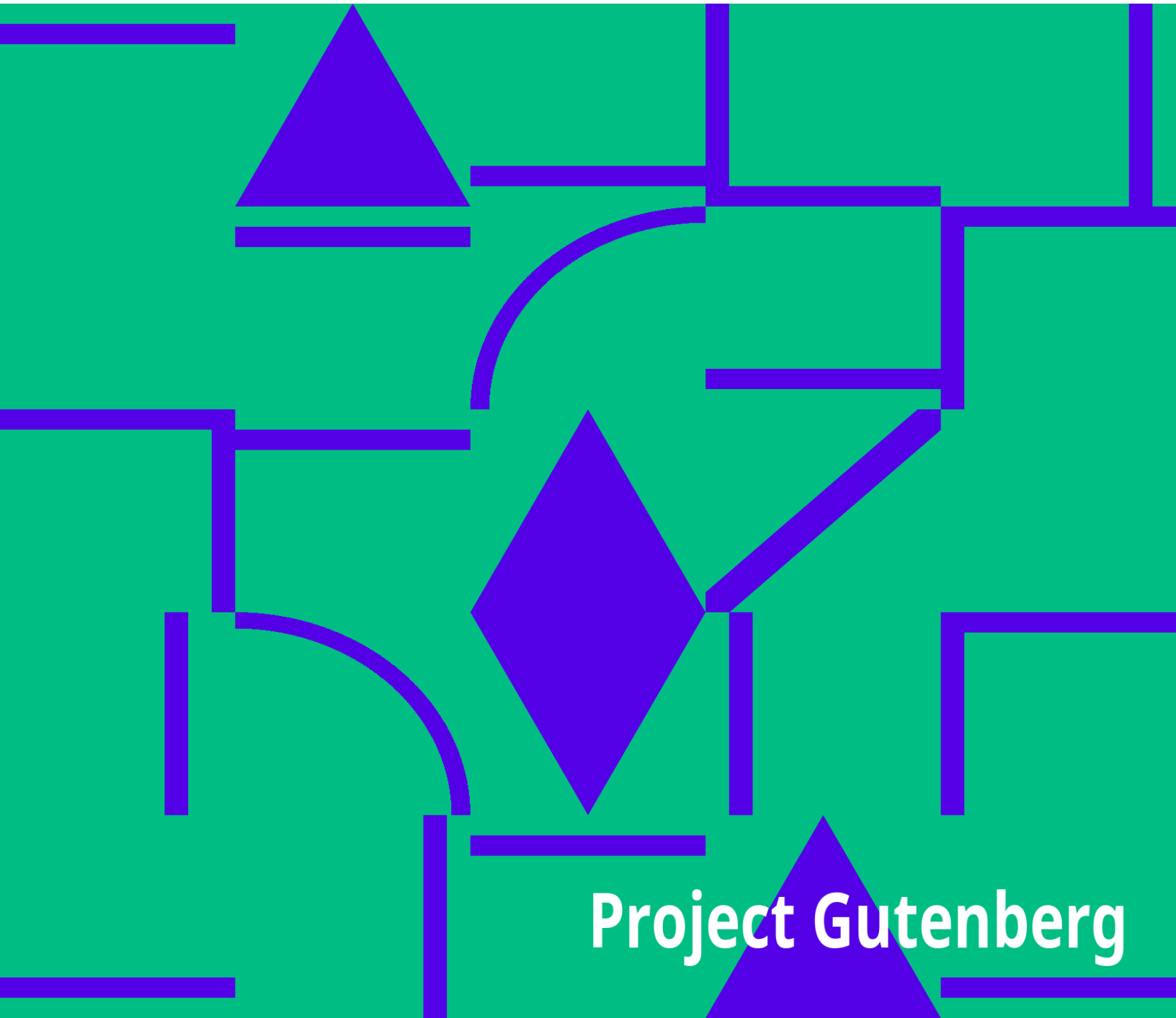
Early European History

Hutton Webster



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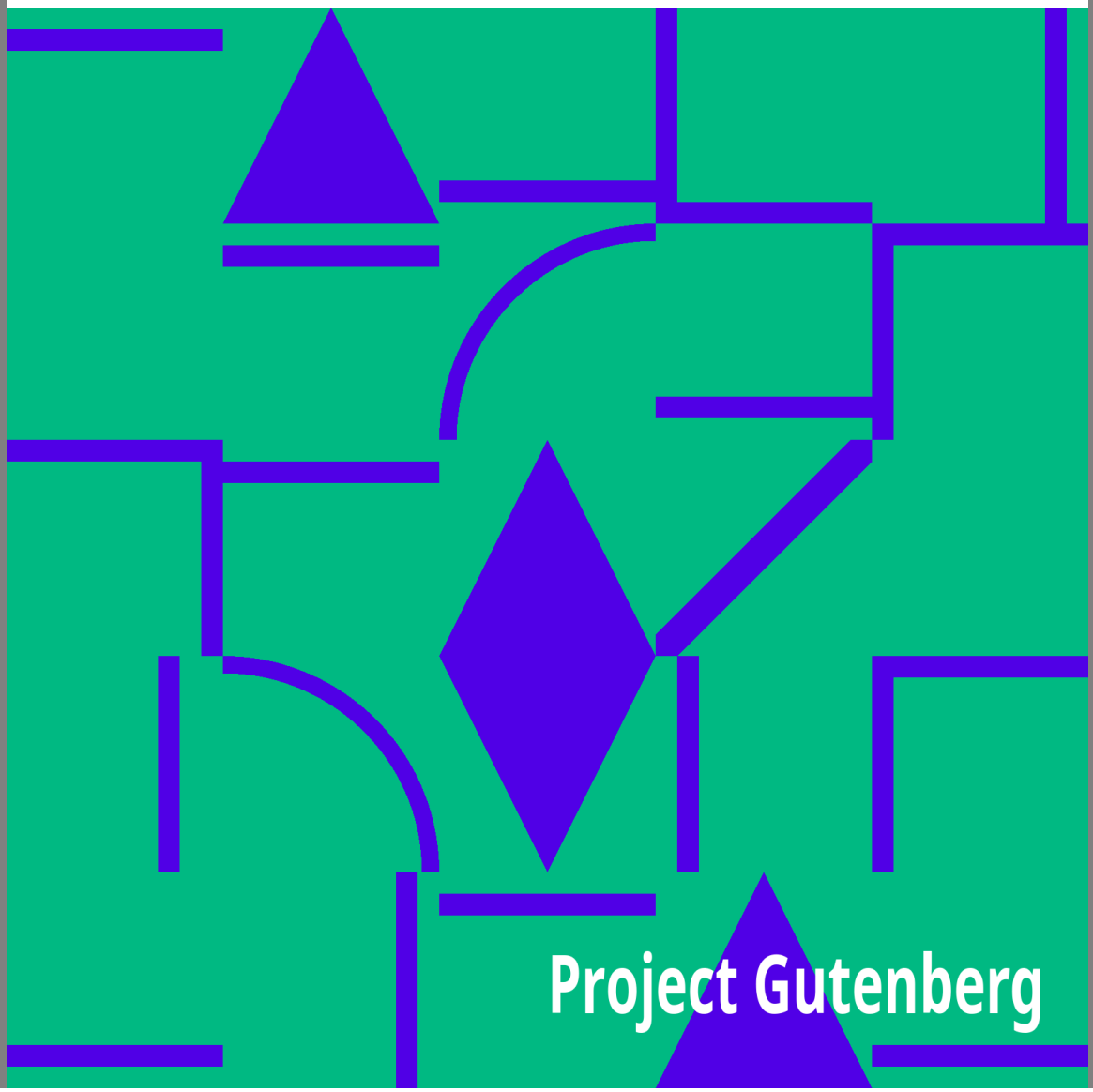

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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK EARLY EUROPEAN HISTORY ***

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EARLY EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY

HUTTON WEBSTER, PH.D.

"There is no part of history so generally useful as that which relates to the progress of the human mind, the gradual improvement of reason, the successive advances of science, the vicissitudes of learning and ignorance, which are the light and darkness of thinking beings, the extinction and resuscitation of arts, and the revolutions of the intellectual world." — SAMUEL JOHNSON, *Rasselas*.

PREFACE

This book aims to furnish a concise and connected account of human progress during ancient, medieval, and early modern times. It should meet the requirements of those high schools and preparatory schools where ancient history, as a separate discipline, is being supplanted by a more extended course introductory to the study of recent times and contemporary problems. Such a course was first outlined by the Regents of the University of the State of New York in their *Syllabus for Secondary Schools*, issued in 1910.

Since the appearance of the Regents' *Syllabus* the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association has made its *Report* (1911), suggesting a rearrangement of the curriculum which would permit a year's work in English and Continental history. Still more recently the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, in its *Report* (1916) to the National Education Association has definitely recommended the division of European history into two parts, of which the first should include ancient and Oriental civilization, English and Continental history to approximately the end of the seventeenth century, and the period of American exploration.

The first twelve chapters of the present work are based upon the author's *Ancient History*, published four years ago. In spite of many omissions, it has been possible to follow without essential modification the plan of the

earlier volume. A number of new maps and illustrations have been added to these chapters.

The selection of collateral reading, always a difficult problem in the secondary school, is doubly difficult when so much ground must be covered in a single course. The author ventures, therefore, to call attention to his *Readings in Ancient History*. Its purpose, in the words of the preface, is "to provide immature pupils with a variety of extended, unified, and interesting extracts on matters which a textbook treats with necessary, though none the less deplorable, condensation." A companion volume, entitled *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, will be published shortly. References to both books are inserted in footnotes.

At the end of what has been a long and engrossing task, it becomes a pleasant duty to acknowledge the help which has been received from teachers in school and college. Various chapters, either in manuscript or in the proofs, have been read by Professor James M. Leake of Bryn Mawr College; Professor J. C. Hildt of Smith College; Very Rev. Patrick J. Healy, Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America; Professor E. F. Humphrey of Trinity College; Dr. James Sullivan, Director of the Division of Archives and History, State Dept. of Education of New York; Constantine E. McGuire, Assistant Secretary General, International High Commission, Washington; Miss Margaret E. McGill, of the Newton (Mass.) High School; and Miss Mabel Chesley, of the Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn. The author would also express appreciation of the labors of the cartographers, artists, and printers, to whose accuracy and skill every page of the book bears witness.

HUTTON WEBSTER

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA, February, 1917

[Illustration: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL GEMS.
1 Steatite from Crete, two lions with forefeet on a pedestal, above a sun
2 Sardonyx from Elis, a goddess holding up a goat by the horns
3 Rock crystal a bearded Triton
4 Carnelian, a youth playing a trigonon
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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

PERIODICALS

All serious students of history should have access to the *American Historical Review* (N. Y., 1895 to date, quarterly, $4.00 a year). This journal, the organ of the American Historical Association, contains articles by scholars, critical reviews of all important works, and notes and news. The *History Teacher's Magazine* is edited under the supervision of a committee of the American Historical Association (Philadelphia, 1909 to date, monthly, $2.00 a year). Every well-equipped school library should contain the files of the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, 1890 to date, monthly, $2.00 a year) and of *Art and Archeology* (Washington, 1914 to date, monthly, $3.00 a year). These two periodicals make a special feature of illustrations.

WORKS ON THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF HISTORY

Useful books for the teacher's library include H. E. Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School* (N. Y., 1902, Longmans, Green, and Co., $1.50), Henry Johnson, *The Teaching of History* (N. Y., 1915, Macmillan, $1.40), H. B. George, *Historical Evidence* (N.Y., 1909, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 75 cents), Frederic Harrison, *The Meaning of History and Other Historical Pieces* (New ed., N.Y., 1900, Macmillan, $1.75), J. H. Robinson, *The New History* (N. Y.,

1912, Macmillan, $1.50), and H. B. George, *The Relations of History and Geography* (4th ed., N. Y., 1910, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $1.10). The following reports are indispensable:

The Study of History in Schools. Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Seven (N. Y., 1899, Macmillan, 50 cents).

The Study of History in Secondary Schools. Report to the American Historical Association by a Committee of Five (N. Y., 1911, Macmillan, 25 cents).

Historical Sources in Schools. Report to the New England History Teachers' Association by a Select Committee (N. Y., 1902, Macmillan, out of print).

A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools. Report by a Special Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association (N. Y., 1904, Heath, $1.32).

A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries. Published under the auspices of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (2d ed., N. Y., 1915, Longmans, Green, and Co., 60 cents).

DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

The most useful dictionaries of classical antiquities are H. B. Walters, *A Classical Dictionary* (N. Y., 1916, Putnam, $6.50) and H. T. Peck, *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (N. Y., 1897, American Book Co., $6.00). Cambridge University, England, has published *A Companion to Greek Studies*, edited by L. Whibley (2d ed., N. Y., 1906, Putnam, $6.00), and *A Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by J. E. Sandys (N. Y., 1911, Putnam, $6.00). These two volumes treat every phase of

ancient life in separate essays by distinguished scholars. For chronology, genealogies, lists of sovereigns, and other data the most valuable works are Arthur Hassall, *European History, 476-1910* (new ed., N. Y., 1910, Macmillan, $2.25), G. P. Putnam, *Tabular Views of Universal History* (new ed., N. Y., 1915, Putnam, $2.50), and Karl J. Ploetz, *A Handbook of Universal History*, translated by W. H. Tillinghast (Boston, 1915, Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.00).

SYLLABI

The *Illustrated Topics for Ancient History*, arranged by D. C. Knowlton (Philadelphia, McKinley Publishing Co., 65 cents), contain much valuable material in the shape of a syllabus, source quotations, outline maps, pictures, and other aids. The following syllabi have been prepared for collegiate instruction:

Botsford, G. W. *A Syllabus of Roman History* (N. Y., 1915, Macmillan, 50 cents).

Munro, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C. *A Syllabus of Medieval History, 395-1500* (N. Y., 1913, Longmans, Green, and Co., $1.00).

Richardson, O. H. *Syllabus of Continental European History from the Fall of Rome to 1870* (Boston, 1904, Ginn, boards, 75 cents).

Stephenson, Andrew. *Syllabus of Lectures on European History* (Terre Haute, Ind., 1897, Inland Publishing Co., $1.50).

Thompson, J. W. *Reference Studies in Medieval History* (2d ed., Chicago, 1914, University of Chicago Press, $1.25). A rich collection of classified references.

ATLASES

An admirable collection of maps for school use is W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (N. Y., 1911, Holt, $2.50), with about two hundred and fifty maps covering the historical field. The latest and one of the best of the classical atlases is *Murray's Small Classical Atlas*, edited by G. B. Grundy (N. Y., 1904, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $1.35). A special feature of this work is the adoption of the system of colored contours to indicate configuration. The *Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography* in "Everyman's Library" (N. Y., 1910, Dutton, 35 cents) might well be purchased by every student. Other valuable works are E. W. Dow, *Atlas of European History* (N. Y., 1907, Holt, $1.50) and Ramsay Muir, *A New School Atlas of Modern History* (N. Y., 1911, Holt, $1.25). Much use can be made of the inexpensive and handy *Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe* by J. G. Bartholomew in "Everyman's Library" (N. Y., 1910, Dutton, 35 cents).

WALL MAPS AND CHARTS

Kiepert's *New Wall Maps of Ancient History* (Chicago, Rand, McNally, and Co.) and Johnston's *Classical Series* (Chicago, A. J. Nystrom and Co.) may be obtained singly, mounted on common rollers, or by sets in a case with spring rollers. The text is in Latin. The Spruner-Bretschneider *Historical Maps* are ten in number, size 62 x 52 inches, and cover the period from A.D. 350 to 1815. The text is in German (Chicago, Nystrom, each $6.00; Rand, McNally, and Co., each $6.50). Johnston's *Maps of English and European History* are sixteen in number, size 40 x 30 inches, and include four maps of ancient history (Chicago, Nystrom, each $2.50). A new series of *European History Maps*, thirty-nine in number, size 44 x 32 inches, has been prepared for the study of ancient history by Professors J. H. Breasted and C. F. Huth, and for medieval and modern history by

Professor S. B. Harding (Chicago, Denoyer-Geppert Co., complete set with tripod stand, $52.00; in two spring roller cases, $73.00). These maps may also be had separately. The maps in this admirable series omit all irrelevant detail, present place names in the modern English form, and in choice of subject matter emphasize the American viewpoint. The school should also possess good physical wall maps such as the Sydow-Habenicht or the Kiepert series, both to be obtained from Rand, McNally, and Co. The text is in German. Phillips's *Model Test Maps* and Johnston's *New Series of Physical Wall Maps* are obtainable from A. J. Nystrom and Co. The only large charts available are those prepared by MacCoun for his *Historical Geography Charts of Europe*. The two sections, "Ancient and Classical" and "Medieval and Modern," are sold separately (N. Y., Silver, Burdett, and Co., $15.00). A helpful series of *Blackboard Outline Maps* is issued by J. L. Engle, Beaver, Penn. These are wall maps, printed with paint on blackboard cloth, for use with an ordinary crayon. Such maps are also sold by the Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago.

OUTLINE MAPS

The "Studies" following each chapter of this book include various exercises for which small outline maps are required. Such maps are sold by D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, New York, Chicago. Useful atlases of outline maps are also to be had of the McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Atkinson, Mentzer and Grover, Chicago, W. B. Harison, New York City, and of other publishers.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The best photographs of ancient works of art must usually be obtained from the foreign publishers in Naples, Florence, Rome, Munich, Paris, Athens, and London, or from their American agents. Such photographs, in the usual size, 8 x 10 inches, sell, unmounted, at from 6 to 8 francs a dozen.

All dealers in lantern slides issue descriptive catalogues of a great variety of archaeological subjects. In addition to photographs and lantern slides, a collection of stereoscopic views is very helpful in giving vividness and interest to instruction in ancient history. An admirable series of photographs for the stereoscope, including Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and Italy, is issued by Underwood and Underwood, New York City. The same firm supplies convenient maps and handbooks for use in this connection. The Keystone stereographs, prepared by the Keystone View Company, Meadville, Penn., may also be cordially recommended. The architecture, costumes, amusements, and occupations of the Middle Ages in England are shown in *Longmans' Historical Illustrations* (six portfolios, each containing twelve plates in black-and-white, Longmans, Green, and Co., 90 cents, each portfolio). The same firm issues *Longmans' Historical Wall Pictures*, consisting of twelve colored pictures from original paintings illustrating English history (each picture, separately, 80 cents; in a portfolio, $10.50). Other notable collections are Lehmann's *Geographical Pictures, Historical Pictures*, and *Types of Nations*, and Cybulski's *Historical Pictures* (Chicago, Denoyer-Geppert Co.; each picture separately mounted on rollers, $1.35 to $2.25). The New England History Teachers' Association publishes a series of *Authentic Pictures for Class Room Use*, size 5 x 8 inches, price 3 cents each. The *Catalogue of the Collection of Historical Material at Simmons College*, prepared by the New England History Teachers' Association (2d ed., Boston, 1912, Houghton Mifflin Co., 25 cents), contains an extensive list of pictures, slides, models, and other aids to history teaching. Among the more useful collections in book form of photographic reproductions and drawings are the following:

Fechneimer, Hedwig. *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (2d. ed., Berlin, 1914, B. Cassirer, 12 marks). 156 plates of Egyptian sculpture.

Fougères, Gustvae. *La vie publique et privée des Grecs et des Romains* (2d ed., Paris, 1900, Hachette, 15 francs). An album of 85 pictures.

Furtwängler, Adolf. *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (N. Y., Scribner, $15.00).

Hekler, Anton. *Greek and Roman Portraits* (N. Y., 1913, Putnam, $7.50). 311 plates, with comment and bibliography.

Hill, G. F. *Illustrations of School Classics* (N. Y., 1903, Macmillan, $2.50).

Muzik, H., and Perschinka, F. *Kunst und Leben im Altertum* (Vienna, 1909,
F. Tempsky; Leipzig, G. Freytag, 4.40 marks).

Osborne, Duffield. *Engraved Gems* (N. Y., 1913, Holt, $6.00).

Parmentier, A. *Album historique* (Paris, 1894-1905, Colin, 4 vols., each 15 francs). Illustrations covering the medieval and modern periods, with descriptive text in French.

Rheinhard, Hermann. *Album des klassischen Altertums* (Stuttgart, 1882, Hoffman, 18 marks). 72 pictures in colors.

Rouse, W. H. D. *Atlas of Classical Portraits.* Greek Section, Roman Section (London, 1898, Dent, 2 vols., each 1_s_. 6_d_.). Small, half-tone engravings, accompanied by brief biographies.

Schreiber, Theodor. *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (N. Y., 1895, Macmillan, $6.50).

WORKS OF TRAVEL

To vitalize the study of geography and history there is nothing better than the reading of modern books of travel. Among these may be mentioned:

Allinson, F. G. and Allinson, Anne C. E. *Greek Lands and Letters* (Boston, 1909, Houghton Mifflin Co., $2.50). An entertaining work of mingled history and geography.

Barrows, S. J. *The Isles and Shrines of Greece* (Boston, 1898, Little, Brown, and Co., $2.00).

Clark, F. E. *The Holy Land of Asia Minor* (N. Y., 1914, Scribner, $1.00). Popular sketches.

Dunning, H. W. *To-day on the Nile* (N. Y., 1905, Pott, $2.50).

——— *To-day in Palestine* (N. Y., 1907, Pott, $2.50).

Dwight, H. G. *Constantinople, Old and New* (N. Y., 1915, Scribner, $5.00).

Edwards, Amelia B. *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (2d ed., N. Y., 1888, Dutton, $2.50).

Forman, H. J. *The Ideal Italian Tour* (Boston, 1911, Houghton Mifflin Co., $1.50). A brief and attractive volume covering all Italy.

Hay, John. *Castilian Days* (Boston, 1871, Houghton Mifflin Co., $1.25).

Hutton, Edward, *Rome* (N. Y., 1909, Macmillan, $2.00).

Jackson, A. V. W. *Persia, Past and Present* (N. Y., 1906, Macmillan, $4.00).

Lucas, E. V. *A Wanderer in Florence* (N. Y., 1912, Macmillan, $1.75).

Manatt, J. I. *Aegean Days* (Boston, 1913, Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.00). Describes the most important islands of the Aegean.

Marden, P. S. *Greece and the Aegean Islands* (Boston, 1907, Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.00).

Paton, W. A. *Picturesque Sicily* (2d ed., N. Y., 1902, Harper, $2.50).

Richardson, R. B. *Vacation Days in Greece* (N. Y., 1903, Scribner, $2.00).

Warner, C. D. *In the Levant* (N. Y., 1876, Harper, $2.00).

HISTORICAL FICTION

The following works of historical fiction comprise only a selection from a very large number of books suitable for supplementary reading. For extended bibliographies see E. A. Baker, *A Guide to Historical Fiction* (new ed., N. Y., 1914, Macmillan, $6.00) and Jonathan Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* (3d ed., N. Y., 1904, Putnam, $1.75). An excellent list of historical stories, especially designed for children, will be found in the *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*, parts viii-ix.

Bulwer-Lytton, Edward. *The Last Days of Pompeii* (Boston, 1834, Little, Brown, and Co., $1.25).

Champney, Elizabeth W. *The Romance of Imperial Rome* (N. Y., 1910, Putnam, $3.50).

Church, A. J. *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero* (N. Y., 1883, Macmillan, 50 cents).

——— *Stories of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers of France* (N. Y., 1902, Macmillan, $1.75).

Cox, G. W. *Tales of Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1868, McClurg, $1.00).

Dahn, Felix, *Felicitas* (Chicago, 1883, McClurg, 75 cents). Rome, 476 A.D.

Doyle, A. C. *The White Company* (Boston, 1890, Caldwell, 75 cents). The
English in France and Castile, 1366-1367 A.D.

Ebers, Georg, *Uarda* (N. Y., 1877, Appleton, 2 vols., $1.50). Egypt, fourteenth century B.C.

Eliot, George. *Romola* (N. Y., 1863, Dutton, 35 cents). Florence and Savonarola in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Fénelon, François. *Adventures of Telemachus*, translated by Dr. Hawkesworth (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., $2.25).

Hale, E. E. *In His Name* (Boston, 1873, Little, Brown, and Co., $1.00). The Waldenses about 1179 A.D.

Hardy, A. S. *Passe Rose* (Boston, 1889, Houghton Mifflin Co., $1.25). Franks and Saxons of Charlemagne's time.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Scarlet Letter* (N. Y., 1850, Dutton, 35 cents). Massachusetts in the seventeenth century.

Henty, G. A. *The Young Carthaginian* (N. Y., 1886, Scribner, $1.50). Second Punic War.

Hugo, Victor. *Notre Dame* (N. Y. 1831, Dutton, 35 cents). Paris, late fifteenth century.

Irving, Washington. *The Alhambra* (N. Y., 1832, Putnam, $1.00). Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards.

Jacobs, Joseph (editor). *The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox* (N. Y., 1895, Macmillan, $1.50).

Kingsley, Charles S. *Hypatia* (N. Y., 1853, Macmillan, $1.25). Alexandria, 391 A.D.

——— *Westward Ho!* (N. Y., 1855, Button, 35 Cents). Voyages of Elizabethan seamen and the struggle with Spain.

Kipling, Rudyard. *Puck of Pooks Hill* (N. Y., 1906, Doubleday, Page, and Co., $1.50). Roman occupation of Britain.

Lang, Andrew. *The Monk of Fife* (N. Y., 1895, Longmans, Green, and Co., $1.25). The Maid of Orleans and the Hundred Years' War.

Lane, E. W. (translator). *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* (2d ed., N. Y., 1859, Macmillan, 35 cents).

London, Jack. *Before Adam* (N. Y., 1907, Macmillan, $1.50). Prehistoric life.

Manzoni, Alessandro. *The Betrothed* (N. Y., 1825, Macmillan, 2 vols., 70 cents). Milan under Spanish rule, 1628-1630 A.D.

Mason, Eugene (translator). *Aucassin and Nicolette and other Medieval Romances, and Legends* (N. Y., 1910, Dutton, 35 cents).

Newman, J. H. *Callista* (N. Y., 1856, Longmans, Green, and Co., $1.25). Persecution of Christians in North Africa, 250 A.D.

Reade, Charles. *The Cloister and the Hearth* (N. Y., 1861, Dutton, 35 cents). Eve of the Reformation.

Scheffel, J. Von. *Ekkehard*, translated by Helena Easson (N. Y., 1857, Dutton, 35 cents). Germany in the tenth century.

Scott, (Sir) Walter. *The Talisman* (N. Y., 1825, Dutton, 35 cents). Reign of Richard I, 1193 A.D.

——— Ivanhoe (N. Y., Heath, 50 cents). Richard I, 1194 A.D.

Sienkiewicz, Henryk. *Quo Vadis?* (Boston, 1896, Little, Brown, and Co., $2.00). Reign of Nero.

Stevenson, R. L. *The Black Arrow* (N. Y., 1888, Scribner, $1.00). War of the Roses.

"Twain, Mark." *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur* (N. Y., 1889, Harper, $1.75).

Wallace, Lew. *Ben-Hur; a Tale of the Christ* (N. Y., 1880, Harper, $1.50).

Waterloo, Stanley. *The Story of Ab* (2d ed., N. Y., 1905, Doubleday, Page, and Co., $1.50). Prehistoric life.

HISTORICAL POETRY

It is unnecessary to emphasize the value, as collateral reading, of historical poems and plays. To the brief list which follows should be added the material in Katharine Lee Bates and Katharine Coman, *English History told by English Poets* (N. Y., 1902, Macmillan, 60 cents).

Browning, Robert. *Echetlos and Pheidippides.*

Burns, Robert. *The Battle of Bannockburn.*

Byron (Lord). *Song of Saul before His Last Battle, The Destruction of Sennacherib, Belshazzar's Feast, Prometheus,* "Greece" (*The Corsair*, canto iii, lines 1-54), "Modern Greece" (*Childe Harold*, canto ii, stanzas 85-91), "The Death of Greece" (*The Giaour*, lines 68-141), "The Isles of Greece" (*Don Juan*, canto in), and "The Colosseum" (*Childe Harold*, canto iv, stanzas 140-145).

Clough, A. H. *Columbus*.

Coleridge, S. T. *Kubla Khan*.

Domett, Alfred. *A Christmas Hymn*

Drayton, Michael. *The Battle of Agincourt.*

Dryden, John. *Alexander's Feast.*

Jonson, Ben. *Hymn to Diana.*

Keats, John. *Ode on a Grecian Urn.*

Kingsley, Charles. *Andromeda and The Red King.*

Landor, W. S. *Orpheus and Eurydice.*

Longfellow, H. W. "The Saga of King Olaf" (*Tales of a Wayside Inn*) and *The Skeleton in Armor.*

Lowell, J. R. *Rhoecus* and *The Shepherd of King Admetus.*

Macaulay, T. B. *Lays of Ancient Rome* ("Horatius," "Virginia," "The Battle of Lake Regillus," and "The Prophecy of Capys"), *The Armada*, and *The Battle of Ivry.*

Miller, Joaquin. *Columbus.*

Milton, John. *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity.*

Praed, W. M. *Arminius.*

Rossetti, D. G. *The White Ship.*

Schiller, Friedrich. *The Maid of Orleans, William Tell, Maria Stuart*, and *Wallenstein.*

Scott, (Sir) Walter. "Flodden Field" (*Marmion*, canto vi, stanzas 19-27, 33-35).

Shakespeare, William. *Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, King John, Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth,* parts i and ii, *Henry the Fifth, Henry the Sixth*, parts i, ii, and iii, *Richard the Third, Henry the Eighth*, and *The Merchant of Venice.*

Shelley, P. B. *To the Nile, Ozymandias, Hymn of Apollo, Arethusa*, and *Song of Proserpine.*

Tennyson, Alfred. *Ulysses, Oenone, The Death of Oenone, Demeter and Persephone, The Lotus-Eaters, Boadicea, St. Telemachus, St. Simeon Stylites, Sir Galahad*, and *The Revenge: a Ballad of the Fleet.*

Thackeray, W. M. *King Canute.*

Wordsworth, William. *Laodamia.*

SOURCES

Full information regarding the best translations of the sources of ancient, medieval, and modern history is to be found in one of the Reports previously cited—*Historical Sources in Schools*, parts ii-iv. The use of the following collections of extracts from the sources will go far toward remedying the lack of library facilities.

Botsford, G. W., and Botsford, Lillie S. *Source Book of Ancient History* (N. Y., 1912, Macmillan, $1.30).

Davis, W. S. *Readings in Ancient History* (Boston, 1912, Allyn and Bacon, 2 vols., $2.00).

Duncalf, Frederic, and Krey, A. C. *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History* (N. Y., 1912, Harper, $1.10).

Fling, F. M. *A Source Book of Greek History* (N. Y., 1907, Heath, $1.12).

Munro, D. C. *A Source Book of Roman History* (N. Y., 1904, Heath, $1.12).

Ogg, F. A. *A Source Book of Medieval History* (N. Y., 1907, American Book
Co., $1.50).

Robinson, J. H. *Readings in European History* (Abridged ed., Boston, 1906, Ginn, $1.50).

Thallon, Ida C. *Readings in Greek History* (Boston, 1914, Ginn, $2.00).

Thatcher, O. J., and McNeal, E. H. *A Source Book for Medieval History* (N. Y., 1905, Scribner, $1.85).

Webster, Hutton. *Readings in Ancient History* (N. Y., 1913, Heath, $1.12).

——— *Readings in Medieval and Modern History* (N. Y., 1917, Heath, $1.12).

Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History (N. Y., 1894-1899, Longmans, Green, and Co., 6 vols., each $1.50).

MODERN WORKS

Most of the books in the following list are inexpensive, easily procured, and well adapted in style and choice of topics to the needs of immature pupils. A few more elaborate and costly volumes, especially valuable for their illustrations, are indicated by an asterisk (*). For detailed bibliographies, often accompanied by critical estimates, see C. K. Adams, *A Manual of Historical Literature* (3d ed., N. Y., 1889, Harper, $2.50), and the *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*, parts iii-v.

GENERAL WORKS

Carlyle, Thomas. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (N. Y., 1840, Dutton, 35 cents).

Creasy, E. S. *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World from Marathon to Waterloo* (N. Y., 1854, Dutton, 35 cents).

Gibbins, H. De B. *The History of Commerce in Europe* (26. ed., N. Y., 1897, Macmillan, 90 cents).

Herbertson, A. J., and Herbertson, F. D. *Man and His Work* (3d ed., N. Y., 1914, Macmillan, 60 cents). An introduction to the study of human

geography.

Jacobs, Joseph. *The Story of Geographical Discovery* (N. Y., 1898, Appleton, 35 cents).

Jenks, Edward. *A History of Politics* (N. Y., 1900, Dutton, 35 cents). A very illuminating essay.

Keane, John. *The Evolution of Geography* (London, 1899, Stanford, 6s.). Helpfully illustrated.

Myres, J. L. *The Dawn of History* (N. Y., 1912, Holt, 50 cents).

Pattison, R. P. B. *Leading Figures in European History* (N. Y., 1912, Macmillan, $1.60). Biographical sketches of European statesmen from Charlemagne to Bismarck.

Reinach, Salomon. *Apollo; an Illustrated Manual of the History of Art throughout the Ages*, translated by Florence Simmonds (last ed., N. Y., 1914, Scribner, $1.50). The best brief work on the subject.

Seignobos, Charles. *History of Ancient Civilization*, edited by J. A. James (N. Y., 1906, Scribner, $1.25).

——— *History of Medieval and of Modern Civilization*, edited by J. A. James (N. Y., 1907, Scribner, $1.25).

PREHISTORIC TIMES

Clodd, Edward. *The Story of Primitive Man* (N Y., 1895, Appleton, 35 cents). Generally accurate and always interesting.

