class. — Solon's reforms had concerned tribesmen only. But in the ninety years between Solon and Clisthenes, *the growing trade of Athens had drawn many aliens there.* These men were enterprising and sometimes wealthy; but though they lived in the city, *they had no share in it.* No alien could vote or hold office, or sue in a law court (except through the favor of some citizen), or take part in a religious festival, or marry an Athenian, or even own land in Attica. The city might find it worth while to protect his property, in order to attract other strangers; but he had no secure rights. *Nor could his son, or his son's son, or any later descendant acquire any rights merely by continuing to live in Athens.*

A like condition was found in other Greek cities; but rarely were the aliens so large or so wealthy a class as in commercial Athens. Discontent might at any moment make them a danger. Clisthenes' plan was to take them into the state, and so make them strengthen it.

151. Geographical Tribes. — *Clisthenes began his work by marking off Attica into a hundred divisions, called demes.* Each citizen was enrolled in one of these, and his son after him. *Membership in a clan* had always been the proof of citizenship. Now that proof was to be found in this *deme-enrollment.*

The hundred demes were distributed among ten "tribes," or wards; but the ten demes of each tribe were not located close together. *They were scattered as widely as possible,* so as to include different interests. Voting in the Assembly was no longer by the old blood tribes, but by these ten new "territorial"

tribes. By this one device, Clisthenes remedied three of the four great evils of the time (*b, c, d*, in § 149).

(1) A clan could no longer act as a unit, since its members made parts, perhaps, of several "tribes." So the influence of the clan chiefs declined. (2) Men of the Shore and of the Mountain often found themselves united in the same tribe, and the old factions died out. (3) While Clisthenes was distributing citizens among the new geographical units, *he seized the chance to enroll the non-citizens also in the demes.* Thus, fresh, progressive influences were again adopted into Athenian life.

It must not be supposed, however, that aliens *continued* to gain admission in the future, as with us, by easy naturalization. The act of Clisthenes *applied only to those then in Athens, and to their descendants.* In a few years another alien class grew up, with all the old disadvantages.

152. The Assembly kept its old powers, and gained new ones. It began to deal with foreign affairs, taxation, and the details of campaigns. It no longer confined itself to proposals from the "Council of Five Hundred" (the new name for the Senate). Any citizen could move amendments or introduce new business. The Assembly now elected *ten "generals"* yearly, who took over most of the old authority of the archons.

These new arrangements corrected much of the first evil noted in § 149. *The "fourth class" of citizens was still not eligible to office.* Otherwise, Athens had become a democracy. To be sure, it took some time for the Assembly to realize its full power and to learn how to control its various agents; but its rise to supreme authority was now only a matter of natural growth.

Solon and Clisthenes were the two men who stood foremost in the great work of putting government into the hands of the people. The struggle in which they were champions is essentially the same contest that is going on to-day. The student will have little difficulty in selecting names, in America and in European countries, to put in the list which should be headed with the names of these two Athenians.

153. Ostracism. — One peculiar device of Clisthenes deserves mention. It was called *ostracism*, and it was designed to head off civil strife. Once a year the Assembly was given a chance to vote by ballot (on pieces of pottery, “ostraka”), each one against any man whom he deemed dangerous to the state. If six thousand citizens thought that *some one* ought to go into exile for the safety of the state, then that man had to go *against whom the largest number of the six thousand votes were cast*. Such exile was felt to be perfectly honorable; and when a man came back from it, he took at once his old place in the public regard.

EXERCISE: QUESTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT. — *For the Eupatrid government.* — 1. What represented the monarchic element of Homer's time? 2. What the aristocratic? 3. What the democratic? 4. Which element had made a decided gain in power? 5. Which had lost most? 6. Which of the three was least important? 7. Which most important?

For the government after Solon. — 1. What was the basis of citizenship? 2. What was the basis for distribution of power among the citizens? 3. Was the introduction of the Senate a gain for the aristocratic or democratic element? 4. What powers did the Assembly gain? 5. Which two of these powers enabled the Assembly to control the administration?

Students should be able to answer similar questions on the government after Clisthenes' reforms. It would be a good exercise for the class to make out questions themselves.

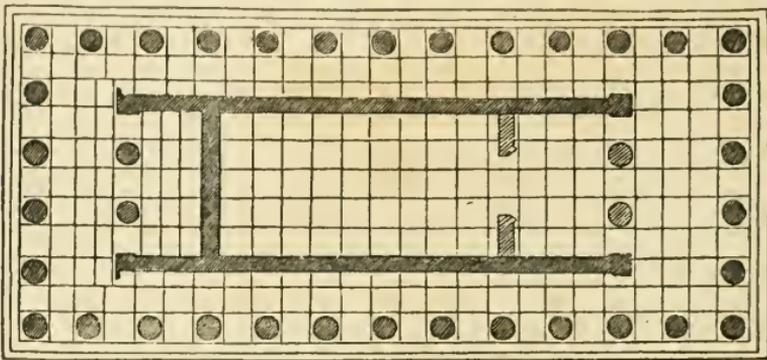
VI. INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

154. Architecture, painting, and sculpture had not reached full bloom in the sixth century, but they had begun to show a character distinct from Oriental art. Their chief centers in this period were Miletus and Ephesus (in Ionia) and Athens. Architecture was more advanced than painting or sculpture. It found its best development, not in palaces, as in the old Cretan civilization, but in the temples of the gods. In every Greek city, the temples were the most beautiful and the most prominent structures.

The plan of the Greek temple was very simple. People did not gather within the building for service, as in our churches. They only brought offerings there. The inclosed part of the building, therefore, was small and rather dark, — containing only one or two rooms, for the statues of the god and the altar

and the safe-keeping of the offerings. It was merely the god's house, where people could visit him when they wished to ask favors.

In shape, the temple was rectangular. The roof projected beyond the inclosed part of the building, and was supported not by the walls, but by a row of columns running around the four sides. The gables (*pediments*) in front and rear were low, and were filled with statuary, as was also the *frieze*, between the cornice and the columns. Sometimes there was a second frieze upon the walls of the building inside the colonnade.



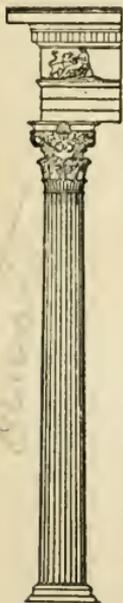
GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS.

The building took much of its beauty from its colonnades; and the chief differences in the styles of architecture were marked by the columns and their capitals. According to differences in these features, a building is said to belong to the *Doric*, *Ionic*, or *Corinthian* "order."

In the *Doric* order the column has no base of its own, but rests directly upon the foundation from which the walls rise. The shaft is grooved lengthwise with some twenty flutings. The capital is severely simple, consisting of a circular band of stone, swelling up from the shaft, capped by a square block, without ornament. Upon the capitals rests a plain band of massive stones (*the architrave*), and above this is the frieze, which supports the roof. The frieze is divided at equal spaces by tri-



IONIC ORDER.



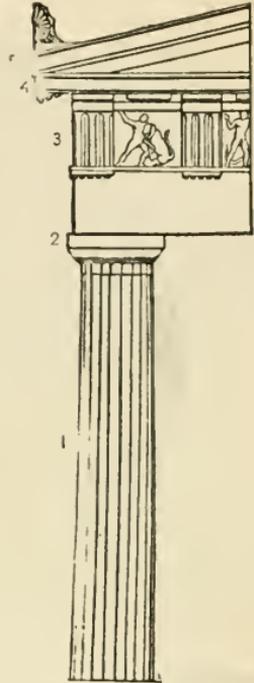
CORINTHIAN ORDER.

glyphs, a series of three projecting flutings; and the spaces between the triglyphs are filled with sculpture.

The Doric style is the simplest of the three orders. It is almost austere in its plainness, giving a sense of self-controlled power and repose. Sometimes it is called a *masculine* style, in contrast with the more ornate and *feminine* character of the Ionic order.

The *Ionic order* came into general use later. In this style, the column has a base arranged in three expanding circles. The shaft is *more slender* than the Doric. The swelling bell of the capital is often *nobly carved*, and it is surmounted by two spiral rolls. The frieze has *no triglyphs*: the sculpture upon it is one continuous band.

The *Corinthian order* is a later development and does not belong to the period we are now considering. It resembles the Ionic; but the capital is taller, lacks the spirals, and is more highly ornamented, with forms of leaves or animals. For illustrations of the Doric and Ionic orders, see also pages 158, 159, and especially page 212.



DORIC COLUMN.—From the Temple of Theseus at Athens.

1, the shaft; 2, the capital; 3, the frieze; 4, cornice; 5, part of roof, showing the low slope.

155. Poetry.— In poetry there was more progress even than in architecture. The earliest Greek poetry had been made up of *ballads*, celebrating

wars and heroes. These ballads were stories in verse, sung by wandering minstrels. The greatest of such compositions rose to *epic poetry*, of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the noblest examples. Their period is called the *Epic Age*.

In the seventh and sixth centuries, most poetry consisted of odes and songs *in a great variety of meters*, — corresponding to



A DORIC CAPITAL. — From a photograph of a detail of the Parthenon. See § 219 for the date and history.

the more varied life of the time. Love and pleasure are the favorite themes, and the poems describe *feelings* rather than outward events. They were intended to be *sung* to the accompaniment of the lyre (a sort of harp). They are therefore called *lyrics*; and the seventh and sixth centuries are known as the *Lyric Age*.

It is possible to name here only a few of the many famous lyric poets of that age. *Sappho*, of Lesbos, wrote exquisite and melodious love songs, of which a few fragments survive. Her lover *Alcaeus* (another Lesbian poet) described her as “Pure Sappho, violet tressed, softly smiling.” The ancients were wont to call her “the poetess,” just as they referred to Homer as “the poet.” *Simonides* wrote odes to arouse Hellenic patriotism; *Anacreon* has been spoken of in connection with the brilliant court of Pisistratus. *Tyrtæus*, an Attic war-poet, wrote chiefly for the Spartans, and became one of their generals. *Corinna* was a woman poet of Boeotia. *Pindar*, the greatest of the lyric poets,

came from the same district. He delighted especially to celebrate the rushing chariots and glorious athletes of the Olympic games.

Two other great poets, representing another kind of poetry, belong to this same period. *Hesiod* of Boeotia lived about 800 B.C. He wove together into a long poem old stories of the creation and of the birth and relationship of the gods. This *Theogony* of Hesiod was the most important single work in early Greek literature, after the Homeric poems. Hesiod wrote also remarkable home-like poems on farm life (*Works and Days*).¹ The other writer was *Thespis*, who began dramatic poetry (plays) at Athens, under the patronage of Pisistratus.

156. Philosophy. — In the sixth century, too, Greek philosophy was born. Its home was in Ionia. There first the Greek mind set out fearlessly to explain the origin of things. *Thales* of Miletus, “father of Greek philosophy,” taught that all things came from Water, or moisture. His pupil *Anaximenes* called Air, not Water, the universal “first principle.” *Pythagoras* (born at Samos, but teaching in Magna Graecia) sought the fundamental principle, not in any kind of matter, but in *Number*, or *Harmony*. *Xenophanes* of Ionia, affirmed that the only *real* existence was that of God, one and changeless — “not in body like unto mortals, nor in mind.” The changing world, he said, did not really exist: it was only a deception of men’s senses. *Heracleitus* of Ephesus, on the other hand, held that “ceaseless change” was the very principle of things: the world, he taught, had evolved from a fiery ether, and was in constant flux.

Some of these explanations of the universe seem childish to us. But the great thing is that, at last, men should have begun to seek for any *natural* explanation — instead of putting forward some *supernatural* explanation. Accordingly, *this early philosophy was closely related to early science*. Thales

¹ This was really a textbook on farming, — the first textbook in Europe. Hesiod wrote it in verse, because prose writing in his day was unknown. The earliest composition of any people is usually in meter.

was the first Greek to foretell eclipses. (He could predict the period, but not the precise day or hour.) Those who laughed at philosophers, liked to tell of him that, while gazing at the heavens, he fell into a well. He may have obtained his knowledge of astronomy from Egypt, which country we know he visited (§ 32). *Anaximander*, another philosopher of Miletus,



WEST FRONT OF THE PARTHENON TO-DAY. Doric style. See § 219.

made maps and globes. The Pythagoreans naturally paid special attention to mathematics and especially to geometry; and to Pythagoras is ascribed the famous demonstration about the square on the hypotenuse of a right triangle.

The Pythagoreans connected "philosophy" particularly with *conduct*. The harmony in the outer world, they held, must be matched by a harmony in the soul of man. Indeed, all these sages taught lofty moral truths. (See Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 98.) Greek philosophy lifted itself far above the moral level of Greek religion.

157. Summary of the Five Centuries.—During the five centuries from 1000 to 500 B.C., the Hellenes had come to think of themselves as one people (though not as one nation), and

had developed a brilliant, jostling society. During more than half the period they had been busy sowing Hellenic cities broadcast along even the distant Mediterranean shores. They had found a capable military leadership in Sparta. They had everywhere rid themselves of the old monarchic rule, by a



WEST FRONT OF TEMPLE OF VICTORY AT ATHENS.—From the ruins to-day.
Ionic style. See § 218.

long series of changes; and, in Athens in particular, they had gone far toward creating a true democracy. Toward the close of the period, they had experienced an artistic and intellectual development *which made their civilization nobler and more promising than any the world had yet seen. Moreover, this civilization was essentially one with our own.* The remains of Egyptian or Babylonian sculpture and architecture arouse our admiration and interest as curiosities; but they are foreign to us. With the remains of a Greek temple, or a fragment of a Greek poem, of the year 500, we feel at home. *It might have been built, or written, by our own people.*

158. The following table of dates shows the correspondence in time of leading events in the Oriental and the Greek world down to the period when the two worlds come into close relations. Down to about 800, dates are mostly estimates (§ 31). *This table is not given to be memorized, but merely to be read and referred to.*

HELLAS		THE EAST	
<i>B.C.</i>		<i>B.C.</i>	
		5000	Records of advanced Bronze cultures in valleys of Nile and Euphrates
3500	Rising Aegean "New Stone" culture	3400-2400	"Old Kingdom" in Egypt, centered at Memphis; Menes; Cheops; pyramids
2500	Bronze culture in Crete and other Aegean centers	2800	Sargon: empire from Euphrates to Mediterranean
2500 or 2400	Destruction of Schliemann's "Troy" (the "Second City")	2400-2000	"Middle Kingdom" in Egypt, centered at Thebes: Lake Moeris; Red Sea canal; commerce with Crete
		2234	Beginning of recorded astronomical observations at Babylon (§ 49)
2000 (?)	"Minos of Crete"	2000	Abraham emigrates from Ur
		2000-1600	Egyptian Decline: Hyksos; Hebrews enter Egypt
		1917 (?)	Hammurabi: "First Babylonian" Empire; voluminous cuneiform literature
1600	Phoenicians in the Aegean	1600-1330	"New Empire" in Egypt
1500-1200	Achaean conquests		
1500	Destruction of Knossos	1475	Egyptian brief conquest of the East: <i>first union of the Oriental world</i>
1300	Destruction of Mycenae	1320	Hebrew exodus
1200	Destruction of Homer's "Troy" (the "Sixth City")		
1100	Homeric Poems	1100	Beginnings of Assyrian Empire — Tiglath-Pileser I

HELLAS (<i>continued</i>)	THE EAST (<i>continued</i>)
1000 Dorian conquests	1055-975 David and Solomon
900 Rise of Sparta	1000 (?) Zoroaster
900-800 Ionian colonization	850 (?) Carthage founded
800-650 Greek colonization of Mediterranean coasts	
776 First recorded Olympiad	745 True Assyrian Empire — Tig- lath-Pileser II
700-500 "Age of Tyrants"	722 Sargon carries the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity
650-500 "Lyric Age"	672 Assyria conquers Egypt: <i>sec- ond union of Oriental world</i>
594-593 Solon's reforms	653-525 Last period of Egyptian independence — open to Greeks; visits by Solon and Thales; circumnavigation of Africa
560-527 Pisistratus	650 (?) First coinage, in Lydia 630 Scythian ravages 625-538 Second Babylonian Em- pire: Babylonian captivity of the Jews
510 Expulsion of Tyrants from Athens	556 Croesus, king in Lydia 558-529 Cyrus the Great founds Persian Empire — <i>third un- ion of the Oriental World</i>

500 Ionian Revolt (§§ 164, 165)

(Eastern and Western civilizations in conflict)

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested*: (1) Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 40-56. These very nearly fit in with the order of treatment in this book, and several numbers have been referred to in footnotes. It is desirable for students each day to consult the *Readings*, to see whether they can find there more light on the lesson in *this* book.

(2) Bury (*on colonization*), 86-106, 116-117; (*on Sparta*), 120-134; (*on "Lycurgus"*), 134-135; (*on certain tyrants*), 149-155; (*oracles and festivals*), 159-161; (*work of Solon*), 180-189.

EXERCISE. — Distinguish between *Sparta* and *Laconia*. How did the relation of *Thebes* to *Bocotia* differ from that of *Sparta* to *Laconia*? Which of these two relations was most like that of *Athens* to *Attica*? Have you any buildings in your city in which Greek columns are used? Of which order, in each case? (Take several leading buildings in a large town.) Explain the following terms: constitution; Helot; Eupatrid; tyrant; Lycurgus; Clisthenes; Areopagus; archon; deme; clan; tribe; a "tribe of Clisthenes."

(To *explain* a term, in such an exercise, is to make such statements concerning it as will at least prevent the term being confused with any other. Thus if the term is *Solon*, it will not do to say, "A Greek lawgiver," or "A lawgiver of the sixth century B.C." The answer *must* at least say, "An *Athenian* lawgiver of about 600 B.C.;" and it *ought* to say, "An *Athenian* lawgiver *and democratic reformer* of about 600 B.C.;" Either of the first two answers is worth *zero*.)

CHAPTER XII

THE PERSIAN WARS

We have now reached a point where the *details* of Greek history are better known, and where a more connected *story* is possible. This story begins with the *Persian Wars*.

THE TWO ANTAGONISTS

159. *Persia*.—In §§ 69–77, we saw how—within a time no longer than an average human life—Persia had stretched its rule over the territory of all former Oriental empires, besides adding vast regions before unknown. By 500 B.C. (the period to which we have just carried Greek history), Persia reached into the peninsula of Hindoostan in Asia, and, across Thrace, up to the Greek peninsula in Europe (map, after page 84). On this western frontier lay the scattered groups of Greek cities, bustling and energetic, but small and disunited. *The mighty world-empire now advanced confidently to add these little communities to its dominions.*

Persia, in many ways, was the noblest of the Asiatic empires; but its civilization was distinctly Oriental (with the general character that has been noted in §§ 80 ff.). The Greek cities, between 1000 and 500 B.C., had created a wholly different sort of culture, which we call European, or Western (§§ 82, 86). *East and West now joined battle.* The Persian attack upon Greece began a contest between two worlds, which has gone on, at times, ever since,—with the present “Eastern Question” and our Philippine question for latest chapters.

160. Three sections of Hellas were prominent in power and culture: *the European peninsula*, which we commonly call Greece; *Asiatic Hellas*, with its coast islands; and *Sicily and Magna Graecia* (§ 122). Elsewhere, the cities were too scattered, or too small, or too busy with their own defense against

surrounding savages, to count for much in the approaching contest. Asiatic Hellas fell easily to Persia before the real struggle began. Then the two other sections were attacked simultaneously, Greece by Persia, Sicily by Carthage.

Carthage was a Phoenician colony on the north coast of Africa (see map after page 132). It had built up a considerable empire in the western Mediterranean; and, in Sicily, it had already, from time to time, come into conflict with Greek colonies. Sicily was an important point from which to control Mediterranean trade. Carthage now made a determined attempt to drive out her rivals there.

The Greeks believed that the Persian king urged Carthage to take this time for attack, so that Magna Graecia and Sicily might not be able to join the other Greeks in resisting the main attack from Persia. At all events, such was the result. The Greek cities in Sicily and Italy were ruled by tyrants. These rulers united under *Gelon* of Syracuse, and repelled the Carthaginian onset. *But the struggle kept the Western Greeks from helping their kinsmen against the Persians.*

161. Conditions in Greece itself at this critical moment were unpromising. The forces that could be mustered against the master of the world were small at best; but just now they were further divided and wasted in internal struggles. Athens was at war with Aegina and with Thebes; Sparta had renewed an ancient strife with Argos (§ 96), and had crippled her for a generation by slaying in one battle almost the whole body of adult Argives.¹ Phocis was engaged in war with Thessalians on one side and Boeotians on the other. Worse than all this, many cities were torn by cruel class strife at

¹ The old men and boys, however, were still able to defend Argos itself against Spartan attack. This touches an important fact in Greek warfare: *a walled city could hardly be taken by assault*; it could fall only through extreme carelessness, or by treachery, or starvation. *The last danger did not often exist.* The armies of the besiegers were made up of citizens, not of paid troops; and they could *not keep the field long themselves.* They were needed at home, and it was not easy for them to secure food for a long siege.

home, — oligarchs against democrats. *One favorable condition, however, calls for attention (§ 162).*

162. The Peloponnesian League. — In a sense, Sparta was the head of Greece. She lacked the enterprise and daring that were to make Athens the city of the coming century; but her government was firm, her army was large and disciplined, and so far she had shown more genius than any other Greek state in organizing her neighbors into a military league. *Two fifths of the Peloponnesus she ruled directly* (Laconia and Messenia), and the rest (except Argolis and Achaea) formed a confederacy for war, with Sparta as the head.



THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE
(500 B.C.)

It is true the union was very slight. On special occasions, at the call of Sparta, the states sent delegates to a conference to discuss peace or war; but there was no constitution, no common treasury, not even a *general* treaty to bind the states together. Indeed, one city of the league sometimes made war upon another. Each state was bound to Sparta by its *special* treaty; and, if Sparta was attacked by an enemy, each city of the "league" was expected to maintain a certain number of troops for the confederate army. Loose as this Peloponnesian league was, it was the greatest war power in Hellas; and it seemed the one rallying point for disunited Greece in the coming struggle (§ 130, close). Except for the presence of this war power, few other Greeks would have dared to resist Persia at all.

OPENING OF THE STRUGGLE IN IONIA

163. Conquest of the Ionian Greeks.— For two centuries before 500 B.C., the Asiatic Hellenes excelled all other branches of the Greek race in culture. Unfortunately for them, the empire of Lydia arose near them. That great state was unwilling to be shut off from the Aegean by the Greek cities, and it set out to conquer them. For some time, the little Greek states kept their independence; but when the energetic Croesus (§ 70) became king of Lydia, he subdued all the cities on the coast of Asia Minor. Croesus, however, was a warm admirer of the Greeks, and his rule over them was gentle. They were expected to acknowledge him as their over-lord and to pay a small tribute in money; but they were left to manage their own affairs at home, and were favored in many ways.

When Cyrus the Persian attacked Croesus (§ 72), the Asiatic Greeks fought gallantly for Lydia. After the overthrow of Croesus, they tried to come to terms with Cyrus. Cyrus was angry because they had refused his invitations to join him in the war, and he would make them no promises. Fearing severe punishment, they made a brief struggle for independence. They applied, in vain, to Sparta for aid. Then Thales (§ 156) suggested a federation of all Ionia, with one government and one army; but the Greeks could not rise to so wise a plan (cf. § 104). So the Ionian cities fell, one by one, before the arms of Cyrus; and under Persian despotism their old leadership in civilization soon vanished.

164. The "Ionian Revolt." 500 B.C.— The Persian conquest took place about 540 B.C. Before that time the Ionians had begun to get rid of tyrants. But the Persians set up a tyrant again in each city, as the easiest means of control. (This shows something of what would have happened in Greece itself, if Persia had won in the approaching war.) Each tyrant knew that he could keep his power only by Persian support.

In the year 500, by a general rising, the Ionians deposed their tyrants once more, formed an alliance with one another.

and broke into revolt against Persia. Another appeal to Sparta¹ for help proved fruitless; but Athens sent twenty ships, and little Eretria sent five. "These ships," says Herodotus, "were the beginnings of woes, both to the Greeks and to the barbarians."

At first the Ionians and their allies were successful. They even took Sardis, the old capital of Lydia, far in the interior. But treachery and mutual suspicion were rampant; Persian gold was used skillfully; and one defeat broke up the loose Ionian league. Then the cities were again subdued, one by one, in the five years following.

FIRST TWO ATTACKS UPON THE EUROPEAN GREEKS

(492-490 B.C.)

165. What was the relation of the Ionian Revolt to the Persian invasion of Greece? According to legend, the Persian king attacked Greece to punish Athens for sending aid to the Ionian rebels. Herodotus says that Darius (§ 76) was so angered by the sack of Sardis that, during the rest of his life, he had a herald cry out to him thrice each day at dinner, — "O King, remember the Athenians!" This story has the appearance of a later invention, to flatter Athenian vanity. Probably Athens *was* pointed out for special vengeance, by her aid to Ionia; *but the Persian invasion would have come, anyway*, and it would have come some years sooner, had not the war in Ionia kept the Persians busy.

The expanding frontier of the Persian empire had reached

¹ The story of the appeal to Sparta is told pleasantly by Herodotus (extract in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 57). It should be made a topic for a *special report* by some student to the class. (This seems a good place to call the attention of teachers to one feature of the present textbook. The story just referred to might easily be put into the text; but it would take up much space; and though interesting, it has little historical value. At least, it is in no way essential for understanding the rest of the history. More important still, — any student who has Herodotus accessible can tell the story as well as this book could do it. *This is the kind of outside reading that any student likes to do, and a kind that any student is perfectly able to do.*)

Thessaly just before 500 B.C., and the same motives that had carried Persian arms through Thrace and Macedonia would have carried them on into Greece. Persia was still in full career of conquest. The Greek peninsula was small; but its cities were becoming wealthy, and Persia coveted them for their ships and their trade. *The real significance of the Ionian war was that it helped to delay the main Persian onset until the Greeks were better prepared. The Athenians had been wise, as well as generous, in aiding the Ionians.*

166. First Expedition against Greece, 492 B.C. Mount Athos.—Immediately after the end of the Ionian revolt Darius began vast preparations for the invasion of Greece. A mighty army was gathered at the Hellespont under *Mardonius*, son-in-law of the king; and a large fleet was collected. This was to sail along the coast, in constant touch with the army, and furnish it, day by day, with provisions and other supplies. In 492, these forces set out, advancing along the shores of the Aegean. But the army suffered from constant attacks by the savage Thracian tribes; and finally, as the fleet was rounding the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, a terrible storm dashed it to pieces. With it were wrecked all hopes of success. Mardonius had no choice but to retreat into Asia.

167. Second Expedition, 490 B.C. Marathon.—This failure filled Darius with wrath. Such a check in an expedition against the petty Greek states was wholly unexpected. Mardonius, though an able general, was disgraced, and preparations were begun for a new expedition.

Meantime, in 491, heralds were sent to all the Greek cities to demand "earth and water," in token of submission. The islands in the Aegean yielded at once. In continental Greece the demand was in general quietly refused; but, in Athens and Sparta, indignation ran so high that even the sacred character of ambassadors did not save the messengers. At Athens they were thrown into a pit, and at Sparta into a well, and told to "take thence what they wanted."

In the spring of 490, the Persians were ready for the second

expedition. This time, taking warning from the disaster at Mount Athos, the troops were embarked on a mighty fleet, which proceeded directly across the Aegean. Stopping only to receive the submission of certain islands by the way, the fleet reached the island of Euboea without a check.

There Eretria (§ 164) was captured, through treachery. The city was destroyed, and most of the people were sent in chains to Persia. Then the Persians landed on the plain of *Marathon* in Attica, to punish Athens. Hippias, the exiled tyrant (§ 147), was with the invaders, hoping to get back his throne as a servant of Persia; and he had pointed out this admirable place for disembarking the Persian cavalry.

At first most of the Athenians wished to fight only behind their walls. Sooner or later, this must have resulted in ruin, especially as there were some traitors within the city hoping to admit Hippias. Happily *Miltiades*, one of the ten Generals (§ 152), persuaded the commanders to march out and attack the Persians at once.¹

From the rising ground where the hills of Mount Pentelicus meet the plain, the ten thousand Athenian hoplites faced the Persian host for the first struggle between Greeks and Asiatics on European ground. Sparta had promised aid; and, at the first news of the Persian approach, a swift runner (*Phidippides*) had raced the hundred and fifty miles of rugged hill country to implore Sparta to hasten. He reached Sparta on the second day; but the Spartans waited a week, on the ground that an old law forbade them to set out on a military expedition before the full moon. The Athenians felt bitterly that Sparta was ready to look on, not unwillingly, while the "second city in Greece" was destroyed.

At all events, Athens was left to save herself (and our Western world) as best she could, with help from only one city. This was heroic little *Plataea*, in Boeotia, near by. Athens had sometimes protected the democratic government of that

¹ This story should be read in Herodotus, or, even better in some ways, in the extracts in Davis' *Readings*, with Dr. Davis' admirable introductions.

city from attack by the powerful oligarchs of Thebes. The Plataeans remembered this gratefully, and, on the eve of the battle, marched into the Athenian camp with their full force of a thousand hoplites. Then Athenians and Plataeans won a marvelous victory over perhaps ten times their number¹ of the most famous soldiery in the world. The result was due to the generalship of Miltiades, and to the superior equipment of the Greek hoplite.