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CHAPTER I

THE AGES BEFORE HISTORY

1. THE STUDY OF HISTORY

SUBJECT MATTER OF HISTORY

History is the narrative of what civilized man has done. It deals with those social groups called states and nations. Just as biography describes the life of individuals, so history relates the rise, progress, and decline of human societies.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS

History cannot go back of written records. These alone will preserve a full and accurate account of man's achievements. Manuscripts and books form one class of written records. The old Babylonians used tablets of soft clay, on which signs were impressed with a metal instrument. The tablets were then baked hard in an oven. The Egyptians made a kind of paper out of the papyrus, a plant native to the Nile valley. The Greeks and Romans at first used papyrus, but later they employed the more lasting parchment prepared from sheepskin. Paper seems to have been a Chinese invention. It was introduced into Europe by the Arabs during the twelfth century of our era.

[Illustration: THE DISK OF PHAESTUS Found in 1908 A.D. in the palace at Phaestus, Crete. The disk is of refined clay on which the figures were stamped in relief with punches. Both sides of the disk are covered with characters. The side seen in the illustration contains 31 sign groups (123 signs) separated from one another by incised lines. The other side contains 30 sign groups (118 signs). The inscription dates from about 1800 B.C.]

[Illustration: A PAPYRUS MANUSCRIPT The pith of the papyrus, a plant native to the Nile valley, was cut into slices, which were then pressed together and dried in the sun. Several of the paper sheets thus formed were glued together at their edges to form a roll. From *papyros* and *byblos*, the two Greek names of this plant, have come our own words, "paper" and "Bible." The illustration shows a manuscript discovered in Egypt in 1890 A.D. It is supposed to be a treatise, hitherto lost, on the Athenian constitution by the Greek philosopher Aristotle.]

INSCRIPTIONS AND REMAINS

A second class of written records consists of inscriptions. These are usually cut in stone, but sometimes we find them painted over the surface of a wall, stamped on coins, or impressed upon metal tablets. The historian also makes use of remains, such as statues, ornaments, weapons, tools, and utensils. Monuments of various sorts, including palaces, tombs, fortresses, bridges, temples, and churches, form a very important class of remains.

BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

History, based on written records, begins in different countries at varying dates. A few manuscripts and inscriptions found in Egypt date back three or four thousand years before Christ. The annals of Babylonia are scarcely less ancient. Trustworthy records in China and India do not extend beyond 1000

B.C. For the Greeks and Romans the commencement of the historic period must be placed about 750 B.C. The inhabitants of northern Europe did not come into the light of history until about the opening of the Christian era.

2. PREHISTORIC PEOPLES

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

In studying the historic period our chief concern is with those peoples whose ideas or whose deeds have aided human progress and the spread of civilization. Six-sevenths of the earth's inhabitants now belong to civilized countries, and these countries include the best and largest regions of the globe. At the beginning of historic times, however, civilization was confined within a narrow area—the river valleys of western Asia and Egypt. The uncounted centuries before the dawn of history make up the prehistoric period, when savagery and barbarism prevailed throughout the world. Our knowledge of it is derived from the examination of the objects found in caves, refuse mounds, graves, and other sites. Various European countries, including England, France, Denmark, Switzerland, and Italy, are particularly rich in prehistoric remains.

[Illustration: A PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN GRAVE The skeleton lay on the left side, with knees drawn up and hands raised to the head. About it were various articles of food and vessels of pottery.]

THE TWO AGES

The prehistoric period is commonly divided, according to the character of the materials used for tools and weapons, into the Age of Stone and the Age of Metals. The one is the age of savagery; the other is the age of barbarism or semicivilization.

THE STONE AGE

Man's earliest implements were those that lay ready to his hand. A branch from a tree served as a spear; a thick stick in his strong arms became a powerful club. Later, perhaps, came the use of a hard stone such as flint, which could be chipped into the forms of arrowheads, axes, and spear tips. The first stone implements were so rude in shape that it is difficult to believe them of human workmanship. They may have been made several hundred thousand years ago. After countless centuries of slow advance, savages learned to fasten wooden handles to their stone tools and weapons and also to use such materials as jade and granite, which could be ground and polished into a variety of forms. Stone implements continued to be made during the greater part of the prehistoric period. Every region of the world has had a Stone Age. [1] Its length is reckoned, not by centuries, but by milleniums.

[Illustration: A HATCHET OF THE EARLY STONE AGE
A hatchet of flint, probably used without a helve and intended to fit the hand. Similar implements have been found all over the world, except in Australia.]

[Illustration: ARROWHEADS OF THE LATER STONE AGE
Different forms from Europe, Africa, and North America.]

THE AGE OF METALS

The Age of Metals, compared with its predecessor, covers a brief expanse of time. The use of metals came in not much before the dawn of history. The earliest civilized peoples, the Babylonians and Egyptians, when we first become acquainted with them, appear to be passing from the use of stone implements to those of metal.

COPPER

Copper was the first metal in common use. The credit for the invention of copper tools seems to belong to the Egyptians. At a very early date they were working the copper mines on the peninsula of Sinai. The Babylonians probably obtained their copper from the same region. Another source of this metal was the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean. The Greek name of the island means "copper."

BRONZE

But copper tools were soft and would not keep an edge. Some ancient smith, more ingenious than his fellows, discovered that the addition of a small part of tin to the copper produced a new metal—bronze—harder than the old, yet capable of being molded into a variety of forms. At least as early as 3000 B.C. we find bronze taking the place of copper in both Egypt and Babylonia. Somewhat later bronze was introduced into the island of Crete, then along the eastern coast of Greece, and afterwards into other European countries.

IRON

The introduction of iron occurred in comparatively recent times. At first it was a scarce, and therefore a very precious, metal. The Egyptians seem to have made little use of iron before 1500 B.C. They called it "the metal of heaven," as if they obtained it from meteorites. In the Greek Homeric poems, composed about 900 B.C. or later, we find iron considered so valuable that a lump of it is one of the chief prizes at athletic games. In the first five books of the Bible iron is mentioned only thirteen times, though copper and bronze are referred to forty-four times. Iron is more difficult to work than either copper or bronze, but it is vastly superior to those metals in hardness and durability. Hence it gradually displaced them throughout the greater part of the Old World. [2]

FIRST STEPS TOWARD CIVILIZATION

During the prehistoric period early man came to be widely scattered throughout the world. Here and there, slowly, and with utmost difficulty, he began to take the first steps toward civilization. The tools and weapons which he left behind him afford some evidence of his advance. We may now single out some of his other great achievements and follow their development to the dawn of history.

3. DOMESTICATION OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS

HUNTING AND FISHING STAGE

Prehistoric man lived at first chiefly on wild berries, nuts, roots, and herbs. As his implements improved and his skill increased, he became hunter, trapper, and fisher. A tribe of hunters, however, requires an extensive territory and a constant supply of game. When the wild animals are all killed or seriously reduced in number, privation and hardship result. It was a forward step, therefore, when man began to tame animals as well as to kill them.

DOMESTICATION OF THE DOG

The dog was man's first conquest over the animal kingdom. As early as the Age of Metals various breeds appear, such as deerhounds, sheep dogs, and mastiffs. The dog soon showed how useful he could be. He tracked game, guarded the camp, and later, in the pastoral stage, protected flocks and herds against their enemies.

THE COW

The cow also was domesticated at a remote period. No other animal has been more useful to mankind. The cow's flesh and milk supply food: the skin provides clothing; the sinews, bones, and horns yield materials for implements. The ox was early trained to bear the yoke and draw the plow, as we may learn from ancient Egyptian paintings. [3] Cattle have also been commonly used as a kind of money. The early Greeks, whose wealth consisted chiefly of their herds, priced a slave at twenty oxen, a suit of armor at one hundred oxen, and so on. The early Romans reckoned values in cattle (one ox being equivalent to ten sheep). Our English word "pecuniary" goes back to the Latin *pecus*, or "herd" of cattle.

[Illustration: EARLY ROMAN BAR MONEY A bar of copper marked with the figure of a bull. Dates from the fourth century B.C.]

THE HORSE

The domestication of the horse came much later than that of the cow. In the early Stone Age the horse ran wild over western Europe and formed an important source of food for primitive men. This prehistoric horse, as some ancient drawings show, [4] was a small animal with a shaggy mane and tail. It resembled the wild pony still found on the steppes of Mongolia. The domesticated horse does not appear in Egypt and western Asia much before 1500 B.C. For a long time after the horse was tamed, the more manageable ox continued to be used as the beast of burden. The horse was kept for chariots of war, as among the Egyptians, or ridden bareback in races, as by the early Greeks.

OTHER ANIMALS DOMESTICATED

At the close of prehistoric times in the Old World nearly all the domestic animals of to-day were known. Besides those just mentioned, the goat, sheep, ass, and hog had become man's useful servants. [5]

PASTORAL STAGE

The domestication of animals made possible an advance from the hunting and fishing stage to the pastoral stage. Herds of cattle and sheep would now furnish more certain and abundant supplies of food than the chase could ever yield. We find in some parts of the world, as on the great Asiatic plains, the herdsman succeeding the hunter and fisher. But even in this stage much land for grazing is required. With the exhaustion of the pasturage the sheep or cattle must be driven to new fields. Hence pastoral peoples, as well as hunting and fishing folk, remained nomads without fixed homes. Before permanent settlements were possible, another onward step became necessary. This was the domestication of plants.

AGRICULTURAL STAGE

The domestication of plants marked almost as wonderful an advance as the domestication of animals. When wild seedgrasses and plants had been transformed into the great cereals—wheat, oats, barley, and rice—people could raise them for food, and so could pass from the life of wandering hunters or shepherds to the life of settled farmers. There is evidence that during the Stone Age some of the inhabitants of Europe were familiar with various cultivated plants, but agriculture on a large scale seems to have begun in the fertile regions of Egypt and western Asia. [6] Here first arose populous communities with leisure to develop the arts of life. Here, as has been already seen, [7] we must look for the beginnings of history.

4. WRITING AND THE ALPHABET

PICTURE WRITING

Though history is always based on written records, the first steps toward writing are prehistoric. We start with the pictures or rough drawings which

have been found among the remains of the early Stone Age. [8] Primitive man, however, could not rest satisfied with portraying objects.

[Illustration: VARIOUS SIGNS OF SYMBOLIC PICTURE WRITING 1, "war" (Dakota Indian); 2, "morning" (Ojibwa Indian); 3, "nothing" (Ojibwa Indian); 4 and 5, "to eat" (Indian, Mexican, Egyptian, etc.).]

He wanted to record thoughts and actions, and so his pictures tended to become symbols of ideas. The figure of an arrow might be made to represent, not a real object, but the idea of an "enemy." A "fight" could then be shown simply by drawing two arrows directed against each other. Many uncivilized tribes still employ picture writing of this sort. The American Indians developed it in most elaborate fashion. On rolls of birch bark or the skins of animals they wrote messages, hunting stories, and songs, and even preserved tribal annals extending over a century.

SOUND WRITING; THE REBUS

A new stage in the development of writing was reached when the picture represented, not an actual object or an idea, but a sound of the human voice. This difficult but all-important step appears to have been taken through the use of the rebus, that is, writing words by pictures of objects which stand for sounds. Such rebuses are found in prehistoric Egyptian writing; for example, the Egyptian words for "sun" and "goose" were so nearly alike that the royal title, "Son of the Sun," could be suggested by grouping the pictures of the sun and a goose. Rebus making is still a common game among children, but to primitive men it must have been a serious occupation.

[Illustration: MEXICAN REBUS The Latin *Pater Noster,* "Our Father," is written by a flag *(pan)*, a stone *(te)*, a prickly pear *(noch)*, and another stone *(te)*.]

[Illustration: CHINESE PICTURE WRITING AND LATER CONVENTIONAL CHARACTERS]

WORDS AND SYLLABLES

In the simplest form of sound writing each separate picture or symbol stands for the sound of an entire word. This method was employed by the Chinese, who have never given it up. A more developed form of sound writing occurs when signs are used for the sounds, not of entire words, but of separate syllables. Since the number of different syllables which the voice can utter is limited, it now becomes possible to write all the words of a language with a few hundred signs. The Japanese, who borrowed some of the Chinese symbols, used them to denote syllables, instead of entire words. The Babylonians possessed, in their cuneiform [9] characters, signs for about five hundred syllables. The prehistoric inhabitants of Crete appear to have been acquainted with a somewhat similar system. [10]

LETTERS

The final step in the development of writing is taken when the separate sounds of the voice are analyzed and each is represented by a single sign or letter. With alphabets of a few score letters every word in a language may easily be written.

[Illustration: CRETAN WRITING
A large tablet with linear script found in the palace at Gnossus, Crete
There are eight lines of writing, with a total of about twenty words
Notice the upright lines, which appear to mark the termination of each group of signs.]

EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS

The Egyptians early developed such an alphabet. Unfortunately they never gave up their older methods of writing and learned to rely upon alphabetic signs alone. Egyptian hieroglyphics [11] are a curious jumble of object- pictures, symbols of ideas, and signs for entire words, separate syllables, and letters. The writing is a museum of all the steps in the development from the picture to the letter.

PHOENICIAN ALPHABET

As early, apparently, as the tenth century B.C. we find the Phoenicians of western Asia in possession of an alphabet. It consisted of twenty-two letters, each representing a consonant. The Phoenicians do not seem to have invented their alphabetic signs. It is generally believed that they borrowed them from the Egyptians, but recent discoveries in Crete perhaps point to that island as the source of the Phoenician alphabet.

[Illustration: EGYPTIAN AND BABYLONIAN WRITING Below the pictured hieroglyphics in the first line is the same text in a simpler writing known as hieratic. The two systems, however, were not distinct; they were as identical as our own printed and written characters. The third line illustrates old Babylonian cuneiform, in which the characters, like the hieroglyphics, are rude and broken-down pictures of objects. Derived from them is the later cuneiform shown in lines four and five.]

DIFFUSION OF THE PHOENICIAN ALPHABET

If they did not originate the alphabet now in use, the Phoenicians did most to spread a knowledge of it in other lands. They were bold sailors and traders who bought and sold throughout the Mediterranean. Wherever they went, they took their alphabet. From the Phoenicians the Greeks learned their letters. Then the Greeks taught them to the Romans, from whom other European peoples borrowed them. [12]

[Illustration: THE MOABITE STONE, (Louvre, Paris) Found in 1868 A.D. at Diban east of the Dead Sea. The monument records the victory of Mesha king of Moab, over the united armies of Israel and Judah about 850 B.C. The inscription, consisting of 34 lines is one of the most ancient examples of Phoenician writing.]

5. PRIMITIVE SCIENCE AND ART

FOUNDATIONS OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

We have already seen that prehistoric men in their struggle for existence had gathered an extensive fund of information. They could make useful and artistic implements of stone. They could work many metals into a variety of tools and weapons. They were practical botanists, able to distinguish different plants and to cultivate them for food. They were close students of animal life and expert hunters and fishers. They knew how to produce fire and preserve it, how to cook, how to fashion pottery and baskets, how to spin and weave, how to build boats and houses. After writing came into general use, all this knowledge served as the foundation of science.

COUNTING AND MEASURING

We can still distinguish some of the first steps in scientific knowledge. Thus, counting began with calculations on one's fingers, a method still familiar to children. Finger counting explains the origin of the decimal system. The simplest, and probably the earliest, measures of length are those based on various parts of the body. Some of our Indian tribes, for instance, employed the double arm's length, the single arm's length, the hand width, and the finger width. Old English standards, such as the span, the ell, and the hand, go back to this very obvious method of measuring on the body.

CALCULATION OF TIME; THE CALENDAR

It is interesting to trace the beginnings of time reckoning and of that most important institution, the calendar. Most primitive tribes reckon time by the lunar month, the interval between two new moons (about twenty- nine days, twelve hours). Twelve lunar months give us the lunar year of about three hundred and fifty-four days. In order to adapt such a year to the different seasons, the practice arose of inserting a thirteenth month from time to time. Such awkward calendars were used in antiquity by the Babylonians, Jews, and Greeks; in modern times by the Arabs and Chinese. The Egyptians were the only people in the Old World to frame a solar year. From the Egyptians it has come down, through the Romans, to us. [13]

[Illustration: STONEHENGE On Salisbury Plain in the south of England: appears to date from the close of the New Stone Age or the beginning of the Bronze Age. The outer circle measures 300 feet in circumference; the inner circle, 106 feet. The tallest stones reach 25 feet in height. This monument was probably a tomb, or group of tombs, of prehistoric chieftains.]

EARLY DRAWING AND PAINTING

The study of prehistoric art takes us back to the early Stone Age. The men of that age in western Europe lived among animals such as the mammoth, cave bear, and woolly-haired rhinoceros, which have since disappeared, and among many others, such as the lion and hippopotamus, which now exist only in warmer climates. Armed with clubs, flint axes, and horn daggers, primitive hunters killed these fierce beasts and on fragments of their bones, or on cavern walls, drew pictures of them. Some of these earliest works of art are remarkably lifelike.

[Illustration: HEAD OF A GIRL (Musée S. Germain, Paris)
A small head of a young girl carved from mammoth ivory. Found at

Brassempouy, France, in cave deposits belonging to the early Stone Age. The hair is arranged somewhat after the early Egyptian fashion. Of the features the mouth alone is wanting.]

[Illustration: PREHISTORIC ART
SKETCH OF MAMMOTH ON A TUSK FOUND IN A CAVE IN FRANCE
CAVE BEAR DRAWN ON A PEBBLE
BISON PAINTED ON THE WALL OF A CAVE
WILD HORSE ON THE WALL OF A CAVE IN SPAIN.

Later he pictured an aurochs—later he pictured a bear—
Pictured the sabre toothed tiger dragging a man to his lair—
Pictured the mountainous mammoth hairy abhorrent alone—
Out of the love that he bore them scribing them clearly on bone—
KIPLING.]

EARLY ARCHITECTURE

A still later period of the Stone Age witnessed the beginnings of architecture. Men had begun to raise huge dolmens which are found in various parts of the Old World from England to India. They also erected enormous stone pillars, known as menhirs. Carved in the semblance of a human face and figure, the menhir became a statue, perhaps the first ever made.

As we approach historic times, we note a steady improvement in the various forms of art. Recent discoveries in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and other lands indicate that their early inhabitants were able architects, often building on a colossal scale.

[Illustration: A DOLMEN Department of Morbihan, Brittany. A dolmen was a single chambered tomb formed by laying one long stone over several other stones set upright in the ground. Most if not all dolmens were originally covered with earth.]

[Illustration: CARVED MENHIR
From Saint Sernin in Aveyron, a department of southern France.]

SIGNIFICANCE OF PREHISTORIC ART

Their paintings and sculptures prepared the way for the work of later artists. Our survey of the origins of art shows us that in this field, as elsewhere, we must start with the things accomplished by prehistoric men.

6. HISTORIC PEOPLES

RACES OF MAN

At the dawn of history the various regions of the world were already in the possession of many different peoples. Such physical characteristics as the shape of the skull, the features, stature, or complexion may serve to distinguish one people from another. Other grounds for distinction are found in language, customs beliefs, and general intelligence.

CLASSIFICATION OF RACES

If we take complexion or color as the basis of classification, it is possible to distinguish a few large racial groups. Each of these groups occupies, roughly speaking, its separate area of the globe. The most familiar classification is that which recognizes the Black or Negro race dwelling in Africa, the Yellow or Mongolian race whose home is in central and eastern Asia, and the White or Caucasian race of western Asia and Europe.

Sometimes two additional divisions are made by including, as the Red race, the American Indians, and as the Brown race, the natives of the Pacific islands.

THE WHITE RACE

These separate racial groups have made very unequal progress in culture. The peoples belonging to the Black, Red, and Brown races are still either savages or barbarians, as were the men of prehistoric times. The Chinese and Japanese are the only representatives of the Yellow race that have been able to form civilized states. In the present, as in the past, it is chiefly the members of the White race who are developing civilization and making history.

INDO-EUROPEANS AND SEMITES

Because of differences in language, scholars have divided the White or Caucasian race into two main groups, called Indo-Europeans and Semites. [14] This classification is often helpful, but the student should remember that Indo-European and Semitic peoples are not always to be sharply distinguished because they have different types of language. There is no very clear distinction in physical characteristics between the two groups. A clear skin, an oval face, wavy or curly hair, and regular features separate them from both the Negro and the Mongolian.

PRINCIPAL INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

The Indo-Europeans in antiquity included the Hindus of India, the Medes and Persians dwelling on the plateau of Iran, the Greeks and Italians, and most of the inhabitants of central and western Europe. All these peoples spoke related languages which are believed to be offshoots from one common tongue. Likeness in language does not imply that all Indo-

Europeans were closely related in blood. Men often adopt a foreign tongue and pass it on to their children.

PRINCIPAL SEMITIC PEOPLES

The various Semitic nations dwelling in western Asia and Arabia were more closely connected with one another. They spoke much the same type of language, and in physical traits and habits of life they appear to have been akin. The Semites in antiquity included the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, Phoenicians, and Arabs.

[Illustration: RACE PORTRAITURE OF THE EGYPTIANS Paintings on the walls of royal tombs. The Egyptians were painted red, the Semites yellow, the Negroes black, and the Libyans white, with blue eyes and fair beards. Each racial type is distinguished by peculiar dress and characteristic features.]

[Illustration: Map. Distribution of SEMITIC and INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES]

PEOPLES OF UNCERTAIN RELATIONSHIP

At the opening of the historic period still other parts of the World were the homes of various peoples who cannot be classed with certainty as either Indo-Europeans or Semites. Among these were the Egyptians and some of the inhabitants of Asia Minor. We must remember that, during the long prehistoric ages, repeated conquests and migrations mingled the blood of many different communities. History, in fact, deals with no unmixed peoples.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the areas occupied in antiquity by Semites and Indo-Europeans.

2. Find definitions for the following terms: society, nation, state, government, institution, culture, and civilization.

3. Explain the abbreviations B.C. and A.D. In what century was the year 1917 B.C.? the year 1917 A.D.?

4. Look up the derivation of the words "paper" and "Bible."

5. Distinguish between the three stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, and give examples of existing peoples in each stage.

6. Can you name any savages still living in the Stone Age?

7. What stone implements have you ever seen? Who made them? Where were they?

8. Why should the discovery of fire be regarded as of more significance than the discovery of steam?

9. Why has the invention of the bow-and-arrow been of greater importance than the invention of gunpowder?

10. How does the presence of few tameable animals in the New World help to account for its tardier development as compared with the Old World?

11. What examples of pastoral and agricultural life among the North American Indians are familiar to you?

12. Give examples of peoples widely different in blood who nevertheless speak the same language.

13. In the classification of mankind, where do the Arabs belong? the Persians? the Germans? the inhabitants of the United States?

14. Enumerate the most important contributions to civilization made in prehistoric times.

FOOTNOTES

[1] There are still some savage peoples, for instance, the Australians, who continue to make stone implements very similar to those of prehistoric men. Other primitive peoples, such as the natives of the Pacific islands, passed directly from the use of stone to that of iron, after this part of the world was opened up to European trade in the nineteenth century.

[2] Iron was unknown to the inhabitants of North America and South America before the coming of the Europeans. The natives used many stone implements, besides those of copper and bronze. The Indians got most of their copper from the mines in the Lake Superior region, whence it was carried far and wide.

[3] See the illustration, page 45.

[4] See the illustration, page 14.

[5] In the New World, the only important domestic animal was the llama of the Andes. The natives used it as a beast of burden, ate its flesh, and clothed themselves with its wool.

[6] The plants domesticated in the New World were not numerous. The most important were the potato of Peru and Ecuador, Indian corn or maize, tobacco, the tomato, and manioc. From the roots of the latter, the starch called tapioca is derived.

[7] See page 2.

[8] See the illustration, page 14.

[9] Latin cuneus, "a wedge".

[10] See page 71.

[11] From the Greek words hieros, "holy," and glyphein, "to carve" The Egyptians regarded their signs as sacred.

[12] Our word "alphabet" comes from the names of the first two letters of the Greek alphabet, *alpha* (a) and *beta* (b).

[13] See page 186 and note 2.

[14] The Old Testament (*Genesis*, x 21-22) represents Shem (or Sem), son of Noah, as the ancestor of the Semitic peoples. The title "Indo-Europeans" tells us that the members of that group now dwell in India and in Europe. Indo-European peoples are popularly called "Aryans," from a word in Sanskrit (the old Hindu language) meaning "noble."

CHAPTER II

THE LANDS AND PEOPLES OF THE EAST TO ABOUT 600 B.C. [1]

7. PHYSICAL ASIA

GRAND DIVISIONS OF ASIA

Ancient history begins in the East—in Asia and in that part of Africa called Egypt, which the peoples of antiquity always regarded as belonging to Asia. If we look at a physical map of Asia, we see at once that it consists of two very unequal divisions separated by an almost continuous mass of mountains and deserts. These two divisions are Farther and Nearer, or Eastern and Western, Asia.

[Illustration: Map, PHYSICAL MAP OF ASIA.]

FARTHER ASIA

Farther Asia begins at the center of the continent with a series of elevated table-lands which rise into the lofty plateaus, known as the "Roof of the World." Here two tremendous mountain chains diverge. The Altai range runs out to the northeast and reaches the shores of the Pacific near Bering Strait. The Himalaya range extends southeast to the Malay peninsula. In the angle formed by their intersection lies the cold and barren region of East Turkestan and Tibet, the height of which, in some places, is ten thousand

feet above the sea. From these mountains and plateaus the ground sinks gradually toward the north into the lowlands of West Turkestan and Siberia, toward the east and south into the plains of China and India.

CHINA

The fertile territory of central China, watered by the two streams, Yangtse and Hoangho, was settled at a remote period by barbarous tribes. The civilization which they slowly developed in antiquity has endured with little change until the present day. The inhabitants of neighboring countries, Korea, Japan, and Indo-China, owe much to this civilization. It has exerted slight influence on the other peoples of Asia because the Chinese have always occupied a distant corner of the continent, cut off by deserts and mountains from the lands on the west. As if these barriers were not enough, they raised the Great Wall to protect their country from invasion.

[Illustration: THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA The wall extends for about fifteen hundred miles along the northern frontier of China. In 1908 AD it was traversed for its entire length by an American Mr. W. E. Geil. He found many parts of the fortification still in good repair, though built twenty one centuries ago.]

Behind this mighty rampart the Chinese have lived secluded and aloof from the progress of our western world. In ancient times China was a land of mystery.

INDIA

India was better known than China, especially its two great rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, which flow to the southwest and southeast, respectively, and make this part of the peninsula one of the most fertile territories on the globe. Such a land attracted immigrants. The region now

known as the Punjab, where the Indus receives the waters of five great streams, was settled by light-skinned Indo-Europeans [2] perhaps as early as 2000 B.C. Then they occupied the valley of the Ganges and so brought all northern India under their control.

INDIA AND THE WEST

India did not remain entirely isolated from the rest of Asia, The Punjab was twice conquered by invaders from the West; by the Persians in the sixth century B.C., [3] and about two hundred years later by the Greeks. [4] After the end of foreign rule India continued to be of importance through its commerce, which introduced such luxuries as precious stones, spices, and ivory among the western peoples.

NEARER ASIA

Nearer, or Western Asia, the smaller of the two grand divisions of the Asiatic continent, is bounded by the Black and Caspian seas on the north, by the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean on the south, eastward by the Indus River, and westward by the Mediterranean and the Nile. Almost all the countries within this area played a part in the ancient history of the Orient.

COUNTRIES OF NEARER ASIA

The lofty plateaus of central Asia decline on the west into the lower but still elevated region of Iran. The western part of Iran was occupied in antiquity by the kindred people known as Medes and Persians. Armenia, a wild and mountainous region, is an extension to the northwest of the Iranian table-land. Beyond Armenia we cross into the peninsula of Asia Minor, a natural link between Asia and Europe. Southward from Asia Minor we pass

along the Mediterranean coast through Syria to Arabia. The Arabian peninsula may be regarded as the link between Asia and Africa.

INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

These five countries of Nearer Asia were not well fitted to become centers of early civilization. They possessed no great rivers which help to bring people together, and no broad, fertile plains which support a large population. Armenia, Asia Minor, and Syria were broken up into small districts by chains of mountains. Iran and Arabia were chiefly barren deserts. But two other divisions of Nearer Asia resembled distant India and China in the possession of a warm climate, a fruitful soil, and an extensive river system. These lands were Babylonia and Egypt, the first homes of civilized man.

8. BABYLONIA AND EGYPT

THE TIGRIS AND THE EUPHRATES

Two famous rivers rise in the remote fastnesses of Armenia—the Tigris and the Euphrates. As they flow southward, the twin streams approach each other to form a common valley, and then proceed in parallel channels for the greater part of their course. In antiquity each river emptied into the Persian Gulf by a separate mouth. This Tigris-Euphrates valley was called by the Greeks Mesopotamia, "the land between the rivers."

PRODUCTIONS OF BABYLONIA

Babylonia is a remarkably productive country. The annual inundation of the rivers has covered its once rocky bottom with deposits of rich silt. Crops planted in such a soil, under the influence of a blazing sun, ripen with great rapidity and yield abundant harvests. "Of all the countries that we know,"

says an old Greek traveler, "there is no other so fruitful in grain." [5] Wheat and barley were perhaps first domesticated in this part of the world. [6] Wheat still grows wild there. Though Babylonia possessed no forests, it had the date palm, which needed scarcely any cultivation. If the alluvial soil yielded little stone, clay, on the other hand, was everywhere. Molded into brick and afterwards dried in the sun, the clay became *adobe*, the cheapest building material imaginable.

BABYLONIA AN EARLY CENTER OF CIVILIZATION

In Babylonia Nature seems to have done her utmost to make it easy for People to gain a living. We can understand, therefore, why from prehistoric times men have been attracted to this region, and why it is here that we must look for one of the earliest seats of civilization. [7]

LOWER AND UPPER EGYPT

Egypt may be described as the valley of the Nile. Rising in the Nyanza lakes of central Africa, that mighty stream, before entering Egypt, receives the waters of the Blue Nile near the modern town of Khartum. From this point the course of the river is broken by a series of five rocky rapids, misnamed cataracts, which can be shot by boats. The cataracts cease near the island of Philae, and Upper Egypt begins. This is a strip of fertile territory, about five hundred miles in length but averaging only eight miles in width. Not far from modern Cairo the hills inclosing the valley fall away, the Nile divides into numerous branches, and Lower Egypt, or the Delta, begins. The sluggish stream passes through a region of mingled swamp and plain, and at length by three principal mouths empties its waters into the Mediterranean.

[Illustration: PHILAE The island was originally only a heap of granite bowlders. Retaining walls were built around it, and the space within when

filled with rich Nile mud, became beautiful with groves of palms and mimosas. As the result of the construction of the Assuan dam, Philae and its exquisite temples are now submerged during the winter months, when the reservoir is full.]

EGYPT THE GIFT OF THE NILE

Egypt owes her existence to the Nile. All Lower Egypt is a creation of the river by the gradual accumulation of sediment at its mouths. Upper Egypt has been dug out of the desert sand and underlying rock by a process of erosion centuries long. Once the Nile filled all the space between the hills that line its sides. Now it flows through a thick layer of alluvial mud deposited by the yearly inundation.

ANNUAL INUNDATION OF THE NILE

The Nile begins to rise in June, when the snow melts on the Abyssinian mountains. High-water mark, some thirty feet above the ordinary level, is reached in September. The inhabitants then make haste to cut the confining dikes and to spread the fertilizing water over their fields. Egypt takes on the appearance of a turbid lake, dotted here and there with island villages and crossed in every direction by highways elevated above the flood. Late in October the river begins to subside and by December has returned to its normal level. As the water recedes, it deposits that dressing of fertile vegetable mold which makes the soil of Egypt perhaps the richest in the world. [8]

EGYPT AN EARLY CENTER OF CIVILIZATION

It was by no accident that Egypt, like Babylonia, became one of the first homes of civilized men. Here, as there, every condition made it easy for people to live and thrive. Food was cheap, for it was easily produced. The

peasant needed only to spread his seed broadcast over the muddy fields to be sure of an abundant return. The warm, dry climate enabled him to get along with little shelter and clothing. Hence the inhabitants of this favored region rapidly increased in number and gathered in populous towns and cities. At a time when most of their neighbors were still in the darkness of the prehistoric age, the Egyptians had entered the light of history.

9. THE BABYLONIANS AND THE EGYPTIANS

INHABITANTS OF BABYLONIA

The earliest inhabitants of Babylonia of whom we know anything were a people called Sumerians. They entered the Babylonian plain through the passes of the eastern mountains, three or four thousand years before the Christian era. Here they formed a number of independent states, each with its capital city, its patron god, and its king. After them came Semitic tribes from the deserts of northern Arabia. The Semites mingled with the Sumerians and adopted Sumerian civilization.

HAMMURABI, KING OF BABYLONIA, ABOUT 2000 B.C.

Of all the early Babylonian kings the most famous was Hammurabi. Some inscriptions still remain to tell how he freed his country from foreign invaders and made his native Babylon the capital of the entire land. This city became henceforth the real center of the Euphrates valley, to which, indeed, it gave its name. Hammurabi was also an able statesman, who sought to develop the territories his sword had won. He dug great canals to distribute the waters of the Euphrates and built huge granaries to store the wheat against a time of famine. In Babylon he raised splendid temples and palaces. For all his kingdom he published a code of laws, the oldest in the world. [9] Thus Hammurabi, by making Babylonia so strong and

flourishing, was able to extend her influence in every direction. Her only important rival was Egypt.

[Illustration: TOP OF MONUMENT CONTAINING THE CODE OF HAMMURABI (British Museum, London) A block of black diorite nearly 8 feet high, on which the code is chiseled in 44 columns and over 3600 lines. The relief at the top of the monument shows the Babylonian king receiving the laws from the sun god who is seated at the right.]

The origin of the Egyptians is not known with certainty. In physical characteristics they resembled the native tribes of northern and inhabitants eastern Africa. Their language, however, shows of Egypt close kinship to the Semitic tongues of western Asia and Arabia. It is probable that the Egyptians, like the Babylonians, arose from the mingling of several peoples.

MENES, KING OF EGYPT, ABOUT 3400 B.C.

The history of Egypt commences with the union of the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt under Menes. An ancient tradition made him the builder of Memphis, near the head of the Delta, and the founder of the Egyptian monarchy. Scholars once doubted these exploits and even regarded Menes himself as mythical. Recently, however, his tomb has been discovered. In the gray dawn of history Menes appears as a real personage, the first of that line of kings, or "Pharaohs," who for nearly three thousand years ruled over Egypt.

[Illustration: Map, EGYPTIAN EMPIRE About 1450 B.C.]

THE PYRAMID KINGS, ABOUT 3000-2500 B.C.

Several centuries after Menes we reach the age of the kings who raised the pyramids. Probably no other rulers have ever stamped their memory so indelibly on the pages of history as the builders of these mighty structures. The most celebrated monarch of this line was the Pharaoh whom the Greeks called Cheops. The Great Pyramid near Memphis, erected for his tomb, remains a lasting witness to his power.

[Illustration: TWO FAMOUS PHARAOHS
Khufu (Cheops) builder of the Great Pyramid
Menephtah the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus]

[Illustration: THE GREAT PYRAMID The pyramid when completed had a height of 481 feet. It is now 451 feet high. Its base covers about thirteen acres. Some of the blocks of white limestone used in construction weigh fifty tons. The facing of polished stone was gradually removed for building purposes by the Arabs. On the northern side of the pyramid a narrow entrance once carefully concealed, opens into tortuous passages which lead to the central vault. Here the sarcophagus of the king was placed. This chamber was long since entered and its contents rifled.]

[Illustration: THE GREAT SPHINX This colossal figure, human headed and lion bodied, is hewn from the natural rock. The body is about 150 feet long, the paws 50 feet, the head 30 feet. The height from the base to the top of the head is 70 feet. Except for its head and shoulders the figure has been buried for centuries in the desert sand. The eyes, nose and beard have been mutilated by the Arabs. The face is probably that of one of the pyramid kings.]

AFTER THE PYRAMID KINGS

For a long time after the epoch of the pyramid kings the annals of Egypt furnish a record of quiet and peaceful progress. The old city of Memphis

gradually declined in importance and Thebes in Upper Egypt became the capital. The vigorous civilization growing up in Egypt was destined, however, to suffer a sudden eclipse. About 1800 B.C. barbarous tribes from western Asia burst into the country, through the isthmus of Suez, and settled in the Delta. The Hyksos, as they are usually called, extended their sway over all Egypt. At first they ruled harshly, plundering the cities and enslaving the inhabitants, but in course of time the invaders adopted Egyptian culture and their kings reigned like native Pharaohs. The Hyksos are said to have introduced the horse and military chariot into Egypt. A successful revolt at length expelled the intruders and set a new line of Theban monarchs on the throne.

THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

The overthrow of the Hyksos marked a new era in the history of Egypt. From a home-loving and peaceful people the Egyptians became a warlike race, ambitious for glory. The Pharaohs raised powerful armies and by extensive conquests created an Egyptian Empire, reaching from the Nile to the Euphrates.

IMPERIAL SPLENDOR OF EGYPT

This period of the imperial greatness of Egypt is the most splendid in its history. An extensive trade with Cyprus, Crete, and other Mediterranean Islands introduced many foreign luxuries. The conquered territories in Syria paid a heavy tribute of the precious metals, merchandise, and slaves. The forced labor of thousands of war captives enabled the Pharaohs to build public works in every part on their realm. Even the ruins of these stupendous structures are enough to indicate the majesty and power of ancient Egypt.

RAMESES II, ABOUT 1292-1225 B.C.

Of all the conquering Pharaohs none won more fame than Rameses II, who ruled for nearly seventy years. His campaigns in Syria were mainly against the Hittites, a warlike people who had moved southward from their home in Asia Minor and sought to establish themselves in the Syrian lands. Rameses does not appear to have been entirely successful against his foes. We find him at length entering into an alliance with "the great king of the Hittites," by which their dominion over northern Syria was recognized. In the arts of peace Rameses achieved a more enduring renown. He erected many statues and temples in various parts of Egypt and made Thebes, his capital, the most magnificent city of the age.

[Illustration: HEAD OF MUMMY OF RAMESES II (Museum of Gizeh) The mummy was discovered in 1881 AD in an underground chamber near the site of Thebes. With it were the coffins and bodies of more than a score of royal personages. Rameses II was over ninety years of age at the time of his death. In spite of the somewhat grotesque disguise of mummification, the face of this famous Pharaoh still wears an aspect of majesty and pride.]

DECLINE OF THE EGYPTIAN POWER

Rameses II was the last of the great Pharaohs. After his death the empire steadily declined in strength. The Asiatic possessions fell away, never to be recovered. By 1100 B.C. Egypt had been restricted to her former boundaries in the Nile valley. The Persians, in the sixth century, brought the country within their own vast empire.

10. THE PHOENICIANS AND THE HEBREWS

THE PHOENICIANS

The Phoenicians were the first Syrian people to assume importance. Their country was a narrow stretch of coast, about one hundred and twenty

miles in length, seldom more than twelve miles in width, between the Lebanon Mountains and the sea. This tiny land could not support a large population. As the Phoenicians increased in numbers, they were obliged to betake themselves to the sea. The Lebanon cedars furnished soft, white wood for shipbuilding, and the deeply indented coast offered excellent harbors. Thus the Phoenicians became preeminently a race of sailors. Their great cities, Sidon and Tyre, established colonies throughout the Mediterranean and had an extensive commerce with every region of the known world.

THE HEBREWS

The Hebrews lived south of Phoenicia in the land of Canaan, west of the Jordan River Their history begins with the emigration of twelve Hebrew tribes (called Israelites) from northern Arabia to Canaan. In their new home the Israelites gave up the life of wandering shepherds and became farmers. They learned from the Canaanites to till the soil and to dwell in towns and cities.

PERIOD OF THE JUDGES

The thorough conquest of Canaan proved to be no easy task. At first the twelve Israelitish tribes formed only a loose and weak confederacy without a common head. "In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did what was right in his own eyes." [10] The sole authority was that held by valiant chieftains and law-givers, such as Samson, Gideon, and Samuel, who served as judges between the tribes and often led them in successful attacks upon their foes. Among these were the warlike Philistines, who occupied the southwestern coast of Canaan. To resist the Philistines with success it was necessary to have a king who could bring all the scattered tribes under his firm, well-ordered rule.

REIGNS OF SAUL AND DAVID

In Saul, "a young man and a goodly," the warriors of Israel found a leader to unite them against their enemies. His reign was passed in constant struggles with the Philistines. David, who followed him, utterly destroyed the Philistine power and by further conquests extended the boundaries of the new state. For a capital city he selected the ancient fortress of Jerusalem. Here David built himself a royal palace and here he fixed the Ark, the sanctuary of Jehovah. Jerusalem became to the Israelites their dearest possession and the center of their national life.

[Illustration: Map, CANAAN as Divided among THE TRIBES]

REIGN OF SOLOMON, ABOUT 955-925 B.C.

The reign of Solomon, the son and successor of David, was the most splendid period in Hebrew history. His kingdom stretched from the Red Sea and the peninsula of Sinai northward to the Lebanon Mountains and the Euphrates. With the surrounding peoples Solomon was on terms of friendship and alliance. He married an Egyptian princess, a daughter of the reigning Pharaoh. He joined with Hiram, king of Tyre, in trading expeditions on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. The same Phoenician monarch supplied him with the "cedars of Lebanon," with which he erected at Jerusalem a famous temple for the worship of Jehovah. A great builder, a wise administrator and governor, Solomon takes his place as a typical Oriental despot, the most powerful monarch of the age.

[Illustration: A PHOENICIAN WAR GALLEY From a slab found at Nineveh in the palace of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib. The vessel shown is a bireme with two decks. On the upper deck are soldiers with their shields hanging over the side. The oarsmen sit on the lower deck, eight at each side. The crab catching the fish is a humorous touch.]

SECESSION OF THE TEN TRIBES, ABOUT 925 B.C.

But the political greatness of the Hebrews was not destined to endure. The people were not ready to bear the burdens of empire. They objected to the standing army, to the forced labor on public buildings, and especially to the heavy taxes. The ten northern tribes seceded shortly after Solomon's death and established the independent kingdom of Israel, with its capital at Samaria. The two southern tribes, Judah and Benjamin, formed the kingdom of Judea, and remained loyal to the successors of Solomon.

[Illustration: Map, SOLOMON'S KINGDOM]

DECLINE OF THE HEBREW POWER

The two small Hebrew kingdoms could not resist their powerful neighbors. About two centuries after the secession of the Ten Tribes, the Assyrians overran Israel. Judea was subsequently conquered by the Babylonians. Both countries in the end became a part of the Persian Empire.

11. THE ASSYRIANS

GREATNESS OF ASSYRIA, 745-626 B.C.

Assyria, lying east of the Tigris River, was colonized at an early date by emigrants from Babylonia. After the Assyrians freed themselves from Babylonian control, they entered upon a series of sweeping conquests. Every Asiatic state felt their heavy hand. The Assyrian kings created a huge empire stretching from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, and the Nile. For the first time in Oriental history Mesopotamia and Egypt, with the intervening territory, were brought under one government.

CHARACTER OF ASSYRIAN RULE

This unification of the Orient was accomplished only at a fearful cost. The records of Assyria are full of terrible deeds—of towns and cities without number given to the flames, of the devastation of fertile fields and orchards, of the slaughter of men, women, and children, of the enslavement of entire nations. Assyrian monarchs, in numerous inscriptions, boast of the wreck and ruin they brought to many flourishing lands.

[Illustration: AN ASSYRIAN
From a Nineveh bas-relief. The original is colored.]

SARGON II, 722-705 B.C.

The treatment of conquered peoples by the Assyrian rulers is well illustrated by their dealings with the Hebrews. One of the mightiest monarchs was an usurper, who ascended the throne as Sargon II. Shortly after his succession he turned his attention to the kingdom of Israel, which had revolted. Sargon in punishment took its capital city of Samaria (722 B.C.) and led away many thousands of the leading citizens into a lifelong captivity in distant Assyria. The Ten Tribes mingled with the population of that region and henceforth disappeared from history.

[Illustration: ANCIENT ORIENTAL EMPIRES
Map, THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE about 660 B.C.
Map, LYDIA, MEDIA, BABYLONIA and EGYPT about 550 B.C.]

SENNACHERIB, 705-681 B.C.

Sargon's son, Sennacherib, though not the greatest, is the best known of Assyrian kings. His name is familiar from the many references to him in Old Testament writings. An inscription by Sennacherib describes an expedition against Hezekiah, king of Judea, who was shut up "like a caged

bird in his royal city of Jerusalem." Sennacherib, however, did not capture the place. His troops were swept away by a pestilence. The ancient Hebrew writer conceives it as the visitation of a destroying angel: "It came to pass that night that the angel of Jehovah went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when men arose early in the morning, behold, these were all dead bodies." [11] So Sennacherib departed, and returned with a shattered army to Nineveh, his capital.

[Illustration: AN ASSYRIAN RELIEF (British Museum, London)
The relief represents the siege and capture of Lachish, a city of the Canaanites, by Sennacherib's troops. Notice the total absence of perspective in this work.]

DOWNFALL OF ASSYRIA, 606 B.C.

Although Assyria recovered from this disaster, its empire rested on unstable foundations. The subject races were attached to their oppressive masters by no ties save those of force. When Assyria grew exhausted by its career of conquest, they were quick to strike a blow for freedom. By the middle of the seventh century Egypt had secured her independence, and many other provinces were ready to revolt. Meanwhile, beyond the eastern mountains, the Medes were gathering ominously on the Assyrian frontier. The storm broke when the Median monarch, in alliance with the king of Babylon, moved upon Nineveh and captured it. The city was utterly destroyed.

[Illustration: THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON Explorations on the site of Babylon have been conducted since 1899 A.D. by the German Oriental Society. Large parts of the temple area, as well as sections of the royal palaces, have been uncovered. The most important structure found is the

Ishtar Gate. The towers which flank it are adorned with figures of dragons and bulls in brilliantly colored glazed tile.]

PARTITION OF ASSYRIA

After the conquest of the Assyrian Empire the victors proceeded to divide the spoils. The share of Media was Assyria itself, together with the long stretch of mountain country extending from the Persian Gulf to Asia Minor. Babylonia obtained the western half of the Assyrian domains, including the Euphrates valley and Syria. Under its famous king, Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B.C.), Babylonia became a great power in the Orient. It was Nebuchadnezzar who brought the kingdom of Judea to an end. He captured Jerusalem in 586 B.C., burned the Temple, and carried away many Jews into captivity. The day of their deliverance, when Babylon itself should bow to a foreign foe, was still far distant.

12. THE WORLD EMPIRE OF PERSIA

CYRUS THE GREAT, 553-529 B.C.

Not much earlier than the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, we find a new and vigorous people pressing into western Iran. They were the Persians, near kinsmen of the Medes. Subjects at first of Assyria, and then of Media, they regained their independence and secured imperial power under a conquering king whom history knows as Cyrus the Great. In 553 B.C. Cyrus revolted against the Median monarch and three years later captured the royal city of Ecbatana. The Medes and Persians formed henceforth a united people.

[Illustration: THE TOMB OF CYRUS THE GREAT The mausoleum is built of immense marble blocks joined together without cement. Its total height including the seven steps is about thirty five feet. A solitary pillar

near the tomb still bears the inscription 'I am Cyrus, the King, the Achaemenian.']

CONQUEST OF LYDIA BY CYRUS, 546 B.C.

The conquest of Media was soon followed by a war with the Lydians, who had been allies of the Medes. The throne of Lydia, a state in the western part of Asia Minor, was at this time held by Croesus, the last and most famous of his line. The king grew so wealthy from the tribute paid by Lydian subjects and from his gold mines that his name has passed into the proverb, "rich as Croesus." He viewed with alarm the rising power of Cyrus and rashly offered battle to the Persian monarch. Defeated in the open field, Croesus shut himself up in Sardis, his capital. The city was soon taken, however, and with its capture the Lydian kingdom came to an end.

CAPTURE OF BABYLON, 539 B.C.

The downfall of Lydia prepared the way for a Persian attack on Babylonia. The conquest of that country proved unexpectedly easy. In 539 B.C. the great city of Babylon opened its gates to the Persian host. Shortly afterwards Cyrus issued a decree allowing the Jewish exiles there to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple, which Nebuchadnezzar had destroyed. With the surrender of Babylon the last Semitic empire in the East came to an end. The Medes and Persians, an Indo-European people, henceforth ruled over a wider realm than ever before had been formed in Oriental lands.

CAMBYSES, 529-522 B.C.

Cyrus was followed by his son, Cambyses, a cruel but stronghanded despot. Cambyses determined to add Egypt to the Persian dominions. His land army was supported by a powerful fleet, to which the Phoenicians and

the Greeks of Cyprus contributed ships. A single battle sufficed to overthrow the Egyptian power and to bring the long rule of the Pharaohs to a close. [12]

DARIUS THE GREAT, 521-485 B.C.

The reign of Darius, the successor of Cambyses, was marked by further extensions of the frontiers. An expedition to the distant East added to the empire the region of the Punjab, [13] along the upper waters of the Indus. Another expedition against the wild Scythian tribes along the Danube led to conquests in Europe and brought the Persian dominions close to those of the Greeks. Not without reason could Darius describe himself in an inscription which still survives, as "the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of all men."

[Illustration: DARIUS WITH HIS ATTENDANTS Bas-relief at Persepolis. The monarch's right hand grasps a staff or scepter, his left hand, a bunch of flowers. His head is surmounted by a crown, his body is enveloped in the long Median mantle. Above the king is a representation of the divinity which guarded and guided him. In the rear are two Persian nobles, one carrying the royal fan, the other the royal parasol.]

[Illustration: ROCK SEPULCHERS OF THE PERSIAN KINGS The tombs are those of Darius, Xerxes, and two of their successors. They are near Persepolis.]

ORGANIZATION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

It was the work of Darius to provide for his dominions a stable government which should preserve what the sword had won. The problem was difficult. The empire was a collection of many peoples widely different in race, language, customs, and religion. Darius did not attempt to weld the

conquered nations into unity. As long as the subjects of Persia paid tribute and furnished troops for the royal army, they were allowed to conduct their own affairs with little interference from the Great King.

THE SATRAPAL SYSTEM

The entire empire, excluding Persia proper, was divided into twenty satrapies, or provinces, each one with its civil governor, or satrap. The satraps carried out the laws and collected the heavy tribute annually levied throughout the empire. In most of the provinces there were also military governors who commanded the army and reported directly to the king. This device of intrusting the civil and military functions to separate officials lessened the danger of revolts against the Persian authority. As an additional precaution Darius provided special agents whose business it was to travel from province to province and investigate the conduct of his officials. It became a proverb that "the king has many eyes and many ears."

PERSIAN ROADS

Darius also established a system of military roads throughout the Persian dominions. The roads were provided at frequent intervals with inns, where postmen stood always in readiness to take up a letter and carry it to the next station. The Royal Road from Susa, the Persian capital, to Sardis in Lydia was over fifteen hundred miles long; but government couriers, using relays of fresh horses, could cover the distance within a week. An old Greek writer declares with admiration that "there is nothing mortal more swift than these messengers." [14]

UNION OF THE EAST UNDER PERSIA

The political history of the East fitly ends with the three Persian conquerors, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, who thus brought into their huge

empire every great state of Oriental antiquity. Medes and Persians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Lydians, Syrians, and Egyptians—all were at length united under a single dominion. In the reign of Darius this united Orient first comes into contact with the rising power of the Greek states of Europe. So we may leave its history here, resuming our narrative when we discuss the momentous conflict between Persia and Greece, which was to affect the course, not alone of Persian or Greek, but of all European history. [15]

[Illustration: Map, THE PERSIAN EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT (About 500
B. C.)]

STUDIES

1. On the map Physical Map of Asia, section 7. Physical Asia, topic Grand Divisions of Asia, see what regions of Asia are less than 500 feet above sea level; less than 3000 feet; less than 9000 feet; less than 15,000 feet; over 15,000 feet.

2. On an outline map of the Orient indicate eight important rivers, two gulfs, three inland seas, the great plateaus and plains, the principal mountain ranges, two important passes, and the various countries and cities mentioned in this chapter.

3. On an outline map draw the boundaries of the Persian Empire under Darius, showing what parts were conquered by Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, respectively.

4. For what were the following places noted: Jerusalem; Thebes; Tyre; Nineveh; and Babylon?

5. For what were the following persons famous: Hammurabi; Rameses II; Solomon; Cyrus; Nebuchadnezzar; and Darius?

6. Define and illustrate these terms: empire, kingdom, province, tributary state, satrapy.

7. Identity these dates: 606 B.C.; 539 B.C.; and 540 B.C.

8. Why was India better known in ancient times than China?

9. What modern countries are included within the limits of ancient Iran?

10. Why was a canal through the isthmus of Suez less needed in ancient times than to-day?

11. Can you suggest any reasons why the sources of the Nile remained unknown until late in the nineteenth century?

12. What is the origin of the name *Delta* applied to such a region as Lower Egypt?

13. Comment on the statement: "Egypt as a geographical expression is two things—the Desert and the Nile. As a habitable country it is only one thing—the Nile."

14. Why did the Greek traveler, Herodotus, call Egypt "the gift of the Nile"?

15. Distinguish between Syria and Assyria.

16. What is the exact meaning of the words, *Hebrew*, *Israelite*, and *Jew*? Describe some features of Assyrian warfare (illustration, page 35).

17. What modern countries are included within the limits of the Persian Empire under Darius?

18. Trace on the map facing page 40 the course of the Royal Road, noting the countries through which it passed.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter ii, "The Founders of the Persian Empire: Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius."

[2] See page 16.

[3] See page 39.

[4] See page 125.

[5] Herodotus, i, 193.

[6] See page 8.

[7] It is interesting to note that Hebrew tradition (*Genesis*, ii, 8-15) places Paradise, the garden of God and original home of man, in southern Babylonia. The ancient name for this district was Edin (Eden).

[8] The problem of regulating the Nile inundation so as to distribute the water for irrigation when and where it is most needed has been solved by the building of the Assuan dam. It lies across the head of the first cataract for a distance of a mile and a quarter, and creates a lake two hundred and forty miles in length. This great work was completed in 1912 A.D. by the British officials who now control Egypt.

[9] See page 50.

[10] Judges, xvii, 6.

[11] 2 *Kings*, xix, 35. See Byron's poem, *The Destruction of Sennacherib*.

[12] See page 29.

[13] See page 21.

[14] Herodotus, viii, 98.

[15] See chapter v.

CHAPTER III

ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION [1]

13. SOCIAL CLASSES

REDISCOVERY OF THE ORIENT

Our present knowledge of the Orient has been gained within recent times. Less than a century ago no one could read the written records of the Egyptians and Babylonians. The decipherment of the Rosetta Stone, which contained an inscription in both Greek and hieroglyphics, led to the understanding of Egyptian writing. Scholars later succeeded in interpreting the Babylonian cuneiform script. Modern excavations in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates have now provided them with abundant material for study in the shape of books and inscriptions. As these are gradually deciphered, new light is being thrown on all features of ancient Oriental civilization.

[Illustration: A ROYAL NAME IN HIEROGLYPHICS (ROSETTA STONE) The cut shows the symbols contained in one of the oval rings, or *cartouches*, for Ptolemaios, the Greek name of King Ptolemy. Each symbol represents the initial letter of the Egyptian name for the object pictured. The objects in order are: a mat, a half-circle, a noose, a lion, a hole, two reeds,

and a chair-back. The entire hieroglyph is read from left to right, as we read words in English.]

[Illustration: THE ROSETTA STONE. British Museum, London. A block of black basalt, three feet seven inches in height, found in 1799 A.D., near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile.]

THE KING AS AUTOCRAT

The Oriental peoples, when their history opens, were living under the monarchical form of government. The king, to his subjects, was the earthly representative of the god. Often, indeed, he was himself regarded as divine. The belief in the king's divine origin made obedience to him a religious obligation for his subjects. Every Oriental monarch was an autocrat. Every Oriental monarchy was a despotism.

THE KING'S DUTIES

The king had many duties. He was judge, commander, and high priest, all in one. In time of war, he led his troops and faced the dangers of the battle field. During intervals of peace, he was occupied with a constant round of sacrifices, prayers, and processions, which could not be neglected without exciting the anger of the gods. To his courtiers he gave frequent audience, hearing complaints, settling disputes, and issuing commands. A conscientious monarch, such as Hammurabi, who describes himself as "a real father to his people," must have been a very busy man.

[Illustration: AN EGYPTIAN COURT SCENE Wall painting from a tomb at Thebes. Shows a Pharaoh receiving Asiatic envoys bearing tribute. They are introduced by white robed Egyptian officials. The Asiatics may be distinguished by their gay clothes and black, sharp pointed beards.]

NOBLES AND PRIESTS

Besides the monarch and the royal family there was generally in Oriental countries an upper class of landowners. In Egypt the Pharaoh was regarded as sole owner of the land. Some of it he worked through his slaves, but the larger part he granted to his favorites, as hereditary estates. Such persons may be called the nobles. The different priesthoods also had much land, the revenues from which kept up the temples where they ministered. In Babylonia, likewise, we find a priesthood and nobility supported by the income from landed property.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

The middle class included professional men, shopkeepers independent farmers, and skilled craftsmen. Though regarded as inferiors, still they had a chance to rise in the world. If they became rich, they might hope to enter the upper class as priests or government officials.

WORKMEN AND PEASANTS

No such hopes encouraged the day laborer in the fields or shops. His lot was bitter poverty and a life of unending toil. If he was an unskilled workman, his wages were only enough to keep him and his family. He toiled under overseers who carried sticks and used them freely. "Man has a back," says an Egyptian proverb, "and only obeys when it is beaten." If the laborer was a peasant, he could be sure that the nobles from whom he rented the land and the tax collectors of the king would leave him scarcely more than a bare living.

SLAVES

At the very bottom of the social ladder were the slaves. Every ancient people possessed them. At first they were prisoners of war, who, instead of being slaughtered, were made to labor for their masters. At a later period

people unable to pay their debts often became slaves. The treatment of slaves depended on the character of the master. A cruel and overbearing owner might make life a burden for his bondmen. Escape was rarely possible. Slaves were branded like cattle to prevent their running away. Hammurabi's code [2] imposed the death penalty on anybody who aided or concealed the fugitives. There was plenty of work for the slaves to perform —repairing dikes, digging irrigation canals, and erecting vast palaces and temples. The servile class in Egypt was not as numerous as in Babylonia, and slavery itself seems to have assumed there a somewhat milder form.

[Illustration: TRANSPORT OF AN ASSYRIAN COLOSSUS A slab from a gallery of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh. The immense block is being pulled forward by slaves, who work under the lash.]

14. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

FARMING

Such fruitful, well-watered valleys as those of the Nile and the Euphrates encouraged agricultural life. Farming was the chief occupation. Working people, whether slaves or freemen, were generally cultivators of the soil. All the methods of agriculture are pictured for us on the monuments. We mark the peasant as he breaks up the earth with a hoe or plows a shallow furrow with a sharp-pointed stick. We see the sheep being driven across sown fields to trample the seed into the moist soil. We watch the patient laborers as with hand sickles they gather in the harvest and then with heavy flails separate the chaff from the grain. Although their methods were very clumsy, ancient farmers raised immense crops of wheat and barley. The soil of Egypt and Babylonia not only supported a dense population, but also supplied food for neighboring peoples. These two lands were the granaries of the East.

[Illustration: PLOWING AND SOWING IN ANCIENT EGYPT]

MANUFACTURING

Many industries of to-day were known in ancient Egypt and Babylonia. There were blacksmiths, carpenters, stonecutters, workers in ivory, silver, and gold, weavers, potters, and glass blowers. The creations of these ancient craftsmen often exhibit remarkable skill. Egyptian linens were so wonderfully fine and transparent as to merit the name of "woven air." Babylonian tapestries, carpets, and rugs enjoyed a high reputation for beauty of design and color. Egyptian glass with its waving lines of different hues was much prized. Precious stones were made into beads, necklaces, charms, and seals. The precious metals were employed for a great variety of ornaments. Egyptian paintings show the goldsmiths at work with blowpipe and forceps, fashioning bracelets, rings, and diadems, inlaying objects of stone and wood, or covering their surfaces with fine gold leaf. The manufacture of tiles and glazed pottery was everywhere carried on. Babylonia is believed to be the original home of porcelain. Enameled bricks found there are unsurpassed by the best products of the present day.

TRADE

The development of the arts and crafts brought a new industrial class into existence. There was now need of merchants and shopkeepers to collect manufactured products where they could be readily bought and sold. The cities of Babylonia, in particular, became thriving markets. Partnerships between tradesmen were numerous. We even hear of commercial companies. Business life in ancient Babylonia wore, indeed, quite a modern look.

MONEY

Metallic money first circulated in the form of rings and bars. The Egyptians had small pieces of gold—"cow gold"—each of which was simply the value of a full-grown cow. [3] It was necessary to weigh the metal whenever a purchase took place. A common picture on the Egyptian monuments is that of the weigher with his balance and scales. Then the practice arose of stamping each piece of money with its true value and weight. The next step was coinage proper, where the government guarantees, not only the weight, but also the genuineness of the metal.

[Illustration: EGYPTIAN WEIGHING "COW GOLD"]

COINAGE

The honor of the invention of coinage is generally given to the Lydians, whose country was well supplied with the precious metals. As early as the eighth century B.C. the Lydian monarchs began to strike coins of electrum, a natural alloy of gold and silver. The famous Croesus,[4] whose name is still a synonym for riches, was the first to issue coins of pure gold and silver. The Greek neighbors of Lydia quickly adopted the art of coinage and so introduced it into Europe. [5]

BANKING

The use of money as a medium of exchange led naturally to a system of banking. In Babylonia, for instance, the bankers formed an important and influential class. One great banking house, established at Babylon before the age of Sennacherib, carried on operations for several centuries. Hundreds of legal documents belonging to this firm have been discovered in the huge earthenware jars which served as safes. The Babylonian temples also received money on deposit and loaned it out again, as do our modern banks. Knowledge of the principles of banking passed from Babylonia to Greece and thence to ancient Italy and Rome.

15. COMMERCE AND TRADE ROUTES

ASIATIC COMMERCE

The use of the precious metals as money greatly aided the exchange of commodities between different countries. The cities of the Tigris- Euphrates valley were admirably situated for commerce, both by sea and land. They enjoyed a central position between eastern and western Asia. The shortest way by water from India skirted the southern coast of Iran and, passing up the Persian Gulf, gained the valley of the two great rivers. Even more important were the overland roads from China and India which met at Babylon and Nineveh. Along these routes traveled long lines of caravans laden with the products of the distant East—gold and ivory, jewels and silks, tapestries, spices, and fine woods. Still other avenues of commerce radiated to the west and entered Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Many of these trade routes are in use even to-day.

[Illustration: Map, ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES]

COMMERCE WITH EUROPE

While the inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria were able to control the caravan routes of Asia, it was reserved for a Syrian people, the Phoenicians, to become the pioneers of commerce with Europe. As early as 1500 B.C. the rich copper mines of Cyprus attracted Phoenician colonists to this island. [6] From Cyprus these bold mariners and keen business men passed to Crete, thence along the shores of Asia Minor to the Greek mainland, and possibly to the Black Sea. Some centuries later the Phoenicians were driven from these regions by the rising power of the Greek states. Then they sailed farther westward and established their trading posts in Sicily, Africa, and Spain. At length they passed through the strait of Gibraltar into the Atlantic and visited the shores of western Europe and Africa.

[Illustration: Map, PHOENICIAN AND GREEK COLONIES]

PHOENICIAN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

The Phoenicians obtained a great variety of products from their widely scattered settlements. The mines of Spain yielded tin, lead, and silver. The tin was especially valuable because of its use in the manufacture of bronze. [7] From Africa came ivory, ostrich feathers, and gold; from Arabia, incense, perfumes, and costly spices. The Phoenicians found a ready sale for these commodities throughout the East. Still other products were brought directly to Phoenicia to provide the raw materials for her flourishing manufactures. The fine carpets and glassware, the artistic works in silver and bronze, and the beautiful purple cloths [8] produced by Phoenician factories were exported to every region of the known world.

PHOENICIAN VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION

The Phoenicians were the boldest sailors of antiquity. Some of their long voyages are still on record. We learn from the Bible that they made cruises on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean and brought the gold of Ophir— "four hundred and twenty talents"—to Solomon. [9] There is even a story of certain Phoenicians who, by direction of an Egyptian king, explored the eastern coast of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and after three years' absence returned to Egypt through the strait of Gibraltar. A much more probable narrative is that of the voyage of Hanno, a Carthaginian admiral. We still possess a Greek translation of his interesting log book. It describes an expedition made about 500 B.C. along the western coast of Africa. The explorers seem to have sailed as far as the country now called Sierra Leone. Nearly two thousand years elapsed before a similar voyage along the African coast was undertaken.

PHOENICIAN SETTLEMENTS

Wherever the Phoenicians journeyed, they established settlements. Most of these were merely trading posts which contained the warehouses for the storage of their goods. Here the shy natives came to barter their raw materials for the finished products—cloths, tools, weapons, wine, and oil—which the strangers from the East had brought with them. Phoenician settlements sometimes grew to be large and flourishing cities. The colony of Gades in southern Spain, mentioned in the Old Testament as Tarshish, [10] survives to this day as Cadiz. The city of Carthage, founded in North Africa by colonists from Tyre, became the commercial mistress of the Mediterranean. Carthaginian history has many points of contact with that of the Greeks and Romans.

16. LAW AND MORALITY

BABYLONIAN CONTRACTS

It is clear that societies so highly organized as Phoenicia, Egypt, and Babylonia must have been held together by the firm bonds of law. The ancient Babylonians, especially, were a legal-minded people. When a man sold his wheat, bought a slave, married a wife, or made a will, the transaction was duly noted on a contract tablet, which was then filed away in the public archives. Instead of writing his name, a Babylonian stamped his seal on the wet clay of the tablet. Every man who owned property had to have a seal.

CODE OF HAMMURABI

The earliest laws were, of course, unwritten. They were no more than the long-established customs of the community. As civilization advanced, the usages that generally prevailed were written out and made into legal codes. A recent discovery has given to us the almost complete text of the laws

which Hammurabi, the Babylonian king, ordered to be engraved on stone monuments and set up in all the chief cities of his realm. [11]

SUBJECT MATTER OF HAMMURABI'S CODE

The code of Hammurabi shows, in general, a high sense of justice. A man who tries to bribe a witness or a judge is to be severely punished. A farmer who is careless with his dikes and allows the water to run through flood his neighbor's land must restore the value of the grain he has damaged. The owner of a vicious ox which has gored a man must pay a heavy fine, provided he knew the disposition of the animal and had not blunted its horns. A builder who puts up a shaky house which afterwards collapses and kills the tenant is himself to be put to death. On the other hand, the code has some rude features. Punishments were severe. For injuries to the body there was the simple rule of retaliation: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a limb for a limb. A son who had struck his father was to have his hands cut off. The nature of the punishment depended, moreover, on the rank of the aggrieved party. A person who had caused the loss of a "gentleman's" eye was to have his own plucked out; but if the injury was done to a poor man, the culprit had only to pay a fine.

[Illustration: BABYLONIAN CONTRACT TABLET The actual tablet is on the right, on the left is a hollow clay case or envelope.]