Miltiades drew out his front as thin as he dared, to prevent the long Persian front from overlapping and "flanking" him.



PLAN OF MARATHON. Cf. map, page 180.

To accomplish this, he weakened his center daringly, so as to mass all the men he could spare from there in the wings. He meant these wings to bear the brunt of battle, and ordered them to advance more rapidly than the thin center. Then he moved his forces down the slope toward the Persian lines.

While yet an arrow's flight distant, the advancing Greeks broke into a run, according to Miltiades' orders, so as to cover the rest of the ground before the Persian archers could get in their deadly work. Once at close quarters, the heavy weapons of the Greeks gave them overwhelming advantage. Their dense, heavy array, charging with long, outstretched spears, by its sheer weight broke the light-armed Persian lines, which were

¹ The figures, on the next page, for the slain, are probably trustworthy; but all numbers given for the Persian army, in this or other campaigns, are guesses. Ancient historians put the Persians at Marathon at from a quarter to half a million. Modern scholars are sure that no ancient fleet could possibly carry any considerable part of such a force, — and, indeed, it is clear that the ancient authorities had no basis for their figures. Modern guesses — they are nothing better — put the Persian force at Marathon all the way from 100,000 down to 20,000.

utterly unprepared for conflict on such terms. The Persians fought gallantly, as usual; but their darts and light scimitars made little impression upon the heavy bronze armor of the Greeks, while their linen tunics and wicker shields counted for little against the thrust of the Greek spear. For a time, it is true, the Greek center had to give ground; but the two



MARATHON TO-DAY. — From a photograph. The camera stood a little above the Athenian camp in the Plan on the opposite page. That camp was in the first open space in the foreground, where the poplar trees are scattered. The land beyond the strip of water is the narrow peninsula running out from the "Marsh" in the Plan.

wings, having routed the forces in front of them, wheeled upon the Persian center, crushing upon both flanks at the same moment, and drove it in disorder to the ships. One hundred ninety-two Athenians fell. The Persians left over sixty-four hundred dead upon the field.

The Athenians tried also to seize the fleet; but here they were repulsed. The Persians embarked and sailed safely away. They took a course that might lead to Athens. Moreover, the

Greek army had just seen sun-signals flashing to the enemy from some traitor's shield in the distant mountains; and Miltiades feared them to be an invitation to attack the city in the absence of the army. To check such plots, he sent the runner Phidippides to announce the victory to Athens. Already exhausted by the battle, Phidippides put forth supreme effort, raced the twenty-two miles of mountain road from Marathon, shouted exultantly to the eager, anxious crowds, — "Ours the victory," — and fell dead.¹

Meanwhile Miltiades was hurrying the rest of his wearied army, without rest, over the same road. Fortunately the Persian fleet had to sail around a long promontory (map, page 180), and when it appeared off Athens, the next morning, Miltiades and his hoplites had arrived also. The Persians did not care to face again the men of Marathon; and the same day they set sail for Asia.²

168. Importance of Marathon.— Merely as a military event Marathon is an unimportant skirmish; but, in its results upon human welfare, it is among the few really "decisive" battles of the world. Whether Egyptian conquered Babylonian, or Babylonian conquered Egyptian, mattered little in the long run. Possibly, whether Spartan or Athenian prevailed over the other mattered not much more. But it did matter whether or not the huge, inert *East* should crush the new life out of the *West*. Marathon decided that the West should live on.

For the Athenians themselves, Marathon began a new era. Natural as the victory came to seem in later times, it took high courage on that day to stand before the hitherto unconquered Persians, even without such tremendous odds. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "were the first of the Greeks to face

¹ The student will like to read, or to hear read, Browning's poem, *Phidippides*, with the story of both runs by this Greek hero. Compare this story with Herodotus' account in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 59. The famous run from the battlefield to the city is the basis of the modern "Marathon" race, in which champion athletes of all countries compete.

² The full story of this battle should be read as Herodotus tells it. It is given in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 59, 60.

the Median garments, . . . whereas up to this time the very name of Mede [Persian] had been a terror to the Hellenes." *Athens broke the spell for the rest of Greece*, and grew herself to heroic stature in an hour. The sons of the men who conquered on that field could find no odds too crushing, no prize too dazzling, in the years to come. It was now that the Athenian character first showed itself as Thucydides described it a century later: "The Athenians are the only people who succeed to the full extent of their hope, *because they throw themselves without reserve into whatever they resolve to do.*"

ATHENS — FROM MARATHON TO THERMOPYLAE

169. Internal Faction Crushed. — Soon after Marathon, Egypt revolted against Persia. *This gave the Greeks ten years more for preparation*; but, except in Athens, little use was made of the interval. In that city the democratic forces grew stronger and more united, while the oligarchs were weakened.

One incident in this change was the ruin of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon. Miltiades was originally an Athenian noble who had made himself tyrant of Chersonesus (map after page 94). Not long before the Persian invasion, he had brought upon himself the hatred of the Great King,¹ and had fled back to Athens. Here he became at once a prominent supporter of the oligarchic party. The democrats tried to prosecute him for his previous "tyranny"; but the attempt failed, and when the Persian invasion came, the Athenians were fortunate in having his experience and ability to guide them. Soon after Marathon, however, Miltiades failed in an expedition against Paros, into which he had persuaded the Athenians; and then the hostile democracy secured his overthrow. He was condemned to pay an immense fine, and is said to have died soon afterward in prison.

This blow was followed by the ostracism of some oligarchic leader each season for several years, until that party was utterly

¹Report the story from Herodotus, if a translation is accessible.

broken. Thus Athens was saved from its most serious internal dissension.

170. Themistocles makes Athens a Naval Power. — The victorious democrats at once divided into new parties. The more moderate section was content with the constitution of Cleisthenes and was disposed to follow old customs. Its leader was *Aristides*, a calm, conservative man, surnamed "the Just." The radical wing, favoring new methods and further change, was led by *Themistocles*. Themistocles was sometimes less scrupulous and upright than Aristides, but he was one of the most resourceful and far-sighted statesmen of all history.

Themistocles desired passionately one great departure from past custom in Athenian affairs. He wished to make Athens a naval power. *He saw clearly that the real struggle with Persia was yet to come, and that the result could be decided by victory on the sea.* Such victory was more probable for the Greeks than victory on land. Huge as the Persian empire was, it had no seacoast except Egypt, Phoenicia, and Ionica. It could not, therefore, so vastly outnumber the Greeks in ships as in men; and if the Greeks could secure command of the sea, Persia would be unable to attack them at all.

But this proposed naval policy for Athens broke with all tradition, and could not win without a struggle. Seafarers though the Greeks were, up to this time they had not used ships much in war. Attica, in particular, had almost no navy. The party of Aristides wished to hold to the old policy of fighting on land, and they had the glorious victory of Marathon to strengthen their arguments. Feeling ran high. Finally, in 483, the leaders agreed to let a vote of ostracism decide between them. Fortunately, Aristides was ostracized (§ 153), and for some years the influence of Themistocles was the strongest power in Athens.

While the voting was going on (according to Herodotus) a stupid fellow, who did not know Aristides, asked him to write the name Aristides on the shell he was about to vote. Aristides did so, asking, however, what harm Aristides had ever done the man. "No harm," replied the voter; "in

deed, I do not know him; but I am tired of hearing him called 'the Just.' Read the other anecdotes about Aristides in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 61.

Themistocles at once put his new policy into operation. Rich veins of silver had recently been discovered in the mines of Attica. These mines *belonged to the city*, and a large revenue from them had accumulated in the public treasury. It had been proposed to divide the money among the citizens; but Themistocles persuaded his countrymen to reject this tempting plan, and instead to build a great fleet. Thanks to this policy, in the next three years Athens became the greatest naval power in Hellas. The decisive victory of Salamis was to be the result (§ 179).

THE THIRD ATTACK, 480-479 B.C.

171. Persian Preparation. — Meantime, happily for the world, the great Darius died, and the invasion of Greece fell to his feebler son, *Xerxes*. Marathon had proved that no Persian fleet by itself could transport enough troops; so the plan of Mardonius' expedition (§ 166) was tried again, *but upon a larger scale, both as to army and fleet*.

To guard against another accident at Mt. Athos, a canal for ships was cut through the isthmus at the back of that rocky headland, — a great engineering work that took three years. Meantime, supplies were collected at stations along the way; the Hellespont was bridged with chains of boats covered with planks;¹ and at last, in the spring of 480, Xerxes in person led a mighty host of many nations into Europe.

Ancient reports put the Asiatics at from one and a half million to two million soldiers, with followers and attendants to raise the total to five millions. Modern critics think Xerxes may have had some half-million troops, with numerous followers. In any case, the numbers vastly exceeded those which the Greeks could bring against them. A fleet of twelve hundred ships accompanied the army.

¹ Read Herodotus' story of Xerxes' wrath when the first bridge broke, and how he ordered the Hellespont to be flogged (Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 64).

172. The Greek Preparation. — *The danger forced the Greeks into something like common action*: into a greater unity, indeed, than they had ever known. Sparta and Athens joined in calling a *Hellenic congress* at Corinth, on the isthmus, in 481 B.C. The deputies that appeared bound their cities by oath to aid one another, and pledged their common efforts to punish any states that should join Persia. Ancient feuds were pacified. Plans of campaign were discussed, and Sparta was formally recognized as leader. In spite of Athens' recent heroism, the belief in Sparta's invincibility in war was too strong to permit any other choice.

Messengers were sent also to implore aid from outlying portions of Hellas, but with little result. Crete excused herself on a superstitious scruple. Coreyra promised a fleet, but took care it should not arrive; and the Greek tyrants in Sicily and Magna Graecia had their hands full at home with the Carthaginian invasion (§ 160).

The outlook was full of gloom. Argos, out of hatred for Sparta, and Thebes, from jealousy of Athens, had refused to attend the congress, and were ready to join Xerxes. Even the Delphic oracle, which was of course consulted in such a crisis, predicted ruin and warned the Athenians in particular to flee to the ends of the earth.

173. The Lines of Defense. — Against a land attack the Greeks had three lines of defense. The first was at the Vale of Tempe near Mount Olympus, where only a narrow pass opened into Thessaly. The second was at Thermopylae, where the mountains shut off northern from central¹ Greece, except for a road only a few feet in width. The third was behind the Isthmus of Corinth.

174. Plan of Campaign. — At the congress at Corinth *the Peloponnesians had wished selfishly to abandon the first two lines*. They urged that all patriotic Greeks should retire at once within the Peloponnesus, the final citadel of Greece, and for-

¹ For these terms, see map study, page 95.

tify the isthmus by an impregnable wall. This plan was as foolish as it was selfish. Greek troops might have held the isthmus against the Persian land army; but the Peloponnesus was readily open to attack by sea, and the Persian fleet would have found it easier here than at either of the other lines of defense to land troops in the Greek rear, *without losing touch with its own army*. Such a surrender of two thirds of Greece, too, would have meant a tremendous reinforcement of the enemy by excellent Greek soldiery. Accordingly, *it was finally decided to resist the entrance of the Persians into Greece by meeting them at the Vale of Tempe*.

175. The Loss of Thessaly.—Sparta, however, had no gift for going to meet an attack, but must always await it on the enemy's terms. A hundred thousand men should have held the Vale of Tempe; but only a feeble garrison was sent there, and it retreated before the Persians appeared. Through Sparta's incapacity for leadership, Xerxes entered Greece without a blow. Then the Thessalian cities, deserted by their allies, joined the invaders with their powerful cavalry.

176. Thermopylae: Loss of Central Greece.—This loss of Thessaly made it evident, even to Spartan statesmen, that to abandon central Greece would strengthen Xerxes further; and it was decided in a half-hearted way to make a stand at Thermopylae. The pass was only some twenty feet wide between the cliff and the sea, and the only other path was one over the mountain, equally easy to defend. Moreover, the long island of Euboea approached the mainland just opposite the pass, so that the Greek fleet *in the narrow strait* could guard the land army against having troops landed in the rear.

The Greek fleet at this place numbered 270 ships. Of these the Athenians furnished half. The admiral was a Spartan, though his city sent only sixteen ships. The land defense had been left to the Peloponnesian league. This was the supremely important duty; but the force, which Sparta had sent to attend to it, was shamefully small. The Spartan king, *Leonidas*, held the pass with three hundred Spartans and a few thousand

allies. *The main force of Spartans was again left at home, on the ground of a religious festival.*

The Persians reached Thermopylae without a check. Battle was joined at once on land and sea, and raged for three days. Four hundred Persian ships were wrecked in a storm, and the rest were checked by the Greek fleet in a sternly contested con-



THERMOPYLAE.

From a photograph: to show the steepness of the mountain side.

flict at *Artemisium*. On land, Xerxes flung column after column of chosen troops into the pass, to be beaten back each time in rout. But on the third night, *Ephialtes*, "the Judas of Greece," guided a force of Persians over the mountain path, which the Spartans had left only slightly guarded. Leonidas knew that he could no longer hold his position. He sent home his allies: but he and his three hundred Spartans remained to die in the pass which their country had given them

to defend. They charged joyously upon the Persian spears, and fell fighting, to a man.¹

Sparta had shown no capacity to command in this great crisis. Twice her shortsightedness had caused the loss of vital positions. But at Thermopylae her citizens had set Greece an example of calm heroism that has stirred the world ever since. In later times the burial place of the Three Hundred was marked by this inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Sparta that we lie here in obedience to her command."

177. Destruction of Athens.—Xerxes advanced on Athens and was joined by most of central Greece. The Theban oligarchs, in particular, welcomed him with genuine joy. The Peloponnesians would risk no further battle outside their own peninsula. They withdrew the army, and fell back upon their first plan of building a wall across the isthmus. *Athens was left open to Persian vengeance.*

The news threw that city into uproar and despair. The Delphic oracle was appealed to, but it prophesied utter destruction. Themistocles (perhaps by bribery) finally secured from the priestess an additional prophecy, that when all else was destroyed, "wooden walls" would still defend the Athenians. Many citizens then wished to retire within the wooden palisade of the Acropolis; but Themistocles, the guiding genius of the stormy day, persuaded them that the oracle meant the "wooden walls" of their ships.

The Greek fleet had withdrawn from Artemisium, after the Persians won the land pass; and the Spartan admiral was bent upon retiring at once to the position of the Peloponnesian army, at the isthmus. By vehement entreaties, Themistocles persuaded him to hold the whole fleet for a day or two at Athens, to help remove the women and children and old men to Salamis and other near-by islands. More than 200,000

¹One Spartan, who had been left for dead by the Persians, afterward recovered and returned home. But his fellow-citizens treated him with pitying contempt; and at the next great battle, he sought and found death, fighting in the front rank.

people had to be moved from their homes. There was no time to save property. The Persians marched triumphantly through Attica, burning villages and farmsteads, and laid Athens and its temples in ashes.



G, the Greek fleet at Salamis. *PPP*, the Persian fleet. *X*, the Throne of Xerxes. (The "Long Walls" were not built until later; § 200.)

178. Strategy of Themistocles. — But Themistocles, in delaying the retreat of the fleet, planned for more than escape. *He was determined that the decisive battle should be a sea battle, and that it should be fought where the fleet then lay.* No other spot so favorable could be found. The narrow strait between the Athenian shore and Salamis would embarrass the Persian numbers, and help to make up for the small numbers of the Greek ships. Themistocles saw, too, that if they withdrew to

Corinth, as the Peloponnesians insisted, all chance of united action would be lost. The fleet would break up. Some ships would sail home to defend their own island cities; and others, like those of Megara and Aegina, feeling that their cities were deserted, might join the Persians.

The fleet had grown now to 378 ships. The Athenians furnished 200 of these. With wise and generous patriotism, they had yielded the chief command to Sparta, but of course Themistocles carried weight in the council of captains. It was



THE BAY OF SALAMIS.—From a photograph.

he who, by persuasion, entreaties, and bribes, had kept the navy from abandoning the land forces at Thermopylae, before the sea fight off Artemisium. A similar but greater task now fell to him. Debate waxed fierce in the all-night council of the captains. Arguments were exhausted, and Themistocles had recourse to threats. The Corinthian admiral sneered that the allies need not regard a man who no longer represented a Greek city. The Athenian retorted that he represented two hundred ships, and could make a city, or take one, where he chose; and, by a threat to sail away to found a new Athens in Italy, he forced the allies to remain. Even then the decision would have been reconsidered, had not the wily Themistocles made use of a strange stratagem. With pretended friendship,

he sent a secret message to Xerxes, notifying him of the weakness and dissensions of the Greeks, and *advising him to block up the straits to prevent their escape.*

Xerxes took this treacherous advice. Aristides, whose ostracism had been revoked in the hour of danger, and who now slipped through the hostile fleet in his single ship to join his countrymen, brought the news that they were surrounded. *There was now no choice but to fight.*

179. The Battle of Salamis.—The Persian fleet was twice the size of the Greek, and was itself largely made up of Asiatic Greeks, while the Phoenicians and Egyptians, who composed the remainder, were famous sailors. The conflict the next day lasted from dawn to night, but the Greek victory was complete.

“ A king sat on the rocky brow ¹
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis ;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations, — all were his.
He counted them at break of day,
And when the sun set, where were they ? ”

Aeschylus, an Athenian poet who was present in the battle, gives a noble picture of it in his drama, *The Persians*. The speaker is a Persian, telling the story to the Persian queen-mother:—

“ Not in flight
The Hellenes then their solemn paeans sang,
But with brave spirits hastening on to battle,
With martial sound and trumpet fired those ranks :
And straight with sweep of oars that flew thro' foam,
They smote the loud waves at the boatswain's call . . .
And all at once we heard a mighty shout —
' O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country ;
Free, too, your wives, your children, and the shrines
Built to your fathers' Gods, and holy tombs
Your ancestors now rest in. The fight
Is for our all.' . . .

¹ A golden throne had been set up for Xerxes, that he might better view the battle. These lines are from Byron.

. . . And the hulls of ships
 Floated capsized, nor could the sea be seen,
 Filled as it was with wrecks and carcasses ;
 And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses,
 And every ship was wildly rowed in flight,
 All that composed the Persian armament.
 And they [Greeks], as men spear tunnies, or a haul
 Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars,
 Or spars of wrecks, went smiting, cleaving down ;
 And bitter groans and wailings overspread
 The wide sea waves, till eye of swarthy night
 Bade it all cease . . . Be assured
 That never yet so great a multitude
 Died in a single day as died in this."

180. Two incidents in the celebration of the victory throw light upon Greek character.

The commanders of the various city contingents in the Greek fleet voted a prize of merit to the city that deserved best in the action. The Athenians had furnished more than half the whole fleet ; they were the first to engage, and they had especially distinguished themselves ; they had seen their city laid in ashes, and only their steady patriotism had made a victory possible. *Peloponnesian jealousy, however, passed them by for their rival, Aegina, which had joined the Spartan league.*

A vote was taken, also, to award prizes to the two most meritorious commanders. Each captain voted for himself for the first place, while *all voted for Themistocles for the second.*

181. The Temptation of Athens. — On the day of Salamis the Sicilian Greeks won a decisive victory over the Carthaginians at *Himera*. For a while, that battle closed the struggle in the West. In Greece the Persian chances were still good. Xerxes, it is true, fled at once to Asia with his shattered fleet ; but he left his general, the experienced Mardonius, with three hundred thousand chosen troops. Mardonius withdrew from central Greece for the time, to winter in the plains of Thessaly ; but he would be ready to renew the struggle in the spring.

The Athenians began courageously to rebuild their city. Mardonius looked upon them as the soul of the Greek resistance, and in the early spring, *he offered them an alliance*, with many favors and with the complete restoration of their city at

Persian expense. Sparta was terrified lest the Athenians should accept so tempting an offer, and sent in haste, with many promises, to beg them not to desert the cause of Hellas. There was no need of such anxiety. The Athenians had already sent back the Persian messenger: "Tell Mardonius that so long as the sun holds on his way in heaven, the Athenians will come to no terms with Xerxes." They then courteously declined the Spartan offer of aid in rebuilding their city, and *asked only that Sparta take the field early enough so that Athens need not be again abandoned without a battle.*

Sparta made the promise, but did not keep it. Mardonius approached rapidly. The Spartans found another sacred festival before which it would not do to leave their homes; and the Athenians, in bitter disappointment, a second time took refuge at Salamis. *With their city in his hands, Mardonius offered them again the same favorable terms of alliance.* Only one of the Athenian Council favored even submitting the matter to the people,—and he was instantly stoned by the enraged populace, while the women inflicted a like cruel fate upon his wife and children. Even such violence does not obscure the heroic self-sacrifice of the Athenians. Mardonius burned Athens a second time, laid waste the farms over Attica, cut down the olive groves (the slow growth of many years), and then retired to the level plains of Boeotia.

182. Battle of Plataea, 479 B.C.—Athenian envoys had been at Sparta for weeks begging for instant action, but they had been put off with meaningless delays. The fact was, *Sparta still clung to the stupid plan of defending only the isthmus,*—which was all that she had made real preparations for. Some of her keener allies, however, at last made the Ephors see the uselessness of the wall at Corinth if the Athenians should be forced to join Persia with their fleet, as in that case, the Persians could land an army anywhere they chose in the rear of the wall. So Sparta decided to act; and she gave a striking proof of her resources. One morning the Athenian envoys, who had given up hope, announced indig-

nantly to the Spartan government that they would at once return home. To their amazement, they were told that during the night 50,000 Peloponnesian troops had set out for central Greece.

The Athenian forces and other reinforcements raised the total of the Greek army to about 100,000, and the final contest with Mardonius was fought near the little town of *Plataea*. Spartan generalship blundered sadly, and many of the allies were not brought into the fight; but the stubborn Spartan valor and the Athenian skill and dash won a victory which became a massacre. It is said that of the 260,000 Persians engaged, only 3000 escaped to Asia. The Greeks lost 154 men.

183. The Meaning of the Greek Victory.—The victory of Plataea closed the first great period of the Persian Wars. A second period was to begin at once, but it had to do with freeing the Asiatic Greeks. That is, *Europe took the offensive. No hostile Persian ever again set foot in European Greece.*

A Persian victory would have meant the extinction of the world's best hope. The Persian civilization was Oriental (§§ 80, 81). Marathon and Salamis decided that the despotism of the East should not crush the rising freedom of the West in its first home.

To the Greeks themselves their victory opened a new epoch. They were victors over the greatest of world-empires. It was a victory of intellect and spirit over matter. Unlimited confidence gave them still greater power. New energies stirred in their veins and found expression in manifold forms. The matchless bloom of Greek art and thought, in the next two generations, had its roots in the soil of Marathon and Plataea.

Moreover, slow as the Greeks had been to see Sparta's poor management, most of them could no longer shut their eyes to it. Success had been due mainly to the heroic self-sacrifice and the splendid energy and wise patriotism of Athens. And that city—truest representative of Greek *culture*—was soon to take her proper place in the *political* leadership of Greece.

EXERCISES. — 1. Summarize the causes of the Persian Wars. 2. Devise and memorize a series of *catch-words* for rapid statement, that shall suggest the outline of the story quickly. Thus :—

Persian conquest of Lydia and so of Asiatic Greeks; revolt of Ionia, 500 B.C.; Athenian aid; reconquest of Ionia. First expedition against European Greece, 492 B.C., through Thrace: Mount Athos. Second expedition, across the Aegean, two years later: capture of Eretria; landing at Marathon; excuses of Sparta; arrival of Plataeans; Miltiades and battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

(Let the student continue the series. *In this way, the whole story may be reviewed in two minutes, with reference to every important event.*)

FOR FURTHER READING.— *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings* gives the whole story of Xerxes' invasion as the Greeks themselves told it, in Vol. I, Nos. 62-73, — about 47 pages. Nowhere else can it be read so well; and the high school student who does read that account can afford to omit modern authorities. If he reads further, it may well be in one of the volumes mentioned below, mainly to see how the modern authority has used or criticised the account by Herodotus.

Additional: Cox's *Greeks and Persians* is an admirable little book: chs. v-viii may be read for this story. Bury is rather critical; but the student may profitably explore his pages for parts of the story (pp. 265-295). Many anecdotes are given in Plutarch's *Lives* ("Themistocles" and "Aristides").

CHAPTER XIII

ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP, 478-431 B.C.

(FROM THE PERSIAN WAR TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR)

“*The history of Athens is for us the history of Greece.*” — HOLM.

GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

184. Athens Fortified. — Immediately after Plataea, the Athenians began once more to rebuild their temples and homes. Themistocles, however, persuaded them to leave even these in ashes and first surround the city with walls. Some Greek cities at once showed themselves basely eager to keep Athens helpless. Corinth, especially, urged Sparta to interfere; and, to her shame, Sparta did call upon the Athenians to give up the plan. Such walls, she said, might prove an advantage to the Persians if they should again occupy Athens. Attica, which had been ravaged so recently by the Persians, was in no condition to resist a Peloponnesian army. So, neglecting all private matters, the Athenians toiled with desperate haste — men, women, children, and slaves. The irregular nature of the walls told the story to later generations. No material was too precious. Inscribed tablets and fragments of sacred temples and even monuments from the burial grounds were seized for the work. To gain the necessary time, Themistocles had recourse to wiles. As Thucydides (§ 224) tells the story: —

“The Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, replied that they would send an embassy to discuss the matter, and so got rid of the Spartan envoys. Themistocles then proposed that he should himself start at once for Sparta, and that they should give him colleagues who were not to go immediately, but were to wait until the wall had reached a height which could be defended. . . . On his arrival, he did not at once present himself officially to the magistrates, but delayed and made excuses,

and when any of them asked him why he did not appear before the Assembly, he said that he was waiting for his colleagues who had been detained. . . . The friendship of the magistrates for Themistocles induced them to believe him, but when everybody who came from Athens declared positively that the wall was building, and had already reached a considerable height, they knew not what to think. Aware of their suspicious, Themistocles asked them not to be misled by reports, but to send to Athens men of their own whom they could trust, to see for themselves.

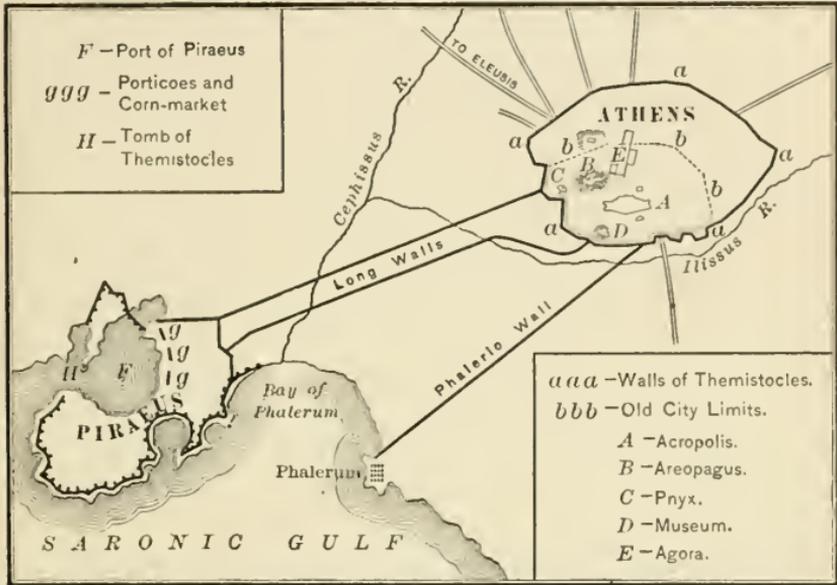
“The Spartans agreed; and Themistocles, at the same time, privately instructed the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as quietly as possible, and not let them go till he and his colleagues had got safely home. For by this time, those who were joined with him in the embassy had arrived, bringing the news that the wall was of sufficient height, and he was afraid that the Lacedaemonians,¹ when they heard the truth, might not allow him to return. So the Athenians detained the envoys, and Themistocles, coming before the Lacedaemonians, at length declared, in so many words, that Athens was now provided with walls and would protect her citizens: henceforward, if the Lacedaemonians wished at any time to negotiate, they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was best for their own and the common good.”

185. The Piraeus. — Themistocles was not yet content. Athens lay some three miles from the shore. Until a few years before, her only port had been an open roadstead, — the Phalerum; but during his archonship in 493, as part of his plan for naval greatness, Themistocles had given the city a magnificent harbor, by improving the bay of the *Piraeus*, at great expense. Now he persuaded the people to *fortify* this new port. Accordingly, the Piraeus, on the land side, was surrounded with a massive wall of solid masonry, clamped with iron, sixteen feet broad and thirty feet high, so that old men and boys might easily defend it against any enemy. *The Athenians now had two walled cities*, each four or five miles in circuit, and only four miles apart.

186. Commerce and Sea Power. — The alien merchants, who dwelt at the Athenian ports, had fled at the Persian invasion;

¹ Lacedaemonia is the name given to the whole Spartan territory. See map, page 98.

but this new security brought them back in throngs, to contribute to the power and wealth of Athens. Themistocles took care, too, that Athens should not lose her supremacy on the sea. Even while the walls of the Piraeus were building, he secured a vote of the Assembly ordering that twenty new ships should be added *each year* to the fleet.



PLAN OF ATHENS AND ITS PORTS.¹

187. Attempt at One League of All Hellas. — While the Greek army was still encamped on the field of victory at Plataea, it was agreed to hold there each year a Congress of all Greek cities. For a little time back, danger had forced a make-shift union upon the Greeks. The plan at Plataea was a wise attempt to make this union into a permanent confederacy of all Hellas. *The proposal came from the Athenians*, with the generous understanding that Sparta should keep the headship. The plan failed. Indeed, the jealous hostility of Sparta regarding the fortification of Athens showed that a true union would be difficult. *Instead of one confederacy, Greece fell apart into two rival leagues.*

¹ The "Long Walls" were not built until several years after the events mentioned in this section. See § 200.

188. Sparta and Athens.—Though Sparta had held command in the war, still the repulse of Persia had counted most for the glory of Athens. Athens had made greater sacrifices than any other state. She had shown herself free from petty vanity, and had acted with a broad patriotism. She had furnished the best ideas and ablest leaders; and, even in the field, Athenian enterprise and vigor had accomplished as much as Spartan discipline and valor.

Sparta had been necessary at the beginning. Had it not been for her great reputation, the Greeks would not have known where to turn for a leader, and so, probably, could not have come to any united action. But she had shown miserable judgment; her leaders, however brave, had proved incapable¹; and, now that war against Persia was to be carried on at a distance, her lack of enterprise became even more evident. Meantime, events were happening in Asia Minor which were to *force* Athens into leadership. The European Greeks had been unwilling to follow any but Spartan generals on sea or land; *but the scene of the war was now transferred to the Ionian coast, and there Athens was the more popular city.* Many cities there, like Miletus, looked upon Athens as their mother city (§ 121).

189. Mycale.—In the early spring of 479, a fleet had crossed the Aegean to assist Samos in revolt against Persia. A Spartan commanded the expedition, but three fifths of the ships were Athenian. On the very day of Plataea (so the Greeks told the story), these forces won a *double* victory at *Mycale*, on the coast of Asia Minor. They defeated a great Persian army, and seized and burned the three hundred Persian ships. *No Persian fleet showed itself again in the Aegean for nearly a hundred years.* Persian garrisons remained in many of the islands, for a time; but Persia made no attempt to reinforce them.

¹ Two of her kings were soon to play traitorous parts to Sparta and Hellas. Special report: King Leotychides in Thessaly. See also Pausanias at Byzantium, § 190. *The boasted Spartan training did not fit her men for the duties of the wider life now open to them.*

190. The Ionian Greeks throw off Spartan Leadership. — The victory of Mycale was a signal for the cities of Ionia to revolt again against Persia. The Spartans, however, shrank from the task of defending Hellenes so far away, and *proposed instead to remove the Ionians to European Greece.* The Ionians refused to leave their homes, and the Athenians in the fleet declared that Sparta should not so destroy “Athenian colonies.” *The Spartans seized the excuse to sail home,* leaving the Athenians to protect the Ionians as best they could. The Athenians gallantly undertook the task, and began at once to expel the Persian garrisons from the islands of the Aegean.

The next spring (478) Sparta thought better of the matter, and sent *Pausanias* to take command of the allied fleet. Pausanias had been the general of the Greeks at the battle of the Plataea; but that victory had turned his head. He treated the allies with contempt and neglect. At last they found his insolence unbearable, and asked the Athenians to take the leadership. Just then it was discovered that Pausanias had been negotiating treasonably with Persia, offering to betray Hellas. Sparta recalled him, to stand trial,¹ and sent another general to the fleet. The allies, however, refused to receive another Spartan commander. *Then Sparta and the Peloponnesian league withdrew wholly from the war.*

191. The Confederacy of Delos. — After getting rid of Sparta, the first step of the allies was to organize a confederacy. The chief part in this great work fell to *Aristides*, the commander of the Athenian ships in the allied fleet. Aristides proposed a plan of union, and appointed the number of ships and the amount of money that each of the allies should furnish each year. The courtesy and tact of the Athenian, and his known honesty, made all the states content with his proposals, and his arrangements were readily accepted.²

The union was called the *Confederacy of Delos*, because its

¹ Special report: the story of the punishment of Pausanias.

² EXERCISE.—1. Could Themistocles have served Athens at this time as well as Aristides did? 2. Report upon the later life of Themistocles.

seat of government and its treasury were to be at the island of Delos (the center of an ancient Ionian amphictyony). Here an annual congress of deputies from the different cities of the league was to meet. Each city had one vote.¹ Athens was the "president" of the league. Her generals commanded the fleet, and her delegates presided at the Congress. In return, Athens bore nearly half the total burdens, in furnishing ships and men, — far more than her proper share.

The purpose of the league was to free the Aegean completely from the Persians, and to keep them from ever coming back. The allies meant to make the union *perpetual*. Lumps of iron were thrown into the sea when the oath of union was taken, as a symbol that it should be binding until the iron should float. *The league was composed mainly of Ionian cities, interested in commerce.* It was a natural rival of Sparta's *Dorian inland league*.

192. The League did its work well. Its chief military hero was the Athenian *Cimon*, son of Miltiades.² Year after year, under his command, the allied fleet reduced one Persian garrison after another, until the whole region of the Aegean — all its coasts and islands — was free. Then, in 466, Cimon *carried the war beyond the Aegean* and won his most famous victory at the mouth of the *Eurymedon*, in Pamphylia (map following page 132), where in one day he destroyed a Persian land host and captured a fleet of 250 vessels.

193. Naturally, the League grew in size. It came to include nearly all the islands of the Aegean and the cities of the northern and eastern coasts. The cities on the straits and shores of the Black Sea, too, were added, and the rich trade of that region streamed through the Hellespont to the Piraeus. After the victory of the Eurymedon, many of the cities of the Carian and Lycian coasts joined the confederacy. Indeed, the cities of the league felt that all other Greeks of the Aegean

¹ Like our states in Congress under the old Articles of Confederation.

² There is an interesting account of Cimon (three pages) in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. 1, No. 74, from Plutarch's *Life*.

and of neighboring waters were *under obligation to join*, since they all had part in the blessings of the union. Aristophanes speaks of a "thousand cities" in the league, but only two hundred and eighty are known by name.

194. Some members of the League soon began to shirk. As soon as the pressing danger and the first enthusiasm were over, *many cities chose to pay more money, instead of furnishing ships and men*. They became indifferent, too, about the congress, and left the management of all matters to Athens. Athens, on the other hand, was ambitious, and eagerly accepted both burdens and responsibilities. The fleet became almost wholly Athenian. Then it was no longer necessary for Athens to consult the allies as to the management of the war, and the congress became of little consequence.

Another change was still more important. Here and there, cities began to refuse even the payment of money. This, of course, was secession. Such cities said that Persia was no longer dangerous, and that the need of the league was over. But the Athenian fleet, patrolling the Aegean, was all that kept the Persians from reappearing; and Athens, with good reason, held the allies by force to their promises.

The first attempt at secession came in 467, when the union was only ten years old. Naxos, one of the most powerful islands, refused to pay its contributions. Athens at once attacked Naxos, and, after a stern struggle, brought it to submission. *But the conquered state was not allowed to return into the union*. It lost its vote in the congress, and *became a mere subject of Athens*.

195. The "Athenian Empire." — From time to time, other members of the league attempted secession, and met a fate like that of Naxos. Athens took away their fleets, leveled their walls, made them pay a small tribute. Sometimes such a city had to turn over its citadel to an Athenian garrison. Usually a subject city was left to manage its internal government in its own way; but it could no longer have political alliances with other cities.

Just how many such rebellions there were we do not know; but before long the loyal cities found themselves treated much like those that had rebelled. *The confederacy of equal states became an empire, with Athens for its "tyrant city."* The meetings of the congress ceased altogether. The treasury was removed from Delos to Athens, and the funds and resources of the union were used for the glory of Athens.

Athens, however, did continue to perform faithfully the work for which the union had been created; and on the whole, despite the strong tendency to city independence, the subject cities seem to have been well content. Even hostile critics confessed that the bulk of the people looked gratefully to Athens for protection against the oligarchs. Athens was the true mother of Ionian democracy. As an Athenian orator said, "Athens was the champion of the masses, denying the right of the many to be at the mercy of the few." In nearly every city of the empire the ruling power became an Assembly like that at Athens.

By 450 B.C. Lesbos, Chios, and Samos were the only states of the league which had not become "subject states"; and even they had no voice in the government of the empire. Athens, however, had other independent allies that had never belonged to the Delian Confederacy—like Plataea, Coreyra, Naupactus, and Acarnania in Greece; Rhegium in Italy; and Segesta and other Ionian cities in Sicily.

FOR FURTHER READING.—*Specially suggested:* The only passage in Davis' *Readings* for this period is Vol. 1, No. 74, on Cimon. Bury, 228-242, covers the period. *Instead of Bury*, the student may well read Chapter I in Cox's *Athenian Empire*. Plutarch's *Themistocles* and *Aristides* continue to be valuable for *additional* reading.

FIRST PERIOD OF STRIFE WITH SPARTA, 461-445 B.C.

196. Jealousy between Athens and Sparta.—Greece had divided into two great leagues, under the lead of Athens and Sparta. These two powers now quarreled, and their strife made the history of Hellas for many years. The first hostile step came from Sparta. In 465, Thasos, a member of the

Confederacy of Delos, revolted; and Athens was employed for two years in conquering her. During the struggle, Thasos asked Sparta for aid. Sparta and Athens were still nominally in alliance, under the league of Plataea (§ 186); but Sparta grasped at the opportunity and secretly began preparations to invade Attica.

197. Athenian Aid for Sparta. — This treacherous attack was prevented by a terrible earthquake which destroyed part of Sparta and threw the whole state into confusion. The Helots revolted, and Messenia (§ 127) made a desperate attempt to regain her independence. Instead of attacking Athens, Sparta, in dire need, called upon her for aid.

At Athens this request led to a sharp dispute. The democratic party, led by *Ephialtes*¹ and *Pericles*, was opposed to sending help; but *Cimon* (§ 192), leader of the aristocratic party, urged that the true policy was for Sparta and Athens to aid each other in keeping a joint leadership of Hellas. Athens, he said, ought not to let her yoke-fellow be destroyed and Greece be lamed. This generous advice prevailed; and Cimon led an Athenian army to Sparta's aid.

198. An Open Quarrel. — A little later, however, the Spartans began to suspect the Athenians, groundlessly, of the same bad faith of which they knew themselves guilty, and sent back the army with insult. Indignation then ran high at Athens; and the anti-Spartan party was greatly strengthened. Cimon was ostracized (461 B.C.), and the aristocratic faction was left leaderless and helpless for many years.

At almost the same time Ephialtes was murdered by aristocrat conspirators. Thus, leadership fell to Pericles. Under his influence *Athens formally renounced her alliance with Sparta*. Then the two great powers of Greece stood in open opposition, ready for war.

199. A Land Empire for Athens. — Thus far the Athenian empire had been mainly a *sea power*. Pericles planned to

¹This, of course, was not the Ephialtes of Thermopylae.

extend it likewise over inland Greece, and so to supplant Sparta. He easily secured an alliance with Argos, Sparta's sleepless foe. He established Athenian influence also in Thessaly, by treaties with the great chiefs there, and thus secured the aid of the famous Thessalian cavalry. Then Megara, on



PERICLES.

A portrait bust, now in the Vatican at Rome.

the Isthmus of Corinth, sought Athenian alliance, in order to protect itself against Corinth, its powerful neighbor. This involved war with Corinth, but Pericles gladly welcomed Megara because of its ports on the Corinthian Gulf. He then built long walls running the whole width of the narrow isthmus from sea to sea, joining Megara and these ports. In control of these walls, Athens could prevent invasion by land from the Peloponnesus.

200. Activity of Athens.

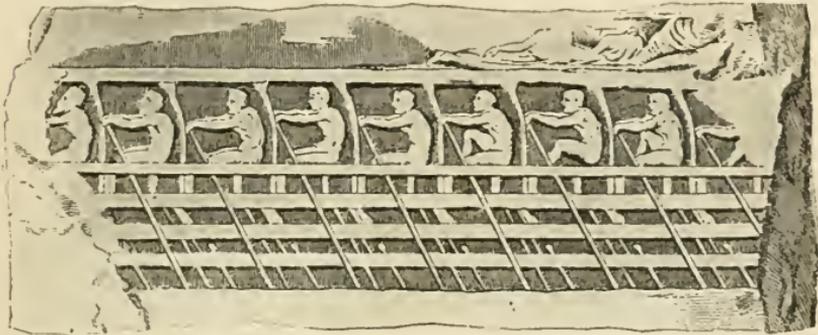
—A rush of startling events followed. Corinth and Aegina, bitterly angry

because their old commerce had now been drawn to the Piraeus, declared war on Athens. Athens promptly captured Aegina, and struck Corinth blow after blow even in the Corinthian Gulf. At the same time, without lessening her usual fleet in the Aegean, she sent a mighty armament of 250 ships to carry on the war against Persia, by assisting Egypt in a revolt. Such a fleet called for from 2500 to 5000 soldiers and 50,000 sailors.¹

¹ A Greek warship of this period was called a "three-banker" (*trireme*), because she was rowed by oarsmen arranged on *three benches*, one above

The sailors came largely from the poorer citizens, and even from the non-citizen class.

Pericles turned next to Boeotia, and set up friendly democracies in many of the cities there to lessen the control of oligarchic and hostile Thebes. The quarrel with Sparta had



SIDE OF PART OF A TRIREME. — From a relief at Athens. In this trireme the highest "bank" of rowers rested their oars on the gunwale. Only the oars of the other two banks are visible.

become open war; and an Athenian fleet burned the Laconian dock-yards. A Spartan army crossed the Corinthian Gulf and

another. The wars which the Greeks waged in these three-bankers were hardly more fierce than those that modern scholars have waged — in ink — about them. Some have held that each group of three oarsmen held only one oar. This view is now abandoned — because of the evidence of the "reliefs" on Greek monuments. Plainly each group of three had three separate oars, of different lengths; but we do not know yet how they could have worked them successfully. The oars projected through port-holes, and the 174 oarsmen were protected from arrows by the wooden sides of the vessel. Sometimes — as in the illustration above — the upper bank of rowers had no protection. There were about 20 other sailors to each ship, for helmsman, lookouts, overseers of the oarsmen, and so on. And a warship never carried less than ten fully armed soldiers. The Athenians usually sent from 20 to 25 in each ship.

The ships were about 120 feet long, and less than 20 feet wide. The two masts were always lowered for battle. Two methods of attack were in use. If possible, a ship crushed in the side of an opponent by ramming with its sharp bronze prow. This would sink the enemy's ship at once. Almost as good a thing was to run close along her side (shipping one's own oars on that side just in time), shivering her long oars and hurling her rowers from the benches. This left a ship as helpless as a bird with a broken wing.

appeared in Boeotia, to check Athenian progress there. It won a partial victory at *Tanagra* (map after page 98), — the first real battle between the two states, — but immediately retreated into the Peloponnesus. The Athenians at once reappeared in the field, crushed the Thebans in a great battle at *Oenophyta*, and became masters of all Boeotia. At the same time *Phocis* and *Locris* allied themselves to Athens, so that she seemed in a fair way to extend her land empire over all central Greece, — to which she now held the two gates, Thermopylae and the passes of the isthmus. A little later *Achaea*, in the Peloponnesus itself, was added to the Athenian league.

The activity of Athens at this period is marvelous. It is impossible even to mention the many instances of her matchless energy and splendid daring for the few years after 460, while the empire was at its height. For one instance: just when Athens' hands were fullest in Egypt and in the siege of Aegina, Corinth tried a diversion by invading the territory of Megara. Athens did not recall a man. She armed the youths and the old men past age of service, and repelled the invaders. The Corinthians, stung by shame, made a second, more determined attempt, and were again repulsed with great slaughter. It was at this time, too, that the city completed her fortifications, by building the *Long Walls* from Athens to her ports (maps, pages 180 and 189). These walls were 30 feet high and 12 feet thick. They made Athens absolutely safe from a siege, so long as she kept her supremacy on the sea; and they added to the city a large open space where the country people might take refuge in case of invasion.

201. Loss of the Land Empire. — How one city could carry on all these activities is almost beyond comprehension. But the resources of Athens were severely strained, and a sudden series of stunning blows well-nigh exhausted her. The expedition to Egypt had at first been brilliantly successful,¹ but unforeseen disaster followed, and the 250 ships and the whole

¹ Athenian success here would have shut Persia off completely from the Mediterranean, and so from all possible contact with Europe.

army in Egypt were lost.¹ This stroke would have annihilated any other Greek state, and it was followed by others. Megara, which had itself invited an Athenian garrison, now treacherously massacred it and joined the Peloponnesian league. A Spartan army then entered Attica through Megara; and, at the same moment, Euboea burst into revolt. All Boeotia, too, except Plataea, fell away. The oligarchs won the upper hand in its various cities, and joined themselves to Sparta.

202. The Thirty Years' Truce.—The activity and skill of Pericles saved Attica and Euboea; but the inland possessions and alliances were for the most part lost, and in 445 B.C. a *Thirty Years' Truce* was concluded with Sparta. A little before this, the long war with Persia had closed.

For fifteen years Athens had almost unbroken peace. Then the truce between Sparta and Athens was broken, and the great Peloponnesian War began (§§ 241 ff.). That struggle ruined the power of Athens and the promise of Greece. Therefore, before entering upon its story, we will stop here for a survey of Greek civilization at this period of its highest glory, in Athens, its chief center.

FOR FURTHER READING.—*Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 73-75 (4 pages); Bury, 352-363. *Additional*: Cox's *Athenian Empire*, and the opening chapters of Grant's *Greece in the Age of Pericles* and of Abbott's *Pericles*.

THE EMPIRE AND THE IMPERIAL CITY IN PEACE

203. Three Forms of Greatness.—Athens had *great material power* and a *high political development* and *wonderful intellectual greatness*. *The last is what she especially stands for in history*. But the first two topics have already been partly discussed, and may be best disposed of here before the most important one is taken up.

A. MILITARY STRENGTH

"The Athens of the fifth century was a great state in a higher sense than most of the kingdoms of the Middle Ages. . . . For the space of a

¹ Special report.

half century her power was quite on a par with that of Persia, . . . and the Athenian Empire is the true precursor of those of Macedonia and Rome." — HOLM, II, 259.

204. Material Power. — The last real chance for a united Hellas passed away when Athens lost control of central Greece. But at the moment the loss of land empire did not seem to lessen Athens' strength. She had saved her sea empire, and consolidated it more firmly than ever. *And, for a generation more, the Greeks of that empire were the leaders of the world in power, as in culture.* They had proved themselves more than a match for Persia. The mere magic of the Athenian name sufficed to keep Carthage from renewing her attack upon the Sicilian Greeks. The Athenian colonies in Thrace easily held in check the rising Macedonian kingdom. Rome, which three centuries later was to absorb Hellas into her world-empire, was still a barbarous village on the Tiber bank. In the middle of the fifth century B.C. *the center of power in the world was imperial Athens.*

205. Population. — The cities of the empire counted some three millions of people. The number seems small to us; but it must be kept in mind that *the population of the world was much smaller then than now*, and that the Athenian empire was made up of cultured, wealthy, progressive communities.

To be sure, slaves made a large fraction of this population. Attica itself contained about one tenth of the inhabitants of the whole empire, perhaps 300,000 people (about as many as live in Minneapolis). Of these, one fourth were slaves, and a sixth were aliens. This left some 175,000 citizens, of whom perhaps 35,000 were men fit for soldiers. Outside Attica, there were 75,000 more citizens, — the *cleruchs* (§ 148), whom Pericles had sent to garrison outlying parts of the empire.

206. Colonies. — The cleruchs, unlike other Greek colonists, kept all the rights of citizenship. They had their own local Assemblies, to manage the affairs of each colony. But they kept also their enrollment in the Attic demes and could vote upon the affairs of Athens and of the empire — *though not unless*

they came to Athens in person. They were mostly from the poorer classes, and were induced to go out to the new settlements by the gift of lands sufficient to raise them at least to the class of hoplites (§ 137). Rome copied this plan a century later. Otherwise, *the world was not to see again so liberal a form of colonization until the United States of America began to organize "Territories."*

207. Revenue. — The empire was rich, and the revenues of the government were large, for those days. Athens drew a yearly income of about four hundred talents (\$400,000 in our values) from her Thracian mines and from the port dues and the taxes on alien merchants. The tribute from the subject cities amounted to \$600,000. This tribute was fairly assessed, and it bore lightly upon the prosperous Greek communities. *The Asiatic Greeks paid only one sixth as much as they had formerly paid Persia;* and the tax was much less than it would have cost the cities merely to defend themselves against pirates, had Athenian protection been removed.

Indeed, the whole amount drawn from the subject cities would not keep one hundred ships manned and equipped for a year, to say nothing of building them. When we remember the standing navy in the Aegean and the great armaments that Athens sent repeatedly against Persia, it is plain that she continued to bear her full share of the imperial burden. She kept her empire because she did not rob her dependencies — as most empires had done, and were to do for two thousand years longer.

B. GOVERNMENT

208. Steps in Development. — Seventy years had passed between the reforms of Clisthenes and the truce with Sparta. The main steps of progress in government were five.

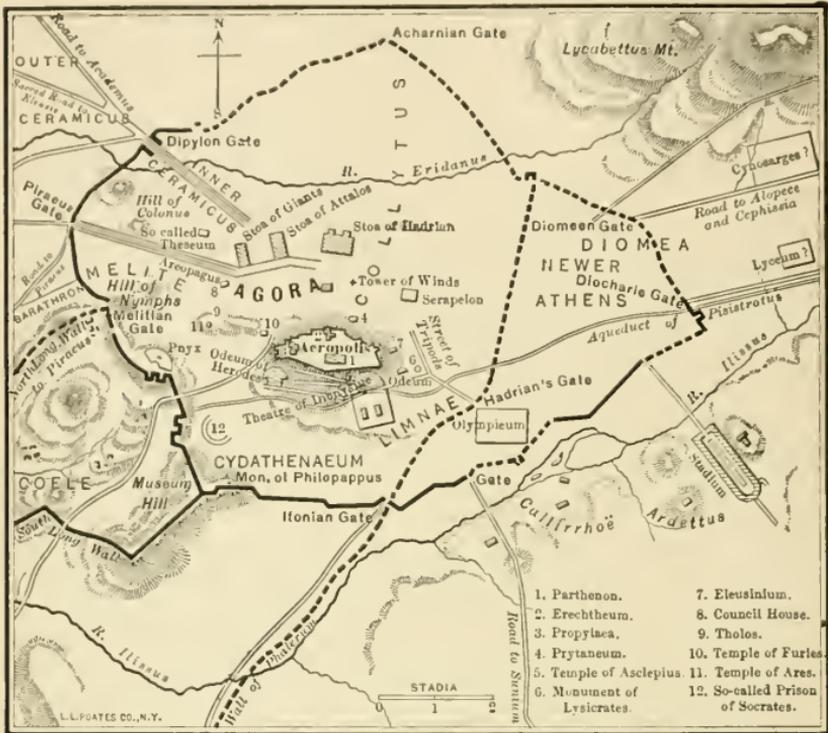
The office of *General* had grown greatly in importance.

The *Assembly* had extended its authority to all matters of government, in practice as well as in theory.

Jury courts (§ 211, below) had gained importance.

The poorest citizens (§ 152) had been made eligible to office.

The state had begun to pay its citizens for public services.



MAP OF ATHENS, with some structures of the Roman period.—The term “Stoa,” which appears so often in this map, means “porch” or portico. These porticoes were inclosed by columns, and their fronts along the Agora formed a succession of colonnades. Only a few of the famous buildings can be shown in a map like this. The “Agora” was the great public square, or open market place, surrounded by shops and porticoes. It was the busiest spot in Athens, the center of the commercial and social life of the city, where men met their friends for business or for pleasure.

The constitution was not made over new at any one moment within this period, as it had been earlier, at the time of Solon and of Clisthenes. Indeed, the change was more in the *spirit of the people* than in the written law. The first three steps mentioned (the increased power of the Generals and of the As

sembly and jury courts) came altogether from a gradual change *in practice*. The other two steps had been brought about by piecemeal *legislation*. The guiding spirit in most of this development was *Pericles*.

209. "Generals" and "Leaders of the People."—When Themistocles put through important measures, like the improvement of the Piræus (§ 185), he held the office of *Archon*; but when Cimon or Pericles guided the policy of Athens, they held the office of General. *The Generals had become the administrators of the government*. It was usually they who *proposed* to the Assembly the levy of troops, the building of ships, the raising of money, the making of peace or war. Then, when the Assembly decided to do any of these things, the Generals *saw to the execution of them*. *They were subject absolutely to the control of the Assembly, but they had great opportunities to influence it*: they could call special meetings at will, and they had the right to speak whenever they wished.

But any man had full right to try to persuade the Assembly, whether he held office or not: and the more prominent speakers and leaders were known as "leaders of the people" (demagogues). Even though he held no office, a "leader of the people," trusted by the popular party, exercised a greater authority than any General could *without* that trust. To make things work smoothly, therefore, it was desirable that the Board of Generals should contain the "leader of the people" for the time being. Pericles was recognized "demagogue" for many years, and was usually elected each year president of the Board of Generals.

210. *The Assembly*¹ met on the Pnyx,² a sloping hill whose side formed a kind of natural theater. There were forty regular meetings each year, and many special meetings. Thus a patriotic citizen was called upon to give at least one day a week to the state in this matter of political meetings alone.

¹On the Assembly, there is an admirable treatment in Grant's *Age of Pericles*, 141-149.

²See plan of Athens, page 202.

The Assembly had become thoroughly democratic and had made great gains in power since Cleisthenes' time. All public officials had become its obedient servants. The Council of Five Hundred (§ 152) existed not to guide it, but to do its bidding. The Generals were its creatures, and *might be deposed by it any day*. No act of government was too small or too great for it to deal with. *The Assembly of Athens was to the greatest empire of the world in that day all, and more than all, that a New England town meeting ever was to its little town*. It was as if the citizens of Boston or Chicago were to meet day by day to govern the United States, and, at the same time, to attend to all their own local affairs.

211. "Juries" of citizens were introduced by Solon, and their importance became fully developed under Pericles. Six thousand citizens were chosen by lot each year for this duty, from those who offered themselves for the service—mostly the older men past the age for active work. One thousand of these were held in reserve. The others were divided into *ten jury courts* of five hundred men each.

The Assembly turned over the trial of officials to the juries. With a view to this duty, each juror took an oath "above all things to favor neither tyranny nor oligarchy, nor in any way to prejudice [injure] the sovereignty of the people." The juries also settled all disputes between separate cities of the empire; they were courts of appeal for important cases between citizens in a subject city; and they were the ordinary law courts for Athenians. An Athenian jury was "both judge and jury": it decided each case by a majority vote, *and there was no appeal from its verdict*.

Thus these large bodies had not even the check that our small juries have in trained judges to guide them. No doubt they gave many wrong verdicts. Passion and pity and bribery all interfered, at times, with even-handed justice; *but, on the whole, the system worked astonishingly well*. In particular, any citizen of a subject city was sure to get redress from these courts, if he had been wronged by an Athenian officer. And rich criminals found it quite as hard to bribe a majority of 500 jurors as such offenders find it among us to "influence" some judge to shield them with legal technicalities.

212. State Pay. — Since these courts had so great weight, and since they tried political offenders, it was essential that they should not fall wholly into the hands of the rich. To prevent this, Pericles introduced a small payment for jury duty. The amount, three obols a day (about nine cents), would furnish a day's food for one person in Athens, but it would not support a family.

Afterward, Pericles extended public payment to other political services. Aristotle (a Greek writer a century or so later) says that some 20,000 men — over half the whole body of citizens — were constantly in the pay of the state. Half of this number were soldiers, in garrisons or in the field. But, besides the 6000 jurymen, there were the 500 Councilmen, 700 city officials,¹ 700 more officials representing Athens throughout the empire, and many inferior state servants; so that *always from a third to a fourth of the citizens were in the civil service.*²

Pericles has been accused sometimes of "corrupting" the Athenians by the introduction of payment. But there is no proof that the Athenians were corrupted; and, further, such a system was inevitable when the democracy of a little city became the master of an empire. It was quite as natural and proper as is the payment of congressmen and judges with us.

213. Athenian Political Ability. — Many of the offices in Athens could be held only once by the same man, so that *each Athenian citizen could count upon serving his city at some time in almost every office.* Politics was his occupation; office-holding, his regular business.

Such a system could not have worked without a high *average* of intelligence in the people. It *did* work well. With all its faults, the rule of Athens in Greece was vastly superior to the rude despotism that followed under

¹ Overseers of weights and measures, harbor inspectors, and so on.

² *Civil service* is a term used in contrast to *military service*. Our post-masters are among the civil servants of the United States, as a city engineer or a fireman is in the city civil service.

Sparta, or the anarchy under Thebes (§§ 253, 267). It gave to a large part of the Hellenic world a peace and security never enjoyed before, or after, until the rise of Roman power. Athens itself, moreover, was governed better and more gently than oligarchic cities like Corinth.

“The Athenian democracy made a greater number of citizens fit to use power than could be made fit by any other system. . . . The Assembly was an assembly of citizens—of average citizens without sifting or selection; but it was an assembly of citizens *among whom the political average stood higher than it ever did in any other state.* . . . The Athenian, by constantly hearing questions of foreign policy and domestic administration argued by the greatest orators the world ever saw, received a political training which nothing else in the history of mankind has been found to equal.”¹

214. The Final Verdict upon the Empire.—It is easy to see that the Athenian system was imperfect, tried by our standard of government; but it is more to the point to see that it was an advance over anything ever before attempted.