IMPORTANCE OF HAMMURABI'S CODE

Hammurabi's laws thus present a vivid picture of Oriental society two thousand years before Christ. They always remained the basis of the Babylonian and Assyrian legal system. They were destined, also, to exert considerable influence upon Hebrew legislation. Centuries after Hammurabi the enactments of the old Babylonian king were reproduced in some of the familiar regulations of the laws of Moses. In this way they

became the heritage of the Hebrews and, through them, of our modern world.

THE MOSAIC CODE

The laws which we find in the earlier books of the Bible were ascribed by the Hebrews to Moses. These laws covered a wide range of topics. They fixed all religious ceremonies, required the observance every seventh day of the Sabbath, dealt with marriage and the family, stated the penalties for wrongdoing, gave elaborate rules for sacrifices, and even indicated what foods must be avoided as "unclean." No other ancient people possessed so elaborate a code. The Jews throughout the world obey, to this day, its precepts. And modern Christendom still recites the Ten Commandments, the noblest summary of the rules of right living that has come down to us from the ancient world.

17. RELIGION

NATURE WORSHIP

Oriental ideas of religion, even more than of law and morality, were the gradual outgrowth of beliefs held by the Asiatic peoples in prehistoric times. Everywhere nature worship prevailed. The vault of heaven, earth and ocean, sun, moon, and stars were all regarded either as themselves divine or as the abode of divinities. The sun was an object of especial adoration. We find a sun god, under different names, in every Oriental country.

BABYLONIAN BELIEF IN EVIL SPIRITS

Another inheritance from prehistoric times was the belief in evil spirits. In Babylonia and Assyria this superstition became a prominent feature of the popular religion. Men supposed themselves to be constantly surrounded

by a host of demons which caused insanity, sickness, disease, and death—all the ills of life. People lived in constant fear of offending these malignant beings.

MAGIC

To cope with evil spirits the Babylonian used magic. He put up a small image of a protecting god at the entrance to his house and wore charms upon his person. If he felt ill, he went to a priest, who recited a long incantation supposed to drive out the "devil" afflicting the patient. The reputation of the Babylonian priests was so widespread that in time the name "Chaldean" [12] came to mean one who is a magician. Some of their magical rites were borrowed by the Jews, and later by the Romans, from whom they entered Christian Europe. Another Babylonian practice which spread westward was that of divination, particularly by inspecting the entrails of animals slain in sacrifice. This was a very common method of divination among the Greeks and Romans. [13]

[Illustration: EGYPTIAN SCARAB The beetle, as a symbol of birth and resurrection, and hence of immortality, enjoyed much reverence in ancient Egypt. A scarab, or image of the beetle, was often worn as a charm and was placed in the mummy as an artificial heart.]

ASTROLOGY

Astrology received much attention. It was believed that the five planets, comets, and eclipses of the sun and moon exerted an influence for good or evil on the life of man. Babylonian astrology likewise extended to western lands and became popular among the Greeks and Romans. Some of it survives to the present time. When we name the days Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, we are unconscious astrologers, for in old belief the first day belonged to the planet Saturn, the second to the sun, and the third to the

moon. [14] Superstitious people who try to read their fate in the stars are really practicing an art of Babylonian origin.

EGYPTIAN ANIMAL WORSHIP

Less influential in later times was the animal worship of the Egyptians. This, too, formed a heritage from the prehistoric past. Many common animals of Egypt—the cat, hawk, the jackal, the bull, the ram, the crocodile —were highly reverenced. Some received worship because deities were supposed to dwell in them. The larger number, however, were not worshiped for themselves, but as symbols of different gods.

MONOTHEISM IN PERSIA

In the midst of such an assemblage of nature deities, spirits, and sacred animals, it was remarkable that the belief in one god should ever have arisen. The Medes and Persians accepted the teachings of Zoroaster, a great prophet who lived perhaps as early as 1000 B.C. According to Zoroaster, Ahuramazda, the heaven-deity, is the maker and upholder of the universe. He is a god of light and order, of truth and purity. Against him stands Ahriman, the personification of darkness and evil. Ahuramazda in the end will overcome Ahriman and will reign supreme in a righteous world. Zoroastrianism was the only monotheistic religion developed by an Indo-European people. [15]

[Illustration: AMENHOTEP IV A striking likeness of an Egyptian king (reigned about 1375-1358 B.C.) who endeavored to introduce monotheism in Egypt by abolishing the worship of all gods except the sun god. This religious revolution ended in failure for after the king's death the old deities were restored to honor.]

HEBREW MONOTHEISM

The Hebrews, alone among the Semitic peoples of antiquity, were to develop the worship of their god, Jehovah, into a lasting monotheism. This was a long and gradual process Jehovah was at first regarded as the peculiar divinity of the Hebrews. His worshipers did not deny the existence of the gods of other nations. From the eighth century onward this narrow conception of Jehovah was transformed by the labors of the Hebrew prophets. They taught that Jehovah was the creator and ruler of the world and the loving father of all mankind. On Hebrew monotheism two world religions have been founded—Mohammedanism and Christianity.

EGYPTIAN IDEAS OF THE FUTURE LIFE

We do not find among the early Hebrews or any other Oriental people very clear ideas about the life after death. The Egyptians long believed that the soul of the dead man resided in or near the tomb, closely associated with the body. This notion seems to have first led to the practice of embalming the corpse, so that it might never suffer decay. If the body was not preserved, the soul might die, or it might become a wandering ghost, restless and dangerous to the living. Later Egyptian thought regarded the future state as a place of rewards and punishments. One of the chapters of the work called the *Book of the Dead* describes the judgment of the soul in the spirit world. If a man in the earthly life had not murdered, stolen, coveted the property of others, blasphemed the gods, borne false witness, ill treated his parents, or committed certain other wrongs, his soul would enjoy a blissful immortality.

[Illustration: MUMMY AND COVER OF COFFIN (U.S. National Museum,
Washington)]

BABYLONIAN AND HEBREW IDEAS OF THE FUTURE LIFE

Some Oriental peoples kept the primitive belief that after death all men, good and bad alike, suffered the same fate. The Babylonians supposed that the souls of the departed passed a cheerless existence in a gloomy and Hebrew underworld. The early Hebrew idea of Sheol, "the land of darkness and the shadow of death," [16] was very similar. Such thoughts of the future life left nothing for either fear or hope. In later times, however, the Hebrews came to believe in the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment, conceptions afterwards adopted by Christianity.

18. LITERATURE AND ART

THE EGYPTIAN BOOK OF THE DEAD

Religion inspired the largest part of ancient literature. Each Oriental people possessed sacred writings. The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* was already venerable in 3000 B.C. It was a collection of hymns, prayers, and magical phrases to be recited by the soul on its journey beyond the grave and in the spirit world. A chapter from this work usually covered the inner side of the mummy case.

[Illustration: THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD From a papyrus containing the *Book of the Dead*. The illustration shows a man and his wife (at the left) entering the hall in the spirit world, where sits the god of the dead with forty two jurors (seen above) as his assistants. The heart of the man, symbolized by a jar, is being weighed in balances by a jackal-headed god against a feather, the symbol of truth. The monster in the right hand corner stands ready to devour the soul, if the heart is found lighter than the feather.]

THE BABYLONIAN EPICS

Much more interesting are the two Babylonian epics, fragments of which were found on clay tablets in a royal library at Nineveh. The epic of the Creation tells how the god Marduk overcame a terrible dragon, the symbol of primeval chaos, and thus established order in the universe. Then with half the body of the dead dragon he made a covering for the heavens and set therein the stars. Next he caused the new moon to shine and made it the ruler of the night. His last work was the creation of man, in order that the service and worship of the gods might be established forever. The second epic contains an account of a flood, sent by the gods to punish sinful men. The rain fell for six days and nights and covered the entire earth. All men were drowned except the Babylonian Noah, his family, and his relatives, who safely rode the waters in an ark. This ancient narrative so closely resembles the Bible story in *Genesis* that we must trace them both to a common source.

[Illustration: THE DELUGE TABLET (British Museum London) Contains the narrative of the flood as pieced together and published by George Smith in 1872 A.D. There are sixteen fragments in the restoration.]

[Illustration: AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE (RESTORED) The building extended along the Nile for nearly eight hundred feet. A double line of sphinxes led to the only entrance, in front of which were two obelisks and four colossal statues of Rameses II. Behind the first gateway, or pylon came an open court surrounded by a portico upheld by pillars. The second and third pylons were connected by a covered passage leading into another open court. Lower rooms at the rear of the temple contained the sanctuary of the god, which only the king and priests could enter.]

THE HEBREW BIBLE

All these writings are so ancient that their very authors are forgotten. The interest they excite is historical rather than literary. From Oriental antiquity

only one great work has reached us that still has power to move the hearts of men—the Hebrew Bible.

EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE

Architecture, in Egypt, was the leading art. The Egyptians were the first people who learned to raise buildings with vast halls supported by ponderous columns. Their wealth and skill, however, were not lavished in the erection of fine private mansions or splendid public buildings. The characteristic works of Egyptian architecture are the tombs of the kings and the temples of the gods. The picture of the great structure at Thebes, which Rameses II completed, [17] will give some idea of an Egyptian temple with its gateways, open courts, obelisks, and statues.

[Illustration: AN EGYPTIAN WOODEN STATUE, (Museum of Gizeh) Found in a tomb near Memphis. The statue, which belongs to the age of the pyramid kings, represents a bustling, active, middle-class official.]

ARCHITECTURE IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

The architecture of Babylonia and Assyria was totally unlike that of Egypt, because brick, and not stone, formed the chief building and Assyria material. In Babylonia the temple was a solid, square tower, built on a broad platform. It consisted usually of seven stages, which arose one above the other to the top, where the shrine of the deity was placed. The different stages were connected by an inclined ascent. The four sides of the temple faced the cardinal points, and the several stages were dedicated to the sun, moon, and five planets. In Assyria the characteristic building was the palace. But the sun-dried bricks, of which both temples and palaces were composed, lacked the durability of stone and have long since dissolved into shapeless mounds.

EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE

The surviving examples of Egyptian sculpture consist of bas-reliefs and figures in the round, carved from limestone and granite or cast in bronze. Many of the statues appear to our eyes very stiff and ungraceful. The sculptor never learned how to pose his figures easily or how to arrange them in an artistic group. In spite of these defects some Egyptian statues are wonderfully lifelike. [18]

[Illustration: AN ASSYRIAN PALACE (RESTORED) The royal residence of Sargon II near Nineveh was placed upon a high platform of brick masonry the top of which was gained by stairs and an inclined roadway. The palace consisted of a series of one storied rectangular halls and long corridors surrounding inner courts. They were provided with imposing entrances flanked by colossal human headed bulls representing guardian spirits. The entire building covered more than twenty three acres and contained two hundred apartments. In the rear is seen a temple tower.]

SCULPTURE IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

Few examples have reached us of Babylonian and Assyrian sculpture in the round. As in Egypt, the figures seem rigid and out of proportion. The Assyrian bas-reliefs show a higher development of the artistic sense, especially in the rendering of animals. The sculptures that deal with the exploits of the kings in war and hunting often tell their story in so graphic a way as to make up for the absence of written records.

ORIENTAL PAINTING

Painting in the ancient East did not reach the dignity of an independent art. It was employed solely for decorative purposes. Bas-reliefs and wall surfaces were often brightly colored, The artist had no knowledge of

perspective and drew all his figures in profile, without any distinction of light and shade. Indeed, Oriental painting, as well as Oriental sculpture, made small pretense to the beautiful. Beauty was born into the world with the art of the Greeks.

[Illustration: AN ASSYRIAN WINGED HUMAN HEADED BULL]

[Illustration: AN ASSYRIAN HUNTING SCENE (British Museum, London)
A bas relief from a slab found at Nineveh.]

19. SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

ARITHMETIC AND GEOMETRY

Conspicuous advance took place in the exact sciences. The leading operations of arithmetic were known. A Babylonian tablet gives a table of squares and cubes correctly calculated from 1 to 60. The number 12 was the basis of all reckonings. The division of the circle into degrees, minutes, and seconds (360°, 60', 60") was an invention of the Babylonians which illustrates this duodecimal system A start was made in geometry. One of the oldest of Egyptian books contains a dozen geometrical problems. This knowledge was afterwards developed into a true science by the Greeks.

ASTRONOMY

In both Egypt and Babylonia the cloudless skies and still, warm nights early led to astronomical research. At a remote period, perhaps before 4000 B.C., the Egyptians framed a solar calendar, [19] consisting of twelve months, each thirty days in length, with five extra days at the end of the year. This calendar was taken over by the Romans, [20] who added the system of leap years. The Babylonians made noteworthy progress in some

branches of astronomy. They were able to trace the course of the sun through the twelve constellations of the zodiac and to distinguish five of the planets from the fixed stars. The successful prediction of eclipses formed another Babylonian achievement. Such astronomical discoveries must have required much patient and accurate observation.

GEOGRAPHY

Geographical ideas for a long time were very crude. An ancient map, scratched on clay, indicates that about eight centuries before Christ the Babylonians had gained some knowledge, not only of their own land, but even of regions beyond the Mediterranean. The chief increase in man's knowledge of the world in ancient times was due to the Phoenicians. [21]

PRACTICAL SCIENCES

The skill of Oriental peoples as mechanics and engineers is proved by their success as builders. The great pyramids exactly face the points of the compass. The principle of the round arch was known in Babylonia at a remote period The transportation of colossal stone monuments exhibits a knowledge of the lever, pulley, and inclined plane. [22] Babylonian inventions were the sundial and the water clock, the one to register the passage of the hours by day, the other by night. The Egyptians and Babylonians also made some progress in the practice of medicine.

[Illustration: A BABYLONIAN MAP OF THE WORLD A tablet of dark brown clay, much injured, dating from the 8th or 7th century B.C. The two large concentric circles indicate the ocean or, as it is called in the cuneiform writing between the circles, the 'Briny Flood.' Beyond the ocean are seven successive projections of land, represented by triangles. Perhaps they refer to the countries existing beyond the Black Sea and the Red Sea. The two

parallel lines within the inner circle represent the Euphrates. The little rings stand for the Babylonian cities in this region.]

THE TEMPLE SCHOOL

The schools, in both Egypt and Babylonia, were attached to the temples and were conducted by the priests. Writing was the chief subject of instruction. It took many years of patient study to master the cuneiform symbols or the even more difficult hieroglyphics. "He who would excel in the school of the scribes," ran an ancient maxim, "must rise with the dawn." Writing was learned by imitating the examples supplied in copy- books. Some of the model letters studied by Egyptian boys of the twentieth century B.C. have come down to us. Reading, too, was an art not easy to learn. Dictionaries and grammars were written to aid the beginner. A little instruction was also provided in counting and calculating.

[Illustration: AN EGYPTIAN SCRIBE (Louvre, Paris)]

THE SCRIBES

Having learned to read and write, the pupil was ready to enter on the coveted career of a scribe. In a community where nearly every one was illiterate, the scribes naturally held an honorable place. They conducted the correspondence of the time. When a man wished to send a letter, he had a scribe write it, signing it himself by affixing his seal. When he received a letter, he usually employed a scribe to read it to him. The scribes were also kept busy copying books on the papyrus paper or clay tablets which served as writing materials.

THE TEMPLE LIBRARY

Every large city of Babylonia possessed a collection of books. Several of the larger libraries have been discovered. At Nippur, in Babylonia, thirty thousand clay tablets were found. Another great collection of books was unearthed in a royal palace at Nineveh. This Assyrian library seems to have been open for the general use of the king's subjects. The Egyptians also had their libraries, usually as adjuncts to the temples, and hence under priestly control.

WIDESPREAD POPULAR IGNORANCE

Learning and education were so closely limited to a few individuals that the mass of the people were sunk in deepest ignorance. Men could not pursue knowledge for themselves, but had to accept every thing on authority. Hence the inhabitants of Oriental lands remained a conservative folk, slow to abandon their time-honored beliefs and very unwilling to adopt a new custom even when clearly better than the old. This absence of popular education, more than anything else, made Oriental civilization unprogressive.

[Illustration: EXCAVATION AT NIPPUR Nippur was the ancient "Calneh in the land of Shinar" (*Genesis*, x, 10) Excavations here were conducted by the University of Pennsylvania during 1889-1900 A.D. The city contained an imposing temple, a library, a school, and even a little museum of antiquities.]

STUDIES

1. What was the origin of the "divine right" of kings?

2. Explain what is meant by *despotism*; by *autocracy*.

3. What European state comes nearest to being a pure despotism? What European monarch styles himself as an autocrat?

4. What do the illustrations on pages 38, 43 tell about the pomp of Oriental kings?

5. Why did the existence of numerous slaves in Egypt and Babylonia tend to keep low the wages of free workmen? Why is it true that civilization may be said to have begun "with the cracking of the slave whip"?

6. What light is thrown on the beginnings of money in ancient Egypt by the illustration on page 47?

7. Name some objects which, in place of the metals, are used by primitive peoples as money.

8. Interest in Babylonia was usually at the rate of 20% a year. Why is it so much lower in modern countries?

9. On the map, page 48, indicate the trade routes between eastern and western Asia which met in Mesopotamia.

10. The Phoenicians have been called "the English of antiquity." Can you give any reason for this characterization?

11. Why should the Phoenicians have been called the "colossal peddlers" of the ancient world?

12. What books of the Bible contain the laws of Israel?

13. What reasons can you suggest for the universal worship of the sun?

14. Define *polytheism* and *monotheism*, giving examples of each.

15. Describe the Egyptian conception of the judgment of the dead (illustration, page 56).

16. How many "books" are there in the Old Testament?

17. What is the Apocrypha?

18. How are the pyramids proof of an advanced civilization among the Egyptians?

19. What is a bas-relief? Select some examples from the illustrations.

20. From what Oriental peoples do we get the oldest true arch? the first coined money? the earliest legal code? the most ancient book?

21. Enumerate the most important contributions to civilization made in Oriental antiquity.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter 1, "Three Oriental Peoples as Described by Herodotus."

[2] See page 25.

[3] See page 6.

[4] See page 37.

[5] For illustrations of Oriental coins see the plate facing page 134.

[6] See page 4.

[7] See page 5.

[8] "Tyrian purple" was a dye secured from a species of shellfish found along the Phoenician coast and in Greek waters.

[9] See I *Kings*, ix, 26-28. The site of Ophir is not known, though probably it was in southern Arabia.

[10] See *Ezekiel*, xxvii, 12, 25.

[11] A monument containing the code of Hammurabi was found on the site of Susa in 1901-1902 A.D. See the illustration, page 25.

[12] Chaldea was another name for Babylonia.

[13] See page 148.

[14] The names of four other week days come from the names of old Teutonic deities. Tuesday is the day of Tyr, Wednesday of Woden (Odin), Thursday of Thunor (Thor), and Friday of the goddess Frigga. See page 304.

[15] Zoroastrians are still to be found in the East In Persia, now a Mohammedan country, there is a little band of devoted followers of Zoroaster, who keep up to this day the tenets of their ancient faith. In India the Parsees of Bombay are the descendants of those Persians who fled from Persia at the time of the Mohammedan conquest (page 376), rather than surrender their cherished beliefs and embrace a new religion.

[16] *Job*, X, 21.

[17] See page 28.

[18] See the illustrations, pages 27, 54, 58, 63.

[19] See page 13.

[20] See page 186, note 2.

[21] See page 48.

[22] See the illustration, page 46.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANDS OF THE WEST AND THE RISE OF GREECE TO ABOUT 500 B.C. [1]

20. PHYSICAL EUROPE

EUROPE A PENINSULA OF ASIA

The continent of Asia, projecting its huge bulk southwestward between the seas, gradually narrows into the smaller continent of Europe. The boundary between the two regions is not well defined. Ancient geographers found a convenient dividing line north of the Black Sea in the course of the river Don. Modern map makers usually place the division at the Ural Mountains, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus. Each of these boundaries is more or less arbitrary. In a geographical sense Europe is only the largest of the great Asiatic peninsulas.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF EUROPE

But in physical features the two continents disclose the most striking contrasts. The sea, which washes only the remote edges of Asia, penetrates deeply into Europe and forms an extremely irregular coast line with numerous bays and harbors. The mountains of Europe, seldom very high and provided with easy passes, present no such barriers to intercourse as the mightier ranges of Asia. We miss in Europe the extensive deserts and barren

table-lands which form such a feature of Asiatic geography. With the exception of Russia the surface, generally, is distributed into plains, hills, and valleys of moderate size. Instead of a few large rivers, such as are found in Asia, Europe is well supplied with numerous streams that make it possible to travel readily from one district to another.

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE

The almost unbroken mountain chain formed by the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Balkans, sharply separates the central land mass of Europe from the regions to the south. Central Europe consists, in general, of lowlands, which widen eastward into the vast Russian plain. Northern Europe includes the British Isles, physically an extension of Europe, and the peninsulas of Scandinavia and Finland, between the Baltic Sea and the Arctic Ocean. Twenty centuries ago central and northern Europe was a land of forests and marshes, of desolate steppes and icebound hills. The peoples who inhabited it—Celts in the west, Teutons or Germans in the north, Slavs in the east — were men of Indo-European [2] race and speech. They were still barbarians. During ancient times we hear little of them, except as their occasional migrations southward brought them into contact with the Greeks and the Romans.

SOUTHERN EUROPE

Southern Europe comprises the three peninsulas of Spain, Italy, and the Balkans, which reach far south into the Mediterranean. This great inland sea is divided into two parts near the center, where Africa and the island of Sicily almost touch each other across a narrow strait. The eastern part contains several minor seas, of which the one called the Aegean had most importance in Greek history.

21. GREECE AND THE AEGEAN

THE AEGEAN SEA

The Aegean is an almost landlocked body of water. The Balkan peninsula, narrowing toward the Mediterranean into the smaller peninsula of Greece, confines it on the west. On the east it meets a boundary in Asia Minor. The southern boundary is formed by a chain of islands, while the only opening northward is found in the narrow passage leading to the Black Sea. The coasts and islands of the Aegean thus make up a little world set off by itself.

[Illustration: Map, PHYSICAL MAP OF EUROPE]

CONTINENTAL GREECE

Continental Greece is a tiny country. Its greatest length is scarcely more than two hundred and fifty miles; its greatest breadth is only one hundred and eighty miles. Mountain ridges, offshoots of the Balkans, compose the greater part of its area. Into the valleys and deep gorges of the interior the impetuous sea has everywhere forced a channel. The coast line, accordingly, is most irregular—a constant succession of sharp promontories and curving bays. The mountains, crossing the peninsula in confused masses, break it up into numberless valleys and glens which seldom widen into plains. The rivers are not navigable. The few lakes, hemmed in by the hills, have no outlets except in underground channels. In this land of the Greeks no place is more than fifty miles from a mountain range, or more than forty miles from some long arm of the Mediterranean.

THE AEGEAN ISLANDS

From the Greek mainland to the coast of Asia Minor the traveler follows a route thickly studded with rocky islands. They are near enough together to

permit the passage from one to another without losing sight of land. The Aegean islands thus served as "stepping-stones" between Greece and Asia Minor. [3]

WESTERN ASIA MINOR

Western Asia Minor resembles Continental Greece in its deeply indented coast, variety of scenery, and mild climate. The fertile river valleys of this region early attracted Greek colonists. They built here many flourishing cities, especially along the central coast, which came to be known as Ionia.

INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

Greek history well illustrates the influence of geographical conditions on the life of a people. In the first place, mountain ranges cut up Continental Greece into many small states, separated from one another by natural ramparts. Hence the Greeks loved most of all their own local independence and always refused to unite into one nation under a single government. In the second place, the near presence of the sea made sailors of the Greeks and led them to devote much energy to foreign commerce. They early felt, in consequence, the stimulating effects of intercourse with other peoples. Finally, the location of Greece at the threshold of Asia, with its best harbors and most numerous islands on the eastern coast, enabled the country to receive and profit by all the culture of the Orient. Greece faced the civilized East.

22. THE AEGEAN AGE (TO ABOUT 1100 B.C.)

A PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION

The Greeks of historic times knew very little about their prehistoric period. Instead of accurate knowledge they had only the beautiful legends

preserved in ancient poems, such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Within our own day, however, remarkable excavations have disclosed the remains of a widespread and flourishing civilization in times so distant that the historic Greeks had lost all sight of it. As in the Orient, [4] the labors of modern scholars are yearly adding to our knowledge of ancient life.

[Illustration: Map, AEGEAN CIVILIZATION]

[Illustration: EXCAVATIONS AT TROY The great northeast tower of the sixth city. The stairs at the right belong to the eighth city.]

SCHLIEMANN'S EXCAVATIONS AT TROY

The man who did most to reveal the prehistoric civilization of Greece was a wealthy German merchant named Heinrich Schliemann. An enthusiastic lover of Homer, he believed that the stories of the Trojan War related in the *Iliad* were not idle fancies, but real facts. In 1870 A.D. he started to test his beliefs by excavations at a hill called Hissarlik, on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor. Here tradition had always fixed the site of ancient Troy. Schliemann's discoveries and those of later explorers proved that at Hissarlik at least nine successive cities had come into existence, flourished, and passed away. Excavations completed in 1892 A.D. have shown that the sixth city in order from the bottom was the one described in the Homeric poems. It had powerful walls defended by towers, well-fortified gates, and palaces of stone. The marks of fire throughout the ruins indicate that the city must have been destroyed by a disastrous conflagration.

SCHLIEMANN'S EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE AND TIRYNS

The remarkable disclosures at Troy encouraged Schliemann to excavate other Homeric sites. At Mycenae, a prehistoric city of Argolis in Greece, he

laid bare six rock-hewn graves, containing the skeletons of nineteen persons, men, women, and children. The faces of the dead had been covered with thin masks of gold, and their bodies had been decked with gold diadems, bracelets, and pendants. The other funeral offerings include gold rings, silver vases, and a variety of bronze weapons. At Tiryns, once the capital of Argolis, he uncovered the ruins of an extensive structure with gateways, open courts, and closed apartments. Characteristic of this edifice were the separate quarters occupied by men and women, the series of storerooms for provisions, and such a modern convenience as a bathroom with pipes and drains. In short, the palace at Tiryns gives us a clear and detailed picture of the home of a Homeric prince.

[Illustration: LIONS' GATE, MYCENAE The stone relief, of triangular shape, represents two lions (or lionesses) facing each other on opposite sides of a pillar. The heads of the animals have been lost.]

EVANS'S EXCAVATIONS AT GNOSSUS

But the fame of even Schliemann's discoveries has been somewhat dimmed by the excavations made since 1900 A.D. on the site of Gnossus, the ancient capital of the island of Crete. At Gnossus an Englishman, Sir Arthur Evans, has found the remains of an enormous palace, with numerous courts, passages, and rooms. Here is the royal council chamber with the throne on which the king once sat. Here are the royal magazines, still filled with huge earthenware jars for the storage of provisions. A great number of brilliant pictures—hunting scenes, landscapes, portraits of men and women—cover the palace walls. Buried in some of the chambers were thousands of clay tablets with inscriptions which, if ever read, will add new chapters to ancient history. [5]

[Illustration: THE VAPHIO GOLD CUPS (National Museum, Athens) These beautiful objects were found in 1888 within a "bee-hive" tomb at

Vaphio in Laconia. The two cups are of beaten gold, ornamented with designs in *repoussé* work. The first scene represents a wild-bull hunt. The companion piece pictures four tame bulls under the care of a herdsman.]

[Illustration: SILVER FRAGMENT FROM MYCENAE (National Museum, Athens) A siege scene showing the bows, slings, and huge shields of Mycenaean warriors. In the background are seen the masonry of the city wall and the flat-roofed houses.]

ANTIQUITY OF AEGEAN CIVILIZATION

These discoveries in the Aegean enable us to place another venerable center of civilized life by the side of Babylonia and Egypt. As early as 3000 B.C. the primitive inhabitants of the Aegean were giving up the use of stone tools and weapons for those of metal. Bronze soon came into general use, as is shown by the excavations. The five centuries between 1600 and 1100 B.C. appear to have been the time when the civilization of the Aegean Age reached its highest development.

THE FINE ARTS

Remarkable progress took place during Aegean times in some of the fine arts. We find imposing palaces, often splendidly adorned and arranged for a life of comfort. Wall paintings, plaster reliefs, and fine carvings in stone excite our admiration. Aegean artists made beautiful pottery of many shapes and cleverly decorated it with plant and animal forms. They carved ivory, engraved gems, and excelled in the working of metals. Some of their productions in gold, silver, and bronze were scarcely surpassed by Greek artists a thousand years later. [6]

COMMERCE

There was much intercourse throughout the Mediterranean during this period. Products of Aegean art have been found as far west as Sicily, Italy, and Spain, Aegean pottery has frequently been discovered in Egyptian tombs. Some objects unearthed in Babylonia are apparently of Aegean workmanship. In those ancient days Crete was mistress of the seas. Cretan merchants preceded the Phoenicians as carriers between Asia and Europe. [7] Trade and commerce thus opened up the Mediterranean world to
all the cultural influences of the Orient.

[Illustration: A CRETAN GIRL (Museum of Candia, Crete) A fresco painting from the palace of Gnossus. The girl's face is so astonishingly modern in treatment that one can scarcely believe that the picture belongs to the sixteenth century B.C.]

DOWNFALL OF AEGEAN CIVILIZATION

Aegean civilization did not penetrate beyond the shores of Asia Minor, the islands, and the coasts of Continental Greece. The interior regions of the Greek peninsula remained the home of barbarous tribes, which had not yet learned to build cities, to create beautiful objects of art, or to traffic on the seas. By 1100 B.C. their destructive inroads brought the Aegean Age to an end.

23. THE HOMERIC AGE (ABOUT 1100-750 B.C.)

COMING OF THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS

The barbarians who overthrew Aegean civilization seem to have entered Greece from the north, perhaps from the region the Danube River. They pushed gradually southward, sometimes exterminating or enslaving the earlier inhabitants of the country, but more often settling peaceably in their

new homes. Conquerors and conquered slowly intermingled and so produced the one Greek people which is found at the dawn of history. These Greeks, as we shall call them henceforth, also occupied the islands of the Aegean Sea and the coast of Asia Minor. The entire basin of the Aegean thus became a Greek world.

[Illustration: AEGEAN SNAKE GODDESS (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) A gold and ivory statuette found in Crete. Dates from the sixteenth century B.C. The goddess wears the characteristic Cretan dress, with low-cut jacket and full skirt with five plaited flounces. On her head is an elaborate crown.]

THE HOMERIC EPICS

The period between the end of the Aegean Age and the opening of historic times in Greece is usually called the Homeric Age, because many features of its civilization are reflected in two epic poems called the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The former deals with the story of a Greek expedition against Troy; the latter describes the wanderings of the hero Odysseus on his return from Troy. The two epics were probably composed in Ionia, and by the Greeks were attributed to a blind bard named Homer. Many modern scholars, however, consider them the work of several generations of poets. The references in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to industry, social life, law, government, and religion give us some idea of the culture which the historic Greeks received as their inheritance.

INDUSTRY

The Greeks as described in the Homeric epics were in a transitional stage between the life of shepherds and that of farmers. Wealth consisted chiefly of flocks and herds, though nearly every freeman owned a little plot of land on which he cultivated grain and cared for his orchard and vineyard. There

were few skilled workmen, for almost everything was made at home. A separate class of traders had not yet arisen. Commerce was little followed. The Greeks depended on Phoenician sailors to bring to their shores the commodities which they could not produce themselves. Iron was known and used, for instance, in the manufacture of farm tools. During Homeric times, however, that metal had not yet displaced copper and bronze. [8]

SOCIAL LIFE

Social life was very simple. Princes tended flocks and built houses; princesses carried water and washed clothes. Agamemnon, Odysseus, and other heroes were not ashamed to be their own butchers and cooks. The Homeric knights did not ride on horseback, but fought from chariots. They sat at table instead of reclining at meals, as did the later Greeks. Coined money was unknown. Trade was by barter, values being reckoned in oxen or in lumps of gold and silver. Men bought their wives by making gifts of cattle to the parents. The art of writing is mentioned only once in the Homeric poems, and doubtless was little used.

[Illustration: A CRETAN CUPBEARER (Museum of Candia, Crete) A fresco painting from the palace of Gnossus. The youth carries a silver cup ornamented with gold. His waist is tightly drawn in by a girdle, his hair is dark and curly, his profile is almost classically Greek.]

LAW AND MORALITY

The times were rude. Wars, though petty, were numerous and cruel. The vanquished suffered death or slavery. Piracy, flourishing upon the unprotected seas, ranked as an honorable occupation. It was no insult to inquire of a seafaring stranger whether he was pirate or merchant. Murders were frequent. The murderer had to dread, not a public trial and punishment, but rather the personal vengeance of the kinsmen of his victim.

The Homeric Greeks, in fact, exhibited the usual defects and vices of barbarous peoples.

HOMERIC GEOGRAPHY

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* disclose a considerable acquaintance with peninsular Greece and the coasts of Asia Minor. Cyprus, Egypt, and Sicily are also known in part. The poet imagines the earth as a sort of flat shield, with Greece lying in the center. [9] The Mediterranean, "The Sea," as it is called by Homer, and its continuation, the Euxine, [10] divided the world into two equal parts. Surrounding the earth was "the great strength of the Stream of Ocean," [11] a river, broad and deep, beyond which lay the dark and misty realm of the mythical Cimmerians. The underworld of Hades, home of the dead, was beneath the surface of the earth.

[Illustration: Map, THE WORLD according to HOMER (900 B.C.)]