It is to be regretted that Athens did not continue to admit aliens to citizenship, as in Clisthenes' day. It is to be regretted that she did not extend to the men of her subject cities that sort of citizenship which she did leave to her cleruchs. But the important thing is, that she had moved farther than had any other state up to this time. The admission of aliens by Clisthenes and the cleruch citizenship (§ 206) were notable advances. *The broadest policy of an age ought not to be condemned as narrow.*

215. Parties: A Summary.—A few words will review party history up to the leadership of Pericles. All factions in Athens had united patriotically against Persia, and afterward in fortifying the city; but the brief era of good feeling was followed by a renewal of party strife. The Aristocrats rallied around Cimon, while the two wings of the democrats were led at first, as before the invasion, by Aristides and Themistocles.

¹ Freeman's *Federal Government*. Read a spicy paragraph in Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, 116, 117.

Themistocles was ostracized, and his friend Ephialtes became the leader of the extreme democrats. When Ephialtes was assassinated (§ 196), Pericles stepped into his place.

216. Pericles. — The aristocratic party had been ruined by its pro-Spartan policy (§§ 197, 198). The two divisions of the democrats reunited, and for a quarter of a century Pericles was in practice as absolute as a dictator. Thucydides calls Athens during this period “a democracy in name, ruled in reality by its ablest citizen.”

Pericles belonged to the ancient nobility of Athens, but to families that had always taken the side of the people. His mother was the niece of Clisthenes the reformer, and his father had impeached Miltiades (§ 169), so that the enmity between Cimon and Pericles was hereditary. The supremacy of Pericles rested in no way upon the flattering arts of later popular leaders. His proud reserve verged on haughtiness, and he was rarely seen in public. He scorned to show emotion. His stately gravity and unruffled calm were styled Olympian by his admirers — who added that, like Zeus, he could on occasion overbear opposition by the majestic thunder of his oratory.

The great authority of Pericles came from no public office. He was elected General, it is true, fifteen times, and in the board of ten generals, he had far more weight than any other had; but this was because of his *unofficial* position as “leader of the people” (§ 209). General or not, he was *master* only so long as he could carry the Assembly with him; and he was compelled to defend each of his measures against all who chose to attack it. The long and steady confidence given him honors the people of Athens no less than it honors Pericles himself. His noblest praise is that which he claimed for himself upon his deathbed, — that, with all his authority, and despite the bitterness of party strife, “no Athenian has had to put on mourning because of me.”

Pericles stated his own policy clearly. As to the empire, he sought to make Athens at once the *ruler* and the *teacher* of

Hellas,—the political and intellectual center. Within the city itself, he wished *the people to rule*, not merely in theory, but in fact, as the best means of training them for high responsibilities.

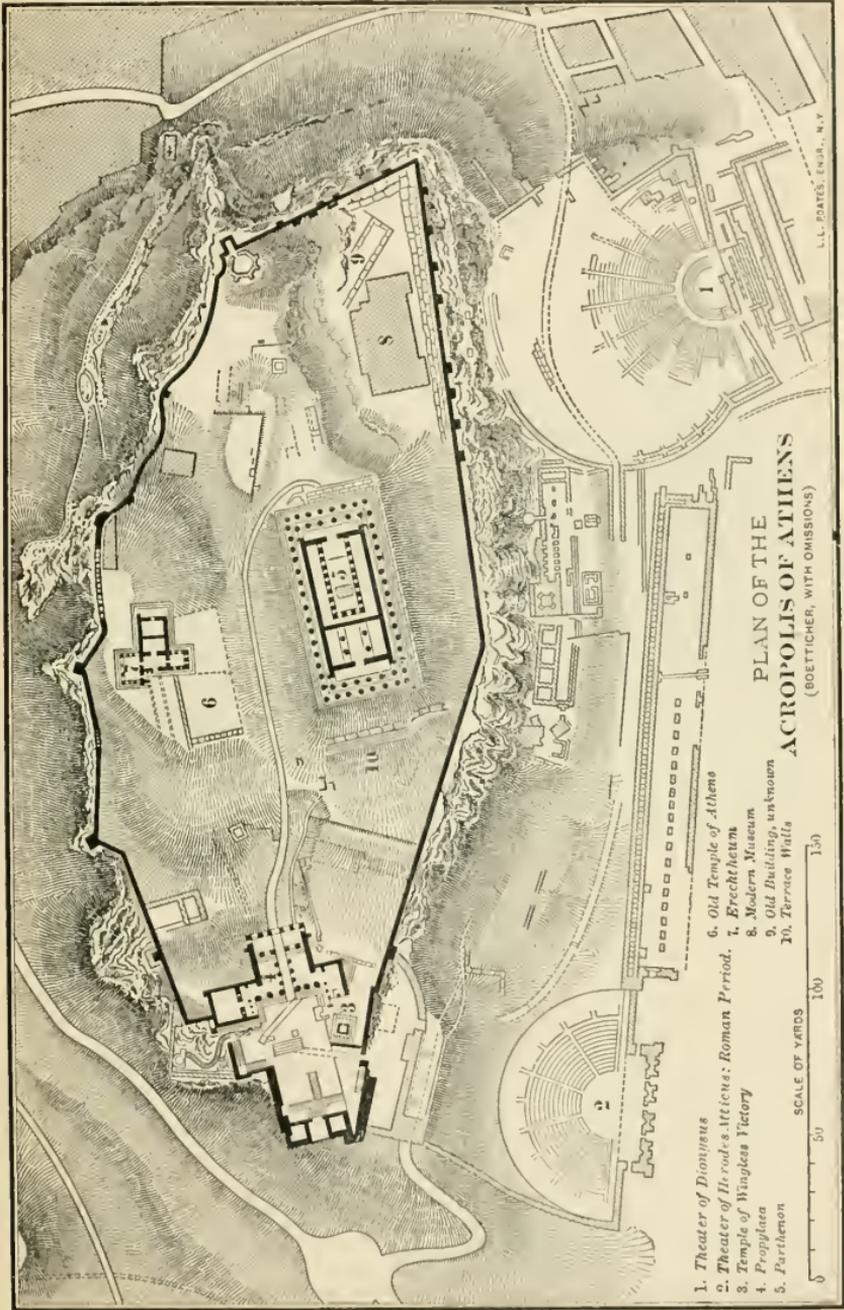
C. INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC ATHENS

217. The True Significance of Athens.—After all, in politics and war, Hellas has had superiors. Her true service to mankind and her imperishable glory lie in her literature, her philosophy, and her art. *It was in the Athens of Pericles that these forms of Greek life developed most fully*, and this fact makes the real meaning of that city in history.

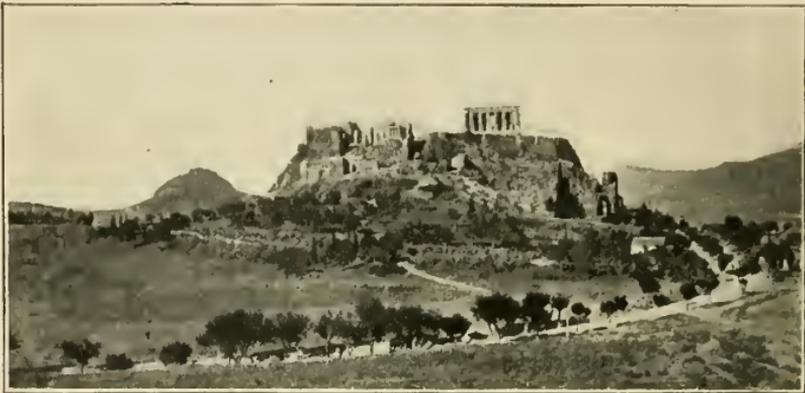
218. Architecture and Sculpture.—Part of the policy of Pericles was to adorn Athens from the surplus revenues of the empire. The injustice of this is plain; but the result was to make the city the most beautiful in the world, so that, ever since, her mere ruins have enthralled the admiration of men. Greek art was just reaching its perfection; and everywhere in Athens, under the charge of the greatest artists of this greatest artistic age, arose temples, colonnades, porticoes,—inimitable to this day.

“No description can give anything but a very inadequate idea of the splendor, the strength, the beauty, which met the eye of the Athenian, whether he walked round the fortifications, or through the broad streets of the Piræus, or along the Long Walls, or in the shades of the Academy, or amidst the tombs of the Ceramicus; whether he chattered in the market place, or attended assemblies in the Pnyx, or loitered in one of the numerous porticoes, or watched the exercises in the Gymnasia, or listened to music in the Odeum or plays in the theaters, or joined the throng of worshipers ascending to the great gateway of the Acropolis. And this magnificence was not the result of centuries of toil; *it was the work of fifty years*. . . . Athens became a vast workshop, in which artisans of every kind found employment, all, in their various degrees, contributing to the execution of the plans of the master minds, Phidias, Ictinus, Calliocrates, Mnesicles, and others.”—ABBOTT. *Pericles*, 303-308.

The center of this architectural splendor was the ancient citadel of the Acropolis. That massive rock now became the



“holy hill.” No longer needed as a fortification, it was crowned with white marble, and devoted to religion and art. It was inaccessible except on the west. Here was built a stately stairway of sixty marble steps, leading to a series of noble colonnades and porticoes (*the Propylaea*) of surpassing beauty. From these the visitor emerged upon the leveled top of the Acropolis, to find himself surrounded by temples and statues, any one of which alone might make the fame of the proudest



THE ACROPOLIS TO-DAY.

modern city. Just in front of the entrance stood the colossal bronze statue of *Athene the Champion*, whose broad spear point, glittering in the sun, was the first sign of the city to the mariner far out at sea. On the right of the entrance, and a little to the rear, was the temple of the *Wingless Victory*¹; and near the center of the open space rose the larger structures of the *Erechtheum*² and the *Parthenon*.

219. The Parthenon (“maiden’s chamber”) was the temple of the virgin goddess Athene. It remains absolutely peerless in its loveliness among the buildings of the world. It was in the Doric style,³ and of no great size, — only some 100 feet by

¹ See the illustration on page 159.

² A temple to Erechtheus, an ancestral god of Attica. See page 212.

³ See § 154 for explanation of this and other terms used in this description. See also pages 156, 158, 212, 221, for illustrations of the Parthenon.

250, while the marble pillars supporting its low pediment rose only 34 feet from their base of three receding steps. The effect was due, not to the sublimity and grandeur of vast masses, but to the perfection of proportion, to exquisite beauty of line, and to the delicacy and profusion of ornament. On this structure, indeed, was lavished without stint the highest art of the



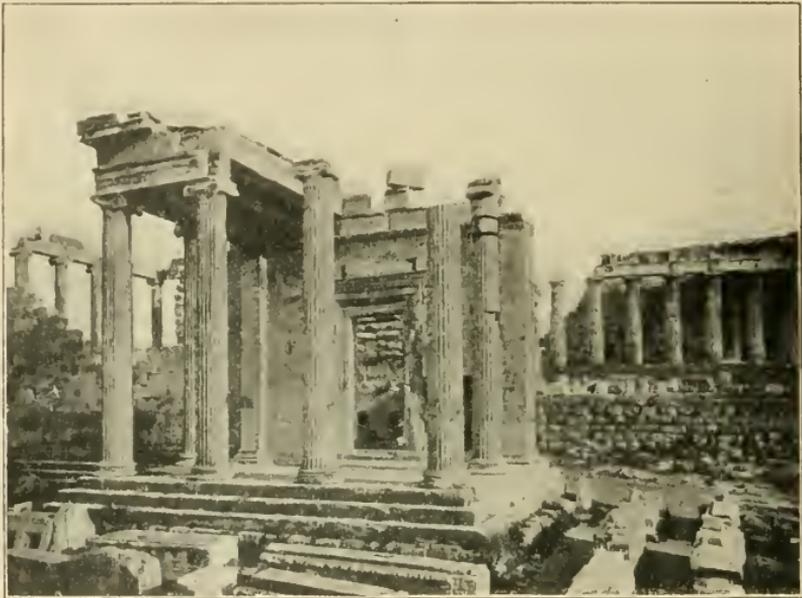
PROPYLEA OF THE ACROPOLIS TO-DAY.

art capital of all time. The fifty life-size and colossal statues in the pediments, and the four thousand square feet of smaller reliefs in the frieze were all finished with perfect skill, even in the unseen parts. The frieze represents an Athenian procession, carrying offerings to the patron goddess Athene at the greatest religious festival of Athens. Nearly 500 different figures were carved upon this frieze.¹ As with all Greek tem-

¹These reliefs are now for the most part in the British Museum and are often referred to as the *Elgin Marbles*, from the fact that Lord Elgin secured them, shortly after 1800, for the English government. The student can judge of the original position of part of the sculpture on the building from the illustration of the Parthenon on page 221. The frieze within the colonnade

ples, the bands of stone above the columns were painted in brilliant reds and blues; and the faces of the sculptures were tinted in lifelike hues.

About 230 years ago, when the Turks held Athens, they used the Parthenon as a powder house. An enemy's cannon ball exploded the magazine, blowing the temple into ruins, much as we see them to-day.



ERECHTHEUM (foreground) AND PARTHENON. This view gives the contrast between the delicacy of the Ionic style and the simple dignity of the Doric. Cf. § 154.

220. Phidias. — The ornamentation of the Parthenon, within and without, was cared for by *Phidias* and his pupils. *Phidias* still ranks as the greatest of sculptors.¹ Much of the work on the Acropolis he merely planned, but the great statues of

(§ 154) cannot be shown in such pictures. It was a band of relief, about four feet in width, running entirely around the temple.

¹*Phidias* has been rivaled, if at all, only by his pupil, *Praxiteles*. The *Hermes* of *Praxiteles* is one of the few great works of antiquity that survive to us; and of his *Satyr* we have a famous copy in Rome, which plays a part in Hawthorne's novel, *The Marble Faun*. See pages 227, 254.

Athene were his special work. The bronze statue has already been mentioned. Besides this, there was, *within the temple*, an even more glorious statue in gold and ivory, smaller than the other, but still five or six times larger than life.¹ Professor Mahaffy has said of all this Parthenon sculpture: —

“The beauty and perfection of all the invisible parts are such that the cost of labor and money must have been enormous. There is no *show*



FIGURES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE.

whatever for much of this extraordinary finish, which can only be seen by going on the roof or by opening a wall. Yet the religiousness of the unseen work² has secured that what is seen shall be perfect with no ordinary perfection.”

¹These two works divide the honor of Phidias' great fame with his Zeus at Olympia, which, in the opinion of the ancients, surpassed all other sculpture in grandeur. Phidias said that he planned the latter work, thinking of Homer's Zeus, at the nod of whose ambrosial locks Olympus trembled.

²Compare Longfellow's lines, —

“In the older days of art,
Builders wrought, with utmost care,
Each obscure and unseen part, —
For the gods see everywhere.”

221. **The Drama.** — In the age of Pericles, the chief form of poetry became the *tragic drama* — the highest development of



SOPHOCLES — a portrait-statue, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

Greek literature. As the tenth century was the epic age, and the seventh and sixth the lyric (§ 155), so the fifth century begins the dramatic period.

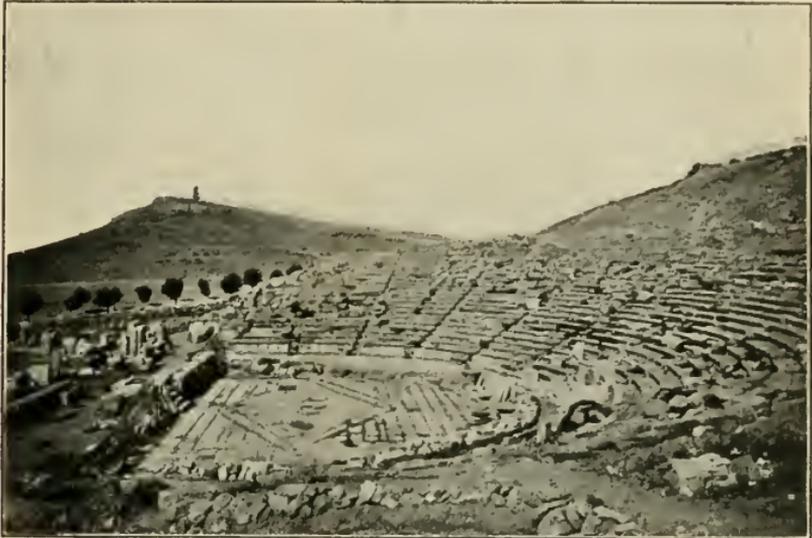
The drama *began* in the songs and dances of a chorus in honor of Dionysus, god of wine, at the spring festival of flowers and at the autumn vintage festival. The *leader* of the chorus came at length to recite stories, between the songs. Thespis (§ 146) at Athens, in the age of Pisistratus, had developed this leader into an *actor*, — *apart from the chorus and carrying on dialogue with it*. Now *Aeschylus* added another actor, and his younger rival, *Sophocles*, a

third.¹ Aeschylus, Sophocles, and their successor, *Euripides*, are the three greatest Greek dramatists. Together they pro-

¹ The Greek tragedy never permitted more than three actors upon the stage at one time. The Greek drama cannot be compared easily with the

duced some two hundred plays, of which thirty-one survive. Their plays were all *tragedies*.

Comedy also grew out of the worship of the wine god, — not from the great religious festivals, however, but from the rude village merrymakings. Even upon the stage, comedy kept traces of this rude origin in occasional coarseness; and it was



THEATER OF DIONYSUS—present condition.

sometimes misused, to abuse men like Pericles and Socrates. Still, its great master, *Aristophanes*, for his wit and genius, must always remain one of the bright names in literature.

222. The Theater.—Every Greek city had its “theaters.” A theater was a semicircular arrangement of rising seats, often cut into a hillside, with a small stage at the open side of the circle for the actors. There was no inclosed building, except sometimes a few rooms for the actors, and there was

modern. Sophocles and Shakespeare differ somewhat as the Parthenon differs from a vast cathedral. In a Greek play the scene never changed, and all the action had to be such as could have taken place in one day. That is, the “unities” of time and place were strictly preserved, while the small number of actors made it easy to maintain also a “unity of action.”

none of the gorgeous stage scenery which has become a chief feature of our theaters. Neither did the Greek theater run every night. Performances took place at only two periods in the year—at the spring and autumn festivals to Dionysus—for about a week each season; and the performance of course had to be in the daytime.

The great *Theater of Dionysus*, in Athens, was on the south-east slope of the Acropolis—the rising seats, cut in a semicircle into the rocky bluff, looking forth, beyond the stage, to the hills of southern Attica and over the blue waters of the Aegean. It could seat almost the whole free male population.¹

Pericles secured from the public treasury the admission fee to the Theater for each citizen who chose to ask for it. This use of “theater money” was altogether different from the payment of officers and jurors. It must be kept in mind that the Greek stage was the modern pulpit and press in one. The practice of free admission was designed to advance religious and intellectual training, rather than to give amusement. *It was a kind of public education for grown-up people.*

223. Oratory was highly developed. Among no other people has public speaking been so important and so effective. Its special home was Athens. For almost two hundred years, from Themistocles to Demosthenes (§ 272), great statesmen swayed the Athenian state by the power of sonorous and thrilling eloquence; and the emotional citizens, day after day, packed the Pnyx to hang breathless for hours upon the persuasive lips of their leaders. The art of public speech was studied zealously by all who hoped to take part in public affairs.

Unhappily, Pericles did not preserve his orations. The one quoted below (§ 229) seems to have been recast by Thucydides in his own style. But fortunately we *do* still have many of the orations of Demosthenes, of the next century; and from them we can understand how the union of fiery passion, and

¹ The stone seats were not carved out of the hill until somewhat later. During the age of Pericles, the men of Athens sat on the ground, or on stools which they brought with them, all over the hillside.

convincing logic, and polished beauty of language, made oratory rank with the drama and with art as the great means of public education for Athenians.

224. History. — *Prose* literature now appears, with history as its leading form. The three great historians of the period are

Herodotus, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. For charm in story-telling they have never been excelled. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus (a city of Asia Minor). He traveled widely, lived long at Athens as the friend of Pericles, and finally in Italy composed his great *History of the Persian Wars*, with an introduction covering the world's history up to that event. Thucydides, an Athenian general, wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War (§§ 241 ff.) in which he took part. Xenophon belongs rather to the next century. He also was an



THUCYDIDES.

A portrait bust; now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

Athenian. He completed the story of the Peloponnesian War, and gave us, with other works, the *Anabasis*, an account of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the Persian empire in 401 B.C. (§ 257).

225. Philosophy.¹ — The age of Pericles saw also a rapid development in philosophy, — and this movement, too, had Athens for its most important home. *Anaxagoras* of Ionia,

¹ This section can best be read in class, and talked over. It may well be preceded by a reading of § 156 upon the earlier Greek philosophy.

the friend of Pericles, taught that the ruling principle in the universe was Mind: "In the beginning all things were chaos; then came Intelligence, and set all in order." He also tried to explain comets and other strange natural phenomena, which had been looked upon as miraculous.

But, like *Democritus* and *Empedocles* of the same period, Anaxagoras turned in the main from the old question of a fundamental principle to a new problem. The philosophers of the sixth century had tried to answer the question, — How did the universe come to be? The philosophers of the age of Pericles asked mainly, — How does man *know* about the universe? That is, *they tried to explain the working of the human mind*. These early attempts at explanation were not very satisfactory, and so next came the *Sophists*, with a skeptical philosophy. Man, the Sophists held, cannot reach truth itself, but must be content to know only *appearances*. They taught rhetoric, and were the first of the philosophers to accept pay.¹

Socrates, the founder of a new philosophy, is sometimes confounded with the Sophists. Like them, he abandoned the attempt to understand the material universe, and ridiculed gently the attempted explanations of his friend, Anaxagoras. He took for his motto, "*Know thyself*," and considered philosophy to consist in *right thinking upon human conduct*. True wisdom, he taught, is *to know what is good and to do what is right*; and he tried to make his followers see the difference between justice and injustice, temperance and intemperance, virtue and vice.

Thus Socrates completes the circle of ancient philosophy. The whole development may be summed up briefly, as follows:—

1. Thales and his followers (§ 156) tried to find out how the world came to be—out of what "first principle" it arose (water, fire, etc.).

¹ Thus these philosophers were accused of advertising for gain, to teach youth "how to make the worse appear the better reason," and the name "sophist" received an evil significance. Many of the Sophists, however, were brilliant thinkers, who did much to clear away old mental rubbish. The most famous were *Gorgias*, the rhetorician, a Sicilian Greek at Athens, and his pupil, *Isocrates*.

2. Anaxagoras and his contemporaries tried to find out how man's mind could understand the outside world. (His teaching that *mind* was the real principle of the universe formed a natural step from 1 to 2.)
3. The Sophists declared all search for such explanations a failure — beyond the power of the human mind.
4. Socrates sought to know, not about the outside world at all, but about himself and his duties.

226. The Man Socrates. — Socrates was a poor man, an artisan who carved little images of the gods for a living; and he constantly vexed his wife, Xanthippe, by neglecting his trade, to talk in the market place. He wore no sandals, and dressed meanly. His large bald head and ugly face, with its thick lips and flat nose, made him good sport for the comic poets. His practice was to entrap unwary antagonists into public conversation by asking innocent-looking questions, and then, by the inconsistencies of their answers, to show how shallow their opinions were. This proceeding afforded huge merriment to the crowd of youths who followed the bare-footed philosopher, and it made him bitter enemies among his victims. But his method of argument (which we still call "the Socratic method") was a permanent addition to our intellectual weapons; and his beauty of soul, his devotion to knowledge, and his largeness of spirit make him the greatest name in Greek history. When seventy years old (399 B.C.) he was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth. He refused to defend himself in any ordinary way, and was therefore declared guilty. His accusers then proposed a death penalty. It was the privilege of the condemned man to propose any other penalty, and let the jury choose between the two. Instead of proposing a considerable fine, as his friends wished, Socrates said first that he really ought to propose that he be maintained in honor at the public expense, but, in deference to his friends' entreaties, he finally proposed a small fine. The angered jury, by a close vote, pronounced the death penalty.

227. Socrates on Obedience to Law and on Immortality. — Socrates refused also to escape before the day for his execution.

Friends had made arrangements for his escape, but he answered their earnest entreaties by a playful discourse, of which the substance was, — “Death is no evil; but for Socrates to ‘play truant,’ and injure the laws of his country, would be an evil.” After memorable conversations upon immortality, he drank the fatal hemlock with a gentle jest upon his lips.¹ His execution is the greatest blot upon the intelligence of the Athenian democracy.

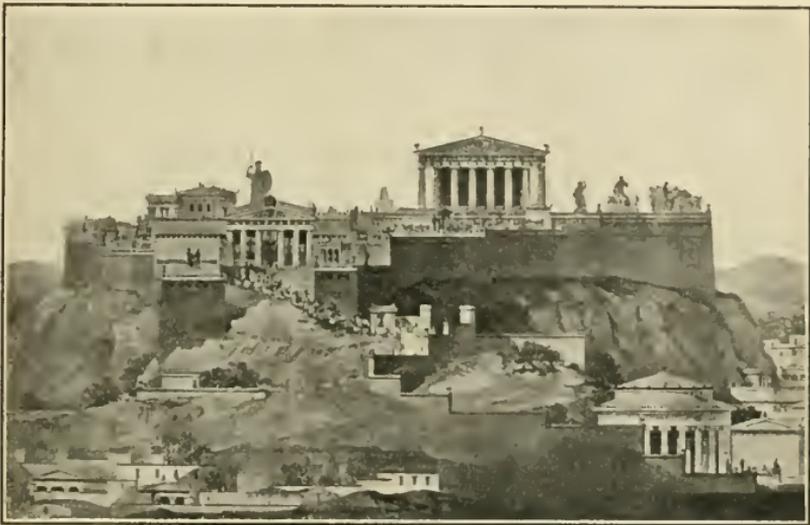
It happened that the trial had taken place just before the annual sailing of a sacred ship to Delos to a festival of Apollo. According to Athenian law, no execution could take place until the return of this vessel. Thus for thirty days, Socrates remained in jail, conversing daily in his usual manner with groups of friends who visited him. Two of his disciples (Plato and Xenophon) have given us accounts of these talks. On the last day, the theme was immortality. Some of the friends fear that death may be an endless sleep, or that the soul, on leaving the body, may “issue forth like smoke . . . and vanish into nothingness.” But Socrates comforts and consoles them, — convincing them, by a long day’s argument, that the soul is immortal, and picturing the lofty delight he anticipates in applying his Socratic questionings to the heroes and sages of olden times, when he meets them soon in the abode of the blest. Then, just as the fatal hour arrives, one of the company (Crito) asks, “In what way would you have us bury you?” Socrates rejoins: —

“In any way you like: only you must first get hold of me, and take care that I do not walk away from you.” Then he turned to us, and added, with a smile: “I cannot make Crito believe that *I* am the same Socrates who has been talking with you. He fancies that *I* am another Socrates whom he will soon see a dead body — and he asks, How shall he bury me? I have spoken many words to show that *I* shall leave you and go to the joys of the blessed; but these words, with which I comforted you, have had, I see, no effect upon Crito. And so I want you to be

¹Special report: the trial and death of Socrates. See Plato’s *Apology*, Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, and other accounts.

surety for me now, as Crito was surety [bail] for me at my trial, — but with another sort of promise. For he promised the judges that I would remain ; but you must be my surety to him that I shall *not* remain. Then he will not be grieved when he sees merely my *body* burned or buried. I would not have him sorrow at my lot, or say, Thus we follow Socrates to the grave ; for false words such as these infect the soul. Be of good cheer, then, my dear Crito, and say that you are burying my body only — and do with that what is usual, or as you think best.’ ”¹

228. Summary. — The amazing extent and intensity of Athenian culture overpower the imagination. With few exceptions, the



THE ACROPOLIS, as “restored” by Lambert.

famous men mentioned in §§ 220–225 were Athenian citizens. In the fifth century B.C. *that one city gave birth to more great men of the first rank, it has been said, than the whole world has ever produced in any other equal period of time.*

Artists, philosophers, and writers swarmed to Athens, also, from less-favored parts of Hellas ; for, despite the condemnation of Socrates, (no other city in the world afforded such freedom of thought,) and (nowhere else was ability, in art or literature,

¹ Anecdotes of Socrates are given in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 89–92.

so appreciated. The names that have been mentioned give but a faint impression of the splendid throngs of brilliant poets, artists, philosophers, and orators, who jostled each other in the streets of Athens. This, after all, is the best justification of the Athenian democracy. Abbott (*History of Greece*, II, 415), one of its sternest modern critics, is forced to exclaim, "Never before or since has life developed so richly as it developed in the beautiful city which lay at the feet of the virgin goddess."¹

229. The Tribute of Pericles to Athens. — The finest glorification of the Athenian spirit is contained in the great funeral oration delivered by Pericles over the Athenian dead, at the close of the second year of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides gives the speech and represents no doubt the ideas, if not the words, of the orator: —

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil. We have our regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined, and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city, the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own. . . .

"And in the matter of education, whereas our adversaries from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. . . . If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers?"

"We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes; and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character. . . .

¹ The patron deity of Athens was Pallas Athene, the virgin goddess, whose temple, the Parthenon, crowned the Acropolis.

“In the hour of trial Athens alone is superior to the rest of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which she sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses. There are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages. . . . For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. . . .”

“To sum up: I say that *Athens is the school of Hellas*, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. . . .”

“*I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, and who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonor always present to them. . . .*”

230. Three limitations in Greek culture must be noted.

a. *It rested necessarily on slavery*, and consequently could not honor labor, as modern culture at least tries to do. The main business of the citizen was government and war. Trades and commerce were left largely to the free non-citizen class, and unskilled hand labor was performed mainly by slaves. As a rule, it is true, this slavery was not harsh. In Athens, ordinarily, the slaves were hardly to be distinguished from the poorer citizens. They were frequently Greeks, of the same speech and culture as their masters. In some ways, this made their lot all the harder to bear; and there was always the *possibility* of cruelty. In the mines, even in Attica, the slaves were killed off brutally by merciless hardships.

b. *Greek culture was for males only*. It is not probable that the wife of Phidias or of Thucydides could read. The women of the working classes, especially in the country, necessarily mixed somewhat with men in their work. But among the well-to-do, women had lost the freedom of the simple and rude

society of Homer's time, without gaining much in return. Except at Sparta, where physical training was thought needful



WOMEN AT THEIR TOILET. — From a vase painting.

for them, they passed a secluded life even at home, in separate women's apartments. They had no public interests, ap-



WOMEN AT THEIR TOILET. — The rest of the vase painting shown above.

peared rarely on the streets, and never met their husbands' friends. At best, they were only higher domestic servants. The chivalry of the mediæval knight toward woman and the

love of the modern gentleman for his wife were equally unthinkable by the best Greek society.

The rule is merely emphasized by its one exception. No account of the Athens of Pericles should omit mention of *Aspasia*. She was a native of Miletus, and had come to Athens as an adventuress. Many other high-spirited girls no doubt did the like, in inevitable rebellion against the shameful bondage of Greek custom, — but only to fall into a life more shameful. But *Aspasia* won the love of Pericles. Since she was not an Athenian citizen he could not marry her; but, until his death, he lived with her in all respects as his wife — a union not grievously offensive to Greek ideas. The dazzling wit and beauty of *Aspasia* made his home the focus of the



GREEK WOMEN AT THEIR MUSIC.
From a vase painting.

intellectual life of Athens. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Phidias, Herodotus, — the charming group of brilliant friends of Pericles, — were her friends also, and delighted in her conversation. Pericles consulted her on the most important public matters. But she is the only woman who need be named in Greek history after the time of Sappho and Corinna (§ 155).

c. The most intellectual Greeks of that age had not thought of finding out the truths of nature by *experiment*. The ancients had only such knowledge of the world about them as they had *chanced upon*, or such as they could attain by *observation of nature as she showed herself to them*. To ask questions, and make nature answer them by systematic experiment, is a method of reaching knowledge which belongs only to recent times. But, before the Greeks, men had reached about all the mastery over nature that was possible without

that method. The average Athenian probably excelled the average American in brain power, and the Greek mind performed wonders in literature and art and philosophy; *but it did little to advance man's power over nature.*

This limitation should not be overrated. *We* sometimes think of civilization as consisting mainly in material comforts.



THE DISK THROWER.

After Myron.¹ Now in the Vatican.

The Greeks knew little of such things. It is none too easy for us to really picture a world without railways, or telegraphs, or electric lights, or gas, or coal, or refrigerator cars to bring to our breakfast table the fruits of distant lands. But, to make the Greek world at all real to us, we must peel off from our world much more than this. We must think of even the best houses without plumbing — or drains of any sort; beds without sheets or springs; rooms without fire; traveling without bridges; shoes without stockings; clothes without buttons, or even a

hook and eye. The Greek had to tell time without a watch, and to cross seas without a compass. He was civilized without being what we should call "comfortable." But, perhaps all the more, he felt keenly the beauty of sky and hill and temple and statue and the human form.²

¹ Myron was a contemporary of Phidias. He excelled in representing the human body in action.

² This passage is mostly condensed from a paragraph in Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth*.

In one most important respect, however, this lack of control over nature was a serious lack. Without modern scientific knowledge, and modern machinery, it has never been possible for man to produce wealth fast enough so that *many* could take sufficient leisure for refined and graceful living. Even with us, this ability is so new that we have not yet learned how to *divide* the new wealth properly; but we feel sure that it is going to be done. With the Greeks, it could not be done. *There was too little to go round.* The civilization of the few rested *necessarily* upon slavery. This third limitation (c) was the cause of the first (a).

231. The moral side of Greek culture falls somewhat short of the intellectual side. The two religions, of the clan and of the Olympian gods, both kept their hold upon the faith of most Athenians even in the age of Pericles. *Neither had much to do with conduct toward men.* The good sense and clear thinking of the Greeks



A SATYR BY PRANITILES.
This is Hawthorne's "Marble Faun."

had freed their religion from the grossest features of Oriental worship; but on the whole their moral ideas are to be sought in their philosophy, literature, and history, rather than in their stories about the gods.

The Greeks accepted frankly the search for pleasure as natural and proper. Self-sacrifice had little place in their ideal. They lacked altogether the Jewish and Christian "sense of

sin." They were moved to right conduct, not by the Christian's *spiritual love for the beauty of holiness*, but by an *intellectual admiration for the beauty of moderation and of temperance*. Individual characters at once lofty and lovable were not numerous. No society ever produced so many great men, but many societies have produced better men. Greek excellence was intellectual rather than moral. Trickery and deceit mark most of the greatest names, and not even physical or moral bravery can be called a national characteristic. The wily Themistocles, rather than Socrates or Pericles, is the *typical* Greek hero; and even when seeking to entrap the Persians by his secret message at Salamis, Themistocles seems to have kept in mind the possibility of claiming Persian rewards if Xerxes should conquer.

At the same time, a few individuals tower to great heights and a few Greek teachers give us some of the noblest morality of the world. Says Mahaffy (*Social Greece*, 8), after acknowledging the cruelty and barbarity of Greek life: "Socrates and Plato are far superior to the Jewish moralists; they are superior to the average Christian moralist; it is only in the matchless teaching of Christ himself that we find them surpassed."

232. Illustrative Extracts.—The following passages illustrate the moral ideas of the best of the Greeks. They are taken from Athenian writers of the age of Pericles, and represent the mountain peaks of Greek thought, not its average level. Still, a volume of such passages might be put together.

a. From Aeschylus.

"The lips of Zeus know not to speak a lying speech."

"Justice shines in smoke-grimed houses and holds in regard the life that is righteous; she leaves with averted eyes the gold-bespangled palace which is unclean, and goes to the abode that is holy."

b. Antigone, the heroine of a play by *Sophocles*, has knowingly incurred penalty of death by disobeying an unrighteous command of a wicked king. She justifies her deed proudly, —

“Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough
That thou, a mortal man, should'st overpass
The unwritten laws of God that know no change.”

c. *From Socrates to his Judges after his condemnation to death (Plato's Apology).* — “Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know this of a truth — that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods. . . . The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways — I to die, you to live. Which is better, God only knows.”

d. *From Plato (the greatest disciple of Socrates, § 315).* — “My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue. . . . Thus we shall live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here, and when, *like conquerors in the games*, we go to receive our reward.”

e. *A Prayer of Socrates (from Plato's Phaedrus).* — “Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as none but the temperate can carry.”

(The quotations from Socrates' talks after his condemnation, given in § 227 above, give more material of this kind. Fuller passages will be found in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 89-92.)

FOR FURTHER READING.—*Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 76-80 (11 pages, mostly from Plutarch and Thucydides); and Nos. 88-97 (24 pages); Bury, 363-378. .

Additional: Valuable and very readable treatments will be found in any of the three excellent volumes mentioned for the two preceding topics, — Cox's *Athenian Empire*, Grant's *Age of Pericles*, or Abbott's *Pericles*. Plutarch's *Pericles* ought to be inviting, from the extracts in Davis' *Readings*. Dr. Davis' novel, *A Victor of Salamis*, is the best fiction for Greek history. *A Day in Old Athens*, by the same author, is a vivid presentation of various matters touched upon in this and the next chapter.

EXERCISE. — Count up and classify the *kinds* of sources of our knowledge about the ancient world, — so far as this book has alluded to sources of information. *Note here the suggestions for “fact-drills,” on page 295, and begin to prepare the lists.*

CHAPTER XIV

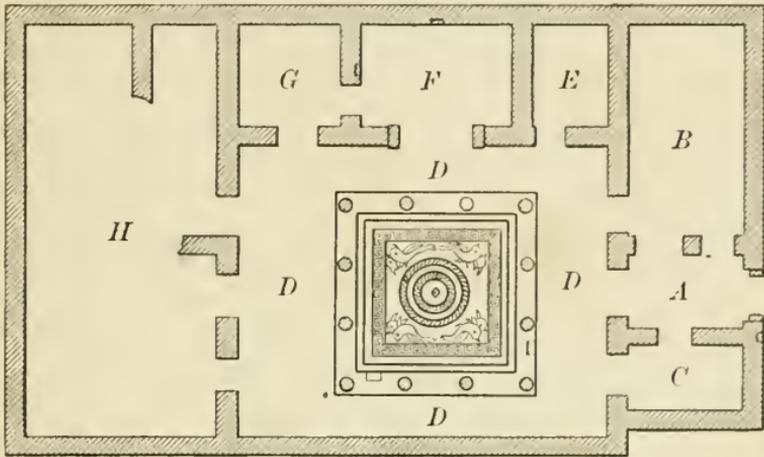
LIFE IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

233. Houses, even those of the rich, were very simple. The poor could not afford more; and the rich man thought his house of little account. It was merely a place to keep his women folk and young children and some other valuable property, and to sleep in. His real life was passed outside.

A "well-to-do" house was built with a wooden frame, covered with sun-dried clay. Such buildings have not left many remains; and most of what we know about them comes from brief references in Greek literature. On the opposite page is given the ground plan of one of the few private houses of the fifth century which has been unearthed in a state to be traced out. This house was at Delos; and it was something of a mansion, for the times.

Houses were built flush with the street, and on a level with it,—without even sidewalk or steps between. The door, too, usually opened out—so that passers-by were liable to bumps, unless they kept well to the middle of the narrow street. In this Delos mansion, the street door opened into a small vestibule (*A*), about six feet by ten. This led to a square "hall" (*D, D, D, D*), which was the central feature of every Greek house of importance. In the center of the hall there was always a "court," *open to the sky*, and surrounded by a row of columns. The columns were to uphold their side of the hall ceiling,—since the hall had no wall next the court, but was divided from it only by the columns. In the Delos house, the columns were ten feet high (probably higher than was usual), and the court was paved with a beautiful mosaic. Commonly, however, all floors in private houses, until some three centuries later, were made of concrete.

Under part of the hall were two cellars or cisterns; and from the hall there opened six more rooms. The largest (*H*) was the dining room and kitchen, with a small recess for the chimney in one corner. The other rooms were store rooms, or sleeping rooms for male slaves and unmarried sons. Any occasional overflow of guests could be taken care of by couches in the hall. This whole floor was for males only.



PLAN OF A FIFTH-CENTURY DELOS HOUSE.
After Gardiner and Jevons.

Some houses (of the very rich) had only one story. In that case there was at the rear a second half for the women, connected with the men's half by a door in the partition wall. This rear half of the house, in such cases, had its own central hall and open court, and an arrangement of rooms similar to that in the front half. But more commonly, as in the Delos house, there was an upper story for the women, reached by a steep stairway in the lower hall, and projecting, perhaps, part way over the street. Near the street door, on the outside, there was a niche in the wall for the usual statue of Hermes; and a small niche in room *F* was used probably as a shrine for some other deity.

The doorways of the interior were usually hung with cur-

tains; but store rooms had doors with bronze locks. Bronze keys are sometimes found in the ruins, and they are pictured in use in vase paintings. The door between the men's and women's apartments was kept locked: only the master of the house, his wife, and perhaps a trusted slave, had keys to it. The Delos house had only one outside door; but often there was a rear door into a small, walled garden. City houses were crowded close together, with small chance for windows on the sides. Sometimes narrow slits in the wall opened on the street. Otherwise, except for the one door, the street front was a blank wall. If there were windows on the street at all, they were filled with a close wooden lattice. The Greeks did not have glass panes for windows. The houses were dark; and most of the dim light came from openings on the central court, through the hall.

In cold damp weather (of which, happily, there was not much), the house was exceedingly uncomfortable. The kitchen had a real chimney, with cooking arrangements like those in ancient Cretan houses (§ 96). But for other rooms the only artificial heat came from small fires of wood or charcoal in braziers, — such as are still carried from room to room, on occasion, in Greece or Italy or Spain. The choking fumes which filled the room were not much more desirable than the cold which they did little to drive away. Sometimes a large open fire in the court gave warmth to the hall. At night, earthenware lamps, on shelves or brackets, furnished light. *There were no bathrooms, and no sanitary conveniences.*

Poor people lived in houses of one or two rooms. A middle class had houses nearly as large as the one described above; but they rented the upper story to lodgers. Professional lodging houses had begun to appear, with several stories of small rooms, for unmarried poor men and for slaves who could not find room in the master's house.

234. The residence streets were narrow and irregular, — hardly more than crooked, dark alleys. They had no pavement, and they were littered with all the filth and refuse

from the houses. Slops, from upper windows, sometimes doused unwary passers-by. Splendid as were the *public* portions of Athens, the residence quarters were much like a squalid Oriental city of to-day. In the time of Pericles, wealthy men were just beginning to build more comfortably on the hills near the city; but war kept this practice from becoming common till a much later time.



GREEK GIRLS AT PLAY. — From a vase painting.

235. The Family. — In the Oriental lands which we have studied, a man was at liberty to have as many wives in his household as he chose to support. Poor men usually were content with one; but, among the rich, polygamy was the rule. A Greek had only one wife. Imperfect as Greek family life was, the adoption of “monogamy” was a great step forward.

The Homeric poems give many pictures of lovely family life; and the Homeric women meet male guests and strangers with a natural dignity and ease. In historic Greece, as we have noted (§ 230), this freedom for women had been lost — except, in some degree, at Sparta. Marriage was arranged by parents. The young people as a rule had never seen each other. Girls were married very young — by fifteen or earlier

—and had no training of any valuable sort. Among the wealthy classes, they spent the rest of their days indoors — except on some rare festival occasions. The model wife learned to oversee the household; but in most homes this was left to trained slaves, and the wife dawdled away the day listlessly at her toilet or in vacant idleness, much as in an Eastern harem to-day, waiting for a visit from her master. The vase pictures show her commonly with a mirror. Unwholesome living led to excessive use of red and white paint, and other cosmetics, to imitate the complexion of early youth.¹

Law and public opinion allowed the father to “expose” a new-born child to die. This was done sometimes in Athens with girl babies. Indeed the practice was common among the poor. Boys were valued more. They would offer sacrifices, in time, at the father’s tomb, *and they could fight for the city*. Till the age of seven, boys and girls lived together in the women’s apartments. Then the boy began his school life (§ 240). The girl continued her childhood until marriage. Much of her time was spent at music and in games. One very common game was like our “Jackstones,” except that it was played with little bones. Not till the evening before her marriage did the girl put away her doll, — offering it then solemnly on the shrine of the goddess Artemis.

236. Greek dress is well known, as to its general effect, from pictures and sculpture. Women of the better classes wore flowing garments, fastened at the shoulders with clasp-pins, and gathered in graceful loose folds at the waist. The robe was so draped as to leave the arms, and sometimes one shoulder, bare. Outside the house, the woman wore also a kind of long mantle, which was often drawn up over the head.

The chief article of men’s dress was a shirt of linen or wool, which fell about to the knees. For active movements, this was often clasped with a girdle about the waist, and shortened by being drawn up so as to fall in folds over the girdle. Over

¹ Davis, *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 99, pictures an ideal Greek household.

this was draped a long mantle, falling in folds to the feet. This is well shown in the statue of Sophocles, on page 214. Sometimes, this mantle was carried on the arm. The soles of the feet were commonly protected by sandals; but there was also a great variety of other foot gear. Socrates' habit of going barefooted was the rule at Sparta for men under middle age; and some Spartan kings made it their practice all their lives.

Even these statements do not make emphatic enough the very simple nature of men's dress. The inner garment was merely a piece of cloth in two oblong parts (sometimes partly sewn together), fastened by pins, so as to hold it on. The outer garment was one oblong piece of cloth, larger and not fastened at all.



A VASE PAINTING, showing the Trojan prince enticing away Helen. The painting is of the fifth century, and shows fashions in dress for that time.

237. Occupations. — Good “society” looked down upon all forms of money-making by personal exertion. A physician who took pay for his services they despised almost as much as they did a carpenter or shoemaker. This attitude is natural to a slaveholding society. Careless thinkers sometimes admire it. But it contains less promise for mankind than does even our modern worship of the dollar, bad as that sometimes is. The Greek wanted money enough to supply all the comforts

that he knew about; but he wanted it to come without *his* earning it. He was very glad to have slaves earn it for him.

Most of the hand labor was busied in tilling the soil. The farmer manured his land skillfully; but otherwise he made no advance over the Egyptian farmer— who had not been compelled to enrich his land. Some districts, like Corinth and Attica, could not furnish food enough for their populations from their own soil. Athens imported grain from other parts



GREEK WOMEN, in various activities. — From a vase painting.

of Hellas and from Thraee and Egypt. This grain was paid for, in the long run, by the export of manufactures. In the age of Pericles, *large factories* had appeared. (See Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 76, for a list of twenty-five handicrafts connected with the beautifying of the Acropolis.) In these factories, the place taken now by machinery was taken then, in large part, by slaves. The owner of a factory did not commonly own all the slaves employed in it. Any master of a slave skilled in that particular trade might "rent" him out to the factory by the month or year.

In Attica, then, the villages outside Athens were mainly occupied by farmers and farm laborers. Commerce (as well as much manufacturing) was centered in the Piraeus, and was managed directly, for the most part, by the non-citizen class.

In Athens, the poorer classes worked at their trades or in their shops from sunrise to sunset — with a holiday about one

day in three. Their pay was small, because of the competition of slave labor; but they needed little pay to give them most of the comforts of the rich—except constant leisure. And we must understand that the Greek artisan—sometimes even the slave—*took a noble pride in his work*. The stone masons who chiseled out the fluted columns of the Parthenon felt themselves fellow workmen with Phidias who carved the pediments. In general, the Greek workman seems to have worked deliberately and to have found a delight in his work which was known also to the artisan of the Middle Ages in Europe, but which has been largely driven out of modern life by our greater subdivision of labor and by our greater pressure for haste.

An Athenian citizen of the wealthy class usually owned lands outside the city, worked by slaves and managed by some trusted steward. Probably he also had capital invested in trading vessels, though he was not likely to have any part in managing them. Some revenue he drew from money at interest with the bankers; and he drew large sums, too, from the “rent” of slaves to the factories.



A BARBER IN TERRA-COTTA.
From Blümner.

238. A Day of the Leisure Class.—Like the poorer citizens, the rich man rose with the sun. A slave poured water over his face and hands, or perhaps over his naked body, from a basin. (Poor men like Socrates bathed at the public fountains.) He then broke his fast on a cup of wine and a dry crust of bread. Afterward, perhaps he rode into the country, to visit one of his farms there, or for a day's hunting.

If, instead, he remained within the city, he left his house

at once, stopping, probably, at a barber's, to have his beard and finger nails attended to, as well as to gather the latest news from the barber's talk. In any case, the later half of the morning, if not the first part, would find him strolling through the shaded arcades about the market place, among throngs of his fellows, greeting acquaintances and stopping for conversation with friends — with whom, sometimes, he sat on



THE WRESTLERS.

the benches that were interspersed among the colonnades. At such times, he was always followed by one or two handsome slave boys, to run errands. At midday, he returned home for a light lunch. In the afternoon, he sometimes slept. Or, if a student, he took to his rolls of papyrus. Or, if a statesman,

perhaps he prepared his speech for the next meeting of the Assembly. Sometimes, he visited the public gaming houses or the clubs. During the afternoon, — usually toward evening, — he bathed at a public bathing house, hot, cold, or vapor bath, as his taste decided; and here again he held conversation with friends, while resting, or while the slave attendants rubbed him with oil and ointment. The bath was usually preceded by an hour or more of exercise in a gymnasium.

Toward sunset, he once more visited his home, unless he was to dine out. If the evening meal was to be, for a rare occasion, at home and without guests, he ate with his family, — his wife

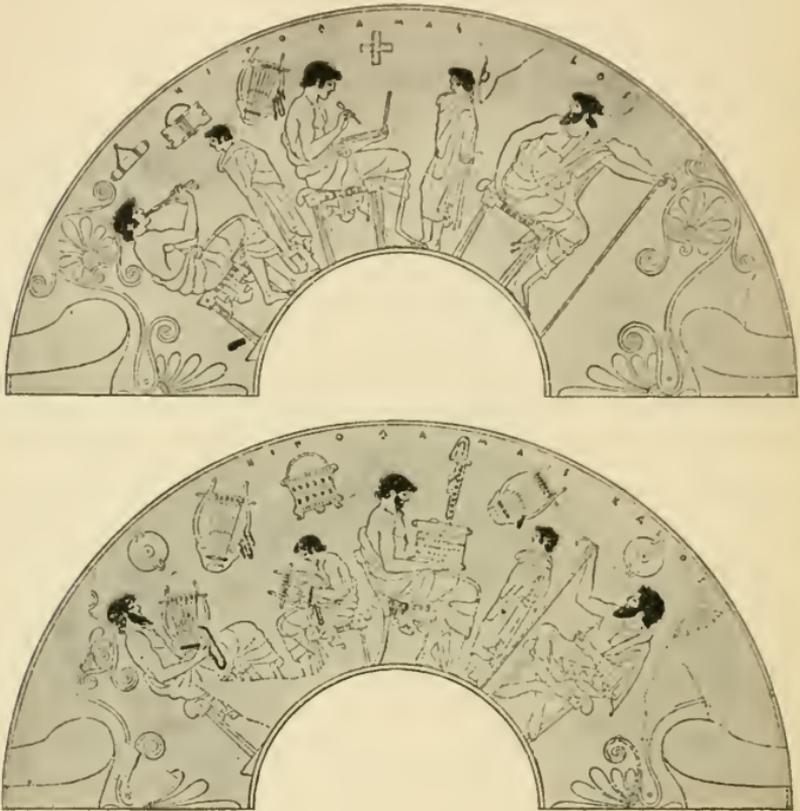
sitting at the foot of the couch where he *reclined*; and soon afterward he went to bed. More commonly, he entertained guests—whom he had invited to dinner as he met them at the market place in the morning—or he was himself a guest elsewhere.

The evening meal deserves a section to itself (§ 239). First let us note that such days as we have just described were not allowed to become monotonous at Athens. For several years of his life, the citizen was certain to be busied most of the time in the service of the state (§ 212). At other times, the meetings of the Assembly and the religious festivals and the theater took at least one day out of every three.

239. The evening banquet played a large part in Greek life. As guests arrived, they took their places in pairs, on couches, which were arranged around the room, each man reclining on his left arm. Slaves removed the sandals or shoes, washing the dust from the feet, and passed bowls of water for the hands. They then brought in low three-legged tables, one before each couch, on which they afterward placed course after course of food.

The Greeks of this period were not luxurious about eating. The meals were rather simple. Food was cut into small pieces in the kitchen. No forks or knives were used at table. Men ate with a spoon, or, more commonly, with the fingers; and at the close, slaves once more passed bowls for washing the hands. When the eating was over, the real business of the evening began—with the wine. This was mixed with water; and drunkenness was not common; but the drinking lasted late, with serious or playful talk, and singing and story-telling, and with forfeits for those who did not perform well any part assigned them by the “master of the feast” (one of their number chosen by the others when the wine appeared). Often the host had musicians come in, with jugglers and dancing girls. Respectable women never appeared on these occasions. Only on marriage festivals, or some special family celebration, did the women of a family meet male guests at all.

240. Education.— Education at Athens, as in nearly all Greece, was in marked contrast with Spartan education (§ 130). *It aimed to train harmoniously the intellect, the sense of beauty, the moral nature, and the body.* At the age of seven the boy



SCHOOL SCENES.— A BOWL PAINTING.

Instruments of instruction, mostly musical, hang on the walls. In the first half, one instructor is correcting the exercise of a boy who stands before him. Another is showing how to use the flute. The seated figures, with staffs, are "pedagogues."

entered school, but he was constantly under the eye not only of the teacher, but of a trusted servant of his own family, called a pedagogue.¹ The chief subjects for study were Homer

¹The word meant "boy-leader." Its use for a "teacher" is later.

and music. Homer, it has well been said, was to the Greek at once Bible, Shakespeare, and Robinson Crusoe. The boy learned to write on papyrus with ink. But papyrus was costly, and the elementary exercises were carried on with a sharp instrument on tablets coated with wax. No great proficiency was expected from the average rich youth in writing — since he would have slaves do most of it for him in after life. The schoolmaster indulged in cruel floggings on slight occasion (Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 94).

When the youth left school, he entered upon a wider training, in the political debates of the Assembly, in the lecture halls of the Sophists, in the many festivals and religious processions, in the plays of the great dramatists at the theaters, and in the constant enjoyment of the noblest and purest works of art.

Physical training began with the child and continued through old age. No Greek youth would pass a day without devoting some hours to developing his body and to overcoming any physical defect or awkwardness that he might have. All classes of citizens, except those bound by necessity to the workshop, met for exercise. The result was a perfection of physical power and beauty never attained so universally by any other people.

IMAGINATIVE EXERCISES. — This period affords excellent material for exercises based upon the training of the historic imagination. Let the student absorb all the information he can find upon some historical topic, until he is filled with its spirit, and then reproduce it *from the inside*, with the dramatic spirit — as though he lived in that time — not in the descriptive method of another age. The following topics are suggested (the list can be indefinitely extended, and such exercises may be arranged for any period) :—

1. A captive Persian's letter to a friend after Plataea.
2. A dialogue between Socrates and Xanthippe.
3. An address by a Messenian to his fellows in their revolt against Sparta.
4. Extracts from a diary of Pericles.
5. A day at the Olympic games (choose some particular date).

CHAPTER XV

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

(431-404 B.C.)

241. Causes. — Athens and Sparta were at the opposite poles of Greek civilization. Athens stood for progress. Sparta was the champion of old ways. A like contrast ran through the two leagues of which these cities were the heads. The cities of the Athenian empire were Ionian in blood, democratic in politics, commercial in interests. Most of the cities of the Peloponnesian league were Dorian in blood and aristocratic in politics, and their citizens were landowners. This difference between the Athenian and Spartan states gave rise to mutual distrust. It was easy for any misunderstanding to ripen into war.

Still, if *none* of the cities of the Peloponnesian league had had any interests on the sea, the two powers might each have gone its own way without crossing the other's path. But Corinth and Megara (members of Sparta's league) were trading cities, like Athens; and, after the growth of the Athenian empire, they felt the basis of their prosperity slipping from under them. They had lost the trade of the Aegean, and Athens had gained it. And now Athens was reaching out also for the commerce of the western coasts of Greece. Next to Sparta, Corinth was the most powerful city in the Peloponnesian league; and she finally persuaded Sparta to take up arms against Athens, before the 'Thirty Years' Truce (§ 202) had run quite half its length.

242. The immediate occasion for the struggle was found in some aid which Athens gave Corecra against an attack by Corinth in 432 B.C.

Coreyra was the third naval power in Greece. Corinth was second only to Athens. Corinth and Coreyra had come to blows, and Coreyra asked to be taken into the Athenian league. Athens finally promised *defensive* aid, and sent ten ships with instructions to take no part in offensive operations. A great armament of 150 Corinthian vessels appeared off the southern coast of Coreyra. Coreyra could muster only 110 ships. In the battle that followed, the Corinthians were at first completely victorious. They sank or captured many ships, and seemed about to destroy the whole Coreyran fleet. Then the little Athenian squadron came to the rescue, and by their superior skill quickly restored the fortune of the day.

But in the negotiations that followed, between Athens and the Peloponnesian league, this matter of Coreyra fell out of sight, and the quarrel was joined on broader issues.¹ Sparta finally sent a haughty ultimatum, posing, herself, as the champion of a free Hellas against tyrant Athens, which had enslaved the Aegean cities. "Let Athens set those cities free, and she might still have peace with Sparta." A timid party, of Athenian aristocrats, wished peace even on these terms. But the Assembly adopted a dignified resolution moved by Pericles:—

"Let us send the ambassadors away," said he, "with this answer: That we will grant independence to the cities . . . as soon as the Spartans allow their subject states [Messenia and the subject towns of Laconia] to be governed as they choose, and not by the will and interest of Sparta. Also, *that we are willing to offer arbitration*, according to the treaty [the treaty of the Thirty Years' Truce]. And that we do not want to begin the war, but shall know how to defend ourselves if we are attacked."

As Pericles frankly warned the Assembly, this reply meant conflict. And so in 431 began the "Peloponnesian War."

243. Resources and Plans.—The Peloponnesian league could muster a hundred thousand hoplites, against whom in that day no army in the world could stand; but it could not keep many men in the field longer than a few weeks. Sparta could

¹ Special report: the narrative of the deliberations at Sparta regarding war or peace (note especially Thucydides' account of the Corinthian speech regarding Sparta and Athens in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 77).

not capture Athens, therefore, and must depend upon ravaging Attic territory and inducing Athenian allies to revolt.