[Illustration: Map, GREEK CONQUESTS AND MIGRATIONS]

24. EARLY GREEK RELIGION

THE OLYMPIAN COUNCIL

We may learn from the Homeric poems what were the religious ideas held by the early Greeks. The greater gods and goddesses were not numerous. Less than a score everywhere received worship under the same names and in all the temples. Twelve of the chief deities formed a select council, which was supposed to meet on the top of snow-crowned Olympus. The Greeks, however, did not agree as to what gods and goddesses should be included in this august assemblage.

ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITIES

Many of the Olympian deities appear to have been simply personifications of natural phenomena. Zeus, "father of gods and men," as Homer calls him, was a heaven god, who gathered the clouds in storms and hurled the lightning bolt. Apollo, a mighty god of light, who warded off darkness and evil, became the ideal of manly beauty and the patron of music, poetry, and healing. Dionysus was worshiped as the god of sprouting and budding vegetation. Poseidon, brother of Zeus, ruled the sea. Hera, the wife of Zeus, represented the female principle in nature. Hence she presided over the life of women and especially over the sacred rites of marriage. Athena, who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, embodied the idea of wisdom and all womanly virtues. Aphrodite, who arose from the foam of the sea, was the goddess of love and beauty. Demeter, the great earth- mother, watched over seed-time and harvest. Each deity thus had a kingdom and a function of its own.

[Illustration: GREEK GODS AND GODDESSES
ZEUS OTRICOLI, Vatican Gallery, Rome
HERA, Ludovisi Villa, Rome
APOLLO OF THE BELVEDERE, Vatican Gallery, Rome
APHRODITE OF CNIDUS, Glyptothek, Munich]

[Illustration: THE APHRODITE OF MELOS (Louvre, Paris) More commonly known as the "Venus of Milo." The statue was discovered in 1820 A.D. on the island of Melos. It consists of two principal pieces joined together across the folds of the drapery. Most art critics date this work about 100 B.C. The strong serene figure of the goddess sets forth the Greek ideal of female loveliness.]

CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEITIES

The Greeks made their gods and goddesses after themselves. The Olympian divinities are really magnified men and women, subject to all

human passions and appetites, but possessed of more than human power and endowed with immortality. They enjoy the banquet, where they feast on nectar and ambrosia; they take part in the struggles of the battle field; they marry and are given in marriage. The gods, morally, were no better than their worshipers. They might be represented as deceitful, dissolute, and cruel, but they could also be regarded as upholders of truth and virtue. Even Homer could say, "Verily the blessed gods love not evil deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men." [12]

[Illustration: THE FRANÇOIS VASE (Archaeological Museum, Florence) Found in an Etruscan grave in 1844 A.D. A black-figured terra cotta vase of about 600 B.C. It is nearly three feet in height and two an one half feet in diameter. The figures on the vase depict scenes from Greek mythology.

Calydonian boar hunt
Games at the funeral of Patroclus
Peleus Thetis and the gods
Pursuit of Troilus by Achilles
Animal scenes, sphinxes, etc.]

IDEAS OF THE OTHER WORLD

Greek ideas of the other world were dismal to an extreme. The after-life in Hades was believed to be a shadowy, joyless copy of the earthly existence. In Hades the shade of great Achilles exclaims sorrowfully, "Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death. Rather would I live on earth as the hireling of another, even with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead." [13] It was not until several centuries after Homer that happier notions of the future life were taught, or at least suggested, in the Eleusinian mysteries. [14]

25. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS: ORACLES AND GAMES

ORACLE OF APOLLO AT DELPHI

The Greeks believed that communications from the gods were received from certain inspired persons at places called oracles. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi in Phocis enjoyed the utmost veneration. It lay within a deep cave on the rocky side of Mount Parnassus. Out of a chasm rose a volcanic vapor which had a certain intoxicating power. The Pythia, or prophetess of Apollo, sat on a tripod over the steaming cleft and inhaled the gas. The words she uttered in delirium were supposed to come from the god. They were taken down by the attendant priests, written out in verse, and delivered to the suppliants.

INQUIRIES AT THE ORACLE

The fame of Apollo as the patron of inspiration and prophecy spread throughout Greece and penetrated to foreign lands. Every year thousands of visitors made their way to Apollo's shrine. Sick men prayed for health, childless men prayed for offspring. Statesmen wished to learn the fate of their political schemes; ambassadors sent by kings and cities sought advice as to weighty matters of peace and war. Above all, colonists came to Delphi in order to obtain directions as to the best country in which to settle. Some of the noblest cities of the Greek world, Cyrene and Byzantium, for example, [15] had their sites fixed by Apollo's guidance.

[Illustration: CONSULTING THE ORACLE AT DELPHI]

CHARACTER OF THE RESPONSES

The priests who managed the oracle and its responses were usually able to give good advice to their inquirers, because news of every sort streamed into Delphi. When the priests were doubtful what answer to give, the

prophecy of the god was sometimes expressed in such ambiguous fashion that, whatever the outcome, neither Apollo nor his servants could be charged with deceit. For instance, when Croesus, the Lydian king, was about to attack Cyrus, he learned from the oracle that "if he warred with the Persians he would overthrow a mighty empire" [16]—but the mighty empire proved to be his own. [17]

THE OLYMPIAN GAMES

Athletic games were held in different parts of Greece from a remote period. The most famous games were those in honor of Zeus at Olympia in Elis. They took place every fourth year, in midsummer. [18] A sacred truce was proclaimed for an entire month, in order that the thousands of spectators from every part of Greece might arrive and depart in safety. No one not of Greek blood and no one convicted of crime or of the sin of impiety might participate in the contests. The candidates had also to prove that they were qualified for the severe tests by a long and hard training. Once accepted as competitors, they could not withdraw. The man who shrank back when the hour of trial arrived was considered a coward and was punished with a heavy fine.

THE CONTESTS

The games occupied five days, beginning with the contests in running. There was a short-distance dash through the length of the stadium, a quarter-mile race, and also a longer race, probably for two or three miles. Then followed a contest consisting of five events: the long jump, hurling the discus, throwing the javelin, running, and wrestling. It is not known how victory in these five events taken together was decided. In the long jump, weights like dumb-bells were held in the hands, the swing of the weights being used to assist the spring. The discus, which weighed about twelve pounds, was sometimes hurled more than one hundred feet. The

javelin was thrown either by the hand alone or with the help of a thong wound about the shaft and held in the fingers. In wrestling, three falls were necessary for a victory. The contestants were free to get their grip as best they could. Other contests included boxing, horse races, and chariot races. Women were apparently excluded from the games, yet they were allowed to enter horses for the races and to set up statues in honor of the victors.

[Illustration: THE DISCUS THROWER (DISCOBOLUS) (Lancelotti Palace, Rome) Marble copy of the bronze original by Myron, a sculptor of the fifth century B.C. Found in 1781 A.D. on the Esquiline Hill, Rome. The statue represents a young man, perhaps an athlete at the Olympian games, who is bending forward to hurl the discus. His body is thrown violently to the left with a twisting action that brings every muscle into play.]

THE VICTOR'S REWARD

The Olympian festival was profoundly religious, because the display of manly strength was thought to be a spectacle most pleasing to the gods. The winning athlete received only a wreath of wild olive at Olympia, but at home he enjoyed the gifts and veneration of his fellow-citizens. Poets celebrated his victories in noble odes. Sculptors reproduced his triumphs in stone and bronze. To the end of his days he remained a distinguished man.

[Illustration: HERMES AND DIONYSUS (Museum of Olympia) An original statue by the great sculptor, Praxiteles. It was found in 1877 A.D. at Olympia. Hermes is represented carrying the child Dionysus, whom Zeus had intrusted to his care. The symmetrical body of Hermes is faultlessly modeled; the poise of his head is full of dignity; his expression is refined and thoughtful. Manly strength and beauty have never been better embodied than in this work.]

[Illustration: ATHLETE USING THE STRIGIL (APOXYOMENUS) (Vatican Gallery,
Rome)

Marble copy of the bronze original by Lysippus, a sculptor of the fourth century B.C. The statue represents an athlete rubbing his arm with a flesh scraper to remove the oil and sand of the palestra, or exercising ground. His slender form suggests quickness and agility rather than great strength.]

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GAMES

There were few Greeks who at least once in their lives did not attend the festival. The crowds that gathered before and after the games turned the camp into a great fair, at which merchants set up their shops and money changers their tables. Poets recited their lines before admiring audiences and artists exhibited their masterpieces to intending purchasers. Heralds read treaties recently formed between Greek cities, in order to have them widely known. Orators addressed the multitude on subjects of general interest. The games thus helped to preserve a sense of fellowship among Greek communities.

26. THE GREEK CITY-STATE

NATURE OF THE CITY STATE

The Greeks in Homeric times had already begun to live in towns and cities. A Greek city, being independent and self-governing, is properly called a city-state. Just as a modern nation, it could declare war, arrange treaties, and make alliances with its neighbors. Such a city-state included not only the territory within its walls, but also the surrounding district where many of the citizens lived.

THE CITIZENS

The members of a Greek city-state were very closely associated. The citizens believed themselves to be descended from a common ancestor and so to be all related. They were united, also, in the worship of the patron god or hero who had them under his protection. These ties of supposed kinship and common religion were of the utmost importance. They made citizenship a privilege which came to a person only by birth, a privilege which he lost by removal to another city. Elsewhere he was only a foreigner without legal rights—a man without a country.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY-STATE

The Homeric poems, which give us our first view of the Greek city-state, also contain the most ancient account of its government. Each city-state had a king, "the shepherd of the people" [19] as Homer calls him. The king did not possess absolute authority. He was surrounded by a council of nobles, chiefly the great landowners of the community. They helped him in judgment and sacrifice, followed him to war, and filled the principal offices. Both king and nobles were obliged to consult the common people on matters of great importance. For this purpose the ruler would summon the citizens to the market place to hear the deliberations of his council and to settle such questions as making war or declaring peace. All men of free birth could attend the assembly, where they shouted assent to the decision of their leaders or showed disapproval by silence. This public assembly had little importance in the Homeric Age, but later it became the center of Greek democracy.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY-STATE

After the middle of the eighth century B.C., when historic times began in Greece, some interesting changes took place in the government of the city-

states. In some of them, for example, Thebes and Corinth, the nobles became strong enough to abolish the kingship altogether. Monarchy, the rule of one, thus gave away to aristocracy, [20] the rule of the nobles. In other states, for instance, Sparta and Argos, the kings were not driven out, but their power was much weakened. Some states came under the control of usurpers whom the Greeks called "tyrants." A tyrant was a man who gained supreme power by force and governed for his own benefit without regard to the laws. There were many tyrannies in the Greek world during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Still other states went through an entire cycle of changes from kingship to aristocracy, from aristocracy to tyranny, and from tyranny to democracy or popular rule.

SPARTA AND ATHENS AS TYPES OF THE CITY-STATE

The isolated and independent Greek communities thus developed at an early period many different kinds of government. To study them all would be a long task. It is better to fix our attention on the two city-states which held the principal place in Greek history and at the same time presented the most striking contrasts in government and social life. These were Sparta and Athens.

27. THE GROWTH OF SPARTA (TO 500 B.C.)

SPARTA AND THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

The Greek invaders who entered southern Greece, or the Peloponnesus, [21] were known as Dorians. They founded the city of Sparta, in the district of Laconia. By the close of the sixth century B.C. the Spartans were able to conquer their immediate neighbors and to organize some of the city-states of the Peloponnesus into a strong confederacy called the Peloponnesian League. The members of the league did not pay tribute, but they furnished

troops to serve in war under Spartan leaders, and they looked to Sparta for guidance and protection. Thus this single city became the foremost power in southern Greece.

SPARTA A MILITARY CAMP

It is clear that the Spartans must have been an extremely vigorous and warlike people. Their city, in fact, formed a military camp, garrisoned by soldiers whose whole life was passed in war and in preparation for war. The Spartans were able to devote themselves to martial pursuits because they possessed a large number of serfs, called helots. The helots tilled the lands of the Spartans and gave up to their masters the entire product of their labor, except what was necessary for a bare subsistence.

GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA

Spartan government also had a military character. In form the state was a kingdom, but since there were always two kings reigning at once and enjoying equal authority, neither of them could become very powerful. The real management of public affairs lay in the hands of five men, known as ephors, who were elected every year by the popular assembly. The ephors accompanied the kings in war and directed their actions; guided the deliberations of the council of nobles and the assembly of freemen; superintended the education of children; and exercised a general oversight of the private life of citizens. The ephors had such absolute control over the lives and property of the Spartans that we may describe their rule as socialistic and select Sparta as an example of ancient state socialism. Nowhere else in the Greek world was the welfare of the individual man so thoroughly subordinated to the interests of the society of which he formed a unit.

THE SPARTAN BOY

Spartan education had a single purpose—to produce good soldiers and obedient citizens. A sound body formed the first essential. A father was required to submit his son, soon after birth, to an inspection by the elders of his tribe. If they found the child puny or ill-shaped, they ordered it to be left on the mountain side, to perish from exposure. At the age of seven a boy was taken from his parents' home and placed in a military school. Here he was trained in marching, sham fighting, and gymnastics. He learned to sing warlike songs and in conversation to express himself in the fewest possible words. Spartan brevity of speech became proverbial. Above all he learned to endure hardship without complaint. He went barefoot and wore only a single garment, winter and summer. He slept on a bed of rushes. Every year he and his comrades had to submit to a flogging before the altar of the goddess Artemis, and the hero was the lad who could bear the whipping longest without giving a sign of pain. It is said that boys sometimes died under the lash rather than utter a cry. Such ordeals are still a feature of savage life to-day.

THE ADULT SPARTAN

On reaching the age of twenty the youth was considered a warrior. He did not live at home, but passed his time in barracks, as a member of a military mess to which he contributed his proper share of food, wine, and money. At the age of thirty years the young Spartan became a full citizen and a member of the popular assembly. He was then compelled to marry in order to raise children for the state. But marriage did not free him from attendance at the public meals, the drill ground, and the gymnasium. A Spartan, in fact, enjoyed little home life until his sixtieth year, when he became an elder and retired from actual service.

EXCELLENCE OF THE SPARTAN SOLDIERY

This exclusive devotion to military pursuits accomplished its object. The Spartans became the finest soldiers of antiquity. "All the rest of the Greeks," says an ancient writer, "are amateurs; the Spartans are professionals in the conduct of war." [22] Though Sparta never produced great thinkers, poets or artists, her military strength made her the bulwark of Greece against foreign foes. The time was to come when Greece, to retain her liberties, would need this disciplined Spartan soldiery. [23]

28. THE GROWTH OF ATHENS (to 500 B.C.)

ATHENS AS A CITY-STATE

The district of Attica, though smaller than our smallest American commonwealth, was early filled with a number of independent city-states. It was a great step in advance when, long before the dawn of Greek history, these tiny communities were united with Athens. The inhabitants of the Attic towns and villages gave up their separate governments and became members of the one city-state of Athens. Henceforth a man was a Athenian citizen, no matter in what part of Attica he lived.

OPPRESSIVE RULE OF THE NOBLES

At an earlier period, perhaps, than elsewhere in Greece, monarchy at Athens disappeared before the rising power of the nobles. The rule of the nobility bore harshly on the common people. Popular discontent was especially excited at the administration of justice. There were at first no written laws, but only the long-established customs of the community. Since all the judges were nobles, they were tempted to decide legal cases in favor of their own class. The people, at length, began to clamor for a written code. They could then know just what the laws were.

DRACO'S CODE, 621 B.C.

After much agitation an Athenian named Draco was employed to write out a code for the state. The laws, as published, were very severe. The penalty for most offenses, even the smallest theft, was death. The Athenians used to declare that the Draconian code had been written, "not in ink, but in blood." Its publication, however, was a popular triumph and the first step toward the establishment of Athenian democracy.

LEGISLATION OF SOLON, 594-593 B.C.

The second step was the legislation of Solon. This celebrated Athenian was accounted among the wisest men of his age. The people held him in high honor and gave him power to make much-needed reforms. At this time the condition of the Attic peasants was deplorable. Many of them had failed to pay their rent to the wealthy landowners, and according to the old custom were being sold into slavery. Solon abolished the custom and restored to freedom all those who had been enslaved for debt. He also limited the amount of land which a noble might hold. By still another law he admitted even the poorest citizens to the popular assembly, where they could vote for magistrates and judge of their conduct after their year of office was over. By giving the common people a greater share in the government, Solon helped forward the democratic movement at Athens.

TYRANNY OF PISISTRATUS, 560-527 B.C.

Solon's reforms satisfied neither the nobility nor the commons. The two classes continued their rivalry until the disorder of the times enabled an ambitious politician to gain supreme power as a tyrant. [24] He was Solon's own nephew, a noble named Pisistratus. The tyrant ruled with moderation and did much to develop the Athenian city-state. He fostered agriculture by dividing the lands of banished nobles among the peasants. His alliances with neighboring cities encouraged the rising commerce of Athens. The city

itself was adorned with handsome buildings by architects and sculptors whom Pisistratus invited to his court from all parts of Greece.

REFORMS OF CLISTHENES, 508-507 B.C.

Pisistratus was succeeded by his two sons, but the Athenians did not take kindly to their rule. Before long the tyranny came to an end. The Athenians now found a leader in a noble named Clisthenes, who proved to be an able statesman. He carried still further the democratic movement begun by Draco and Solon. One of his reforms extended Athenian citizenship to many foreigners and emancipated slaves ("freedmen") then living in Attica. This liberal measure swelled the number of citizens and helped to make the Athenians a more progressive people. Clisthenes, it is said, also established the curious arrangement known as ostracism. Every year, if necessary, the citizens were to meet in assembly and to vote against any persons whom they thought dangerous to the state. If as many as six thousand votes were cast, the man who received the highest number of votes had to go into honorable exile for ten years. [25] Though ostracism was intended as a precaution against tyrants, before long it came to be used to remove unpopular politicians.

ATHENS A DEMOCRATIC STATE

There were still some steps to be taken before the rule of the people was completely secured at Athens. But, in the main, the Athenians by 500 B.C. had established a truly democratic government, the first in the history of the world. The hour was now rapidly approaching when this young and vigorous democracy was to show forth its worth before the eyes of all Greece.

29. COLONIAL EXPANSION OF GREECE (ABOUT 750-500 B.C.)

THE GREAT AGE OF COLONIZATION

While Athens, Sparta, and their sister states were working out the problems of government, another significant movement was going on in the Greek world. The Greeks, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., began to plant numerous colonies along the shores of the Mediterranean and of the Black Sea. The great age of colonization covered more than two hundred years. [26]

REASONS FOR FOUNDING COLONIES

Several reasons led to the founding of colonies. Trade was an important motive. The Greeks, like the Phoenicians, [27] could realize large profits by exchanging their manufactured goods for the food and raw materials of other countries. Land hunger was another motive. The poor soil of Greece could not support many inhabitants and, when population increased, emigration afforded the only means of relieving the pressure of numbers. A third motive was political and social unrest. Greek cities at this period contained many men of adventurous disposition who were ready to seek in foreign countries a refuge from the oppression of nobles or tyrants. They hoped to find in their new settlements more freedom than they had at home.

CHARACTER OF THE GREEK COLONY

A Greek colony was not simply a trading post; it was a center of Greek life. The colonists continued to be Greeks in customs, language, and religion. Though quite independent of the parent state, they always regarded it with reverence and affection: they called themselves "men away from home." Mother city and daughter colony traded with each other and in time of danger helped each other. A symbol of this unity was the sacred fire carried from the public hearth of the old community to the new settlement.

COLONIZATION IN THE NORTH AND EAST

The Greeks planted many colonies on the coast of the northern Aegean and on both sides of the long passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Their most important colony was Byzantium, upon the site where Constantinople now stands. They also made settlements along the shores of the Black Sea. The cities founded here were centers from which the Greeks drew their supplies of fish, wood, wool, grain, metals, and slaves. The immense profits to be gained by trade made the Greeks willing to live in a cold country so unlike their own and among barbarous peoples.

COLONIZATION IN THE WEST

The western lands furnished far more attractive sites for colonization. The Greeks could feel at home in southern Italy, where the genial climate, pure air, and sparkling sea recalled their native land. At a very early date they founded Cumae, on the coast just north of the bay of Naples. Emigrants from Cumae, in turn, founded the city of Neapolis (Naples), which in Roman times formed a home of Greek culture and even to-day possesses a large Greek population. To secure the approaches from Greece to these remote colonies, two strongholds were established on the strait of Messina: Regium (modern Reggio) on the Italian shore and Messana (modern Messina) on that of Sicily. Another important colony in southern Italy was Tarentum (modern Taranto).

[Illustration: "TEMPLE OF NEPTUNE," PAESTUM Paestum, the Greek Poseidonia, was a colony of Sybaris The malarial atmosphere of the place led to its desertion in the ninth century of our era. Hence the buildings there were not used as quarries for later structures. The so called "Temple of Neptune" at Paestum is one of the best preserved monuments of antiquity.]

THE SICILIAN COLONIES

Greek settlements in Sicily were mainly along the coast. Expansion over the entire island was checked by the Carthaginians, who had numerous possessions at its western extremity. The most celebrated colony in Sicily was Syracuse, established by emigrants from Corinth. It became the largest of Greek cities.

OTHER MEDITERRANEAN COLONIES

In Corsica, Sardinia, and on the coast of Spain Carthage also proved too obstinate a rival for the Greeks to gain much of a foothold. The city of Massilia (Marseilles), at the mouth of the Rhone, was their chief settlement in ancient Gaul. Two colonies on the southern shore of the Mediterranean were Cyrene, west of Egypt, and Naucratis, in the Delta of the Nile. From this time many Greek travelers visited Egypt to see the wonders of that strange old country.

RESULTS OF COLONIZATION

Energetic Greeks, the greatest colonizers of antiquity, thus founded settlements from the Black Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. "All the Greek colonies" says an ancient writer, "are washed by the waves of the sea, and, so to speak, a fringe of Greek earth is woven on to foreign lands." [28] To distinguish themselves from the foreigners, or "barbarians," [29] about them, the Greeks began to call themselves by the common name of Hellenes. Hellas, their country, came to include all the territory possessed by Hellenic peoples. The life of the Greeks, henceforth, was confined no longer within the narrow limits of the Aegean. Wherever rose a Greek city, there was a scene of Greek history.

30. BONDS OF UNION AMONG THE GREEKS

LANGUAGE AS A UNIFYING FORCE

The Greek colonies, as we have seen, were free and independent. In Greece itself the little city-states were just as jealous of their liberties. Nevertheless ties existed, not of common government, but of common interests and ideals, which helped to unite the scattered sections of the Greek world. The strongest bond of union was, of course, the one Greek speech. Everywhere the people used the same beautiful and expressive language. It is not a "dead" language, for it still lives in modified form on the lips of nearly three million people in the Greek peninsula, throughout the Mediterranean, and even in remote America.

LITERATURE AS UNIFYING FORCE; HOMER

Greek literature, likewise, made for unity. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were recited in every Greek village for centuries. They formed the principal textbook in the schools; an Athenian philosopher calls Homer the "educator of Hellas." It has been well said that these two epics were at once the Bible and the Shakespeare of the Greek people.

RELIGION AS A UNIFYING FORCE; AMPHICTYONIES

Religion formed another bond of union. Everywhere the Greeks worshiped the same gods and performed the same sacred rites. Religious influences were sometimes strong enough to bring about federations known as amphictyonies, or leagues of neighbors. The people living around a famous sanctuary would meet to observe their festivals in common and to guard the shrine of their divinity. The Delphic amphictyony was the most noteworthy of these local unions. It included twelve tribes and cities of central Greece and Thessaly. They established a council, which took the shrine of Apollo under its protection and superintended the athletic games at Delphi.

A NEW AGE

The seventh and sixth centuries before Christ form a noteworthy epoch in Greek history. Commerce and colonization were bringing their educating influence to bear upon the Greeks. Hellenic cities were rising everywhere along the Mediterranean shores. A common language, literature, and religion were making the people more and more conscious of their unity as opposed to the "barbarians" about them.

THE GREEK WORLD, 500 B.C.

Greek history has now been traced from its beginnings to about 500 B.C. It is the history of a people, not of one country or of a united nation. Yet the time was drawing near when all the Greek communities were to be brought together in closer bonds of union than they had ever before known.

STUDIES

1. On the map facing page 66 see what regions of Europe are less than 500 feet above sea level; less than 3000 feet; over 9000 feet.

2. Why was Europe better fitted than Asia to develop the highest civilization? Why not so well fitted as Asia to originate civilization?

3. "The tendency of mountains is to separate, of rivers to unite, adjacent peoples." How can you justify this statement by a study of European geography?

4. Why has the Mediterranean been called a "highway of nations"?

5. Locate on the map several of the natural entrances into the basin of the Mediterranean.

6. At what points is it probable that southern Europe and northern Africa were once united?

7. Compare the position of Crete in relation to Egypt with that of Sicily in relation to the north African coast.

8. Why was the island of Cyprus a natural meeting place of Egyptian, Syrian, and Greek peoples?

9. What modern countries are included within the limits of the Balkan peninsula?

10. Describe the island routes across the Aegean (map between pages 68-69).

11. What American states lie in about the same latitude as Greece?

12. Compare the boundaries of ancient Greece with those of the modern kingdom.

13. What European countries in physical features closely resemble Greece? What state of our union?

14. Why is Greece in its physical aspects "the most European of European lands"?

15. What countries of Greece did not touch the sea?

16. Tell the story of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*.

17. Explain the following terms: oracle; amphictyony; helot; Hellas; Olympiad; and ephors.

18. Give the meaning of our English words "ostracism" and "oracular."

19. Explain the present meaning and historical origin of the following expressions: "a Delphic response"; "Draconian severity"; "a laconic speech."

20. What is the date of the first recorded Olympiad? of the expulsion of the last tyrant of Athens?

21. Describe the Lions' Gate (illustration, page 70) and the François Vase (illustration, page 77).

22. Compare Greek ideas of the future life with those of the Babylonians.

23. Why has the Delphic oracle been called "the common hearth of Hellas"?

24. What resemblances do you discover between the Olympian festival and one of our great international expositions?

25. Define and illustrate these terms: monarchy; aristocracy; tyranny; democracy.

26. Why are the earliest laws always unwritten?

27. What differences existed between Phoenician and Greek colonization?

28. Why did the colonies, as a rule, advance more rapidly than the mother country in wealth and population?

29. What is the origin of the modern city of Constantinople? of Marseilles? of Naples? of Syracuse in Sicily?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter iii, "Early Greek Society as Pictured in the Homeric Poems"; chapter iv, "Stories from Greek Mythology"; chapter v, "Some Greek Tyrants"; chapter vi, "Spartan Education and Life."

[2] See pages 16-17.

[3] For the island routes see the map between pages 68-69.

[4] See page 42.

[5] See the illustration, page 10.

[6] See the plate facing page 70.

[7] See pages 29, 48.

[8] See page 5.

[9] See the map, page 76.

[10] The Greek name of the Black Sea.

[11] *Iliad*, xviii, 607.

[12] *Odyssey*, xiv, 83-84.

[13] *Odyssey*, xi, 488-491.

[14] See page 227.

[15] See pages 88,90.

[16] Herodotus, i, 53.

[17] See page 37.

[18] The first recorded celebration occurred in 776 B.C. The four-year period between the games, called an Olympiad, became the Greek unit for determining dates. Events were reckoned as taking place in the first, second, third, or fourth year of a given Olympiad.

[19] *Iliad*, ii, 243.

[20] *Aristocracy* means, literally, the "government of the best." The Greeks also used the word *oligarchy*—"rule of the few"—to describe a government by citizens who belong to the wealthy class.

[21] "Pelops's island," a name derived from a legendary hero who settled in southern Greece.

[22] Xenophon, *Polity of the Lacedaemonians*, 13.

[23] The Spartans believed that their military organization was the work of a great reformer and law-giver named Lycurgus. He was supposed to have lived early in the ninth century B.C. We do not know anything about Lycurgus, but we do know that some existing primitive tribes, for instance, the Masai of East Africa, have customs almost the same as those of ancient Sparta. Hence we may say that the rude, even barbarous, Spartans only carried over into the historic age the habits of life which they had formed in prehistoric times.

[24] See page 82.

[25] The name of an individual voted against was written on a piece of pottery (Greek *ostrakon*), whence the term *ostracism*. See the illustration, page 97.

[26] See the map facing page 50.

[27] See page 49.

[28] Cicero, *De republica*, ii, 4.

[29] Greek *barbaroi*, "men of confused speech."

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT AGE OF THE GREEK REPUBLICS TO 362 B.C. [1]

31. THE PERILS OF HELLAS

ASIATIC GREEKS CONQUERED BY CROESUS

The history of the Greeks for many centuries had been uneventful—a history of their uninterrupted expansion over barbarian lands. But now the time was approaching when the independent and isolated Greek communities must meet the attack of the great despotic empires of Asia. The Greek cities of Asia Minor were the first part of the Hellenic world to be involved. Their conquest by the Lydian king, Croesus, about the middle of the sixth century B.C., showed how grave was the danger to Greek independence from the ambitious designs of Oriental monarchs.

CONQUESTS OF CYRUS AND CAMBYSES

As we have already learned, Croesus himself soon had to submit to a foreign overlord, in the person of Cyrus the Great. The subjugation of Lydia and the Greek seaboard by Cyrus extended the Persian Empire to the Mediterranean. The conquest of Phoenicia and Cyprus by Cambyses added the Phoenician navy to the resources of the mighty empire. Persia had now become a sea power, able to cope with the Greeks on their own element.

The subjection of Egypt by the same king led naturally to the annexation of the Greek colonies on the north African shore. The entire coast of the eastern Mediterranean had now come under the control of a new, powerful, and hostile state.

[Illustration: CROESUS ON THE PYRE Painting on an Athenian vase of about 490 B.C. According to the legend Cyrus the Great, having made Croesus prisoner, intended to burn him on a pyre. But the god Apollo, to whose oracle at Delphi Croesus had sent rich gifts, put out the blaze by a sudden shower of rain. The vase painting represents the Lydian king sitting enthroned upon the pyre, with a laurel wreath on his head and a scepter in one hand. With the other hand he pours a libation. He seems to be performing a religious rite, not to be suffering an ignominious death.]

[Illustration: PERSIAN ARCHERS (Louvre, Paris) A frieze of enameled brick from the royal palace at Susa. It is a masterpiece of Persian art and shows the influence of both Assyrian and Greek design. Each archer carries a spear, in addition to the bow over the left shoulder and the quiver on the back. These soldiers probably served as palace guards, hence the fine robes worn by them.]

CONQUESTS OF DARIUS

The accession of Darius to the Persian throne only increased the dangers that overshadowed Hellas. He aimed to complete the work of Cyrus and Cambyses by extending the empire wherever a natural frontier had not been reached. Accordingly, about 512 B.C., Darius invaded Europe with a large army, annexed the Greek colonies on the Hellespont (the modern Dardanelles), and subdued the wild tribes of Thrace and Macedonia. The Persian dominions now touched those of the Greeks. [2]

[Illustration: Map, GREECE at opening of the PERSIAN WARS 400 B.C.]

THE IONIAN REVOLT, 499-493 B.C.

Not long after this European expedition of Darius, the Ionian cities of Asia Minor revolted against the Persians. Unable to face their foes single-handed, they sought aid from Sparta, then the chief military power of Greece. The Spartans refused to take part in the war, but the Athenians, who realized the menace to Greece in the Persian advance, sent ships and men to fight for the Ionians. Even with this help the Ionian cities could not hold out against the vast resources of the Persians. One by one they fell again into the hands of the Great King.

32. EXPEDITIONS OF DARIUS AGAINST GREECE

FIRST EXPEDITION, 492 B.C.

No sooner was quiet restored in Asia Minor than Darius began preparations to punish Athens for her part in the Ionian Revolt. The first expedition under the command of Mardonius, the son-in-law of the Persian monarch, was a failure. Mardonius never reached Greece, because the Persian fleet, on which his army depended for provisions, was wrecked off the promontory of Mount Athos.

SECOND EXPEDITION, 490 B.C.

Darius did not abandon his designs, in consequence of the disaster. Two years later a second fleet, bearing a force of perhaps sixty thousand men, set out from Ionia for Greece. Datis and Artaphernes, the Persian leaders, sailed straight across the Aegean and landed on the plain of Marathon, twenty-six miles from Athens.

[Illustration: GRAVESTONE OF ARISTON (National Museum, Athens)
Found near Marathon in 1838 A.D. Belongs to the late sixth century B.C.
Incorrectly called the "Warrior of Marathon"]

BATTLE OF MARATHON, 490 B.C.

The situation of the Athenians seemed desperate. They had scarcely ten thousand men with whom to face an army far larger and hitherto invincible. The Spartans promised support, but delayed sending troops at the critical moment. Better, perhaps, than a Spartan army was the genius of Miltiades, one of the Athenian generals. Relying on Greek discipline and Greek valor to win the day, he decided to take the offensive. His heavy armed soldiers made a smashing charge on the Persians and drove them in confusion to their ships. Datis and Artaphernes then sailed back to Asia with their errand of vengeance unfulfilled.

[Illustration: GREEK SOLDIERS IN ARMS
Painting on a Greek vase]

POLICIES OF ARISTIDES AND THEMISTOCLES

After the battle of Marathon the Athenians began to make preparations to resist another Persian invasion. One of their leaders, the eminent Aristides, thought that they should increase their army and meet the enemy on land. His rival, Themistocles, urged a different policy. He would sacrifice the army to the navy and make Athens the strongest sea power in Greece. The safety of Athens, he argued, lay in her ships. In order to settle the question the opposing statesmen were put to the test of ostracism. [3] The vote went against Aristides, who was obliged to withdraw into exile. Themistocles, now master of the situation, persuaded the citizens to use the revenues from some silver mines in Attica for the upbuilding of a fleet. When the Persians

came, the Athenians were able to oppose them with nearly two hundred triremes [4]—the largest navy in Greece.