Athens had only some twenty-six thousand hoplites at her command, and half of these were needed for distant garrison duty. But she had a navy even more unmatched on the sea than the Peloponnesian army was on land. Her walls were impregnable. The islands of Euboea and Salamis, and the open spaces within the Long Walls, she thought, could receive her country people with their flocks and herds. The corn trade of south Russia was securely in her hands. The grain ships could enter the Piræus as usual, however the Spartans might hold the open country of Attica. Athens could easily afford to support her population for a time from her annual revenues, to say nothing of the immense surplus of 6000 talents (\$ 6,000,000) in the treasury.

When war began, the Spartans marched each year into Attica with overwhelming force, and remained there for some weeks, laying waste the crops, burning the villages, and cutting down the olive groves, up to the very walls of Athens. At first, with frenzied rage, the Athenians clamored to march out against the invader; but Pericles strained his great authority to prevent such a disaster, and finally he convinced the people that they must bear this insult and injury with patience. Meantime, an Athenian fleet was always sent to ravage the coasts and harbors of Peloponnesus and to conquer various exposed allies of Sparta. Each party could inflict considerable damage, *but neither could get at the other to strike a vital blow.* The war promised to be a matter of endurance.

Here Athens seemed to have an advantage, since she had the stronger motive for holding out. She was fighting to preserve her empire, and could not give up without ruin. Sparta could cease fighting without loss to herself; and Pericles hoped to tire her out.

244. The Plague in Athens.—The plan of Pericles might have been successful, had the Spartans not been encouraged by a tragic disaster which fell upon Athens and which no one

in that day could have foreseen. A terrible plague had been ravaging western Asia, and in the second year of the war it reached the Aegean. In most parts of Hellas it did no great harm; but in Athens it was peculiarly deadly. The people of all Attica, crowded into the one city, were living under unusual and unwholesome conditions; and the pestilence returned each summer for several years. It slew more than a fourth of the population, and paralyzed industry and all ordinary activities. Worse still, it shattered, for years, the proud and joyous self-trust which had come to the Athenian people after Marathon.

Thucydides, an eye witness, has described the ravages of the plague and explained their cause. "When the country people of Attica arrived in Athens," he says, "a few had homes of their own, or found friends to take them in. But far the greater number had to find a place to live on some vacant spot or in the temples of the gods and chapels of the heroes. . . . Many also camped down in the towers of the walls or wherever else they could; for the city proved too small to hold them." Thucydides could see the unhappy results of these conditions, *after* the plague had fallen on the city; and he adds, with grim irony, that "while these country folk were dividing the spaces between the Long Walls and settling there," the government (Generals and Council) were "paying great attention to mustering a fleet for ravaging the Peloponnesian coasts."

Then, in dealing with the horrible story of the plague, Thucydides shows how these conditions prepared for it. "*The new arrivals from the country* were the greatest sufferers, — lodged during this hot season in stifling huts, where death raged without check. The bodies of dying men lay one upon another, and half-dead creatures reeled about the streets, poisoning all the fountains and wells with their bodies, in their longing for water. The sacred places in which they had camped were full of corpses [a terrible sacrilege, to Greeks]; for men, *not knowing what was to become of them, became wholly careless of everything.*"

245. Twenty-seven Years of War. — Still, the Athenians did recover their buoyant hope; and the war dragged along with varying success for twenty-seven years, with one short and ill-kept truce, — a whole generation growing up from the cradle to manhood in incessant war. A story of the long struggle in detail would take a volume. *The contest was not of such lasting importance as the preceding struggle between the Greek and Persian civilizations;* and only a few incidents require mention.

246. Athenian Naval Supremacy. — On the sea the superiority of Athens consisted not merely in the size of her navy, *but even more in its skill.* The other Greeks still fought, as at the time of Salamis, by dashing their ships against each other, beak against beak, and then, if neither was sunk, by grappling the vessels together, and fighting as if on land. The Athenians, however, had now learned to maneuver their ships, rowing swiftly about the enemy with many feints, and seizing the opportunity to sink a ship by a sudden blow at an exposed point. Their improved tactics revolutionized naval warfare; and for years small fleets of Athenian ships proved equal to three times their number of the enemy.¹ Gradually, however, the Peloponnesians learned something of the Athenian tactics, and this difference became less marked.

247. New Leaders. — The deadliest blow of the plague was the striking down of Pericles, who died of the disease, in the third year of the war. Never had the Athenians so needed his controlling will and calm judgment. He was followed by a new class of leaders, — men of the people, like *Cleon* the tanner, and *Hyperbolus* the lampmaker, — men of strong will and much force, but rude, untrained, unscrupulous, and ready to surrender their own convictions, if necessary, to win the favor of the crowd. Such men were to lead Athens into many blunders and crimes. Over against them stood only a group of incapable aristocrats, led by *Nicias*, a good but stupid man, and *Alcibiades*, a brilliant, unprincipled adventurer.

¹ Special report to illustrate these points: the story of Phormio's victories in the Corinthian Gulf in 431.

Athens was peculiarly unfortunate in her statesmen at this period. She produced no Themistocles, or Aristides, or Cimon, or Pericles; and Phormio and Demosthenes, her great admirals, were usually absent from the city. Sparta, on the other hand, produced two greater generals than ever before in her history; *Brasidas*, whose brilliant campaigns overthrew Athenian supremacy on the coast of Thraee; and *Lysander*, who was finally to bring the war to a close.

248. Athenian Disaster in Sicily. — The turning-point in the war was an unwise and misconducted Athenian expedition against Syracuse.¹ Two hundred perfectly equipped ships and over forty thousand men — among them eleven thousand of the flower of the Athenian hoplites — were pitifully sacrificed by the superstition and miserable generalship of their leader, Nicias (413 B.C.).

Even after this crushing disaster Athens refused peace that should take away her empire. Every nerve was strained, and the last resources and reserve funds exhausted, to build and man new fleets. The war lasted nine years more, and part of the time Athens seemed as supreme in the Aegean as ever. Two things are notable in the closing chapters of the struggle, — the attempt to overthrow democracy in Athens, and Sparta's betrayal of the Asiatic Greeks to Persia (§§ 249, 250).

249. The Rule of the Four Hundred. — For a century, the oligarchic party had hardly raised its head in Athens; but in 411, it attempted once more to seize the government. Wealthy men of moderate opinions were wearied by the heavy taxation of the war. The democracy had blundered sadly and had shown itself unfit to deal with foreign relations, where secrecy and dispatch were essential; and its new leaders were particularly offensive to the old Athenian families.

Under these conditions, the officers of the fleet conspired with secret oligarchic societies at home. Leading democrats were assassinated; and the Assembly was terrorized into sur-

¹ Syracuse, a Dorian city and a warm friend to Sparta, had been encroaching upon Ionian allies of Athens in Sicily.

rendering its powers to a council of *Four Hundred* of the oligarchs. But this body proved generally incompetent, except in murder and plunder, and it permitted needless disasters in the war. After a few months, the Athenian fleet at Samos deposed its oligarchic officers; and the democracy at home expelled the *Four Hundred* and restored the old government.



ROUTE OF THE LONG WALLS, looking southwest to the harbor, some three and one half miles distant. From a recent photograph.

250. Sparta betrays the Asiatic Greeks.— In 412, immediately after the destruction of the Athenian army and fleet in Sicily, Persian satraps appeared again upon the Aegean coast. *Sparta at once bought the aid of their gold by promising to betray the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks,*— to whom the Athenian name had been a shield for seventy years. Persian funds now built fleet after fleet for Sparta, and slowly Athens was exhausted, despite some brilliant victories.

251. Fall of Athens.— In 405, the last Athenian fleet was surprised and captured at *Aegospotami* (Goat Rivers). Apparently the officers had been plotting again for an oligarchic revolution; and the sailors had been discouraged and demoralized, even if they were not actually betrayed by their commanders.

Lysander, the Spartan commander, in cold blood put to death the four thousand Athenian citizens among the captives.¹

This slaughter marks the end. Athens still held out despairing but stubborn, until starved into submission by a terrible siege. In 404, the proud city surrendered to the mercy of its foes. Corinth and Thebes wished to raze it from the earth; but Sparta had no mind to do away with so useful a check upon those cities. She compelled Athens to renounce all claims to empire, to give up all alliances, to surrender all her ships but twelve, and to promise to "follow Sparta" in peace and war. The Long Walls and the defenses of the Piræus were demolished, to the music of Peloponnesian flutes; and Hellas was declared free!

Events were at once to show this promise a cruel mockery. *The one power that could have grown into a free and united Greece had been ruined, and it remained to see to what foreign master Greece should fall.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 81-86 (16 pages), gives the most striking episodes of the war, as they were told by the Athenian historians of the day, Thucydides and Xenophon. Plutarch's *Lives* ("Alcibiades," "Nicias," and "Lysander") is the next most valuable authority.

The following modern authorities continue to be useful (and may be consulted for special reports upon the period, if any are assigned): Bury, chs. x, xi; the closing parts of Grant's *Age of Pericles* and of Abbott's *Pericles*; and Cox's *Athenian Empire*. Bury gives 120 pages to the struggle, — too long an account for reading, but useful for special topics.

¹ Special reports: (1) Cleon's leadership. (2) The trial of the Athenian generals after the victory of Arginusæ. (3) The massacre of the Mytilenean oligarchs (story of the decree and the reprieve). (4) Massacre of the Melians by Athens, 415 B.C. (5) Note the merciless nature of the struggle, as shown by other massacres of prisoners: *i.e.*, Thebans by Plataeans, 431 B.C.; Plataeans by Thebans, 427 B.C.; thousands of Athenians in the mines of Syracuse; the four thousand Athenians after Aegospotami. (6) The career of Alcibiades. (7) The Thracian campaigns. (8) The Sicilian expedition. (9) The Siege of Plataea.

Material for such reports will be easily found in the books named at the end of this chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE FALL OF ATHENS TO THE FALL OF HELLAS

(404-338 B.C.)

252. Decline of Hellas. — The Athenian empire had lasted seventy glorious years. Nearly an equal time was yet to elapse before Hellas fell under Macedonian sway; but it need not detain us long. Persia had already begun again to enslave the Greeks of Asia; Carthage again did the like in Sicily; and in the European peninsula the period was one of shame or of profitless wars. It falls into three parts: thirty-three years of Spartan supremacy; nine years of Theban supremacy; and some twenty years of anarchy.

SPARTAN SUPREMACY, 404-371 B.C.

253. "Decarchies." — After Aegospotami, Sparta was mistress of Greece more completely than Athens had ever been, but for only half as long; and most of that time was given to wars to maintain her authority. She had promised to set Hellas free; but the cities of the old Athenian empire found that they had exchanged a mild, wise rule for a coarse and stupid despotism.¹ *Their old tribute was doubled; their self-government was taken away; bloodshed and confusion ran riot in their streets.*

Everywhere Sparta overthrew the old democracies, and set up oligarchic governments. Usually the management of a city was given to a board of ten men, called a *decarchy* ("rule of ten"). These oligarchies, of course, were dependent upon Sparta.² To defend them against any democratic rising, there

¹ Cox, *Athenian Empire*, 229-231, gives an admirable contrast between the Athenian and the Spartan systems.

² Note the likeness between this Spartan method and the Persian practice of setting up tyrannies, dependent upon Persia, in the Ionian cities (§ 164).

was placed in many cities a Spartan garrison, with a Spartan military governor called a *harmost*. The garrisons plundered at will; the harmosts grew rich from extortion and bribes; the decarchies were slavishly subservient to their masters, while they wreaked upon their fellow-citizens a long pent-up aristocratic vengeance, in confiscation, outrage, expulsion, assassination, and massacre.

254. Spartan Decay. — In Sparta itself luxury and corruption replaced the old simplicity. As a result, the number of citizens was rapidly growing smaller. Property was gathered into the hands of a few, while many Spartans grew too poor to support themselves at the public mess (§ 130). These poorer men ceased to be looked upon as citizens. They were not permitted to vote in the Assembly, and were known as “Inferiors.” The 10,000 citizens, of the Persian War period, shrank to 2000.

The discontent of the “Inferiors” added to the standing danger from the Helots. A plot was formed between these classes to change the government; and only an accident prevented an armed revolution.¹ Thus, even at home, the Spartan rule during this period rested on a volcano.

255. The “Thirty Tyrants” at Athens. — For a time even Athens remained a victim to Spartan tyranny, like any petty Ionian city. After the surrender, in 404, Lysander appointed a committee of thirty from the oligarchic clubs of Athens “to reestablish the constitution of the fathers.” Meantime, they were to hold absolute power. This committee was expected to undo the reforms of Pericles and Clisthenes and even of Solon, and to restore the ancient oligarchy. As a matter of fact they did worse than that: they published no constitution at all, but instead they filled all offices with their own followers and plotted to make their rule permanent.

These men were known as “the Thirty Tyrants.” They called in a Spartan harmost and garrison, to whom they gave the fortress of the Acropolis. They disarmed the citizens, ex-

¹ Special report: the conspiracy of Cinadon at Sparta.

cept some three thousand of their own adherents. Then they began a bloody and greedy rule. Rich democrats and alien merchants were put to death or driven into exile, in order that their property might be confiscated.¹ The victims of this proscription were counted by hundreds, perhaps by thousands. Larger numbers fled, and, despite the orders of Sparta, they were sheltered by Thebes. That city had felt aggrieved that her services in the Peloponnesian War received no reward from Sparta, and now she would have been glad to see Athens more powerful again.

256. Athens again Free.—This reign of terror at Athens lasted over a year. Then, in 403, one of the democratic exiles, *Thrasybulus*, with a band of companions from Thebes, seized the Piræus. The aliens of the harbor rose to his support. The Spartan garrison and the forces of the Thirty were defeated. A quarrel between Lysander and the Spartan king prevented serious Spartan interference, and the old Athenian democracy recovered the government.

The aliens and sailors of the Piræus had fought valiantly with the democrats against the Thirty. *Thrasybulus* now urged that they be made full citizens. That just measure would have made up partly for Athens' terrible losses in the Peloponnesian War. Unfortunately, it was not adopted; but in other respects, the restored democracy showed itself generous as well as moderate. A few of the most guilty of the Thirty were punished, but for all others a general amnesty was declared.

The good faith and moderation of the democracy contrasted so favorably with the cut-throat rule of the two recent experiments at oligarchy, that Athens was undisturbed in future by revolution. Other parts of Greece, however, were less fortunate, and democracy never again became so generally established in Hellenic cities as it had been in the age of *Pericles*.

257. "March of the Ten Thousand."—Meantime, important events were taking place in the East. In 401, the weakness of

¹ Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 100, gives a famous instance.

the Persian empire was strikingly shown. *Cyrus the Younger*, brother of the king Artaxerxes, endeavored to seize the Persian throne. While a satrap in Asia Minor, Cyrus had furnished Sparta the money to keep her fleet together before the battle of Goat Rivers; and now, through Sparta's favor, he was able to enlist ten thousand Greeks in his army.

Cyrus penetrated to the heart of the Persian empire; but in the battle of *Cunaxa*, near Babylon, he was killed, and his Asiatic troops routed. The Ten Thousand Greeks, however, proved unconquerable by the Persian host of half a million. By treachery the leaders were entrapped and murdered; but under the inspiration of *Xenophon*¹ the Athenian, the Ten Thousand chose new generals and made a remarkable retreat to the Greek districts on the Black Sea.

258. Renewal of the Persian Wars. — Until this time the Greeks had waged their contests with Persia only along the *coasts* of Asia. After the Ten Thousand had marched, almost at will, through so many hostile nations, the Greeks began to dream of conquering the Asiatic *continent*. Seventy years later, Alexander the Great was to make this dream a fact. First, however, the attempt was made by *Agesilaus*, king of Sparta.

Sparta had brought down upon herself the wrath of Persia, anyway, by favoring Cyrus; and Agesilaus burned with a noble ambition to free the Asiatic Greeks, who, a little before (§ 250), had been abandoned to Persia by his country. Thus war began between Sparta and Persia. In 396, Agesilaus invaded Asia Minor with a large army, but was checked, in full career of conquest, by events at home (§ 259).

259. A Greek League against Sparta, 395 B.C. — No sooner was Sparta engaged with Persia than enemies rose up in Greece itself. Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Argos formed an alliance against her, and the empire she had gained at Goat Rivers was shattered by *Conon*. Conon was the ablest of the Athenian generals in the latter period of the Peloponnesian War. At

¹Cf. § 224 and § 41. Xenophon's *Anabasis* is our authority for these events.

Goat Rivers he was the only one who had kept his squadron in order; and after all was lost, he had escaped to Rhodes and entered Persian service. Now, in 394, in command of a

Persian fleet (mainly made up of Phoenician ships) he completely destroyed the Spartan naval power at the battle of *Unidus*.



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

The arms and legs of the statue are sadly mutilated, but the head is one of the most famous remains of Greek art. Cf. § 220, note.

Spartan authority in the Aegean vanished. Conon sailed from island to island, expelling the Spartan garrisons, and restoring democracies; and in the next year he anchored in the Piræus and rebuilt the Long Walls. Athens again became one of the great powers; and Sparta fell back into her old position as mere head of the inland Peloponnesian league.

260. Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C.—After a few more years of indecisive war, Sparta sought peace with Persia. In 387, the two powers invited all the Greek states to send deputies to Sardis, *where the Persian king dictated the terms*. The document read:—

“King Artaxerxes deems it just that the *cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus*, should belong to himself. The rest of the Hellenic cities, both great and small, he will leave independent, save Lemnos,

Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views [the Spartans], will war against the offenders by land and sea." — XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, v, 1.

Sparta held that these terms dissolved all the other leagues (like the Boeotian, of which Thebes was the head), but that they did not affect her own control over her subject towns in Laconia, nor weaken the Peloponnesian confederacy.

Thus Persia and Sparta again conspired to betray Hellas. Persia helped Sparta to keep the European Greek states divided and weak, as they were before the Persian War; and Sparta helped Persia to recover her old authority over the Asiatic Greeks. By this iniquity the tottering Spartan supremacy was bolstered up a few years longer.

Of course the shame of betraying the Asiatic Greeks must be shared by the enemies of Sparta, who had used Persian aid against her; *but the policy had been first introduced by Sparta in seeking Persian assistance in 412 against Athens (§ 250); and so far no other Greek state had offered to surrender Hellenic cities to barbarians as the price of such aid.*

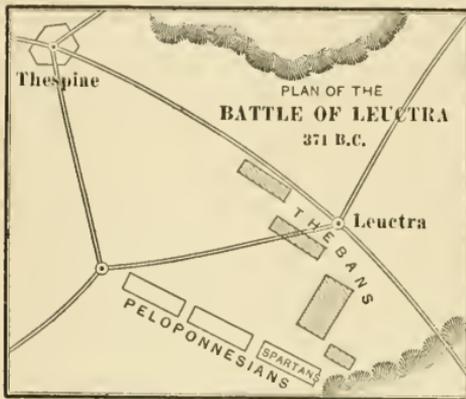
261. Spartan Aggressions. — Sparta had saved her power by infamy. She used it, with the same brutal cunning as in the past, to keep down the beginnings of greatness elsewhere in Greece.

Thus, Arcadia had shown signs of growing strength; but Sparta now broke up the leading city, Mantinea, and dispersed the inhabitants in villages. In Chalcidice, the city of Olynthus had organized its neighbors into a promising league. A Spartan army compelled this league to break up. While on the way to Chalcidice, part of this army, *by treachery, in time of peace, seized the citadel of Thebes.* And, when the Athenian naval power began to revive, a like treacherous, though unsuccessful, attempt was made upon the Piraeus.

262. Thebes a Democracy. — These high-handed outrages were to react upon the offender. First there came a revolution at Thebes. The Spartan garrison there had set up an oligarchic Theban government which had driven crowds of citizens into

exile. Athens received them, just as Thebes had sheltered Athenian fugitives in the time of the Thirty Tyrants; and from Athens *Pelopidas*, a leader of the exiles, struck the return blow.¹ In 379, Thebes was surprised and seized by the exiles, and the government passed into the hands of the democrats. Then Thebes and Athens joined in a new war upon Sparta.

263. Leuctra; the Overthrow of Sparta. — The war dragged along for some years; and in 371 B.C., the contending parties,



wearied with fruitless strife, concluded peace. But when the treaty was being signed, *Epaminondas*, the Theban representative, demanded the right to sign for all Boeotia, as Sparta had signed for all Laconia. Athens would not support Thebes in this position. So Thebes was excluded from the peace; and

Sparta turned to crush her. A powerful army at once invaded Boeotia, — and met with an overwhelming defeat by a smaller Theban force at *Leuctra*.

This amazing result was due to the military genius of *Epaminondas*. Hitherto the Greeks had fought in long lines, from eight to twelve men deep. *Epaminondas* adopted a new arrangement that marks a step in warfare. He massed his best troops in a solid column, *fifty men deep*, on the left, opposite the Spartan wing in the Peloponnesian army. His other troops were spread out as thin as possible. The solid phalanx

¹ The story is full of adventure. *Pelopidas* and a number of other daring young men among the exiles returned secretly to Thebes, and, through the aid of friends there, were admitted (disguised as dancing girls) to a banquet where the Theban oligarchs were already deep in wine. They killed the drunken traitors with their daggers. Then, running through the streets, they called the people to expel the Spartans from the citadel.

was set in motion first; then the thinner center and right wing advanced more slowly, so as to engage the attention of the enemy opposite, but not to come into action until the battle should have been won by the massed column.

In short, Epaminondas massed his force against *one part* of the enemy. The weight of the Theban charge crushed through the Spartan line, and trampled it under. Four hundred of the seven hundred Spartans, with their king and with a thousand other Peloponnesian hoplites, went down in ten minutes.

The mere loss of men was fatal enough, now that Spartan citizenship was so reduced (the number of full citizens after this battle did not exceed fifteen hundred); but the effect upon the military prestige of Sparta was even more deadly. At one stroke Sparta sank into a second-rate power. None the less, Spartan character never showed to better advantage. Sparta was always greater in defeat than in victory, and she met her fate with heroic composure. The news of the overthrow did not interfere with a festival that was going on, and only the relatives of the *survivors* of the battle appeared in mourning.

THEBAN SUPREMACY

264. Epaminondas.—For nine years after Leuctra, Thebes was the head of Greece. This position she owed to her great leader, *Epaminondas*, whose life marks one of the fair heights to which human nature can ascend. Epaminondas was great as general, statesman, and philosopher; but he was greatest as a man, lofty and lovable in nature. In his earlier days he had been looked upon as a dreamer; and when the oligarchs of Thebes drove out Pelopidas and other active patriots (§ 262), they only sneered while Epaminondas continued calmly to talk of liberty to the young. Later, it was recognized that, more than any other man, he had prepared the way for the overthrow of tyranny; and after the expulsion of the oligarchs he became the organizer of the democracy.

265. Sparta surrounded by Hostile Cities.—Epaminondas sought to do for Thebes what Pericles had done for Athens.

While he lived, success seemed possible. Unhappily, the few years remaining of his life he was compelled to give mainly to war. Laconia was repeatedly invaded. During these campaigns Epaminondas freed Messenia,¹ on one side of Sparta, and organized Arcadia, on the other side, into a federal union, — so as to “surround Sparta with a perpetual blockade.” The great Theban aided the Messenians to found a new capital, *Messene*; and in Arcadia he restored *Mantineia*, which Sparta had destroyed (§ 261). In this district he also founded *Megalopolis*, or “the Great City,” by combining forty scattered villages.

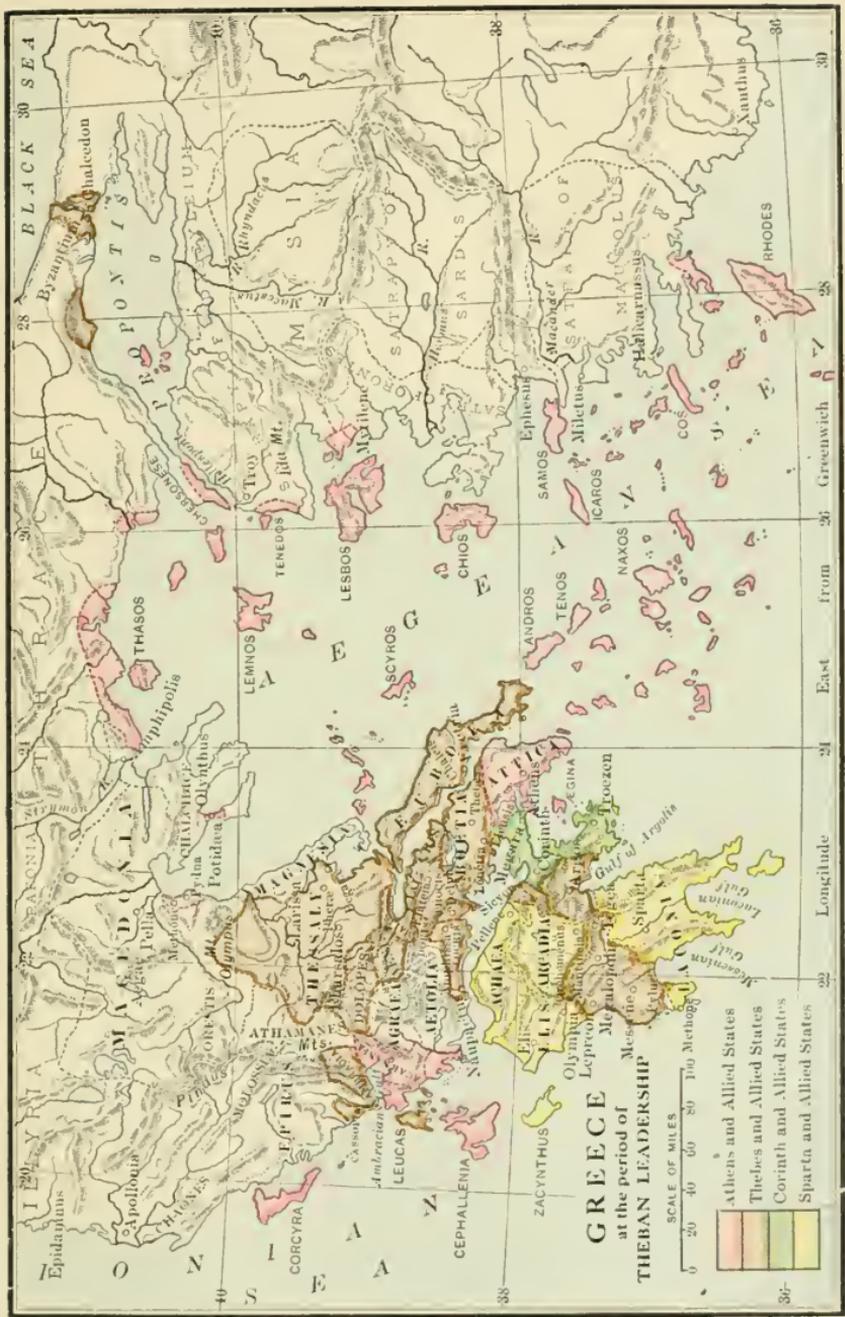
266. Athens (jealous of Thebes) saved Sparta from complete destruction, but drew Theban vengeance upon herself. Epaminondas built fleets, swept the Athenian navy from the seas, and made Euboea a Theban possession. Thessaly and Macedonia, too, were brought under Theban influence; and the young *Philip*, prince of Macedon, spent some years in Thebes as a hostage.

267. Mantineia. — The leadership of Thebes, however, rested solely on the supreme genius of her one great statesman, and it vanished at his death. In 362, for the fourth time, Epaminondas marched against Sparta, and at *Mantineia* won another great victory. The Spartans had been unable to learn; and went down again before the same tactics that had crushed them nine years before at Leuctra. *Mantineia* was the greatest land battle ever fought between Hellenes, and nearly all the states of Greece took part on one side or the other. But the victory bore no fruit; for Epaminondas himself fell on the field, and his city sank at once to a slow and narrow policy.

No state was left in Greece to assume leadership. A turbulent anarchy, in place of the stern Spartan rule, seemed the only fruit of the brief glory of the great Theban.

268. Failure of the City-state. — The failure of the Greek cities to unite in larger states made it certain that sooner or later they must fall

¹ Messenia had been a mere district of Laconia for nearly two centuries and a half. Its loss took from Sparta more than a third of her whole territory.



GREECE
 at the period of
 THEBAN LEADERSHIP

to some outside power. Sparta and Thebes (with Persian aid) had been able to prevent Athenian leadership; Thebes and Athens had overthrown Sparta; Sparta and Athens had been able to check Thebes. Twenty years of anarchy followed; and then Greece fell to a foreign master. On the north there had been growing up a *nation-state*; and the city-state could not stand before that stronger organization.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 100 ("Thirty Tyrants"), 101 (Epaminondas), and 102 (Leuctra). Plutarch's *Lives* ("Agesilaus" and "Pelopidas").

Additional: Bury, 514-628.

THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

269. Macedon. — The Macedonians were part of the "outer rim of the Greek race." They were still barbaric, and perhaps were mixed somewhat with non-Hellenic elements. Shortly before this time, they were only a loose union of tribes; but *Philip II* (§ 270) had now consolidated them into a real nation. The change was so recent that Alexander the Great, a little later, could say to his army: —

"My father, Philip, found you a roving, destitute people, without fixed homes and without resources, most of you clad in the skins of animals, pasturing a few sheep among the mountains, and, to defend these, waging a luckless warfare with the Illyrians, the Triballans, and the Thracians on your borders. He gave you the soldier's cloak to replace the skins, and led you down from the mountains into the plain, making you a worthy match in war against the barbarians on your frontier, so that you no longer trusted to your strongholds, so much as to your own valor, for safety. He made you to dwell in cities and provided you with wholesome laws and institutions. Over those same barbarians, who before had plundered you and carried off as booty both yourselves and your substance, he made you masters and lords."¹

270. Philip II of Macedon is one of most remarkable men in history.² He was ambitious, crafty, sagacious, persistent, unscrupulous, an unfailing judge of character, and a marvelous organizer. He set himself to make his people true Greeks by

¹ See the rest of this passage in Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, No. 107.

² Wheeler's characterization, *Alexander the Great*, 5-7, is admirable.

making them the leaders of Greece. He was determined to secure that headship for which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had striven in vain.

271. Philip's Methods. — At Philip's accession Macedon was still a poor country without a good harbor. The first need



PHILIP II.

From a gold medallion by Alexander.

was an outlet on the sea. Philip found one by conquering the Chalcidic peninsula. Then his energy developed the gold mines of the district until they furnished him a yearly revenue of a thousand talents — as large as that of Athens at her greatest power.

Next Philip turned to Greece itself. Here he used an adroit mingling of cunning, bribery, and force. In all Greek states, among

the pretended patriot statesmen, there were secret servants in his pay. He set city against city; and the constant tendency to quarrels among the Greeks played into his hands.

272. Demosthenes. — The only man who saw clearly the designs of Philip, and constantly opposed them, was *Demosthenes* the Athenian. Demosthenes was the greatest orator of Greece. To check Macedonia became the one aim of his life; and the last glow of Greek independence flames up in his passionate appeals to Athens that she defend Hellas against Macedon as she had once done against Persia.

“Suppose that you have one of the gods as surety that Philip will leave *you* untouched, in the name of all the gods, it is a shame for you in ignorant stupidity to sacrifice the rest of Hellas!”

The noble orations (the *Philippics*) by which Demosthenes sought to move the Athenian assembly to action against Philip

are still unrivaled in literature,¹ but they had no permanent practical effect.

273. The Macedonian Army. — The most important work of Philip was his army. This was as superior to the four-months



citizen armies of Hellas as Philip's steady and secret diplomacy was superior to the changing councils of a popular assembly. The king's wealth enabled him to keep a disciplined force ready for action. He had become familiar with the Theban phalanx during his stay at Thebes as a boy (§ 266). Now he

¹ Cf. § 223. Special report: Demosthenes.

enlarged and improved it, so that the ranks presented five rows of bristling spears projecting beyond the front soldier. The flanks were protected by light-armed troops, and the Macedonian nobles furnished the finest of cavalry.

At the same time a field "artillery" first appears, made up of curious engines able to throw darts and great stones three hundred yards. *Such a mixture of troops, and on a permanent footing, was altogether novel.* Philip created the instrument with which his son was to conquer the world.

274. Chaeronea and the Congress of Corinth. — In 338 B.C. Philip threw off the mask and invaded Greece. Athens and Thebes combined against him, — to be hopelessly crushed at the *battle of Chaeronea*. Then a congress of Greek states at Corinth *recognized Macedonia as the head of Greece*. It was agreed that the separate states should keep their local self-government, but that foreign matters, including war and peace, should be committed to Philip. Philip was also declared *general in chief of the armies of Greece for a war against Persia*.

275. The History of Hellas Ended. — Thus Philip posed, wisely, not as the conqueror, but as the champion of Greece against the foe of all Hellenes. He showed a patient magnanimity, too, toward fickle Greek states, and in particular he strove to reconcile Athens. He was wise enough to see that he needed, not reluctant subjects, but willing followers.

None the less, *the history of Hellas had closed*. Greece thereafter, until a hundred years ago, was only a province of this or that foreign power. *The history of Hellenic culture, however, was not closed*. The Macedonian conquest was to spread that civilization over the vast East. *The history of Hellas merges in the history of a wider Hellenistic world.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 103-107. Bury, ch. xvi; or (better if accessible) Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, 14-18 and 64-80.

EXERCISE. — Review the period from Aegospotami to Chaeronea by "catch-words" (see Exercise on page 186).

PART III

THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD

With Alexander the stage of Greek influence spreads across the world, and Greece becomes only a small item in the heritage of the Greeks.

— MAHAFFY.

The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two. — BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

in. f. us.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MINGLING OF EAST AND WEST

276. Alexander the Great. — Philip of Macedon was assassinated in 336, two years after Chaeronea. He was just ready to begin the invasion of Asia; and his work was taken up by his son *Alexander*.

Father and son were both among the greatest men in history, but they were very unlike. In many ways Alexander resembled his mother, Olympias, a semi-barbaric princess from Epirus, — a woman of intense passions and generous enthusiasms. Says Benjamin Ide Wheeler: —

“While it was from his father that Alexander inherited his sagacious insight into men and things, and his brilliant capacity for timely and determined action, it was to his mother that he undoubtedly owed that passionate warmth of nature which betrayed itself not only in the furious outbursts of temper occasionally characteristic of him, but quite as much in a romantic fervor of attachment and love for friends, a delicate tenderness of sympathy for the weak, and a princely largeness and generosity of soul toward all, that made him so deeply beloved of men and so enthusiastically followed.” — *Alexander the Great*, 5.

As a boy, Alexander had been fearless, self-willed, and restless, with fervent affections.¹ These traits marked his whole career. He was devoted to Homer, and he knew the *Iliad* by heart. Homer's Achilles he claimed for an ancestor and took for his ideal. His later education was directed by *Aristotle* (§ 315), and from this great teacher he learned to admire Greek art and science and to come closely into sympathy with the best Greek culture.

277. Restoration of Order. — At his father's death Alexander was a stripling of twenty years. He was to prove a rare mili-



ALEXANDER.



ALEXANDER IN A LION-HUNT.

Two sides of a gold medallion of Tarsus.

tary genius. He never lost a battle and never refused an engagement; and, on occasion, he could be shrewd and adroit in diplomacy; but at this time he was known only as a rash boy. No one thought that he could hold together the empire that had been built up by the force and cunning of the great Philip. Revolt broke out everywhere; but the young king showed himself at once both statesman and general. With marvelous rapidity he struck crushing blows on this side and on that. A hurried expedition restored order in Greece; the savage tribes of the north were quieted by a rapid march beyond the Danube;

¹ Special report: anecdotes from Plutarch regarding Alexander's boyhood.

then, turning on rebellious Illyria, Alexander forced the mountain passes and overran the country.

Meanwhile it was reported in the south that Alexander was killed or defeated among the barbarians. Insurrection again blazed forth; but with forced marches he suddenly appeared a second time in Greece, falling with swift and terrible vengeance upon Thebes, the center of the revolt. The city was taken by storm and leveled to the ground, except the house of Pindar (§ 129), while the thirty thousand survivors of the population were sold as slaves. The other states were terrified into abject submission, and were treated generously. Then, with his authority firmly re-established, Alexander turned, as the champion of Hellas, to attack Persia.

278. The Persian Campaigns. — In the spring of 334 B.C. Alexander crossed the Hellespont with thirty-five thousand disciplined troops. The army was quite enough to scatter any Oriental force, and as large as any general could then handle in long and rapid marches in a hostile country; but its size contrasts strangely with that of the huge horde Xerxes had led against Greece a century and a half before.

The route of march and the immense distances traversed can be best traced by the map. The conquest of the main empire occupied five years, and the story falls into three distinct chapters, each marked by a world-famous battle.



ALEXANDER.

The "Copenhagen" head. Probably by a pupil of the sculptor Skopas.

a. *Asia Minor: Battle of the Granicus.* — The Persian satraps of Asia Minor met the invaders at the Granicus, a small stream in ancient Troyland. With the personal rashness that was the one blot upon his military skill, Alexander himself led the Macedonian charge through the river and up the steep bank into the midst of the Persian cavalry, where he barely escaped death. The Persian nobles fought, as always, with gallant self-devotion, but in the end they were utterly routed. Then a body of Greek mercenaries in Persian pay was surrounded and cut down to a man. No quarter was to be given Hellenes fighting as traitors to the cause of Hellas.

The victory cost Alexander only 120 men, and it made him master of all Asia Minor. During the next few months he set up democracies in the Greek cities, and organized the government of the various provinces.

b. *The Mediterranean Coast: Battle of Issus.* — To strike at the heart of the empire at once would have been to leave behind him a large Persian fleet, to encourage revolt in Greece. Alexander wisely determined to secure the entire coast, and so protect his rear, before marching into the interior. Accordingly he turned south, just after crossing the mountains that separate Asia Minor from Syria, to reduce Phoenicia and Egypt. Meantime the Persians had gathered a great army; but at *Issus* Alexander easily overthrew their host of six hundred thousand men led by King Darius in person. Darius allowed himself to be caught in a narrow defile between the mountains and the sea. The cramped space made the vast numbers of the Persians an embarrassment to themselves. They soon became a huddled mob of fugitives, and the Macedonians wearied themselves with slaughter.

Alexander now assumed the title, King of Persia. The siege of Tyre (§ 57) detained him a year; but Egypt welcomed him as a deliverer, and by the close of 332, *all the sea power of the Eastern Mediterranean was his.*¹ While in Egypt he showed his

¹ Carthage dominated the western waters of the Mediterranean — beyond Italy; but she had nothing to do with naval rivalries farther east.

constructive genius by founding *Alexandria* at one of the mouths of the Nile—a city destined for many centuries to be a commercial and intellectual center for the world, where before there had been only a haunt of pirates.

c. *The Tigris-Euphrates District: Battle of Arbela.*—Darius now proposed that he and Alexander should divide the empire between them. Rejecting this offer contemptuously, Alexander took up his march for the interior. Following the ancient route from Egypt to Assyria (§ 6), he met Darius near *Arbela*, not far from ancient Nineveh. The Persians are said to have numbered a million men. Alexander purposely allowed them choice of time and place, and by a third decisive victory *proved* the hopelessness of their resistance. Darius never gathered another army. The capitals of the empire—Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis—surrendered, with enormous treasure in gold and silver, and the Persian Empire had fallen (331 B.C.).

The Granicus, Issus, and Arbela rank with Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, as “decisive” battles. The earlier set of three great battles gave Western civilization a chance to develop. This second set of three battles resulted in a new type of civilization, springing from a union of East and West. No battle between these two periods had anywhere near so great a significance.

279. Campaigns in the Far East.—The next six years went, however, to much more desperate warfare in the eastern mountain regions, and in the Punjab.¹ Alexander carried his arms as far east from Babylon as Babylon was from Macedonia. He traversed great deserts; subdued the warlike and princely chiefs of Bactria and Sogdiana up to the steppes of the wild Tartar tribes beyond the Oxus; twice forced the passes of the Hindukush (a feat almost unparalleled); conquered the valiant mountaineers of what is now Afghanistan; and led his army into the fertile and populous plains of northern India. He crossed the Indus, won realms *beyond* the ancient Persian province of the Punjab, and planned still

¹ A district of northern India.

more distant empires; but on the banks of the Hyphasis River his faithful Macedonians refused to be led farther, to waste away in inhuman perils; and the chagrined conqueror was compelled to return to Babylon. This city he made his capital, and here he died of a fever two years later (323 B.C.) in the midst of preparations to extend his conquests both east and west.¹ These last years, however, were given mainly to organizing the empire (§ 280).

280. Merging of East and West. — Alexander began his conquest to avenge the West upon the East. But he came to see excellent and noble qualities in Oriental life, and he rose rapidly to a broader view. He aimed no longer to hold a world in subjection by the force of a small conquering tribe, but rather *to mold Persian and Greek into one people on terms of equality*. He wished to marry the East and the West, — “to bring them together into a composite civilization, to which each should contribute its better elements.”

Persian youth were trained by thousands in Macedonian fashion to replace the veterans of Alexander's army; Persian nobles were welcomed at court and given high offices; and the government of Asia was intrusted largely to Asiatics, on a system similar to that of Darius the Great (§ 76). Alexander himself adopted Persian manners and customs, and he bribed and coaxed his officers and soldiers to do the like. All this was part of a deliberate design to encourage the fusion of the two peoples. The Macedonians protested jealously, and even rebelled, but were quickly reduced to obedience.

“The dream of his youth melted away, but a new vision in larger perspective arose with ever strengthening outlines in its place. The champion of the West against the East faded in mist, and the form of a world monarch, standing above the various worlds of men and belonging to none, but molding them all into one, emerged in its stead.” — WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 376.

¹ Topic: anecdotes of Alexander's later years; the change in his character. Wheeler's *Alexander* gives an ardent defense.

281. Hellenism the Active Element. — At the same time Alexander saw that to fulfill this mission he must throw open the East to Greek ideas. The races might mingle their blood; the Greek might learn much from the Orient, and in the end be absorbed by it; *but the thought and art of little Hellas, with its active energy, must leaven the vast passive mass of the East.*

One great measure, for this end, was the founding of chains of cities, to bind the conquests together and to become the homes of Hellenic influence. Alexander himself built seventy of these towns (usually called from his name, like the Alexandria in Egypt). Their walls sprang up under the pick and spade of the soldiery along the lines of march. One great city, we are told, walls and houses, was completed in twenty



ALEXANDER AS APOLLO. *1770*
Now in the Capitoline Museum. *1770*

days. Sometimes these places were mere garrison towns on distant frontiers, but oftener they became mighty emporiums at the intersection of great lines of trade. There was an Alexandria on the Jaxartes, on the Indus, on the Euphrates, as well as on the Nile. The sites were chosen wisely, and many of these cities remain great capitals to this day, like Herat and Kandahar.¹

282. Greek Colonies in the Orient. — This building of Greek cities was continued by Alexander's successors. Once more, and on a vaster scale than ever before, the Greek genius for

¹ Iskandar, or Kandahar, is an Oriental form of the Greek name Alexander.

colonization found vent. *Each new city had a Greek nucleus.* Usually this consisted only of worn-out veterans, left behind as a garrison; but enterprising youth, emigrating from old Hellas, continued to reinforce the Greek element. The native village people roundabout were gathered in to make the bulk of the inhabitants; and these also soon took on Greek character. From scattered, ignorant rustics, they became artisans and merchants, devotedly attached to Greek rule and zealous disciples of Greek culture.

The cities were all built on a large and comfortable model. They were well paved. They had ample provision for lighting by night, and a good water supply. They had police arrangements, and good thoroughfares. Even in that despotic East, they received extensive privileges and enjoyed a large amount of self-government: they met in their own assemblies, managed their own courts, and collected their own taxes. For centuries they made the backbone of Hellenism throughout the world. Greek was the ordinary speech of their streets; Greek architecture built their temples, and Greek sculpture adorned them; they celebrated Greek games and festivals; and, no longer in little Hellas alone, but over the whole East, in Greek theaters, vast audiences were educated by the plays of Euripides. The culture developed by a small people became the heritage of a vast world.

The unity of this widespread civilization cannot be insisted upon too strongly. Political unity was soon lost; but the oneness of culture endured for centuries, and kept its character even after Roman conquest. Over all that vast area there was for all cultivated men a common language, a common literature, a common mode of thought. *The mingling of East and West produced a new civilization, — a Graeco-Oriental world.*

In our own day, Western civilization is again transforming the Orient, leaving the railroad, the telegraph, free schools, and republican government in its line of march.— a march that reaches even farther than Alexander ever did. Between Alexander's day and ours, no like phenomena has been seen on any scale so vast. But this time the West does not give so large a part of its blood to the East; nor does the East react upon the West, as it did after Alexander (§ 283).

283. Reaction upon Hellas.—Hellas itself lost importance. It was drained of its intellect and enterprise, because adventurous young Greeks wandered to the East, to win fortune and distinction. And the victorious Hellenic civilization was modified by its victory, even in its old home. Sympathies were broadened. The barrier between Greek and barbarian faded away. Greek ideals were affected by Oriental ideals.

In particular, we note two forms of reaction upon Greek life,—the economic and the scientific (§§ 284, 285).

284. Economic Results.—Wealth was enormously augmented. The vast treasure of gold and silver which Oriental monarchs had hoarded in secret vaults was thrown again into circulation, and large sums were brought back to Europe by returning adventurers. These adventurers brought back also an increased desire for Oriental luxuries. Thus, trade was stimulated; a higher standard of living arose; manifold new comforts and enjoyments adorned and enriched life.

Somewhat later, perhaps as a result of this increase of wealth, there came other less fortunate changes. *Extremes of wealth and poverty appeared side by side*, as in our modern society: the great cities had their hungry, sullen, dangerous mobs; and socialistic agitation began on a large scale. These last phenomena, however, concerned only the closing days of the Hellenic world, just before its absorption by Rome.

285. Scientific Results.—A new era of scientific progress began. Alexander himself had the zeal of an explorer, and one of the most important scientific expeditions ever sent out by any government is due to him while he was in India. When he first touched the Indus, he thought it the upper course of the Nile; but he built a great fleet of two thousand vessels, sailed down the river to the Indian Ocean, and then sent his friend Nearchus to explore that sea and to trace the coast to the mouth of the Euphrates. After a voyage of many months, Nearchus reached Babylon. He had mapped the coast line, made frequent landings, and collected a mass of observations and a multitude of strange plants and animals.

Like collections were made by Alexander at other times, to be sent to his old instructor Aristotle, who embodied the results of his study upon them in a *Natural History* of fifty volumes. The Greek intellect, attracted by the marvels in the new world opened before it, turned to scientific observation and arrangement of facts. This impulse was intensified by the discovery of a long series of astronomical observations at Babylon (§ 49) and of the historical records and traditions of the Orientals, reaching back to an antiquity of which the Greeks had not dreamed. The active Greek mind, seizing upon this confused wealth of material, began to put in order a great system of knowledge about man and nature.

286. Summary. — Thus the mingling of East and West gave a product different from either of the old factors. Alexander's victories are not merely events in military history. They make an epoch in the onward march of humanity. They enlarged the map of the world once more, and they made these vaster spaces the home of a higher culture. *They grafted the new West upon the old East,—a graft from which sprang the plant of our later civilization.*

Alexander died at thirty-two, and his empire at once fell into fragments. Had he lived to seventy, it is hard to say what he might not have done to provide for lasting political union, and perhaps even to bring India and China into the current of our civilization.

“No single personality, excepting the carpenter's son of Nazareth, has done so much to make the world we live in what it is as Alexander of Macedon. *He leveled the terrace upon which European history built.* Whatever lay within the range of his conquests contributed its part to form that Mediterranean civilization, which under Rome's administration became the basis of European life. What lay beyond was as if on another planet.” — WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 108–118 (24 pages, mostly from Arrian, a second century writer and the earliest authority who has left us an account of Alexander). Bury, 736–836, or (better, if accessible) Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD

THE POLITICAL STORY

287. Wars of the Succession. — Alexander left no heir old enough to succeed him. On his deathbed, asked to whom he would leave his throne, he replied grimly, "To the strongest." As he foresaw, at his death his leading generals instantly began to strive with each other for his realm; and for nearly half a century the political history of the civilized world was a horrible welter of war and assassination. These struggles are called the *Wars of the Succession* (323-280 B.C.).

288. The Third Century B.C. — Finally, about 280 B.C., something like a fixed order emerged; then followed a period of sixty years, known as the *Glory of Hellenism*. The Hellenistic¹ world reached from the Adriatic to the Indus, and consisted of: (1) three great kingdoms, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedonia*; (2) a broken chain of smaller monarchies scattered from *Media* to *Epirus*² (some of them, like *Pontus* and *Armenia*, under dynasties descended from Persian princes); and (3) single free cities like *Byzantium*. Some of these free cities united into leagues, which sometimes became great military powers — like one famous confederation under the leadership of *Rhodes*.

289. Resemblance to Modern Europe. — *Politically in many ways all the vast district bore a striking resemblance to modern Europe.* There was a like division into great and small states, ruled by dynasties related by intermarriages; there was a common civilization, and a recognition of common interests as

¹ *Hellenic* refers to the old Hellas; *Hellenistic*, to the wider world, of mixed Hellenic and Oriental character, after Alexander.

² There is a full enumeration in Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire*, 90-92.

against outside barbarism or as opposed to any non-Hellenic power, like Rome; and there were jealousies and conflicts similar to those in Europe in recent centuries. There were shifting alliances, and many wars to preserve "the balance of power" or to secure trade advantages. There was a likeness to modern society, too, as we shall see more fully later, in the refinement of the age, in its excellences and its vices, the great learning,



THE DYING GAUL.

Sometimes incorrectly called the Dying Gladiator.

the increase in skill and in criticism. (Of course the age was vastly inferior to that of modern Europe.)

290. The Invasion by the Gauls.— It follows that the history of the third century is a history of many separate countries (§§ 292 ff.), but there was one event of *general* interest. This was the great Gallic invasion of 278 B.C. It was the first formidable barbarian attack upon the Eastern world since the Scythians had been chastised by the early Persian kings (§ 75).

A century before, hordes of these same Gauls had devastated northern Italy and sacked the rising city of Rome. Now (fortunately not until the ruinous Wars of the Succession were

over) they poured into exhausted Macedonia, penetrated into Greece as far as Delphi, and, after horrible ravages there, carried havoc into Asia. For a long period every great sovereign of the Hellenic world turned his arms upon them, until they were finally settled as peaceful colonists in a region of Asia Minor, which took the name *Galatia* from these new inhabitants.

Perhaps we are most interested in noting that the Hellenistic patriotism roused by the attack—like that in little Hellas two hundred years earlier by the Persian invasions (§ 187)—played a part in a splendid outburst of art and literature which followed. The *Dying Gaul* and the *Apollo Belvidere*,¹ among the noblest surviving works of the period, commemorate incidents in the struggle.

291. Decline of the Hellenic World.—About 220, the widespread Hellenistic world began a rapid decline. In that one year the thrones of Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia fell to youthful heirs; and all three of these new monarchs showed a degeneracy which is common in Oriental ruling families after a few generations of greatness. Just before this year, as we shall see (§ 310), the last promise of independence in Greece itself had flickered out. Just after it, there began an attack from Rome, which was finally to absorb this Hellenistic East into a still larger world.

Before turning to the growth of Rome, however, we will note (1) the history, in brief, of the leading Hellenic states from Alexander to the Roman sway; (2) with more detail, an interesting attempt at federal government in Greece itself; and (3) the character of Hellenistic culture in this period.

SOME SINGLE EASTERN STATES IN OUTLINE

292. Syria was the largest of the great monarchies. It comprised most of Alexander's empire in Asia, except the small

¹ The Gauls made a raid upon the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, but in some way were routed in disorder. The legend arose that Apollo himself drove them away with a thunderbolt. The statue, the *Apollo Belvidere*, is supposed to represent the god in the act of defending his temple.

states in Asia Minor. In the Wars of the Succession, it fell to *Seleucus*, one of the Macedonian generals; and his descendants (*Seleucidae*) ruled it to the Roman conquest. They



PYLON OF PTOLEMY III AT KARNAK. The reliefs represent that conqueror in religious thanksgiving, sacrificing, praying, offering trophies to the gods. At the top is the "conventionalized" winged sundisk. Cf. page 36. Note the general likeness to the older Egyptian architecture.

excelled all other successors of Alexander in building cities and extending Greek culture over distant regions. Seleucus alone founded seventy-five cities.

About 250 B.C. Indian princes reconquered the Punjab, and the Parthians arose on the northeast, to cut off the Bactrian provinces from the rest of the Greek world. Thus Syria shrank to the area of the ancient Assyrian Empire, — the Euphrates-Tigris basin and old Syria proper, — but it was still, in common opinion, the greatest world-power, until its might was shattered by Rome in 190 B.C. at *Magnesia*.¹

293. **Egypt** included Cyprus, and possessed a vague control over many coast towns of Syria and Asia Minor. Immediately upon Alexander's death, one of his generals, *Ptolemy*, chose Egypt for his province. His descendants, all known as Ptolemies, ruled the land until Cleopatra yielded to Augustus Caesar (30 B.C.), though it had become a Roman protectorate¹ somewhat before that time.

The early Ptolemies were wise, energetic sovereigns. They aimed to make Egypt the commercial emporium of the world, and to make their capital, Alexandria, the world's intellectual center. Ptolemy I established a great naval power, improved harbors, and *built the first lighthouse*. Ptolemy II (better known as *Ptolemy Philadelphus*) restored the old canal from the Red Sea to the Nile (§§ 28, 32), constructed roads, and fostered learning more than any great ruler before him (§ 319). Ptolemy III, in war with Syria, carried his arms to Bactria, and on his return mapped the coast of Arabia. Unlike earlier conquerors, he made no attempt to add territory to his realm by his victories, but only to secure trade advantages and a satisfactory peace. The later Ptolemies were weaklings or infamous monsters, guilty of every folly and crime; but even they continued to encourage learning.

294. **Macedonia** ceased to be of great interest after the death of Alexander, except from a military point of view. Its position made it the first part of the Greek world to come into hostile contact with Rome. King Philip V joined Carthage in a war against Rome, a little before the year 200 B.C.

¹ That is, Rome had come to control all the relations of Egypt with foreign countries, although its government continued in name to be independent.

A series of struggles resulted; and Macedonia, with parts of Greece, became Roman in 146 B.C.

295. Rhodes and Pergamum. — Among the many small states, two deserve special mention. *Rhodes* headed a confederacy of cities in the Aegean, and in the third century she became the leading commercial state of the Mediterranean. Her policy was one of peace and freedom of trade. *Pergamum* was a small Greek kingdom in Asia Minor, which the genius of its rulers (the Attalids) made prominent in politics and art. When the struggles with Rome began, Pergamum allied itself with that power, and long remained a favored state.

THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE IN GREECE

296. The Political Situation. — During the ruinous Wars of the Succession, Greece had been a favorite battleground for the great powers, Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia. Many cities were laid waste, and at the close of the contests, the country was left a vassal of Macedonia. To make her hold firmer, Macedonia set up tyrants in many cities. From this humiliation, Greece was lifted for a time by a new power, the *Achaean League*, which made a last effort for the freedom of Hellas.

297. Earlier Confederations. — In early times, in the more backward parts of Greece, there had been many rude federations of tribes, as among the Phocians and Locrians; but in city-Greece no such union had long survived.

The failure of the *Confederacy of Delos* has been told. During the supremacy of Sparta (about 400 B.C.) another still more interesting federal union appeared for a brief time on the northern coast of the Aegean. *Olynthus*, a leading Greek city in the Chalcidic district, built up a confederacy of forty states, to check the Thracian and Macedonian barbarians, who had begun to stir themselves after the fall of the Athenian power. This league is called the *Olynthian Confederacy*. Its cities kept their local independence; but they were merged, upon equal terms, into a large state more perfect than any preceding federal union. *The citizens of any one city could intermarry with those of any other, and they could dwell and acquire landed property anywhere within the league; while no one city had superior privileges over the others, as Athens had had in the*

Delian League. After only a short life, as we have seen, this promising union was crushed ruthlessly by jealous Sparta (§ 261).

298. Aetolian League.—Now, after 280 B.C., two of the ancient tribal federations which had survived in obscure corners of Greece—Achaëa and Aetolia—began to play leading parts in history.

Of these two, the *Aetolian League* was the less important. Originally it seems to have been a loose union of mountain districts for defense. But the Wars of the Succession made the Aetolians famous as bold soldiers of fortune, and the wealth brought home by the thousands of such adventurers led to a more aggressive policy on the part of the league. The people remained, however, rude mountaineers, “brave, boastful, rapacious, and utterly reckless of the rights of others.” They played a part in saving southern Greece from the invading Gauls (§ 290), but their confederacy became more and more an organization for lawless plunder.

299. Achaean League: Origin.—In Achaëa there was a nobler history. A league of small towns grew into a formidable power, freed most of Greece, brought much of it into a federal union, with all members on equal terms, and for a glorious half century maintained Greek freedom successfully.

The story offers curious contrasts to the period of Athenian leadership two hundred years earlier. Greece could no longer hope to become one of the great military powers: we miss the intellectual brilliancy, too, of the fifth century; but the period affords even more instructive political lessons—especially to Americans, interested, as we are, in federal institutions. The most important political matter in Greek history in the third century B.C. is this experiment in federal government.

The people of Achaëa were unwarlike, and not very enterprising or intellectual. In all Greek history they produced no great writer or great artist. They did not even furnish great statesmen,—for all the heroes of the league were to come from outside Achaëa itself. Still, the Achaean League is one of the most remarkable federations in history before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States.

We know that there was some kind of a confederation in Achaea as early as the Persian War. Under the Macedonian rule, the league was destroyed and tyrants were set up in several of the ten Achaean cities. But, about 280 B.C., four small towns revived the ancient confederacy. This union swiftly drove out the tyrants from the neighboring towns, and absorbed all Achaea. One generous incident belongs to this part of the story: *Iseas*, tyrant of Cerynea, voluntarily gave up his power and brought his city into the league.

So far Macedonia had not interfered. The Gallic invasion just at this time spread ruin over all the north of Hellas, and probably prevented hostile action by the Macedonian king. Thus the federation became securely established.

300. Government. — During this period the constitution was formed. The chief authority of the league was placed in a *Federal Assembly*. This was not a *representative* body, but a mass meeting: it was made up of all citizens of the league who chose to attend. To prevent the city where the meeting was held from outweighing the others, each city was given only one vote. That is, ten or twelve men — or even one man — from a distant town cast the vote of that city, and counted just as much as several hundred from a city nearer the place of meeting. The Assembly was held twice a year, for only three days at a time, and in some small city, so that a great capital should not overshadow the rest of the league. It chose yearly a *Council of Ten*, a *Senate*, and a *General* (or president), with various subordinate officers. The same General could not be chosen two years in succession.