33. XERXES AND THE GREAT PERSIAN WAR

PREPARATIONS OF PERSIA

"Ten years after Marathon," says a Greek historian, "the 'barbarians' returned with the vast armament which was to enslave Hellas." [5] Darius was now dead, but his son Xerxes had determined to complete his task. Vast quantities of provisions were collected; the Hellespont was bridged with boats; and the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, where a previous fleet had suffered shipwreck, was pierced with a canal. An army of several hundred thousand men was brought together from all parts of the Great King's domain. He evidently intended to crush the Greeks by sheer weight of numbers.

[Illustration: A THEMISTOCLES OSTRAKON (British Museum, London) A fragment of a potsherd found in 1897 A.D., near the Acropolis of Athens. This ostrakon was used to vote for the ostracism of Themistocles, either in 483 B.C. when he was victorious against Aristides, or some ten years later, when Themistocles was himself defeated and forced into exile.]

GREEK PREPARATIONS

Xerxes did not have to attack a united Greece. His mighty preparations frightened many of the Greek states into yielding, when Persian heralds came to demand "earth and water," the customary symbols of submission. Some of the other states, such as Thebes, which was jealous of Athens, and Argos, equally jealous of Sparta, did nothing to help the loyal Greeks throughout the struggle. But Athens and Sparta with their allies remained

joined for resistance to the end. Upon the suggestion of Themistocles a congress of representatives from the patriotic states assembled at the isthmus of Corinth in 481 B.C. Measures of defense were taken, and Sparta was put in command of the allied fleet and army.

BATTLE OF THERMOPYLAE, 480 B.C.

The campaigns of the Great Persian War have been described, once for all, in the glowing pages of the Greek historian, Herodotus. [6] Early in the year 480 B.C. the Persian host moved out of Sardis, crossed the Hellespont, and advanced to the pass of Thermopylae, commanding the entrance to central Greece. This position, one of great natural strength, was held by a few thousand Greeks under the Spartan king, Leonidas. For two days Xerxes hurled his best soldiers against the defenders of Thermopylae, only to find that numbers did not count in that narrow defile. There is no telling how long the handful of Greeks might have kept back the Persian hordes, had not treachery come to the aid of the enemy. A traitor Greek revealed to Xerxes the existence of an unfrequented path, leading over the mountain in the rear of the pass. A Persian detachment marched over the trail by night and took up a position behind the Greeks. The latter still had time to escape, but three hundred Spartans and perhaps two thousand allies refused to desert their post. While Persian officers provided with whips lashed their unwilling troops to battle, Leonidas and his men fought till spears and swords were broken, and hands and teeth alone remained as weapons. Xerxes at length gained the pass—but only over the bodies of its heroic defenders. Years later a monument to their memory was raised on the field of battle. It bore the simple inscription: "Stranger, go tell the Spartans that we lie here in obedience to their commands." [7]

AFTER THERMOPYLAE

After the disaster at Thermopylae nearly all the states of central Greece submitted to the Persians. They marched rapidly through Boeotia and Attica to Athens, but found a deserted city. Upon the advice of Themistocles the non-combatants had withdrawn to places of safety, and the entire fighting force of Athens had embarked on the ships. The Athenian fleet took up a position in the strait separating the island of Salamis from Attica and awaited the enemy. [8]

BATTLE OF SALAMIS, 480 B.C.

The battle of Salamis affords an interesting example of naval tactics in antiquity. The trireme was regarded as a missile to be hurled with sudden violence against the opposing ship, in order to disable or sink it. A sea fight became a series of maneuvers; and victory depended as much on the skill of the rowers and steersmen as on the bravery of the soldiers. The Persians at Salamis had many more ships than the Greeks, but Themistocles rightly believed that in the narrow strait their numbers would be a real disadvantage to them. Such proved to be the case. The Persians fought well, but their vessels, crowded together, could not navigate properly and even wrecked one another by collision. After an all-day contest what remained of their fleet withdrew from the strait.

[Illustration: AN ATHENIAN TRIREME (Reconstruction) A trireme is supposed to have had three tiers or banks of oars, placed one above the other. Each tier thus required an oar about a yard longer than the one immediately beneath it. There were about two hundred rowers on a trireme.]

AFTER SALAMIS

The victory at Salamis had important results. It so crippled the Persians that henceforth they lost command of the sea. Xerxes found it difficult to

keep his men supplied with provisions and at once withdrew with the larger part of his force to Asia. The Great King himself had no heart for further fighting, but he left Mardonius, with a strong body of picked troops, to subjugate the Greeks on land. So the real crisis of the war was yet to come.

BATTLES OF PLATAEA AND MYCALE, 479 B.C.

Mardonius passed the winter quietly in Thessaly, preparing for the spring campaign. The Greeks in their turn made a final effort. A strong Spartan army, supported by the Athenians and their allies, met the Persians near the little town of Plataea in Boeotia. Here the heavy-armed Greek soldiers, with their long spears, huge shields, and powerful swords, easily overcame the enormous masses of the enemy. The success at Plataea showed how superior to the Persians were the Greeks in equipment, leadership, and fighting power. At the same time as this battle the remainder of the Persian fleet suffered a crushing defeat at Mycale, a promontory off the Ionian coast. These two battles really ended the war. Never again was Persia to make a serious effort to secure dominion over Continental Greece.

VICTORIUS HELLAS

The Great Persian War was much more than a conflict between two rival states. It was a struggle between East and West; between Oriental despotism and Occidental individualism. On the one side were all the populous, centralized countries of Asia; on the other side, the small, disunited states of Greece. In the East was the boundless wealth, in men and money, of a world-wide empire. In the West were the feeble resources of a few petty communities. Nevertheless Greece won. The story of her victory forms an imperishable record in the annals of human freedom.

34. ATHENS UNDER THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, AND CIMON

THEMISTOCLES AND THE FORTIFICATIONS OF ATHENS

After the battle of Plataea the Athenians, with their wives and children, returned to Attica and began the restoration of their city, which the Persians had burned. Their first care was to raise a wall so high and strong Athens in future would be impregnable to attack. Upon the suggestion of Themistocles it was decided to include within the fortifications a wide area where all the country people, in case of another invasion, could find a refuge. Themistocles also persuaded the Athenians to build a massive wall on the land side of Piraeus, the port of Athens. That harbor town now became the center of Athenian industry and commerce.

ARISTIDES AND THE DELIAN LEAGUE, 477 B.C.

While the Athenians were rebuilding their city, important events were taking place in the Aegean. After the battle of Mycale the Greek states in Asia Minor and on the islands once more rose in revolt against the Persians. Aided by Sparta and Athens, they gained several successes and removed the immediate danger of another Persian attack. It was clearly necessary, however, for the Greek cities in Asia Minor and the Aegean to remain in close alliance with the Continental Greeks, if they were to preserve their independence. Under the guidance of Aristides, the old rival of Themistocles, [9] the allies formed a union known as the Delian League.

[Illustration: "THESEUM" An Athenian temple formerly supposed to have been constructed by Cimon to receive the bones of the hero Theseus. It is now believed to have been a temple of Hephaestus and Athena erected about 440 B.C. The 'Theseum' owes its almost perfect preservation to the fact that during the Middle Ages it was used as a church.]

CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE

The larger cities in the league agreed to provide ships and crews for a fleet, while the smaller cities were to make their contributions in money. Athens assumed the presidency of the league, and Athenian officials collected the revenues, which were placed in a treasury on the island of Delos. As head of this new federation Athens now had a position of supremacy in the Aegean like that which Sparta enjoyed in the Peloponnesus. [10]

CIMON AND THE WAR AGAINST PERSIA

The man who succeeded Themistocles and Aristides in leadership of the Athenians was Cimon, son of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon. While yet a youth his gallantry at the battle of Salamis gained him a great reputation, and when Aristides introduced him to public life the citizens welcomed him gladly. He soon became the head of the aristocratic or conservative party in the Athenian city. To Cimon the Delian League entrusted the continuation of the war with Persia. The choice was fortunate, for Cimon had inherited his father's military genius. No man did more than he to humble the pride of Persia. As the outcome of Cimon's successful campaigns the southern coast of Asia Minor was added to the Delian League, and the Greek cities at the mouth of the Black Sea were freed from the Persian yoke. Thus, with Cimon as its leader, the confederacy completed the liberation of the Asiatic Greeks.

THE DELIAN LEAGUE BECOMES SUBJECT TO ATHENS, ABOUT 454 B.C.

While the Greeks were gaining these victories, the character of the Delian League was being transformed. Many of the cities, instead of furnishing ships, had taken the easier course of making all their contributions in money. The change really played into the hands of Athens, for the tribute enabled the Athenians to build the ships themselves and add them to their own navy. They soon had a fleet powerful enough to coerce

any city that failed to pay its assessments or tried to withdraw from the league. Eventually the common treasure was transferred from Delos to Athens. The date of this event (454 B.C.) may be taken as marking the formal establishment of the Athenian naval empire.

DECLINE OF CIMON'S INFLUENCE

Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies viewed with growing jealousy the rapid rise of Athens. As long, however, as Cimon remained at the head of Athenian affairs, there was little danger of a break with Sparta. He desired his city to keep on good terms with her powerful neighbor: Athens should be mistress of the seas, and Sparta should be mistress on the mainland. A contest between them, Cimon foresaw, would work lasting injury to all Greece. Cimon's pro-Spartan attitude brought him, however, into disfavor at Athens, and he was ostracized. New men and new policies henceforth prevailed in the Athenian state.

35. ATHENS UNDER PERICLES

PERICLES

The ostracism of Cimon deprived the aristocrats of their most prominent representative. It was possible for the democratic or liberal party to assume complete control of public affairs. Pericles, their leader and champion, was a man of studious habits. He never appeared on the streets except when walking between his house and the popular assembly or the market place, kept rigidly away from dinners and drinking bouts, and ruled his household with strict economy that he might escape the suspicion of enriching himself at the public expense. He did not speak often before the people, but came forward only on special occasions; and the rarity of his utterances gave them added weight. Pericles was a thorough democrat, but he used none of

the arts of the demagogue. He scorned to flatter the populace. His power over the people rested on his majestic eloquence, on his calm dignity of demeanor, and above all on his unselfish devotion to the welfare of Athens.

[Illustration: PERICLES (British Museum, London) The bust is probably a good copy of a portrait statue set up during the lifetime of Pericles on the Athenian Acropolis. The helmet possibly indicates the office of General held by Pericles.]

AGE OF PERICLES, 461-429 B.C.

The period, about thirty years in length, between the ostracism of Cimon and the death of Pericles, forms the most brilliant epoch in Greek history. Under the guidance of Pericles the Athenian naval empire reached its widest extent. Through his direction Athens became a complete democracy. Inspired by him the Athenians came to manifest that love of knowledge, poetry, art, and all beautiful things which, even more than their empire or their democracy, has made them famous in the annals of mankind. The Age of Pericles affords, therefore, a convenient opportunity to set forth the leading features of Athenian civilization in the days of its greatest glory.

ATHENIAN IMPERIALISM

Athens under Pericles ruled more than two hundred towns and cities in Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean Sea. [11] The subjects of Athens, in return for the protection that she gave them against Persia, owed many obligations. They paid an annual tribute and furnished soldiers in time of war. In all legal cases of importance the citizens had to go to Athens for trial by Athenian courts. The Delian communities, in some instances, were forced to endure the presence of Athenian garrisons and officers. To the Greeks at large all this seemed nothing less than high-handed tyranny. Athens, men felt, had built up an empire on the ruins of Hellenic liberty.

NATURE OF THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

If the Athenians possessed an empire, they themselves were citizens of a state more democratic than any other that has existed, before or since, in the history of the world. They had now learned how unjust was the rule of a tyrant or of a privileged class of nobles. They tried, instead, to afford every one an opportunity to make the laws, to hold office, and to administer justice. Hence the Athenian popular assembly and law courts were open to all respectable citizens. The offices, also, were made very numerous—fourteen hundred in all—so that they might be distributed as widely as possible. Most of them were annual, and some could not be held twice by the same person. Election to office was usually by lot. This arrangement did away with favoritism and helped to give the poor man a chance in politics, as well as the man of wealth or noble birth.

THE ASSEMBLY

The center of Athenian democracy was the Assembly. Its membership included every citizen who had reached twenty years of age. Rarely, however, did the attendance number more than five thousand, since most of the citizens lived outside the walls in the country districts of Attica. Forty regular meetings were held every year. These took place on the slopes of the hill called the Pnyx. A speaker before the Assembly faced a difficult audience. It was ready to yell its disapproval of his advice, to mock him if he mispronounced a word, or to drown his voice with shouts and whistles. Naturally, the debates became a training school for orators. No one could make his mark in the Assembly who was not a clear and interesting speaker. Voting was by show of hands, except in cases affecting individuals, such as ostracism, when the ballot was used. Whatever the decision of the Assembly, it was final. This great popular gathering settled questions of war and peace, sent out military and naval expeditions, voted public

expenditures, and had general control over the affairs of Athens and the empire.

[Illustration: AN ATHENIAN INSCRIPTION
A decree of the Assembly, dating from about 450 B.C.]

THE TEN GENERALS

The Assembly was assisted in the conduct of public business by many officers and magistrates, among whom the Ten Generals held the leading place. It was their duty to guide the deliberations of the Assembly and to execute the orders of that body.

THE JURY COURTS

There was also a system of popular jury courts composed of citizens selected by lot from the candidates who presented themselves. The number of jurors varied; as many as a thousand might serve at an important trial. A court was both judge and jury, it decided by majority vote; and from its decision lay no appeal. Before these courts public officers accused of wrong-doing were tried; disputes between different cities of the empire and other important cases were settled; and all ordinary legal business affecting the Athenians themselves was transacted. Thus, even in matters of law, the Athenian government was completely democratic.

STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

Democracy then, reached its height in ancient Athens. The people ruled, and they ruled directly. Every citizen had some active part in politics. Such a system worked well in the management of a small city-state like Athens. But if the Athenians could govern themselves, they proved unable to govern an empire with justice and wisdom. There was no such thing as

representation in their constitution. The subject cities had no one to speak for them in the Assembly or before the jury courts. We shall notice the same absence of a representative system in republican Rome. [12]

SYSTEM OF STATE PAY

A large number of Athenians were relieved from the necessity of working for themselves through the system of state pay introduced by Pericles. Jurors, soldiers, and sailors received money for their services. Later, in the fourth century, citizens accepted fees for attending the Assembly. These payments, though small, enabled poor citizens to devote much time to public duties.

INDUSTRIAL ATHENS

Athens contained many skilled workmen whose daily tasks gave them scant opportunity to engage in the exciting game of politics. The average rate of wages was very low. In spite of cheap food and modest requirements for clothing and shelter, it must have been difficult for the laborer to keep body and soul together. Outside of Athens, in the country districts of Attica, lived the peasants whose little farms produced the olives, grapes, and figs for which Attica was celebrated.

SLAVERY

There were many thousands of slaves in Athens and Attica at this period. Their number was so great and their labor so cheap that we may think of them as taking the place of modern machines. It was the slaves who did most of the work on the large estates owned by wealthy men, who toiled in the mines and quarries, and who served as oarsmen on the ships. The system of slavery enabled many an Athenian to live a life of leisure, but it lowered the dignity of labor and tended to prevent the rise of the poorer

citizens to positions of responsibility. In Greece, as in the Orient, [13] slavery cast its blight over free industry.

COMMERCIAL ATHENS

The Athenian city was now the chief center of Greek commerce. [14] "The fruits of the whole earth," said Pericles, "flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other Commercial countries as freely as of our own." [15] Exports of Athens wine and olive oil, pottery, metal wares, and objects of art were sent out from Piraeus [16] to every region of the Mediterranean. The imports from the Black Sea region, Thrace, and the Aegean included such commodities as salt, dried fish, wool, timber, hides, and, above all, great quantities of wheat. Very much as modern England, Athens was able to feed all her people only by bringing in food from abroad. To make sure that in time of war there should be no interruption of food supplies, the Athenians built the celebrated Long Walls, between the city and its port of Piraeus. (See the map below) Henceforth they felt secure from attack, as long as their navy ruled the Aegean.

[Illustration: Map, THE VICINITY OF ATHENS]

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL ATHENS

In the days of her prosperity Athens began to make herself not only a strong, but also a beautiful, city. The temples and other structures which were raised on the Acropolis during the Age of Pericles still excite, even in their ruins, the envy and wonder of mankind. [17] Athens at this time was also the center of Greek intellectual life. In no other period of similar length have so many admirable books been produced. No other epoch has given birth to so many men of varied and delightful genius. The greatest poets, historians, and philosophers of Greece were Athenians, either by birth or

training. As Pericles himself said in a noble speech, Athens was "the school of Hellas." [18]

36. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431-404 B.C.

INEVITABLENESS OF THE WAR

The brilliant Age of Pericles had not come to an end before the two chief powers in the Hellenic world became involved in a deadly war. It would seem that Athens and Sparta, the one supreme upon the sea, the other at the head of the Peloponnesus, might have avoided a struggle which was sure to be long and costly. But Greek cities were always ready to fight one another. When Athens and Sparta found themselves rivals for the leadership of Greece, it was easy for the smouldering fires of distrust and jealousy to flame forth into open conflict. "And at that time," says Thucydides, the Athenian historian who described the struggle, "the youth of Sparta and the youth of Athens were numerous; they had never seen war, and were therefore very willing to take up arms." [19]

[Illustration: Map, GREECE at Opening of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR 431 B.C.]

[Illustration: THE "MOURNING ATHENA" (Acropolis Museum, Athens) A tablet of Pentelic marble. Athena, leaning on her spear, is gazing with downcast head at a grave monument.]

ORIGIN OF THE WAR

The conflict was brought on by Corinth, one of the leading members of the Peloponnesian League and, next to Athens, the most important commercial power in Greece. She had already seen her once-profitable trade in the Aegean monopolized by Athens. That energetic city was now

reaching out for Corinthian commerce in Italian and Sicilian waters. When the Athenians went so far as to interfere in a quarrel between Corinth and her colony of Corcyra, even allying themselves with the latter city, the Corinthians felt justly resentful and appealed to Sparta for aid. The Spartans listened to their appeal and, with the apparent approval of the Delphic oracle which assured them "that they would conquer if they fought with all their might," [20] declared war.

RESOURCES OF THE CONTESTANTS

The two antagonists were fairly matched. The one was strong where the other was weak. Sparta, mainly a continental power, commanded all the Peloponnesian states except Argos and Achaea, besides some of the smaller states of central Greece. Athens, mainly a maritime power, ruled all the subject cities of the Aegean. The Spartans possessed the most formidable army then in the world, but lacked money and ships. The Athenians had a magnificent navy, an overflowing treasury, and a city impregnable to direct attack. It seemed, in fact, as if neither side could seriously injure the other.

FIRST STAGE OF THE WAR, 431-421 B.C.

The war began in 431 B.C. Its first stage was indecisive. The Athenians avoided a conflict in the open field with the stronger Peloponnesian army, which ravaged Attica. They were crippled almost at the outset of the struggle by a terrible plague among the refugees from Attica, crowded behind the Long Walls. The pestilence slew at least one-fourth of the inhabitants of Athens, including Pericles himself. After ten years of fighting both sides grew weary of the war and made a treaty of peace to last for fifty years.

THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION, 415-413 B.C.

Not long after the conclusion of peace the Athenians were persuaded by a brilliant and ambitious politician, named Alcibiades, to undertake an expedition against Syracuse in Sicily. This city was a colony of Corinth, and hence was a natural ally of the Peloponnesian states. The Athenians, by conquering it, expected to establish their power in Sicily. But the siege of Syracuse ended in a complete failure. The Athenians failed to capture the city, and in a great naval battle they lost their fleet. Then they tried to retreat by land, but soon had to surrender. Many of the prisoners were sold as slaves; many were thrown by their inhuman captors into the stone quarries near Syracuse, where they perished from exposure and starvation. The Athenians, says Thucydides, "were absolutely annihilated—both army and fleet—and of the many thousands who went away only a handful ever saw their homes again." [21]

[Illustration: A SILVER COIN OF SYRACUSE The profile of the nymph Arethusa has been styled the most exquisite Greek head known to us.]

LAST STAGE OF THE WAR 413-404 B.C.

Athens never recovered from this terrible blow. The Spartans quickly renewed the contest, now with the highest hopes of success. The Athenians had to guard their city against the invader night and day; their slaves deserted to the enemy; and they themselves could do no farming except under the walls of the city. For supplies they had to depend entirely on their ships. For nearly ten years, however, the Athenians kept up the struggle. At length the Spartans captured an Athenian fleet near Aegospotami on the Hellespont. Soon afterwards they blockaded Piraeus and their army encamped before the walls of Athens. Bitter famine compelled the Athenians to sue for peace. The Spartans imposed harsh terms. The Athenians were obliged to destroy their Long Walls and the fortifications of

Piraeus, to surrender all but twelve of their warships, and to acknowledge the supremacy of Sparta.

37. THE SPARTAN AND THEBAN SUPREMACIES, 404-362 B.C.

SPARTAN DESPOTISM

Sparta was now the undisputed leader of Continental Greece and of the Aegean. As the representative of the liberty-loving Greeks she had humbled the pride and power of "tyrant" Athens. A great opportunity lay before her to reorganize the Hellenic world and to end the struggles for supremacy between rival cities. But Sparta entered upon no such glorious career. She had always stood as the champion of aristocracy against democracy, and now in her hour of triumph she began to overturn every democratic government that still existed in Greece. The Greek cities soon found they had exchanged the mild sway of Athens for the brutal despotism of Sparta.

THE FREEING OF THEBES 379 B.C.

But Spartan despotism provoked resistance. It was the Boeotian city of Thebes which raised the standard of revolt. Some of the liberty-loving Thebans, headed by Pelopidas, a patriotic noble, formed a conspiracy to drive the Spartans out of the city. Disguised as huntsmen, Pelopidas and his followers entered Thebes at nightfall, killed the tyrants whom Sparta had set over the people, and forced the Spartan garrison to surrender.

BATTLE OF LEUCTRA, 371 B.C.

The Thebans had now recovered their independence. Eight years later they totally defeated a superior Peloponnesian force at the battle of Leuctra and brought the supremacy of Sparta to an end. This engagement from a military standpoint is one of the most interesting in ancient history.

Epaminondas, the skilful Theban commander, massed his best troops in a solid column, fifty men deep, and hurled it with terrific force against the Spartan ranks. The enemy, drawn up twelve men deep in the customary formation, could not withstand the impact of the Theban column; their lines gave way, and the fight was soon won. The battle destroyed once for all the legend of Spartan invincibility.

PELOPIDAS AND EPAMINONDAS

The sudden rise of Thebes to the position of the first city in Greece was the work of two men whose names are always linked together in the annals of the time. In Pelopidas and Epaminondas, bosom friends and colleagues, Thebes found the heroes of her struggle for independence. Pelopidas was a fiery warrior whose bravery and daring won the hearts of his soldiers. Epaminondas was both an able general and an eminent statesman. No other Greek, save perhaps Pericles, can be compared with him. Even Pericles worked for Athens alone and showed no regard for the rest of Greece. Epaminondas had nobler ideals and sought the general good of the Hellenic race. He fought less to destroy Sparta than to curb that city's power of doing harm. He aimed not so much to make Thebes mistress of an empire as to give her a proper place among Greek cities. The Thebans, indeed, sometimes complained that Epaminondas loved Hellas more than his native city.

BATTLE OF MANTINEA, 362 B.C.

By crippling Sparta, Epaminondas raised Thebes to a position of supremacy. Had he been spared for a longer service, Epaminondas might have realized his dream of bringing unity and order into the troubled politics of his time. But circumstances were too strong for him. The Greek states, which had accepted the leadership of Athens and Sparta, were unwilling to admit the claims of Thebes to a position of equal power and

importance. The period of Theban rule was filled, therefore, with perpetual conflict. Nine years after Leuctra Epaminondas himself fell in battle at Mantinea in the Peloponnesus, and with his death ended the brief glory of Thebes.

38. DECLINE OF THE CITY-STATE

WEAKNESS OF CITY-STATES

The battle of Mantinea proved that no single city—Athens, Sparta, or Thebes—was strong enough to rule Greece. By the middle of the fourth century B.C. it had become evident that a great Hellenic power could the not be created out of the little, independent city-states of Greece.

A RECORD OF ALMOST CEASELESS CONFLICT

The history of Continental Hellas for more than a century after the close of the Persian War had been a record of almost ceaseless conflict. We have seen how Greece came to be split up into two great alliances, the one a naval league ruled by Athens, the other a confederacy of Peloponnesian cities under the leadership of Sparta. How the Delian League became the Athenian Empire; how Sparta began a long war with Athens to secure the independence of the subject states and ended it by reducing them to her own supremacy; how the rough-handed sway of Sparta led to the revolt of her allies and dependencies and the sudden rise of Thebes to supremacy; how Thebes herself established an empire on the ruins of Spartan rule— this is a story of fruitless and exhausting struggles which sounded the knell of Greek liberty and the end of the city-state.

THE FUTURE

Far away in the north, remote from the noisy conflicts of Greek political life, a new power was slowly rising to imperial greatness—no insignificant city-state, but an extensive territorial state like those of modern times. Three years after the battle of Mantinea Philip II ascended the throne of Macedonia. He established Hellenic unity by bringing the Hellenic people within a widespread empire. Alexander the Great, the son of this king, carried Macedonian dominion and Greek culture to the ends of the known world. To this new period of ancient history we now turn.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the principal places mentioned in this chapter.

2. On an outline map indicate the Athenian allies and dependencies and those of Sparta at the opening of the Peloponnesian War.

3. What do you understand by a "decisive" battle? Why has Marathon been considered such a battle?

4. Why did Xerxes take the longer route through Thrace, instead of the shorter route followed by Datis and Artaphernes?

5. What was the importance of the Phoenician fleet in the Persian invasions?

6. What reasons can be given for the Greek victory in the struggle against Persia?

7. Distinguish between a confederacy and an empire.

8. Compare the relations of the Delian subject cities to Athens with those of British colonies, such as Canada and Australia, to England.

9. What do you understand by representative government?

10. If the Athenian Empire could have rested on a representative basis, why would it have been more likely to endure?

11. How far can the phrase "government of the people, by the people, for the people" be applied to the Athenian democracy?

12. Did the popular assembly of Athens have any resemblance to a New England town meeting?

13. Compare the Athenian jury system with that of England and the United States.

14. The Athenian democracy of the time of Pericles has been described as a *pure* democracy and not, like the American, as a *representative* democracy. In what lies the difference?

15. Can you suggest any objections to the system of state pay introduced by Pericles? To what extent do we employ the same system under our government?

16. What conditions of the time help to explain the contempt of the Greeks for money-making?

17. Trace on the map, page 107, the Long Walls of Athens.

18. Why has the Peloponnesian War been called an "irrepressible conflict"? Why has it been called the "suicide of Greece"?

19. What states of the Greek mainland were neutral in the Peloponnesian War (map facing page 108)?

20. Contrast the resources of the contending parties. Where was each side weak and where strong?

21. Why was the tyranny of Sparta more oppressive than that of Athens?

22. What were the reasons for the failure of the Athenian, Spartan, and Theban attempts at empire?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter vii, "Xerxes and the Persian Invasion of Greece"; chapter viii, "Episodes from the Peloponnesian War"; chapter ix, "Alcibiades the Athenian"; chapter x, "The Expedition of the Ten Thousand"; chapter xi, "The Trial and Death of Socrates."

[2] See the map facing page 38.

[3] See page 87.

[4] See the illustration, page 99.

[5] Thucydides, i, 18.

[6] See page 272.

[7] Herodotus, vii, 228.

[8] See the map on page 107.

[9] See page 96.

[10] See page 83.

[11] See the map facing page 108.

[12] See page 155.

[13] See page 44.

[14] The commercial importance of Athens is indicated by the general adoption of her monetary standard by the other Greek states. (For illustrations of Greek coins see the plate facing page 134.)

[15] Thucydides, ii, 38.

[16] See the map, page 107.

[17] For a description of ancient Athens, see pages 288-292.

[18] Thucydides, ii, 41.

[19] Thucydides, ii, 8.

[20] Thucydides, i, 118.

[21] Thucydides, vii, 87.

CHAPTER VI

MINGLING OF EAST AND WEST AFTER 359 B.C. [1]

39. PHILIP AND THE RISE OF MACEDONIA

MACEDONIA AND THE MACEDONIANS

The land of Macedonia, lying to the north of Greece, for a long time had been an inconspicuous part of the ancient world. Its people, though only partially civilized, were Greeks in blood and language. No doubt they formed an offshoot of those northern invaders who had entered the Balkan peninsula before the dawn of history. The Macedonian kings, from the era of the Persian wars, seized every opportunity of spreading Greek culture throughout their realm. By the middle of the fourth century B.C., when Philip II ascended the throne, the Macedonians were ready to take a leading place in the Greek world.

[Illustration: PHILIP II
From a gold medallion struck by Alexander]

PHILIP'S AIMS

Philip of Macedonia, one of the most remarkable men of antiquity, was endowed with a vigorous body, a keen mind, and a resolute will. He was no stranger to Greece and its ways. Part of his boyhood had been passed as a

hostage at Thebes in the days of Theban glory. His residence there gave him an insight into Greek politics and taught him the art of war as it had been perfected by Epaminondas. In the distracted condition of Greece, worn out by the rivalries of contending cities, Philip saw the opportunity of his own country. He aimed to secure for Macedonia the position of supremacy which neither Athens, Sparta, nor Thebes had been able to maintain.

THE MACEDONIAN ARMY

Philip's most important achievement was the creation of the Macedonian army, which he led to the conquest of Greece and which his son was to lead to the conquest of the World. Taking a hint from the tactics of Epaminondas, Philip trained his infantry to fight by columns, but with sufficient intervals between the files to permit quick and easy movements. Each man bore an enormous lance, eighteen feet in length. When this heavy phalanx was set in array, the weapons carried by the soldiers in the first five ranks presented a bristling thicket of lance-points, which no onset, however determined, could penetrate. The business of the phalanx was to keep the front of the foe engaged, while horsemen rode into the enemy's flanks. This reliance on masses of cavalry to win a victory was something new in warfare. Another novel feature consisted in the use of engines called catapults, able to throw darts and huge stones three hundred yards, and of battering rams with force enough to hurl down the walls of cities. All these different arms working together made a war machine of tremendous power —the most formidable in the ancient world until the days of the Roman legion.

CONQUESTS OF PHILIP

Philip commanded a fine army; he ruled with absolute sway a territory larger than any other Hellenic state; and he himself possessed a genius for both war and diplomacy, With such advantages the Macedonian king

entered on the subjugation of disunited Greece. His first great success was won in western Thrace. Here he founded the city of Philippi [2] and seized some rich gold mines, the income from which enabled him to keep his soldiers always under arms, to fit out a fleet, and, by means of liberal bribes, to hire a crowd of agents in nearly every Greek city. Philip next made Macedonia a maritime state by subduing the Greek cities on the peninsula of Chalcidice. [3] He also appeared in Thessaly, occupied its principal fortresses, and brought the frontier of Macedonia as far south as the pass of Thermopylae.

40. DEMOSTHENES AND THE END OF GREEK FREEDOM

DEMOSTHENES, 384-322 B.C.

Philip for many years had been steadily extending his sway over Greece. In the face of his encroachments would Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, so long the leading cities, submit tamely to this Macedonian conqueror? There was one man, at least, who realized the menace to Greek freedom from Philip's onward march. In Demosthenes Greece found a champion of her threatened liberties.

[Illustration: DEMOSTHENES (Vatican Museum, Rome) A marble statue, probably a copy of the bronze original by the sculptor Polyeuctus. The work, when found, was considerably mutilated and has been restored in numerous parts. Both forearms and the hands holding the scroll are modern additions. It seems likely that the original Athenian statue showed Demosthenes with tightly clasped hands, which, with his furrowed visage and contracted brows, were expressive of the orator's earnestness and concentration of thought.]

DEMOSTHENES AS AN ORATOR AND A PATRIOT

Demosthenes was the last, as well as the most famous, of the great Athenian orators. When he first began to speak, the citizens laughed at his long, involved sentences, over-rapid delivery, and awkward bearing. Friends encouraged him to persist, assuring him that, if the manner of his speeches was bad, their matter was worthy of Pericles. Numerous stories are told of the efforts made by Demosthenes to overcome his natural defects. He practiced gesturing before a mirror and, to correct a stammering pronunciation, recited verses with pebbles in his mouth. He would go down to the seashore during storms and strive to make his voice heard above the roar of wind and waves, in order the better to face the boisterous Assembly. Before long he came to be regarded as the prince of speakers even in the city of orators. Demosthenes was a man cast in the old heroic mold. His patriotic imagination had been fired by the great deeds once accomplished by free Greeks. Athens he loved with passionate devotion. Let her remember her ancient glories, he urged, and, by withstanding Philip, become the leader of Hellas in a second war for liberty.

LAST STRUGGLE OF THE GREEKS

The stirring appeals of the great orator at first had little effect. There were many friends of Philip in the Greek states, even in Athens itself. When, however, Philip entered central Greece and threatened the independence of its cities, the eloquence of Demosthenes met a readier response. In the presence of the common danger Thebes and Athens gave up their ancient rivalry and formed a defensive alliance against Philip. Had it been joined by Sparta and the other Peloponnesian states, it is possible that their united power might have hurled back the invader. But they held aloof.

BATTLE OF CHAERONEA, 338 B.C.

The decisive battle was fought at Chaeronea in Boeotia. On that fatal field the well-drilled and seasoned troops of Macedonia, headed by a master

of the art of war, overcame the citizen levies of Greece. The Greeks fought bravely, as of old, and their defeat was not inglorious. Near the modern town of Chaeronea the traveler can still see the tomb where the fallen heroes were laid, and the marble lion set up as a memorial to their dauntless struggle.

PHILIP'S POLICY AS A CONQUEROR

Chaeronea gave Philip the undisputed control of Greece. But now that victory was assured, he had no intention of playing the tyrant. He compelled Thebes to admit a Macedonian garrison to her citadel, but treated Athens so mildly that the citizens were glad to conclude with him a peace which left their possessions untouched. Philip entered the Peloponnesus as a liberator. Its towns and cities welcomed an alliance with so powerful a protector against Sparta.

CONGRESS AT CORINTH, 337 B.C.

Having completely realized his design of establishing Macedonian rule over Greece, Philip's restless energy drove him forward to the next step in his ambitious program. He determined to carry out the plans, so long cherished by the Greeks, for an invasion of Asia Minor and, perhaps, of Persia itself. In the year 337 B.C. a congress of all the Hellenic states met at Corinth under Philip's presidency. The delegates voted to supply ships and men for the great undertaking and placed Philip in command of the allied forces. A Macedonian king was to be the captain-general of Hellas.

DEATH OF PHILIP, 336 B.C.

But Philip was destined never to lead an army across the Hellespont. Less than two years after Chaeronea he was killed by an assassin, and the scepter passed to his young son, Alexander.

[Illustration: ALEXANDER (Glyptothek, Munich)
Probably an authentic portrait of the youthful Alexander about 338 B.C.]

41. ALEXANDER THE GREAT

THE YOUTHFUL ALEXANDER

Alexander was only twenty years of age when he became ruler of Macedonia. From his father he inherited the powerful Frame, the kingly figure, the masterful will, which made so deep an impression on all his contemporaries. His mother, a proud and ambitious woman, told him that the blood of Achilles ran in his veins, and bade him emulate the deeds of that national hero. We know that he learned the *Iliad* by heart and always carried a copy of it on his campaigns. As he came to manhood, Alexander developed into a splendid athlete, skillful in all the sports of his rough-riding companions, and trained in every warlike exercise.

EDUCATION OF ALEXANDER BY ARISTOTLE

Philip believed that in Alexander he had a worthy son, for he persuaded Aristotle, [4] the most learned man in Greece, to become the tutor of the young prince. The influence of that philosopher remained with Alexander throughout life. Aristotle taught him to love Greek art and science, and instilled into his receptive mind an admiration for all things Grecian. Alexander used to say that, while he owed his life to his father, he owed to Aristotle the knowledge of how to live worthily.

ALEXANDER CRUSHES REBELLION

The situation which Alexander faced on his accession might well have dismayed a less dauntless spirit. Philip had not lived long enough to unite firmly his wide dominions. His unexpected death proved the signal for

uprisings and disorder. The barbarous Thracians broke out in widespread rebellion, and the Greeks made ready to answer the call of Demosthenes to arms. But Alexander soon set his kingdom in order. After crushing the tribes of Thrace, he descended on Greece and besieged Thebes, which had risen against its Macedonian garrison. The city was soon captured; its inhabitants were slaughtered or sold into slavery; and the place itself was destroyed. The terrible fate of Thebes induced the other states to submit without further resistance.

SEEMING STRENGTH OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

With Greece pacified, Alexander could proceed to the invasion of Persia. Since the days of Darius the Great the empire had remained almost intact—a huge, loosely-knit collection of many different peoples, whose sole bond of union was their common allegiance to the Great King. [5] Its resources were enormous. There were millions of men for the armies and untold wealth in the royal treasuries. Yet the empire was a hollow shell.

EXPEDITION OF THE "TEN THOUSAND," 401-400 B.C.

Some seventy years before Alexander set forth on his expedition the Greeks had witnessed a remarkable disclosure of the military weakness of Persia. One of those rare revolts which troubled the security of the Persian Empire broke out in Asia Minor. It was headed by Cyrus the Younger, a brother of the Persian monarch. Cyrus gathered a large body of native troops and also hired about ten thousand Greek soldiers. He led this mixed force into the heart of the Persian dominions, only to fall in battle at Cunaxa, near Babylon. The Greeks easily routed the enemy arrayed against them, but the death of Cyrus made their victory fruitless. In spite of their desperate situation the Greeks refused to surrender and started to return homewards. The Persians dogged their footsteps, yet never ventured on a pitched battle. After months of wandering in Assyria and Armenia the little

band of intrepid soldiers finally reached Trapezus, (Modern Trebizond) a Greek city on the Black Sea.

[Illustration: Map, ROUTE OF THE TEN THOUSAND]

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXPEDITION

The story of this invasion of Persia and the subsequent retreat was written by the Athenian Xenophon [6] in his *Anabasis*. It is one of the most interesting books that have come down to us from antiquity. We can judge from it how vivid was the impression which the adventures of the "Ten Thousand" made on the Greeks of Xenophon's time. A small army had marched to the center of the Persian dominions, had overcome a host many times its size, and had returned to Greece in safety. It was clear proof that the Persian power, however imposing on the outside, could offer no effective resistance to an attack by a strong force of disciplined Greek soldiers. Henceforth the Greeks never abandoned the idea of an invasion of Persia.

ALEXANDER'S INVASION

The gigantic task fell, however, to Alexander, as the champion of Hellas against the "barbarians." With an army of less than forty thousand men Alexander destroyed an empire before which, for two centuries, all Asia had been wont to tremble. History, ancient or modern, contains no other record of conquests so widespread, so thorough, so amazingly rapid.

42. CONQUEST OF PERSIA AND THE FAR EAST, 334-323 B.C.

BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS, 334 B.C.

Alexander crossed the Hellespont in the spring of the year 334 B.C. He landed not far from the historic plain of Troy and at once began his march along the coast. Near the little river Granicus the satraps of Asia Minor had gathered an army to dispute his passage. Alexander at once led his cavalry across the river in an impetuous charge, which soon sent the Persian troops in headlong flight. The victory cost the Macedonians scarcely a hundred men; but it was complete. As Alexander passed southward, town after town opened its gates—first Sardis, next Ephesus, then all the other cities of Ionia. They were glad enough to be free of Persian control. Within a year Asia Minor was a Macedonian possession.

BATTLE OF ISSUS, 333 B.C.

In the meantime Darius III, the Persian king, had been making extensive preparations to meet the invader. He commanded half a million men, but he followed Alexander too hastily and had to fight in a narrow defile on the Syrian coast between the mountains and the sea. In such cramped quarters numbers did not count. The battle became a massacre, and only the approach of night stayed the swords of the victorious Macedonians. A great quantity of booty, including the mother, wife, and children of Darius, fell into Alexander's hands. He treated his royal captives kindly, but refused to make peace with the Persian king.

[Illustration: THE ALEXANDER MOSAIC (Naples Museum) This splendid mosaic composed of pieces of colored glass formed the pavement of a Roman house at Pompeii in Italy. It represents the charge of Alexander (on horseback at the left) against the Persian king in his chariot, at the battle of Issus.]

CAPTURE OF TYRE, 332 B.C.

The next step was to subdue the Phoenician city of Tyre, the headquarters of Persia's naval power. The city lay on a rocky island, half a mile from the shore. Its fortifications rose one hundred feet above the waves. Although the place seemed impregnable, Alexander was able to capture it after he had built a mole, or causeway, between the shore and the island. Powerful siege engines then breached the walls, the Macedonians poured in, and Tyre fell by storm. Thousands of its inhabitants perished and thousands more were sold into slavery. The great emporium of the East became a heap of ruins.

ALEXANDER IN EGYPT

From Tyre Alexander led his ever-victorious army through Syria into Egypt. The Persian forces here offered little resistance, and the Egyptians themselves welcomed Alexander as a deliverer. The conqueror entered Memphis in triumph and then sailed down the Nile to its western mouth, where he laid the foundations of Alexandria, a city which later became the metropolis of the Orient.

ALEXANDER IN LIBYA

Another march brought Alexander to the borders of Libya, Here he received the submission of Cyrene, the most important Greek colony in Africa. [7] Alexander's dominions were thus extended to the border of the Carthaginian possessions. It was at this time that Alexander visited a celebrated temple of the god Amon, located in an oasis of the Libyan desert. The priests were ready enough to hail him as a son of Amon, as one before whom his Egyptian subjects might bow down and adore. But after Alexander's death his worship spread widely over the world, and even the Roman Senate gave him a place among the gods of Olympus.

BATTLE OF ARBELA, 331 B.C.

The time had now come to strike directly at the Persian king. Following the ancient trade routes through northern Mesopotamia, Alexander crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris and, on a broad plain not far from the ruins of ancient Nineveh, [8] found himself confronted by the Persian host. Darius held an excellent position and hoped to crush his foe by sheer weight of numbers. But nothing could stop the Macedonian onset; once more Darius fled away, and once more the Persians, deserted by their king, broke up in hopeless rout.

END OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

The battle of Arbela decided the fate of the Persian Empire. It remained only to gather the fruits of victory. The city of Babylon surrendered without a struggle. Susa, with its enormous treasure, fell into the conqueror's hands. Persepolis, the old Persian capital, was given up to fire and sword. [9] Darius himself, as he retreated eastward, was murdered by his own men. With the death of Darius the national war of Greece against Persia came to an end.

CONQUEST OF IRAN

The Macedonians had now overrun all the Persian provinces except distant Iran and India. These countries were peopled of by warlike tribes of a very different stamp from the effeminate Persians. Alexander might well have been content to leave them undisturbed, but the man could never rest while there were still conquests to be made. Long marches and much hard fighting were necessary to subdue the tribes about the Caspian and the inhabitants of the countries now known as Afghanistan and Turkestan.

[Illustration: Map, EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT About 323 B.C.]

CONQUEST OF INDIA

Crossing the lofty barrier of the Hindu-Kush, Alexander led his weary soldiers into northwestern India, where a single battle added the Persian province of the Punjab [10] to the Macedonian possessions. Alexander then pressed forward to the conquest of the Ganges valley, but in the full tide of victory his troops refused to go any farther. They had had their fill of war and martial glory; they would conquer no more lands for their ambitious king. Alexander gave with reluctance the order for the homeward march.

ALEXANDER'S RETURN TO BABYLON

Alexander was of too adventurous a disposition to return by the way he had come. He resolved to reach Babylon by a new route. He built a navy on the Indus and had it accompany the army down the river. At the mouth of the Indus Alexander dispatched the fleet under his admiral, Nearchus, to explore the Indian Ocean and to discover, if possible, a sea route between India and the West. He himself led the army, by a long and toilsome march through the deserts of southern Iran, to Babylon. That city now became the capital of the Macedonian Empire.

DEATH OF ALEXANDER, 323 B.C.

Scarcely two years after his return, while he was planning yet more extensive conquests in Arabia, Africa, and western Europe, he was smitten by the deadly Babylonian fever. In 323 B.C., after several days of illness, the conqueror of the world passed away, being not quite thirty- three years of age.

43. THE WORK OF ALEXANDER

ALEXANDER AS WARRIOR AND STATESMAN

Alexander the Great was one of the foremost, perhaps the first, of the great captains of antiquity. But he was more than a world-conqueror; he was a statesman of the highest order. Had he been spared for an ordinary lifetime, there is no telling how much he might have accomplished. In eleven years he had been able to subdue the East and to leave an impress upon it which was to endure for centuries. And yet his work had only begun. There were still lands to conquer, cities to build, untrodden regions to explore. Above all, it was still his task to shape his possessions into a well-knit, unified empire, which would not fall to pieces in the hands of his successors. His early death was a calamity, for it prevented the complete realization of his splendid ambitions.

HELLENIZING OF THE ORIENT

The immediate result of Alexander's conquests was the disappearance of the barriers which had so long shut in the Orient. The East, until his day, was an almost unknown land. Now it lay open to the spread of Greek civilization. In the wake of the Macedonian armies followed Greek philosophers and scientists, Greek architects and artists, Greek colonists, merchants, and artisans. Everywhere into that huge, inert, unprogressive Oriental world came the active and enterprising men of Hellas. They brought their arts and culture and became the teachers of those whom they had called "barbarians."

FUSION OF EAST AND WEST

The ultimate result of Alexander's conquests was the fusion of East and West. He realized that his new empire must contain a place for Oriental, as well as for Greek and East and Macedonian, subjects. It was Alexander's aim, therefore, to build up a new state in which the distinction between the European and the Asiatic should gradually pass away. He welcomed Persian nobles to his court and placed them in positions of trust. He organized the

government of his provinces on a system resembling that of Darius the Great. [11] He trained thousands of Persian soldiers to replace the worn-out veterans in his armies. He encouraged by liberal dowries mixed marriages between Macedonians and Orientals, and himself wedded the daughter of the last Persian king. To hold his dominions together and provide a meeting place for both classes of his subjects, he founded no less than seventy cities in different parts of the empire. Such measures as these show that Alexander had a mind of wide, even cosmopolitan, sympathies. They indicate the loss which ancient civilization suffered by his untimely end.

[Illustration: SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDON (Imperial Ottoman Museum,
Constantinople.)

One of eighteen splendid sarcophagi discovered in 1887 A.D. in an ancient cemetery at Sidon. The sculptures on the longer sides represent two scenes from the life of Alexander—the one a battle, the other a lion hunt. The figures, in almost full relief, are delicately painted.]

44. HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS AND CITIES

THE THREE GREAT KINGDOMS

The half century following Alexander's death is a confused and troubled period in ancient history. The king had left no legitimate son—no one with an undisputed title to the succession. On his deathbed Alexander had himself declared that the realm should go "to the strongest." [12] It was certain, under these circumstances, that his possessions would become the prey of the leading Macedonian generals. The unwieldy empire at length broke in pieces. Out of the fragments arose three great states, namely, Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria. The kingdom of Egypt was ruled by Ptolemy,

one of Alexander's generals. Seleucus, another of his generals, established the kingdom of Syria. It comprised nearly all western Asia. These kingdoms remained independent until the era of Roman conquest in the East.

[Illustration: A GREEK CAMEO (Museum, Vienna) Cut in sardonyx. Represents Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and his wife Arsinoë.]

MINOR INDEPENDENT STATES

Several small states also arose from the break-up of Alexander's empire. [13] Each had its royal dynasty, its capital city, and its own national life. Thus the conquests of Alexander, instead of establishing a world- power under one ruler, led to the destruction of the unity of government which Persia had given to the East.

CITY LIFE IN THE ORIENT

More significant for the history of civilization than these kingdoms were the Hellenistic [14] cities, which from the time of Alexander arose in every part of the eastern world. Some were only garrison towns in the heart of remote provinces or outposts along the frontiers. Many more, however, formed busy centers of trade and industry, and became seats of Greek influence in the Orient. Such cities were quite unlike the old Greek city-states. [15] They were not free and independent, but made a part of the kingdom in which they were situated. The inhabitants consisted of Greeks and Macedonians, comprising the governing class, together with native artisans and merchants who had abandoned their village homes for life in a metropolis. In appearance, also, these cities contrasted with those of old Greece. They had broad streets, well paved and sometimes lighted at night, enjoyed a good water supply, and possessed baths, theaters, and parks.

ALEXANDRIA

In the third century B.C. the foremost Hellenistic city was Alexandria. It lay on a strip of flat, sandy land separating Lake Mareotis from the Mediterranean. On the one side was the lake-harbor, connected with the Nile; on the other side were two sea-harbors, sheltered from the open sea by the long and narrow island of Pharos. [16] The city possessed a magnificent site for commerce. It occupied the most central position that could be found in the ancient world with respect to the three continents, Africa, Asia, and Europe. The prosperity which this port has enjoyed for more than two thousand years is ample evidence of the wisdom which led to its foundation.

ANTIOCH

The chief city in the kingdom of Syria was splendid and luxurious Antioch. It lay in the narrow valley of the Orontes River, so close to both the Euphrates and the Mediterranean that it soon became an important commercial center. The city must have been a most delightful residence, with its fine climate, its location on a clear and rapid stream, and the near presence of the Syrian hills. In the sixth century A.D. repeated earthquakes laid Antioch in ruins. The city never recovered its prosperity, though a modern town, Antakia, still marks the site of the once famous capital.

[Illustration: Map, THE KINGDOMS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS (About 200
B.C.), Before the Roman Macedonian Wars]

[Illustration: THE DYING GAUL (Capitoline Museum, Rome) The statue represents a Gaul who in battle has fallen on his sword to avoid a shameful captivity. Overcome by the faintness of death he sinks upon his shield, his head dropping heavily forward. Though realistic the statue shows nothing violent or revolting. It is a tragedy in stone.]

PERGAMUM

Asia Minor, during this period, contained many Hellenistic cities. One of the most important was Pergamum, the capital of a small but independent kingdom of the same name. Its rulers earned the gratitude of all the Greeks by their resistance to the terrible Gauls. About fifty years after Alexander's death this barbarous people, pouring down from central Europe, had ravaged Greece and invaded Asia Minor. The kings of Pergamum celebrated their victories over the Gauls with so many works of architecture and sculpture that their city became the artistic rival of Athens.

RHODES

One other great Hellenistic center existed in the island city of Rhodes. Founded during the closing years of the Peloponnesian War, Rhodes soon distanced Athens in the race for commercial supremacy. The merchants of Rhodes framed admirable laws, especially for business affairs, and many of these were incorporated in the Roman code. Rhodes was celebrated for art. No less than three thousand statues adorned the streets and public buildings. It was also a favorite place of education for promising orators and writers. During Roman days many eminent men, Cicero and Julius Caesar among them, studied oratory at Rhodes.

45. THE HELLENISTIC AGE

HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

These splendid cities in the Orient were the centers of much literary activity. Their inhabitants, whether Hellenic or "barbarian," used Greek as a common language. During this period Greek literature took on a cosmopolitan character. It no longer centered in Athens. Writers found their audiences in all lands where Greeks had settled. At the same time literature

became more and more an affair of the study. The authors were usually professional bookmen writing for a bookish public. They produced many works of literary criticism, prepared excellent grammars and dictionaries, but wrote very little poetry or prose of enduring value.

THE MUSEUM AT ALEXANDRIA

The Hellenistic Age was distinguished as an age of learning. Particularly was this true at Alexandria, where the Museum, founded by the first Macedonian king of Egypt, became a real university. It contained galleries of art, an astronomical observatory, and even zoological and botanical gardens. The Museum formed a resort for men of learning, who had the leisure necessary for scholarly research. The beautiful gardens, with their shady walks, statues, and fountains, were the haunt of thousands of students whom the fame of Alexandria attracted from all parts of the civilized world.

THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY

In addition to the Museum there was a splendid library, which at one time contained over five hundred thousand manuscripts—almost everything that had been written in antiquity. The chief librarian ransacked private collections and purchased all the books he could find. Every book that entered Egypt was brought to the Library, where slaves transcribed the manuscript and gave a copy to the owner in place of the original. Before this time the manuscripts of celebrated works were often scarce and always in danger of being lost. Henceforth it was known where to look for them.

[Illustration: LAOCOON AND HIS CHILDREN (Vatican Museum Rome) A product of the art school of Rhodes (about 150 B.C.). The statue represents the punishment inflicted on Laocoon a Trojan priest together with his two sons. A pair of large serpents sent by the offended gods have seized the unhappy victims.]

[Illustration: VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE (Louvre, Paris) Commemorates a naval battle fought in 306 B.C. The statue, which is considerably above life-size, stood on a pedestal having the form of a ship's prow. The goddess of Victory was probably represented holding a trumpet to her lips with her right hand. The fresh ocean breeze has blown her garments back into tumultuous folds.]

SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES

The Hellenistic Age was remarkable for the rapid advance of scientific knowledge. Most of the mathematical works of the Greeks date from this epoch. Euclid wrote a treatise on geometry which still holds its place in the schools. Archimedes of Syracuse, who had once studied at Alexandria, made many discoveries in engineering. A water screw of his device is still in use. He has the credit for finding out the laws of the lever. "Give me a fulcrum on which to rest," he said, "and I will move the earth." The Hellenistic scholars also made remarkable progress in medicine. The medical school of Alexandria was well equipped with charts, models, and dissecting rooms for the study of the human body. During the second century of our era all the medical knowledge of antiquity was gathered up in the writings of Galen (born about 130 A.D.). For more than a thousand years Galen of Pergamum remained the supreme authority in medicine.

ANCIENT AND MODERN SCIENCE COMPARED

In scientific work it seems as if the Greeks had done almost all that could be accomplished by sheer brain power aided only by rude instruments. They had no real telescopes or microscopes, no mariner's compass or chronometer, and no very delicate balances. Without such inventions the Greeks could hardly proceed much farther with their researches. Modern scientists are perhaps no better thinkers than were those of antiquity, but

they have infinitely better apparatus and can make careful experiments where the Greeks had to rely on shrewd guesses.

EXTENSION OF GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

During the Hellenistic Age men began to gain more accurate ideas regarding the shape and size of the habitable globe. Such events as the expedition of the "Ten Thousand" [17] and Alexander's conquests in central Asia and India brought new information about the countries and peoples of the Orient. During Alexander's lifetime a Greek named Pytheas, starting from Massilia, [18] made an adventurous voyage along the shores of Spain and Gaul and spent some time in Britain. He was probably the first Greek to visit that island.

ERATOSTHENES, ABOUT 276-194 B.C.

All this new knowledge of East and West was soon gathered together by Eratosthenes, the learned librarian of Alexandria. He was the founder of scientific geography. Before his time some students had already concluded that the earth is spherical and not flat, as had been taught in the Homeric poems. [19] Guesses had even been made of the size of the earth. Eratosthenes by careful measurements came within a few thousand miles of its actual circumference. Having estimated the size of the earth, Eratosthenes went on to determine how large was its habitable area. He reached the conclusion that the distance from the strait of Gibraltar to the east of India was about one-third of the earth's circumference. The remaining two-thirds, he thought, was covered by the sea. And with what seems a prophecy he remarked that, if it was not for the vast extent of the Atlantic Ocean, one might almost sail from Spain to India along the same parallel of latitude.

[Illustration: PROGRESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE IN ANTIQUITY
Map, The World according to Eratosthenes, 200 B.C.
Map, The World according to Ptolemy, 150 A.D.]

PTOLEMY

The next two centuries after Eratosthenes saw the spread of Roman rule over Greeks and Carthaginians in the Mediterranean and over the barbarous inhabitants of Gaul, Britain, and Germany. The new knowledge thus gained was summed up in the Greek *Geography* by Ptolemy [20] of Alexandria. His famous map shows how near he came to the real outlines both of Europe and Asia.

THE PTOLEMAIC SYSTEM

Ptolemy was likewise an eminent astronomer. He believed that the earth was the center of the universe and that the sun, planets, and fixed stars all revolved around it. This Ptolemaic system was not overthrown until the grand discovery of Copernicus in the sixteenth century of our era.

46. THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD

THE NEW LUXURY

The Hellenistic Age was characterized by a general increase in wealth. The old Greeks and Macedonians, as a rule, had been content to live plainly. Now kings, nobles, and rich men began to build splendid palaces and to fill them with the products of ancient art—marbles from Asia Minor, vases from Athens, Italian bronzes, and Babylonian tapestries. They kept up great households with endless lords in waiting, ladies of honor, pages, guards, and servants. Soft couches and clothes of delicate fabric replaced

the simple coverlets and coarse cloaks of an earlier time. They possessed rich carpets and hangings, splendid armor and jewelry, and gold and silver vessels for the table. The Greeks thus began to imitate the luxurious lives of Persian nobles.

THE SEA ROUTE TO INDIA

These new luxuries flowed in from all parts of the ancient world. Many came from the Far East in consequence of the rediscovery of the sea route to India, by Alexander's admiral, Nearchus. [21] The voyage of Nearchus was one of the most important results of Alexander's eastern conquests. It established the fact, which had long been forgotten, that one could reach India by a water route much shorter and safer than the caravan roads through central Asia. [22] Somewhat later a Greek sailor, named Harpalus, found that by using the monsoons, the periodic winds which blow over the Indian Ocean, he could sail direct from Arabia to India without laboriously following the coast. The Greeks, in consequence, gave his name to the monsoons.

ORIENTAL INFLUENCE ON THE GREEKS

All this sudden increase of wealth, all the thousand new enjoyments with which life was now adorned and enriched, did not work wholly for good. With luxury there went, as always, laxity in morals. Contact with the vice and effeminacy of the East tended to lessen the manly vigor of the Greeks, both in Asia and in Europe. Hellas became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON THE ORIENT

Yet the most interesting, as well as the most important, feature of the age is the diffusion of Hellenic culture—the "Hellenizing" of the Orient. It was,

indeed, a changed world in which men were now living. Greek cities, founded by Alexander and his successors, stretched from the Nile to the Indus, dotted the shores of the Black Sea and Caspian, and arose amid the wilds of central Asia. The Greek language, once the tongue of a petty people, grew to be a universal language of culture, spoken even by "barbarian" lips. And the art, the science, the literature, the principles of politics and philosophy, developed in isolation by the Greek mind, henceforth became the heritage of many nations.

THE NEW COSMOPOLITANISM

Thus, in the period after Alexander the long struggle between East and West reached a peaceful conclusion. The distinction between Greek and Barbarian gradually faded away, and the ancient world became ever more unified in sympathies and aspirations. It was this mingled civilization of Orient and Occident with which the Romans were now to come in contact, as they pushed their conquering arms beyond Italy into the eastern Mediterranean.

[Illustration: ORIENTAL, GREEK, AND ROMAN COINS

1. Lydian coin of about 700 B.C.; the material is electrum, a compound of gold and silver.
2. Gold *daric*; a Persian coin worth about $5.
3. Hebrew silver *shekel*.
4. Athenian silver *tetradrachm* showing Athena, her olive branch and sacred owl.
5. Roman bronze *as* (2 cents) of about 217 B.C.; the symbols are the head of Janus and the prow of a ship.
6. Bronze *sestertius* (5 cents) struck in Nero's reign; the emperor, who carries a spear, is followed by a second horseman bearing a banner.

7. Silver *denarius* (20 cents) of about 99 B.C.; it shows a bust of Roma and three citizens voting.
8. Gold *solidus* ($5) of Honorius about 400 A.D.; the emperor wears a diadem and carries a scepter.]

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the routes of Alexander, marking the principal battle fields and the most important cities founded by him. Note, also, the voyage of Nearchus.

2. On an outline map indicate the principal Hellenistic kingdoms about 200 B.C.

3. Give the proper dates for (a) accession of Alexander; (b) battle of Issus; (c) battle of Arbela; and (d) death of Alexander.

4. In what sense was Chaeronea a decisive battle?

5. How is it true that the expedition of the Ten Thousand forms "an epilogue to the invasion of Xerxes and a prologue to the conquests of Alexander"?

6. How much can you see and describe in the Alexander Mosaic (illustration, page 123)?

7. Compare Alexander's invasion of Persia with the invasion of Greece by Xerxes.

8. Distinguish between the immediate and the ultimate results of Alexander's conquests.

9. Comment on the following statement: "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."

10. How did the Macedonian Empire compare in size with that of Persia? With that of Assyria?

11. What modern countries are included within the Macedonian Empire under Alexander?

12. How did the founding of the Hellenistic cities continue the earlier colonial expansion of Greece?

13. Why were the Hellenistic cities the real "backbone" of Hellenism?

14. Why do great cities rarely develop without the aid of commerce? Were all the great cities in Alexander's empire of commercial importance?

15. Show how Alexandria has always been one of the meeting points between Orient and Occident.

16. How did the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 A.D. affect the commercial importance of Alexandria?

17. Name some of the great scientists of the Alexandrian age.

18. What were their contributions to knowledge?

19. Using the maps on pages 76 and 132, trace the growth of geographical knowledge from Homer's time to that of Ptolemy.

20. What parts of the world are most correctly outlined on Ptolemy's map?

21. "The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two." Comment on this statement.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter xii, "Demosthenes and the Struggle against Philip"; chapter xiii, "Exploits of Alexander the Great."

[2] Philippi became noted afterwards as the first city in Europe where Christianity was preached. See *Acts*, xvi, 9.

[3] See the map between pages 68-69.

[4] See page 275.

[5] See page 39.

[6] See page 272.

[7] See page 90.

[8] See page 36.

[9] See John Dryden's splendid ode, *Alexander's Feast*.

[10] See pages 20 and 39.

[11] See pages 39-40.

[12] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, vii, 26.

[13] See the map facing page 128.

[14] The term "Hellenic" refers to purely Greek culture; the term "Hellenistic," to Greek culture as modified by contact with Oriental life and customs.

[15] See page 81.

[16] The lighthouse on the island of Pharos was considered one of the "seven wonders" of the ancient world. The others were the hanging gardens and walls of Babylon, the pyramids, the Colossus of Rhodes, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the statue of Zeus at Olympia.

[17] See page 120.

[18] See page 89.

[19] See page 74.

[20] Not to be confused with King Ptolemy (page 127).

[21] See page 125.

[22] See page 48.

CHAPTER VII

THE RISE OF ROME TO 264 B.C. [1]

47. ITALY AND SICILY

THE APENNINES

The shape of Italy is determined by the course of the Apennines. Branching off from the Alps at the gulf of Genoa, these mountains cross the peninsula in an easterly direction, almost to the Adriatic. Here they turn sharply to the southeast and follow the coast for a considerable distance. The plains of central Italy, in consequence, are all on the western slope of the Apennines. In the lower part of the peninsula the range swerves suddenly to the southwest, so that the level land is there on the eastern side of the mountains. Near the southern extremity of Italy the Apennines separate into two branches, which penetrate the "heel and toe" of the peninsula.

DIVISIONS OF ITALY

Italy may be conveniently divided into a northern, a central, and a southern section. These divisions, however, are determined by the direction of the mountains and not, as in Greece, chiefly by inlets of the sea. Northern Italy contains the important region known in ancient times as Cisalpine

Gaul. This is a perfectly level plain two hundred miles in length, watered by the Po (*Padus*), which the Romans called the "king of rivers," because of its length and many tributary streams. Central Italy, lying south of the Apennines, includes seven districts, of which the three on the western coast —Etruria, Latium, and Campania—were most conspicuous in ancient history. Southern Italy, because of its warm climate and deeply indented coast, early attracted many Greek colonists. Their colonies here came to be known as Magna Graecia, or Great Greece.

[Illustration: Map, ANCIENT ITALY AND SICILY.]

SICILY

The triangular-shaped island of Sicily is separated from Italy by the strait of Messina, a channel which, at the narrowest part, is only two miles wide. At one time Sicily must have been joined to the mainland. Its mountains, which rise at their highest point in the majestic volcano of Aetna, nearly eleven thousand feet above sea level, are a continuation of those of Italy. The greater part of Sicily is remarkably productive, containing rich grainfields and hillsides green with the olive and the vine. Lying in the center of the Mediterranean and in the direct route of merchants and colonists from every direction, Sicily has always been a meeting place of nations. In antiquity Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans contended for the possession of this beautiful island.

INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

On Italian history, as on that of Greece, [2] we are able to trace the profound influence of geographical conditions. In the first place, the peninsula of Italy is not cut up by a tangle of mountains into many small districts. Hence it was easier for the Italians, than for the Greeks, to establish one large and united state. In the second place, Italy, which has

few good harbors but possesses fine mountain pastures and rich lowland plains, was better adapted to cattle raising and agriculture than was Greece. The Italian peoples, in consequence, instead of putting to sea, remained a conservative, home-staying folk, who were slow to adopt the customs of other nations. Finally, the location of Italy, with its best harbors and most numerous islands on the western coast, brought that country into closer touch with Gaul, Spain, and northwestern Africa than with Greece and the Orient. Italy fronted the barbarous West.

48. THE PEOPLES OF ITALY

NEIGHBORS OF THE ROMANS

Long before the Romans built their city by the Tiber every part of Italy had become the home of wandering peoples, attracted by the mild climate and rich soil of this favored land. Two of these peoples were neighbors of the Romans—Etruscans on the north and Greeks on the south.

THE ETRUSCANS

The ancestors of the historic Etruscans were probably Aegean sea-rovers who settled in the Italian peninsula before the beginning of the eighth century B.C. The immigrants mingled with the natives and by conquest and colonization founded a strong power in the country to which they gave their name—Etruria. At one time the Etruscans appear to have ruled over Campania and also in the Po Valley as far as the Alps. Their colonies occupied the shores of Sardinia and Corsica. Their fleets swept the Tyrrhenian Sea. The Etruscans for several centuries were the leading nation in Italy.

[Illustration: A GRAECO-ETRUSCAN CHARIOT (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New

York)

The chariot was discovered in 1903 A.D. in an Etruscan cemetery near Rome. It dates from perhaps 600 B.C. Almost every part of the vehicle is covered with thin plates of bronze, elaborately decorated. The wheels are only two feet in diameter. Since the chariot is too small and delicate for use in warfare, we may believe it to have been intended for ceremonial purposes only.]

ETRUSCAN CIVILIZATION

These Etruscans, like the Hittites of Asia Minor, [3] are a mysterious race. No one as yet has been able to read their language, which is quite unlike any Indo-European tongue. The words, however, are written in an alphabet borrowed from Greek settlers in Italy. Many other civilizing arts besides the alphabet came to the Etruscans from abroad. Babylonia gave to them the principle of the round arch and the practice of divination. [4] Etruscan graves contain Egyptian seals adorned with hieroglyphics and beautiful vases bearing designs from Greek mythology. The Etruscans were skillful workers in iron, bronze, and gold. They built their cities with massive walls, arched gates, paved streets, and underground drains. In the course of time a great part of this Etruscan civilization was absorbed in that of Rome.

[Illustration: AN ETRUSCAN ARCH The Italian city of Volterra still preserves in the Porta dell' Arco an interesting relic of Etruscan times. The archway, one of the original gates of the ancient town, is about twenty feet in height and twelve feet in width. On the keystone and imposts are three curious heads, probably representing the guardian deities of the place.]