This government raised federal taxes and armies, and represented the federation in all foreign relations. Each city remained a distinct state, with full control over all its internal matters — but no city of itself could make peace or war, enter into alliances, or send ambassadors to another state. That is, the Achaean League was a true federation, and not a mere alliance; and its cities corresponded closely to the American States under our old Articles of Confederation.

301. Faults in the Government. — In theory, the constitution was extremely democratic: in practice, it proved otherwise. Men attended the Assembly at their own expense. Any Achaean *might* come, but *only the wealthy could afford to do so*, as a regular thing. Moreover, since the meetings of the Assembly were few and brief, great authority had to be left to the General and Council. Any Achaean was eligible to these offices; but *poor men could hardly afford to take them, because they had no salaries. The Greek system of a primary assembly was suited only to single cities. A primary assembly made the city of Athens a perfect democracy: the same institution made the Achaean League intensely aristocratic.*

The constitution was an advance over all other Greek federations, but it had two other faults. (1) It made little use of representation, which no doubt would have seemed to the Achaeans undemocratic (§ 128), but which in practice would have enabled a larger part of the citizens to have a voice in the government; and (2) all cities, great or small, had the same vote.

This last did not matter much at first, for the little Achaean towns did not differ greatly in size; but it became a plain injustice when the union came later to contain some of the most powerful cities in Greece. However, this feature was almost universal in early confederacies,¹ and it was the principle of the American Union until 1789.

302. First Expansion beyond Achaea. — The power of the General was so great that the history of the league is the biography of a few great men. The most remarkable of these

¹The one exception was the Lycian Confederacy in Asia Minor. The Lycians were not Greeks, apparently; but they had taken on some Greek culture, and their federal union was an advance even upon the Achaean. It was absorbed by Rome, however, in 54 A.D., before it played an important part in history. In its Assembly, the vote was taken by cities, *but the cities were divided into three classes: the largest had three votes each, the next class two each, and the smallest only one.* In the Philadelphia Convention, in 1787, several American statesmen wished to adopt this Lycian plan for our States in the Federal Congress.

leaders was *Aratus* of Sicyon. Sicyon was a city just outside Achaëa, to the east. It had been ruled by a vile and bloody tyrant, who drove many leading citizens into exile. Among these exiles was the family of Aratus. When a youth of twenty years (251 B.C.) Aratus planned, by a night attack, to overthrow the tyrant and free his native city. The daring venture was brilliantly successful; but it aroused the hatred of Macedon, and, to preserve the freedom so nobly won, Aratus brought Sicyon into the Achaean federation.

303. Aratus.¹ — Five years later, Aratus was elected General of the league, and thereafter, he held that office each alternate year (as often as the constitution permitted) until his death, thirty-two years later.

Aratus hated tyrants, and longed for a free and united Greece. He extended the league far beyond the borders of Achaëa, and made it a champion of Hellenic freedom. He aimed at a noble end, but did not refuse base means. He was incorruptible himself, and he lavished his vast wealth on the union; but he was bitterly jealous of other leaders. With plenty of daring in a dashing project, as he many times proved, he lacked nerve to command in battle, and he never won a real victory in the field. Still, despite his many defeats, his persuasive power and his merits kept him the confidence of the union to the end of a long public life.

304. Growth of the League; Lydiadas. — In his second generalship, Aratus freed Corinth from her Macedonian tyrant by a desperate night attack upon the garrison of the citadel. That powerful city then entered the union. So did Megara, which itself drove out its Macedonian garrison. The league now commanded the isthmus, and was safe from attack by Macedonia. Then several cities in Arcadia joined, and, in 234, Megalopolis (§ 265) was added, — at that time one of the leading cities in Greece.

¹ Aratus is the first statesman known to us from his own memoirs. That work itself no longer exists, but Plutarch drew upon it for his *Life*, as did Polybius for his *History*.

Some years earlier the government of Megalopolis had become a tyranny: *Lydiadas*, a gallant and enthusiastic youth, seized despotic power, meaning to use it for good ends.¹ The growth of the Achaean League opened a nobler way: *Lydiadas resigned his tyranny*, and as a private citizen brought the Great City into the union. This act made him a popular hero, and Aratus became his bitter foe. The new leader was the more lovable figure,—generous and ardent, a soldier as well as a statesman. Several times he became General of the league, but even in office he was often thwarted by the disgraceful trickery of the older man.

305. The Freeing of Athens and Argos.—For many years Aratus had aimed to free Athens and Argos—sometimes by heroic endeavors, sometimes by assassination and poison. In 229, he succeeded.

He *bought* the withdrawal of Macedonian troops from the Piraeus, and Athens became an ally, though not a member, of the league.² The tyrant of Argos was persuaded or frightened into following the example



THE ACHAEAN AND AETOLIAN LEAGUES, ABOUT 225 B.C.

¹ This was true of several tyrants in this age, and it was due no doubt in part to the new respect for monarchy since Alexander's time, and in part to new theories of government taught by the philosophers.

² The old historic cities, Athens and Sparta, could not be brought to look favorably upon such a union.

of Iseas and Lydiadas, — as had happened meanwhile in many smaller cities, — and Argos joined the confederacy.

The league now was the commanding power in Hellas. It included all Peloponnesus except Sparta and Elis. Moreover, all Greece south of Thermopylae had become free, — largely through the influence of the Achaean league, — and most of the states not inside the union had at least entered into friendly alliance with it. But now came a fatal conflict with Sparta.

306. Need of Social Reforms in Sparta. — The struggle was connected with a great reform within that ancient city. The forms of the "Lycurgan" constitution had survived through many centuries, but now Sparta had only seven hundred full citizens (cf. §§ 254, 263). This condition brought about a violent agitation for reform. And about the year 243, *Agis*, one of the Spartan kings, set himself to do again what Lycurgus had done in legend.

307. Agis was a youthful hero, full of noble daring and pure enthusiasm. He gave his own property to the state and persuaded his relatives and friends to do the like. He planned to abolish all debts, and to divide the land among forty-five hundred Spartan "Inferiors". (§ 254) and fifteen thousand other Laonians, so as to refund the state upon a broad and democratic basis. Agis could easily have won by violence; but he refused such methods, and sought his ends by constitutional means only. The conservative party rose in fierce opposition. By order of the Ephors, the young king was seized, with his noble mother and grandmother, and murdered in prison, — "the purest and noblest spirit that ever perished through deeming others as pure and noble as himself."

308. Cleomenes. — But the ideals of the martyr lived on. His wife was forced to marry *Cleomenes*, son of the other king; and, *from her, this prince adopted the hopes of Agis*. Cleomenes became king in 236. He had less of high sensitiveness and of stainless honor than Agis, but he is a grand and colossal figure. He bided his time; and then, when the Ephors were planning to use force against him, he struck first.

Aratus had led the Achaean League into war¹ with Sparta in order to unite all the Peloponnesus; but the military genius of Cleomenes made even enfeebled Sparta a match for the great league. He won two great victories. Then, the league being helpless for the moment, he used his popularity to secure reform in Sparta. The oligarchs were plotting against him, but he was enthusiastically supported by the disfranchised multitudes. Leaving his Spartan troops at a distance, he hurried to the city by forced marches with some chosen followers. There he seized and slew the Ephors, and proclaimed a new constitution, which contained the reforms of Agis.

309. Sparta Victorious over the League. — Cleomenes designed to make this new Sparta the head of the Peloponnesus. He and Aratus each desired a free, united Greece, but under different leadership. Moreover, Sparta now stood forth the advocate of a kind of socialism, and so was particularly hateful to the aristocratic government of the league.

The struggle between the two powers was renewed with fresh bitterness. Cleomenes won more victories, and then, with the league at his feet, he offered generous terms. He demanded that Sparta be admitted to the union as virtual leader. This would have created the greatest power ever seen in Greece, and, for the time, it would have made a free Hellas sure. The Achaeans were generally in favor of accepting the proposal; but Aratus — jealous of Cleomenes and fearful of social reform — broke off the negotiations by underhanded methods.

310. Aratus calls in Macedon. — Then Aratus bought the aid of Macedon against Sparta, *by betraying Corinth*, a free member of the league and the city connected with his own most glorious exploit. As a result, *the federation became a protectorate of Macedonia*, holding no relations with foreign states except through that power. The war now became a struggle

¹ In a battle in this war Aratus held back the Achaean phalanx, while Lydiadas, heading a gallant charge, was overpowered by numbers.

for Greek freedom, waged by Sparta under her hero king against the overwhelming power of Macedon assisted by the confederacy as a vassal state. Aratus had undone his own great work.

The date (222 B.C.) coincides with the general decline of the Hellenic world (§ 291). For a while, Sparta showed surprising vigor, and Cleomenes was marvelously successful. The league indeed dwindled to a handful of petty cities. But in the end Macedonia prevailed. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, to die in exile; and Sparta opened her gates for the first time to a conquering army. The league was restored to its old extent, but its glory was gone. It still served a useful purpose in keeping peace and order over a large part of Peloponnesus, but it was no longer the champion of a free Hellas.

311. Final Decline. — Soon after, war followed between Achaea and Aetolia. This contest became a struggle between Macedonia and her vassals on the one side, and Aetolia aided by Rome on the other; for as Achaea had called in Macedonia against Sparta, so now Aetolia called in Rome against Achaea and Macedonia, — and Greek history closed.

Some gleams of glory shine out at the last in the career of *Philopoemen* of Megalopolis, the greatest general the Achaean League ever produced, and one of the noblest characters in history; but the doom of Achaea was already sealed. "Philopoemen," says Freeman, "was one of the heroes who struggle against fate, and who are allowed to do no more than to stave off a destruction which it is beyond their power to avert." These words are a fitting epitaph for the great league itself.

HELLAS SOCIETY

312. General Culture. — From 280 to 150 B.C. was the period of chief splendor for the new, widespread Hellenism. It was a great and fruitful age. Society was refined; the position of woman improved; private fortunes abounded, and private houses possessed works of art which, in earlier times, would have been found only in palaces or temples. For the reverse

side, there was corruption in high places, and hungry and threatening mobs at the base of society.

Among the countless cities, all homes of culture, five great intellectual centers appeared — Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes, Pergamos, Antioch. The glory of Alexandria extended over the whole period, which is sometimes known as the Alexandrian age; the others held a special preëminence, one at one time, one at another. Athens, however, always excelled in philosophy, and Rhodes in oratory.¹

313. Literature. — The many-sided age produced new forms in art and literature: especially, (1) *the prose romance*, a story of love and adventure, the forerunner of the modern novel; (2) *the pastoral poetry* of *Theocritus*, which was to influence Virgil and Tennyson; and (3) *personal memoirs*. The old Attic comedy, too, became the "New Comedy" of *Menander* and his followers, devoted to satirizing gently the life and manners of the time.

In general, no doubt, the tendency in literature was toward critical scholarship rather than toward great and fresh creation. Floods of books appeared, more notable for style than matter. Treatises on literary criticism abounded; the science of grammar was developed; and poets prided themselves upon writing all kinds of verse equally well. Intellectually, in its faults, as in its virtues, the time strikingly resembles our own.

314. Painting and Sculpture. — Painting gained prominence. *Zeuxis*, *Parrhasius*, and *Apelles* are the most famous Greek names connected with this art, which was now carried to great perfection. According to popular stories, *Zeuxis* painted a cluster of grapes so that birds pecked at them, while *Apelles* painted a horse so that real horses neighed at the sight.

Despite the attention given to painting, Greek sculpture produced some of its greatest work in this period. Multitudes of splendid statues were created — so abundantly, indeed, that even the names of the artists are not preserved. Among the famous pieces that survive, besides the *Dying Gaul* and the

¹ Caesar and Cicero studied oratory at Rhodes.

Apollo Belvidere (§ 290), are the *Venus of Milo* (Melos) and the *Laocoön* group.



VENUS OF MELOS. — A statue now in the Louvre.

315. Greek philosophy after Socrates had three distinct periods, corresponding to the three chief divisions of remaining Greek history.

(*For the period of Spartan and Theban leadership.*) The most famous disciple of Socrates is known to the world by his nickname *Plato*, the "broad-browed." His name, and that of his pupil and rival, *Aristotle*, of the next period, are among the greatest in the history of ancient thought,—among the very greatest, indeed, in all time. Plato taught that things are merely the shadows of ideas, and that *ideas* alone are real. But this statement gives a very imperfect picture of his beautiful and mystical philosophy—which is altogether too complex to treat here.

(*For the Macedonian period.*) *Aristotle*, on the other hand, cared more about *things*. Besides his philosophical treatises, he wrote upon rhetoric, logic, poetry, politics, physics and chemistry, and natural history; and he built up all the knowledge gathered by the ancient world into one complete system. For the intellectual world of his day he worked a task not unlike that of his pupil Alexander in the political world. More than any other of the ancients, too, he was many-sided and modern in his way of thinking (cf. also §§ 285, 320).

(*For the period after Alexander.*) During the Wars of the Succession, two new philosophical systems were born,—*Epicureanism* and *Stoicism*. Each called itself highly "practical." Neither asked, as older philosophies had done, "what is true?" *Stoicism* asked (in a sense following Socrates),—"What is right?" and *Epicureanism* asked merely, "What is expedient?" One sought virtue; the other, happiness. Neither sought knowledge. These two "schools" need a somewhat fuller treatment (§§ 316–318).

316. Epicurus was an Athenian citizen. He taught that every man *must* pursue happiness as an end, but that the highest pleasure was to be obtained by a wise choice of the refined pleasures of the mind and of friendship,—not by gratifying the lower appetites. He advised temperance and virtue as means to happiness; and he himself lived a frugal life, saying that with a crust of bread and a cup of cold water he could rival Zeus in happiness. Under cover of his theories, however,

some of his followers taught and practiced a grossness which Epicurus himself would have earnestly condemned.



THE LAOCOÖN GROUP.

A representation in marble of an incident in the story of the fall of Troy.

The Epicureans denied the supernatural altogether, and held death to be the end of all things. Epicureanism produced some lovable characters, but no exalted ones.

317. Zeno the Stoic¹ also taught at Athens. His followers made virtue, not happiness, the end of life. If happiness were to come at all, it would come, they said, as a result, not as an end. They placed emphasis upon the dignity of human nature: the wise man should be superior to the accidents of fortune.

The Stoics believed in the gods as manifestations of one Divine Providence that ordered all things well. The noblest characters of the Greek and Roman world from this time belonged to this sect. Stoicism was inclined, however, to ignore the gentler and kindlier side of human life; and with bitter natures it merged into the philosophy of the Cynics, of whom *Diogenes*, with his tub and lantern, is the great example.²

318. New Importance of Philosophy. — Both Stoics and Epicureans held to a wide brotherhood of man. This teaching, no doubt, was one result of the union of the world in the new Graeco-Oriental culture. Such a doctrine would have been unthinkable before the battle of Arbela. Moreover, for the educated classes, philosophy now took the place of religion as a guide to life. The philosophers were the clergy of the next few centuries much more truly than the priests of the temples were.

319. Libraries and "Museums" ("Universities"). — The closing age of Hellenistic history saw the forerunner of the modern university. The beginning was made at Athens. Plato (§ 315), by his will, left his gardens and other property to his followers, organized in a club. Athenian law did not recognize the right of any *group* of people to hold property, unless it were a religious body. Therefore this club claimed to be organized for the worship of the *Muses*, who were the patrons of literature and learning; and the name *Museum* was given to the institution. *This was the first endowed academy, and the first union of teachers and learners into a corporation.*³

¹ Zeno taught in the painted porch (*stoa*) on the north side of the market-place: hence the name of his philosophy. See also the description of the map of Athens on page 202.

² Special report: the stories of Diogenes.

³ A corporation is a body of men recognized by the law as a "person" so far as property rights go.

The idea has never since died out of the world. The model and name were used a little later by the Ptolemies at Alexandria in their *Museum*. This was a richly endowed institution, with large numbers of students. It had a great library of over half a million volumes (manuscripts), with scribes to make careful copies of them and to make their meaning more clear, when necessary, by explanatory notes. It had also observatories and botanical and zoölogical gardens, with collections of rare plants and animals from distant parts of the world. The librarians, and the other scholars who were gathered about the institution, devoted their lives to a search for knowledge and to teaching; and so they corresponded to the faculty of a modern university.

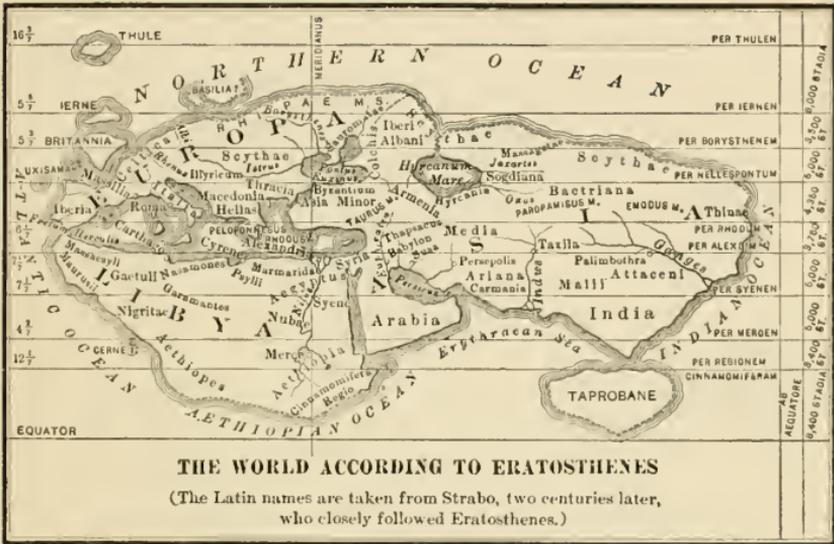
“The external appearance [of the Museum] was that of a group of buildings which served a common purpose — temple of the Muses, library, porticoes, dwellings, and a hall for meals, which were taken together. The inmates were a *community* of scholars and poets, on whom the king bestowed the honor and privilege of being allowed to work at his expense with all imaginable assistance ready to hand. . . . The managing board was composed of priests, but the most influential post was that of librarian.” — HOLM, *History of Greece*, IV, 307.

One enterprise, of incalculable benefit to the later world, shows the zeal of the Ptolemies in collecting and translating texts. Alexandria had many Jews in its population, but they were coming to use the Greek language. Philadelphus, for their benefit, had the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek. This is the famous *Septuagint* translation, so called from the tradition that it was the work of *seventy* scholars.

320. Science made greater strides than ever before in an equal length of time. Medicine, surgery, botany, and mechanics became real sciences for the first time. *Archimedes* of Syracuse discovered the principle of the lever, and of specific gravity, and constructed burning mirrors and new hurling engines which made effective siege artillery.¹ *Euclid*, a Greek at Alexandria, building upon the old Egyptian knowledge, produced the geometry which is still taught in our schools with

¹ See Davis' *Readings*, Vol. II, No. 27.

little addition. *Eratosthenes* (born 276 B.C.), the librarian at Alexandria, wrote a systematic work on geography, invented delicate astronomical instruments, and devised the present way of measuring the circumference of the earth—with results nearly correct. A little later, *Aristarchus* taught that the earth moved round the sun; and *Hipparchus* calculated eclipses, catalogued the stars, wrote books on astronomy, and



founded the science of trigonometry. Aristotle had already given all the proofs of the sphericity of the earth that are common in our text-books now (except that of actual circumnavigation) and had asserted that men could probably reach Asia by sailing west from Europe. The scientific spirit gave rise, too, to actual voyages of exploration into many regions; and daring discoverers brought back from northern regions what seemed wild tales of icebergs gleaming in the cold aurora of the polar skies.

The lighthouse built by the first Ptolemy on the island of *Pharos*, in the harbor of Alexandria, shows that the new civilization had begun to make practical use of science to

advance human welfare. The tower rose 325 feet into the air, and from the summit a group of polished reflecting mirrors threw its light at night far out to sea. It seemed to the Jewish citizens of Alexandria to make real once more the old Hebrew story of the Pillar of Cloud by day and of Fire by night,—to guide wanderers on the wastes of waves. “All night,” said a Greek poet, “will the sailor, driving before the storm, see the fire gleam from its top.”

321. The Greek contributions to our civilization cannot be named and counted, as we did those from the preceding Oriental peoples. Egypt and Babylon gave us some very important outer features,—*garments*, if we choose so to speak, *for the body of our civilization*. *But the Greeks gave us its soul*. This is the truth in the noble sentences quoted at the head of Greek history in this volume (page 95): “We are all Greeks,” and “There is nothing that *moves* in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin.”

Because the Greek contributions are of the spirit, rather than of the body, they are harder to describe in a brief summary. One supreme thing, however, must be mentioned. The Greeks gave us the *ideal of freedom, regulated by self-control*,—freedom in thought, in religion, and in politics.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY.—*Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, Vol. I, Nos. 119-125 (19 pages, mostly from Polybius, Arrian, and Plutarch, the three Greek historians of that age).

Additional: Plutarch's *Lives* (“Aratus,” “Agis,” “Cleomenes,” “Philopoemen”); Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire*.

EXERCISE.—Review the various confederacies,—Peloponnesian, Delian, Olynthian, Achaean, noting likenesses and contrasts. Review the period from Chaeronea to the death of Alexander by “catch words.”

REVIEW EXERCISES ON PARTS II AND III

A. FACT DRILLS ON GREEK HISTORY

1. The class should form a *Table of Dates* gradually as the critical points are reached, and should then *drill* upon it until it says itself as the alphabet does. The following dates are enough for this drill in Greek history. The table should be filled out as is done for the first two dates.

776 B.C.	First recorded Olympiad	338 B.C.
490 ..	Marathon	222 ..
405 ..		146 ..
371 ..		

2. Name in order fifteen battles, between 776 and 146 B.C., stating for each the parties, leaders, result, and importance. (*Such tables also should be made by degrees as the events are reached.*)

3. Explain concisely the following terms or names: Olympiads, Ephors, Mycenaean Culture, Olympian Religion, Amphictyonies, Sappho. (*Let the class extend the list several fold.*)

B. TOPICAL REVIEWS

This is a good point at which to review certain "culture topics," — *i.e.*, agriculture, industrial arts, life of rich and poor, philosophy, literature, art, religion, science, — tracing each separately from the dawn of history.

Make a table showing the chief divisions of Greek history, with subdivisions.

APPENDIX

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON ANCIENT HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

PREHISTORIC CULTURE

- Clodd, E., *Story of Primitive Man*. Appleton, New York. \$0.35.
— *Story of the Alphabet*. Appleton. \$1.
Dodge, R. J., *Our Wild Indians*. Hartford. \$2.50.
Joly, N., *Man before Metals*. Appleton. \$1.75.
Mason, O. T., *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. Appleton. \$1.75.
Starr, F., *Some First Steps in Human Progress*. Flood and Vincent,
Meadville, Pa. \$1.

It is not suggested that a school library should own all of the above works, until it is well supplied in other directions. But any of them will make entertaining reading. For *Fiction*, on the same period, the only good attempt is Stanley Waterloo's *Story of Ab*.

ORIENTAL HISTORY

- Baikie, James, *Story of the Pharaohs* (illustrated). Macmillan, New York. \$2.
Breasted, J. H., *History of the Ancient Egyptians*. Scribner, New York. \$1.25.

The same author has a larger, finely illustrated work covering the same ground.

- *History of Egypt*. Scribner, New York. \$5.

This is the most recent and scholarly work in English on Egypt (1909). But the smaller work is good; and Baikie's *Story* (above) is perhaps more readable than either.

- ** Davis, William Stearns, *Readings in Ancient History*. Allyn and Bacon, Boston. Two volumes: "Greece and the East" and "Rome and the West." Each \$1.

The first volume contains sixty pages of "source material" on Oriental history, with valuable introductions. The *Readings* (unless

bought by each student in the class) should be present in the library in multiple copies. See Suggestions for Reading on page 9 of this text.

Hommel, F., *Civilization of the East* ("Primer"). Macmillan. \$0.40.

Jackson, A. V. W., *Zoroaster*. Macmillan. \$1.50.

* **Myres, J. L.**, *Dawn of History* (Home University Series). Holt, New York. \$0.50. An admirable little book.

Petrie, W. Flinders, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (illustrated). McClurg, Chicago. \$1.75.

Valuable for students in industrial courses, but somewhat technical. Professor Petrie is the most famous Egyptian explorer of our times.

Sayce, A. H., *Assyria: Its Princes, Priests, and People* (illustrated). Revell, Chicago. \$1.

— *Babylonians and Assyrians*. Revell, Chicago. \$1.

A somewhat later work than the preceding. One of the two is well worth while in a high school library. Very readable.

Winckler, Hugo, *Babylonia and Assyria*. Scribner. \$1.25.

More recent in scholarship than Sayce, but hardly so readable.

CIVILIZATION IN ANCIENT CRETE

Baikie, James, *Sea Kings of Crete* (handsomely illustrated). Macmillan. \$2. The best single volume on the topic.

Hawes and Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*. Harper, New York. \$0.75.

GREEK HISTORY

Source Material.

* **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*. This work is described in the list for Oriental history above. It is particularly valuable for Greek history, and should be the first library material purchased on that subject. The use of it, however, will certainly lead many students to wish to know more of certain ancient authors quoted in it; and the small list below ought to be accessible.

Aristotle, *On the Constitution of Athens*; translated by Kenyon. Macmillan. \$1.

This is the least readable of the books mentioned in this list; but it can be used in parts, under a teacher's direction.

Herodotus, Rawlinson's translation, edited by Grant; two volumes; Scribner. \$3.50.

- Macaulay's translation, two volumes. Macmillan. \$4.50.
- * *Homer's Iliad*, translated by Lang, Leaf, and Myers. Macmillan. \$0.80.
- * *Homer's Odyssey*, translated by Butcher and Lang. Macmillan. \$0.80.
Translated by Palmer. Houghton. \$0.75.
- Plutarch, *Lives*; translated by Clough; Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York); three volumes, each \$0.75.
- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Jowett's translation; Clarendon Press, Oxford; four volumes. \$3.50. Or the same edited in one volume and published by Lothrop, Boston. \$2.50.

Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York) gives several volumes of these classics at cheaper rates. Constant additions are made to the Library. Herodotus and Thucydides can be obtained also in less desirable translations, but much cheaper, in Harper's Classical Library.

Modern Works.

- * Abbott, E., *Pericles* ("Heroes"). Putnams, New York. \$1.50.
- Blümner, H., *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks* (profusely illustrated) Cassell, New York. \$2.
(Still valuable; but if the library is buying a new book on the subject, it should get Gulick, below).
- * Bury, J. B., *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander*. Macmillan. \$1.90. The best single volume on the whole field.
- * Church, E. J., *Trial and Death of Socrates*. Macmillan. \$1.
A translation of four of Plato's Dialogues touching upon this period of Socrates' life. They are also the easiest of Plato's writings for young people to understand. It has valuable comments.
- Cox, G. W., *Greeks and Persians*. Epochs Series. Longmans, New York. \$1.
- * Cox, G. W., *The Athenian Empire*. Epochs Series. Longmans. \$1.
- Cunningham, W., *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects: Ancient Times*. Macmillan. \$1.25.
The best work on its special phase. Very full for Greece.
- * Davis, William Stearns, *A Day in Old Athens*. (At Press.) Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- *A Victor of Salamis* (novel). Macmillan. \$1.50.
Exceedingly vivid presentation of Greek life.
- Gayley, C. M., *Classic Myths*. Ginn, Boston. \$1.
- * Grant, A. J., *Greece in the Age of Pericles*. Scribner. \$1.

- * **Gulick, Chas. B.**, *Life of the Ancient Greeks* (illustrated). Appleton. \$1.40.
 The best treatment; preferable to the older one by Blümner mentioned above.
- Gardiner, E. N.**, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (illustrated). Macmillan. \$2.50.
- * **Mahaffy, J. P.**, *Alexander's Empire*. Putnams, New York. \$1.50.
 — *Old Greek Life* (Primer). American Book Co. \$0.35.
 — *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*. University of Chicago Press. \$1.
- * **Wheeler, Benjamin Ide**. *Alexander the Great* ("Heroes"). Putnams. \$1.50.

As is said above, Bury is the best single work on Greek history. It closes with the death of Alexander. Cox's little volumes in the Epochs Series are slightly preferable for the Athenian period; and Wheeler's *Alexander* is admirable for its period. For the age after Alexander, the best book is Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire* or his *Progress of Hellenism*.

These lists do not contain nearly all the books on Oriental and Greek history which may well be found in a large high school library. They represent only such volumes as ought to be constantly accessible to a first-year class in the study. When two books on the same field are named, one of them distinctly preferable to the other (as with Blümner and Gulick on Greek Life), this is done because the library may already have the older work—in which case it is not worth while to buy the other until more pressing needs are well supplied. *The starred volumes should be present in multiple copies.*

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Pronunciation, except for the more familiar names and terms, is indicated by accentuation and division into syllables. As a rule, the simpler diacritical marks of Webster's *International Dictionary* are used. The soft aspirated guttural *g* of the German is represented by *g*, the guttural *ch* by *ch* and the French *n* by *ñ*; italics are used to mark silent letters; *ae* and *oe* = *e*; *ei* = *i*; *eu* = *ü*; *yi* = *i*; *ÿ* = *ÿ*. In French words with an accent on the final syllable, that accent only is marked; but it should be understood that in such words the syllables as a rule receive nearly equal stress.

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