[Illustration: CHARACTERS OF THE ETRUSCAN ALPHABET About eight thousand Etruscan inscriptions are known, almost all being short

epitaphs on gravestones. In 1892 A.D. an Etruscan manuscript which had been used to pack an Egyptian mummy, was published, but the language could not be deciphered.]

THE GREEKS

As teachers of the Romans the Etruscans were followed by the Greeks. About the middle of the eighth century B.C. Hellenic colonies began to occupy the coasts of Sicily and southern Italy. The earliest Greek settlement was Cumae, near the bay of Naples. [5] It was a city as old as Rome itself, and a center from which Greek culture, including the Greek alphabet, spread to Latium. A glance at the map [6] shows that the chief Greek Colonies were all on or near the Sea, from Campania to the gulf of Tarentum. North of the "heel" of Italy extends an almost harborless coast, where nothing tempted the Greeks to settle. North of Campania, again, they found the good harbors already occupied by the Etruscans. The Greeks, in consequence, were never able to make Italy a completely Hellenic land. Room was left for the native Italian peoples, under the leadership of Rome, to build up their own power in the peninsula.

THE ITALIAN HIGHLANDERS

The Italians were an Indo-European people who spoke a language closely related, on the one side, to Greek and, on the other side, to the Celtic tongues of western Europe. They entered Italy through the Alpine passes, long before the dawn of history, and gradually pushed southward until they occupied the interior of the peninsula. At the beginning of historic times they had separated into two main branches. The eastern and central parts of Italy formed the home of the highlanders, grouped in various tribes. Among them were the Umbrians in the northeast, the Sabines in the upper valley of the Tiber, and the Samnites in the south. Still other Italian peoples occupied the peninsula as far as Magna Graecia.

THE LATINS

The western Italians were known as Latins. They dwelt in Latium, the "flat land" extending south of the Tiber between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian Sea. Residence in the lowlands, where they bordered on the Etruscans, helped to make the Latins a civilized people. Their village communities grew into larger settlements, until the whole of Latium became filled with a number of independent city-states. The ties of kinship and the necessity of defense against Etruscan and Sabine foes bound them together. At a very early period they had united in the Latin League, under the headship of Alba Longa. Another city in this league was Rome.

49. THE ROMANS

FOUNDING OF ROME

Rome sprang from a settlement of Latin shepherds, farmers, and traders on the Palatine Mount. [7] This was the central eminence in a group of low hills south of the Tiber, about fifteen miles by water from the river's mouth. Opposite the Palatine community there arose on the Quirinal Hill another settlement, which seems to have been an outpost of the Sabines. After much hard fighting the rival hill towns united on equal terms into one state. The low marshy land between the Palatine and Quirinal became the Forum, or common market place, and the steep rock, known as the Capitoline, formed the common citadel. [8]

[Illustration: Map, VICINITY OF ROME.]

UNION OF THE SEVEN HILLS

The union of the Palatine and Quirinal settlements greatly increased the area and population of the Roman city. In course of time settlements were

made on the neighboring hills and these, too, cast in their lot with Rome. Then a fortification, the so-called "Wall of Servius," was built to bring them all within the boundaries of the enlarged community. Rome came into existence as the City of the Seven Hills.

MYTHS OF EARLY ROME

Long after the foundation of Rome, when that city had grown rich and powerful, her poets and historians delighted to relate the many myths which clustered about the earlier stages of her career. According to these myths Rome began as a colony of Alba Longa, the capital of Latium. The founder of this city was Ascanius, son of the Trojan prince Aeneas, who had escaped from Troy on its capture by the Greeks and after long wanderings had reached the coast of Italy. Many generations afterwards, when Numitor sat on the throne of Alba Longa, his younger brother, Amulius, plotted against him and drove him into exile. He had Numitor's son put to death, and forced the daughter, Rhea Silvia, to take the vows of a Vestal Virgin. [9]

[Illustration: AN EARLY ROMAN COIN
Shows the twins, Romulus and Remus as infants suckled by a wolf.]

ROMULUS AND REMUS

But Rhea Silvia, beloved by Mars, the god of war, gave birth to twin boys of more than human size and beauty. The wicked Amulius ordered the children to be set adrift in a basket on the Tiber. Heaven, however, guarded these offspring of a god; the river cast them ashore near Mount Palatine, and a she-wolf came and nursed them. There they were discovered by a shepherd, who reared them in his own household. When the twins, Romulus and Remus, reached manhood, they killed Amulius and restored their grandfather to his kingdom. With other young men from Alba Longa, they then set forth to build a new city on the Palatine, where they had been

rescued. As they scanned the sky to learn the will of the gods, six vultures, birds of Jupiter, appeared to Remus; but twelve were seen by Romulus. So Romulus marked out the boundary of the city on the Palatine, and Remus, who in derision leaped over the half-finished wall, he slew in anger. Romulus thus became the sole founder of Rome and its first king.

SUCCESSORS OF ROMULUS

Romulus was followed by a Sabine, Numa Pompilius, who taught the Romans the arts of peace and the worship of the gods. Another king destroyed Alba Longa and brought the inhabitants to Rome. The last of Rome's seven kings was an Etruscan named Tarquin the Proud. His tyranny finally provoked an uprising, and Rome became a republic.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MYTHS

These famous tales have become a part of the world's literature and still possess value to the student. They show us what the Romans themselves believed about the foundation and early fortunes of their city. Sometimes they refer to what seem to be facts, such as the first settlement on the Palatine, the union with the Sabines on the Quirinal, the conquest of Alba Longa, and Etruscan rule at Rome. The myths also contain so many references to customs and beliefs that they are a great help in understanding the social life and religion of the early Romans.

50. EARLY ROMAN SOCIETY

THE ROMANS AN AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the Roman people. "When our forefathers," said an ancient writer, "would praise a worthy man, they praised him as a good farmer and a good landlord; and they believed that an

praise could go no further." [10] Roman farmers raised large crops of grain —the staple product of ancient Italy. Cattle-breeding, also, must have been an important pursuit, since in early times prices were estimated in oxen and sheep. [11]

[Illustration: A ROMAN FARMER'S CALENDAR
A marble cube, two feet high, of about 31-29 B.C.
The month of May,
XXXI days,
The nones fall on the 7th day.
The day has 19-1/2 hours.
The night has 9-1/2 hours
The sun is in the sign of Taurus
The month is under the protection of Apollo.
The corn is weeded
The sheep are shorn
The wool is washed
Young steers are put under the yoke.
The vetch of the meadows is cut.
The lustration of the crops is made.
Sacrifices to Mercury and Flora.]

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In such a community of peasants no great inequalities of wealth existed. Few citizens were very rich; few were very poor. The members of each household made their own clothing from flax or wool, and fashioned out of wood and clay what utensils were needed for their simple life. For a long time the Romans had no coined money whatever. When copper came into use as currency, it passed from hand to hand in shapeless lumps that required frequent weighing. It was not until the fourth century that a regular

coinage began. [12] This use of copper as money indicates that gold and silver were rare among the Romans, and luxury almost unknown.

MORAL CHARACTER OF THE EARLY ROMANS

Hard-working, god-fearing peasants are likely to lead clean and sober lives. This was certainly true of the early Romans. They were a manly breed, abstemious in food and drink, iron-willed, vigorous, and strong. Deep down in the Roman's heart was the proud conviction that Rome should rule over all her neighbors. For this he freely shed his blood; for this he bore hardship, however severe, without complaint. Before everything else, he was a dutiful citizen and a true patriot. Such were the sturdy men who on their farms in Latium formed the backbone of the Roman state. Their character has set its mark on history for all time.

THE ROMAN FAMILY

The family formed the unit of Roman society. Its most marked feature was the unlimited authority of the father. In his house he reigned an absolute king. His wife had no legal rights: he could sell her into slavery or divorce her at will. Nevertheless, no ancient people honored women more highly than the Romans. A Roman wife was the mistress of the home, as her husband was its master. Though her education was not carried far, we often find the Roman matron taking a lively interest in affairs of state, and aiding her husband both in politics and business. It was the women, as well as the men, who helped to make Rome great among the nations. Over his unmarried daughters and his sons, the Roman father ruled as supreme as over his wife. He brought up his children to be sober, silent, modest in their bearing, and, above all, obedient. Their misdeeds he might punish with penalties as severe as banishment, slavery, or death. As head of the family he could claim all their earnings; everything they had was his. The father's

great authority ceased only with his death. Then his sons, in turn, became lords over their families.

[Illustration: CINERARY URNS IN TERRA COTTA (Vatican Museum, Rome) These receptacles for the ashes of the dead were found in an old cemetery at Alba Longa They show two forms of the primitive Roman hut.]

51. ROMAN RELIGION

WORSHIP OF ANCESTORS

The Romans, like the ancient Greeks and the modern Chinese, paid special veneration to the souls of the dead. These were known by the flattering name of *manes*, the "pure" or "good ones." The Romans always regarded the *manes* as members of the household to which they had belonged on earth. The living and the dead were thus bound together by the closest ties. The idea of the family triumphed even over the grave.

THE HOUSEHOLD DEITIES

The ancient Roman house had only one large room, the *atrium*, where all members of the family lived together. It was entered by a single door, which was sacred to the god Janus. On the hearth, opposite the doorway, the housewife prepared the meals. The fire that ever blazed upon it gave warmth and nourishment to the inmates. Here dwelt Vesta, the spirit of the kindling flame. The cupboard where the food was kept came under the charge of the Penates, who blessed the family store. The house as a whole had its protecting spirits, called Lares.

WORSHIP OF THE HOUSEHOLD DEITIES

The daily worship of these deities took place at the family meal. The table would be placed at the side of the hearth, and when the father and his family sat down to it, a little food would be thrown into the flames and a portion of wine poured out, as an offering to the gods. The images of the Lares and Penates would also be fetched from the shrine and placed on the table in token of their presence at the meal. This religion of the family lasted with little change throughout the entire period of Roman history.

[Illustration: A VESTAL VIRGIN Portrait from a statue discovered in the ruins of the temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum.]

JANUS AND VESTA

The early Roman state was only an enlarged family, and hence the religion of the state was modeled after that of the family. Some of the divinities, such as Janus and Vesta, were taken over with little change from the domestic worship. The entrance to the Forum formed a shrine of Janus, [13] which Numa himself was said to have built. The door, or gateway, stood open in time of war, but shut when Rome was at peace. At the south end of the Forum stood the round temple of Vesta, containing the sacred hearth of the city. Here Vesta was served by six virgins of free birth, whose duty it was to keep the fire always blazing on the altar. If by accident the fire went out, it must be relighted from a "pure flame," either by striking a spark with flint or by rubbing together two dry sticks. Such methods of kindling fire were those familiar to the prehistoric Romans.

[Illustration: SUOVETAURILIA (Louvre, Paris) The relief pictures an ancient Italian sacrifice of a bull, a ram and a boar offered to Mars to secure purification from sin. Note the sacred laurel trees, the two altars, and the officiating magistrate whose head is covered with the toga. He is sprinkling incense from a box held by an attendant. Another attendant carries a ewer with the libation. In the rear is the sacrificer with his ax.]

JUPITER AND MARS

The Romans worshiped various gods connected with their lives as shepherds, farmers, and warriors. The chief divinity was Jupiter, who ruled the heavens and sent rain and sunshine to nourish the crops. The war god Mars reflected the military character of the Romans. His sacred animal was the fierce, cruel wolf, his symbols were spears and shields; his altar was the Campus Martius (Field of Mars) outside the city walls, where the army assembled in battle array. March, the first month of the old Roman year, was named in his honor. Some other gods were borrowed from the Greeks, together with many of the beautiful Greek myths.

DIVINATION

The Romans took many precautions, before beginning any enterprise, to find out what was the will of the gods and how their favor might first be gained. They did not have oracles, but they paid much attention to omens of all sorts. A sudden flash of lightning, an eclipse of the sun, a blazing comet, or an earthquake shock was an omen which awakened superstitious fear. It indicated the disapproval of the gods. From the Etruscans the Romans learned to divine the future by examining the entrails of animal victims. They also borrowed from their northern neighbors the practice of looking for signs in the number, flight, and action of birds. To consult such signs was called "taking the auspices." [14]

[Illustration: AN ETRUSCAN AUGUR
Wall painting from a tomb at Tarquinii in Etruria.]

[Illustration: COOP WITH SACRED CHICKENS The relief represents the chickens in the act of feeding. The most favorable omen was secured when the fowls greedily picked up more of the corn than they could swallow at one time. Their refusal to eat at all was an omen of disaster.]

PRIESTHOODS

Roman priests, who conducted the state religion, did not form a separate class, as in some Oriental countries. They were chosen, like other magistrates, from the general body of citizens. A board, or "college," of six priests had charge of the public auspices. Another board, that of the pontiffs, regulated the calendar, kept the public annals, and regulated weights and measures. They were experts in all matters of religious ceremonial and hence were very important officials. [15]

IMPORTANCE OF THE STATE RELIGION

This old Roman faith was something very different from what we understand by religion. It had little direct influence on morality. It did not promise rewards or threaten punishments in a future world. Roman religion busied itself with the everyday life of man. Just as the household was bound together by the tie of common worship, so all the citizens were united in a common reverence for the deities which guarded the state. The religion of Rome made and held together a nation.

52. THE ROMAN CITY-STATE

EARLY ROMAN GOVERNMENT

We find in early Rome, as in Homeric Greece, [16] a city-state with its king, council, and assembly. The king was the father of his people, having over them the same absolute authority that the house-father held within the family. The king was assisted by a council of elders, or Senate (Latin *senes*, "old men"). Its members were chosen by the king and held office for life. The most influential heads of families belonged to the Senate. The common people at first took little part in the government, for it was only on rare

occasions that the king summoned them to deliberate with him in an assembly.

THE REPUBLICAN CONSULS

Toward the close of the sixth century, as we have already learned, [17] the ancient monarchy disappeared from Rome. In place of the lifelong king two magistrates, named consuls, were elected every year. Each consul had to share his honor and authority with a colleague who enjoyed the same power as himself. Unless both agreed, there could be no action. Like the Spartan kings, [18] the consuls served as checks, the one on the other. Neither could safely use his position to aim at unlawful rule.

THE DICTATOR

This divided power of the consuls might work very well in times of peace. During dangerous wars or insurrections it was likely to prove disastrous. A remedy was found in the temporary revival of the old kingship under a new name. When occasion required, one of the consuls, on the advice of the Senate, appointed a dictator. The consuls then gave up their authority and the people put their property and lives entirely at the dictator's disposal. During his term of office, which could not exceed six months, the state was under martial law. Throughout Roman history there were many occasions when a dictatorship was created to meet a sudden emergency.

PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS

The Roman state, during the regal age, seems to have been divided between an aristocracy and a commons. The nobles were called patricians, [19] and the common people were known as plebeians. [20] The patricians occupied a privileged position, since they alone sat in the Senate and served as priests, judges, and magistrates. In fact, they controlled society, and the

common people found themselves excluded from much of the religious, legal, and political life of the Roman city. Under these circumstances it was natural for the plebeians to agitate against the patrician monopoly of government. The struggle between the two orders of society lasted about two centuries.

THE TRIBUNES

A few years after the establishment of the republic the plebeians compelled the patricians to allow them to have officers of their own, called tribunes, as a means of protection. There were ten tribunes, elected annually by the plebeians. Any tribune could veto, that is, forbid, the act of a magistrate which seemed to bear harshly on a citizen. To make sure that a tribune's orders would be respected, his person was made sacred and a solemn curse was pronounced upon the man who injured him or interrupted him in the performance of his duties. The tribune's authority, however, extended only within the city and a mile beyond its walls. He was quite powerless against the consul in the field.

THE TWELVE TABLES, 449 B.C.

We next find the plebeians struggling for equality before the law. Just as in ancient Athens, [21] the early Roman laws had never been written down or published. About half a century after the plebeians had obtained the tribunes, they forced the patricians to give them written laws. A board of ten men, known as decemvirs, was appointed to frame a legal code, binding equally on both patricians and plebeians. The story goes that this commission studied the legislation of the Greek states of southern Italy, and even went to Athens to examine some of Solon's laws which were still in force. The laws framed by the decemvirs were engraved on twelve bronze tablets and set up in the Forum. A few sentences from this famous code

have come down to us in rude, unpolished Latin. They mark the beginning of what was to be Rome's greatest gift to civilization—her legal system.

[Illustration: CURULE CHAIR AND FASCES A consul sat on the curule chair. The *fasces* (axes in a bundle of rods) symbolized his power to flog and behead offenders.]

FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE PLEBEIANS

The hardest task of the plebeians was to secure the right of holding the great offices of state. Eventually, however, they gained entrance to Senate and became eligible to the consulship and other magistracies and to the priesthoods. By the middle of the third century the plebeians and patricians, equal before the law and with equal privileges, formed one compact body of citizens in the Roman state.

ROME AS A REPUBLIC

The Roman state called itself a republic—*respublica*—"a thing of the people." Roman citizens made the laws and elected public officers. Though the people in their gatherings had now become supreme, their power was really much limited by the fact that very little discussion of a proposed measure was allowed. This formed a striking contrast to the vigorous debating which went on in the Athenian Assembly. [22] Roman citizens could not frame, criticize, or amend public measures; they could only vote "yes" or "no" to proposals made to them by a magistrate.

MAGISTRATES

Rome had many magistrates. Besides the two consuls and an occasional dictator there were the ten tribunes, the praetors, who served as judges, and the quaestors, or keepers of the treasury. The two censors were also very

important officers. It was their business to make an enumeration or census of the citizens and to assess property for taxation. The censors almost always were reverend seniors who had held the consulship and enjoyed a reputation for justice and wisdom. Their office grew steadily in importance, especially after the censors began to exercise an oversight of the private life of the Romans. They could expel a senator from his seat for immorality and could deprive any citizen of his vote. The word "censorious," meaning faultfinding, is derived from the name of these ancient officials.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE SENATE

The authority of the magistrates was much limited by the Senate. This body contained about three hundred members, who held their seats generally for life. When vacancies occurred, they were filled, as a rule, by those who had previously held one or more of the higher magistracies. There sat in the Senate every man who, as statesman, general, or diplomatist, had served his country well.

POWERS EXERCISED BY THE SENATE

The Senate furnished an admirable school for debate. Any senator could speak as long and as often as he chose. The opportunities for discussion were numerous, for all weighty matters came before this august assemblage. It managed finances and public works. It looked after the state religion. It declared and conducted war, received ambassadors from foreign countries, made alliances, and administered conquered territories. The Senate formed the real governing body of the republic.

"AN ASSEMBLY OF KINGS"

The Senate proved not unworthy of its high position. For two centuries, while Rome was winning dominion over Italy and the Mediterranean, that

body held the wisest and noblest Romans of the time. To these men office meant a public trust—an opportunity to serve their country with distinction and honor. The Senate, in its best days, was a splendid example of the foresight, energy, and wisdom of republican Rome. An admiring foreigner called it "an assembly of kings." [23]

[Illustration: A SCENE IN SICILY
Taormina, on the Sicilian coast, thirty one miles southwest of Messina. The ruins are those of a theater, founded by the Greeks, but much altered in Roman times. The view of Aetna from this site is especially fine.]

[Illustration: BAY OF NAPLES AND VESUVIUS]

53. EXPANSION OF ROME OVER ITALY, 509(?)-264 B.C.

ROME SUPREME IN LATIUM, 338 B.C.

The first centuries of the republic were filled with constant warfare. The Romans needed all their skill, bravery, and patriotism to keep back the Etruscans on the north, and the wild tribes of the Apennines. About 390 B.C. the state was brought near to destruction by an invasion of the Gauls. [24] These barbarians, whose huge bulk and enormous weapons struck terror to the hearts of their adversaries, poured through the Alpine passes and ravaged far and wide. At the river Allia, only a few miles from Rome, they annihilated a Roman army and then captured and burned the city itself. But the Gallic tide receded as swiftly as it had come, and Rome rose from her ashes mightier than ever. Half a century after the Gallic invasion she was able to subdue her former allies, the Latins, and to destroy their league. The Latin War, as it is called, ended in 338 B.C., the year of the fateful battle of Chaeronea in Greece. [25] By this time Rome ruled in Latium and southern Etruria and had begun to extend her sway over Campania. There

remained only one Italian people to contest with her the supremacy of the peninsula—the Samnites.

ROME SUPREME IN CENTRAL ITLAY, 290 B.C.

The Samnites were the most vigorous and warlike race of central Italy. While the Romans were winning their way in Latium, the Samnites were also entering on a career of conquest. They coveted the fertile Campanian plain with its luxurious cities, Cumae and Neapolis, which the Greeks had founded. The Romans had also fixed their eyes on the same region, and so a contest between the two peoples became inevitable. In numbers, courage, and military skill Romans and Samnites were well matched. Nearly half a century of hard fighting was required before Rome gained the upper hand. The close of the Samnite wars found Rome supreme in central Italy. Her authority was now recognized from the upper Apennines to the foot of the peninsula.

ROME SUPREME IN SOUTHERN ITALY, 264 B.C.

The wealthy cities of southern Italy offered a tempting prize to Roman greed. Before long many of them received Roman garrisons and accepted the rule of the great Latin republic. Tarentum, [26] however, the most important of the Greek colonies, held jealously to her independence. Unable single-handed to face the Romans, Tarentum turned to Greece for aid. She called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the finest soldier of his age. Pyrrhus led twenty-five thousand mercenary soldiers into Italy, an army almost as large as Alexander's. The Romans could not break the bristling ranks of the Greek phalanx, and they shrank back in terror before the huge war elephants which Pyrrhus had brought with him. The invader won the first battle, but lost many of his best troops. He then offered peace on condition that the Romans should give up their possessions in southern Italy. The Senate returned the proud reply that Rome would not treat with the enemy while he

stood on Italian soil. A second battle was so bitterly contested that Pyrrhus declared, "Another such victory, and I am lost." [27] Weary of the struggle, Pyrrhus now crossed over to Sicily to aid his countrymen against the Carthaginians. The rapid progress of the Roman arms called him back, only to meet a severe defeat. Pyrrhus then withdrew in disgust to Greece; Tarentum fell; and Rome established her rule over southern Italy.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 264 B.C.

The triumph over Pyrrhus and the conquest of Magna Graecia mark a decisive moment in the history of Rome. Had Pyrrhus won Italy, as well as Asia and Egypt, might have become a Greek land, ruled by Hellenistic kings. Now it was clear that Rome, having met the invader so bravely, was to remain supreme in the Italian peninsula. She was the undisputed mistress of Italy from the strait of Messina northward to the Arnus and the Rubicon. Etruscans, Latins, Samnites, and Greeks acknowledged her sway. The central city of the peninsula had become the center of a united Italy. [28]

[Illustration: Map, THE EXPANSION of ROMAN DOMINIONS in ITALY, 500-264
B.C.]

54. ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE

THE ROMAN CITIZENS

Italy did not form a single state under Roman rule. About one-third of Italy composed the strictly Roman territory occupied by Roman citizens. Since ancient Rome knew nothing of the great principle of representative government, [29] it was necessary that citizens who wished to vote or to stand for office should visit in person the capital city. Few men, of course, would journey many miles to Rome in order to exercise their political

rights. The elections, moreover, were not all held on one day, as with us, but consuls, praetors, and other magistrates were chosen on different days, while meetings of the assemblies might be held at any time of the year. A country peasant who really tried to fulfill his duties as a citizen would have had little time for anything else. In practice, therefore, the city populace at Rome had the controlling voice in ordinary legislation. The Romans were never able to remedy this grave defect in their political system. We shall see later what evils government without representation brought in its train.

THE ITALIANS

Over against this body of Roman citizens were the Italian peoples. Rome was not yet ready to grant them citizenship, but she did not treat them as complete subjects. The Italians were called the "allies and friends" of the Roman people. They lost the right of declaring war on one another, of making treaties, and of coining money. Rome otherwise allowed them to govern themselves, never calling on them for tribute and only requiring that they should furnish soldiers for the Roman army in time of war. These allies occupied a large part of the Italian peninsula.

THE LATIN COLONIES

The Romans very early began to establish what were called Latin colonies [30] in various parts of Italy. The colonists were usually veteran soldiers or poor plebeians colonies who wanted farms of their own. When the list of colonists was made up, they all marched forth in military array to lake possession of their new homes and build their city. The Latin colonies were really offshoots of Rome and hence were always faithful to her interests. Scattered everywhere in Italy they formed so many permanent camps or garrisons to keep the conquered peoples in subjection. At the same time they helped mightily in spreading the Latin language, law, and civilization throughout the peninsula.

ROMAN ROADS

All the colonies were united with one another and with Rome by an extensive system of roads. The first great road, called the Appian Way, was made during the period of the Samnite wars. It united the city of Rome with Capua and secured the hold of Rome on Campania. The Appian Way was afterwards carried across the Apennines to Brundisium on the Adriatic, whence travelers embarked for the coast of Greece. Other trunk lines were soon built in Italy, and from them a network of smaller highways was extended to every part of the peninsula.

[Illustration: Map, COLONIES AND MILITARY ROADS IN ITALY]

[Illustration: THE APPIAN WAY A view in the neighborhood of Rome. The ancient construction of the road and its massive paving blocks of lava have been laid bare by modern excavations. The width of the roadway proper was only fifteen feet. The arches, seen in the background, belong to the aqueduct built by the emperor Claudius in 52 A.D.]

USES OF ROMAN ROADS

Roman roads had a military origin. Like the old Persian roads [31] they were intended to facilitate the rapid dispatch of troops, supplies, and official messages into every corner of Italy. Hence the roads ran, as much as possible, in straight lines and on easy grades. Nothing was allowed to obstruct their course. Engineers cut through or tunneled the hills, bridged rivers and gorges, and spanned low, swampy lands with viaducts of stone. So carefully were these roads constructed that some stretches of them are still in good condition. These magnificent highways were free to the public. They naturally became avenues of trade and travel and so served to bring the Italian peoples into close touch with Rome.

ROMANIZATION OF ITALY

Rome thus began in Italy that wonderful process of Romanization which she was to extend later to Spain, Gaul, and Britain. She began to make, the Italian peoples like herself in blood, speech, customs, and manners. More and more the Italians, under Rome's leadership, came to look upon themselves as one people—the people who wore the gown, or *toga*, as contrasted with the barbarous and trousers-wearing Gauls.

[Illustration: A ROMAN LEGIONARY From a monument of the imperial age. The soldier wears a metal helmet, a leather doublet with shoulder-pieces, a metal-plated belt, and a sword hanging from a strap thrown over the left shoulder. His left hand holds a large shield, his right, a heavy javelin.]

55. THE ROMAN ARMY

THE LEGION

While the Romans were conquering Italy, they were making many improvements in their army. All citizens between the ages of seventeen and forty-six were liable to active service. These men were mainly landowners —hardy, intelligent peasants—who knew how to fight and how to obey orders. An army in the field consisted of one or more legions. A legion included about three thousand heavy-armed footmen, twelve hundred light infantry, and three hundred horsemen. After the conquest of Italy the states allied with Rome had to furnish soldiers, chiefly archers and cavalry. These auxiliaries, as they were called, were at least as numerous as legionaries. The Romans, in carrying on war, employed not only their citizens but also their subjects.

METHOD OF FIGHTING

The legion offered a sharp contrast to the unwieldy phalanx. [32] Roman soldiers usually fought in an open order, with the heavy-armed infantry arranged in three lines: first, the younger men; next, the more experienced warriors; and lastly the veterans. A battle began with skirmishing by the light troops, which moved to the front and discharged their darts to harass the enemy. The companies of the first line next flung their javelins at a distance of from ten to twenty paces and then, wielding their terrible short swords, came at once to close quarters with the foe. It was like a volley of musketry followed by a fierce bayonet charge. If the attack proved unsuccessful, the wearied soldiers withdrew to the rear through the gaps in the line behind. The second line now marched forward to the attack; if it was repulsed, there was still the third line of steady veterans for the last and decisive blow.

[Illustration: A ROMAN STANDARD BEARER (Bonn Museum) From a gravestone of the first century A.D. The standard consists of a spear crowned with a wreath, below which is a crossbar bearing pendant acorns Then follow, in order, a metal disk, Jupiter's eagle standing on a thunderbolt, a crescent moon, an amulet, and a large tassel.]

FORTIFIED CAMPS

A very remarkable part of the Roman military system consisted in the use of fortified camps. Every time the army halted, if only for a single night, the legionaries intrenched themselves within a square inclosure. It was protected by a ditch, an earthen mound, and a palisade of stakes. This camp formed a little city with its streets, its four gates, a forum, and the headquarters of the general. Behind the walls of such a fortress an army was always at liberty to accept or decline a battle. As a proverb said, the Romans often conquered by "sitting still."

DISCIPLINE: REWARDS AND HONORS

Roman soldiers lived under the strictest discipline. To their general they owed absolute, unquestioning obedience. He could condemn them to death without trial. The sentinel who slept on his watch, the legionary who disobeyed an order or threw away his arms on the field of battle, might be scourged with rods and then beheaded. The men were encouraged to deeds of valor by various marks of distinction, which the general presented to them in the presence of the entire army. The highest reward was the civic crown of oak leaves, granted to one who had saved the life of a fellow-soldier on the battle field.

THE TRIUMPH

The state sometimes bestowed on a victorious general the honor of a triumph. This was a grand parade and procession in the city of Rome. First came the magistrates and senators, wagons laden with booty, and captives in chains. Then followed the conqueror himself, clad in a gorgeous robe and riding in a four-horse chariot. Behind him marched the soldiers, who sang a triumphal hymn. The long procession passed through the streets to the Forum and mounted the Capitoline Hill. There the general laid his laurel crown upon the knees of the statue of Jupiter, as a thank offering for victory. Meanwhile, the captives who had just appeared in the procession were strangled in the underground prison of the Capitol. It was a day of mingled joy and tragedy.

MILITARY GENIUS OF THE ROMANS

The Romans, it has been said, were sometimes vanquished in battle, but they were always victorious in war. With the short swords of her disciplined soldiers, her flexible legion, and her fortified camps, Rome won dominion in Italy and began the conquest of the world.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the Roman dominions in 509 B.C.; in 338 B.C.; in 264 B.C.

2. Make a list of the Roman magistrates mentioned in this chapter, and of the powers exercised by each.

3. Give the meaning of our English words "patrician," "plebeian," "censor," "dictator," "tribune," "augury," "auspices," and "veto."

4. Connect the proper events with the following dates: 753 B.C.; 509 B.C.; and 338 B.C.

5. Why have Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica been called the "suburbs of Italy"?

6. "Italy and Greece may be described as standing back to back to each other." Explain this statement.

7. What is the origin of our names of the two months, January and March?

8. Compare the early Roman with the early Greek religion as to (a) likenesses; (b) differences.

9. Why have the consuls been called "joint kings for one year"?

10. What do you understand by "martial law"? Under what circumstances is it sometimes declared in the United States?

11. Compare the position of the Roman patricians with that of the Athenian nobles before the legislation of Draco and Solon.

12. What officers in American cities perform some of the duties of the censors, praetors, and aediles?

13. In the Roman and Spartan constitutions contrast: (a) consuls and kings; (b) censors and ephors; and (c) the two senates.

14. Compare the Roman Senate and the Senate of the United States as to size, term of office of members, conditions of membership, procedure, functions, and importance.

15. How far can the phrase, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," be applied to the Roman Republic at this period?

16. What conditions made it easy for the Romans to conquer Magna Graecia and difficult for them to subdue the Samnites?

17. What is a "Pyrrhic victory"?

18. Compare the nature of Roman rule over Italy with that of Athens over the Delian League.

19. Trace on the map, page 156, the Appian and Flaminian ways, noting some of the cities along the routes and the terminal points of each road.

20. Explain: "all roads lead to Rome."

21. Contrast the legion and the phalanx as to arrangement, armament, and method of fighting.

22. "Rome seems greater than her greatest men." Comment on this statement.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter xiv, "Legends of Early Rome."

[2] See page 67.

[3] See page 28.

[4] See pages 53, 61.

[5] Naples, the ancient Neapolis, was a colony of Cumae. See page 89.

[6] See the map facing page 50.

[7] The Romans believed that their city was founded in 753 B.C., from which year all Roman dates were reckoned.

[8] See the map, page 293.

[9] See page 146.

[10] Cato, *De agricultura*, I.

[11] See page 6.

[12] See the illustration, page 7.

[13] Since a door (*janua*) had two sides, Janus, the door god, was represented with the curious double face which appears on Roman coins (See the plate facing page 134) The month of January in the Julian calendar was named for him.

[14] Latin *auspicium*, from *auspex*, a bird seer.

[15] The title of the president of the pontiffs, *Pontifex Maximus* (Supreme Pontiff), is still that of the pope. See page 364.

[16] See page 81.

[17] See page 143.

[18] See page 83.

[19] From the Latin *patres*, "fathers."

[20] Latin *plebs*, "the crowd."

[21] See page 85.

[22] See page 105.

[23] The four letters inscribed on Roman military standards indicate the important place held by the Senate. They are *S. P. Q. R.*, standing for *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, "The Senate and the People of Rome."

[24] See page 129.

[25] See page 118.

[26] See page 89.

[27] Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 21.

[28] It should be noticed, however, that as yet Rome controlled only the central and southern parts of what is the modern kingdom of Italy. Two large divisions of that kingdom, which every Italian now regards as essential to its unity, were in other hands—the Po valley and the island of Sicily.

[29] See page 106.

[30] Latin colonists did not have the right of voting in the assemblies at Rome. This privilege was enjoyed, however, by members of the "Roman" colonies, which were planted mainly along the coast. See the map, page 156.

[31] See page 40.

[32] See page 116.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT AGE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, 264-31 B.C. [1]

56. THE RIVALS: ROME AND CARTHAGE, 264-218 B.C.

THE PUNIC WARS

The conquest of Italy made Rome one of the five leading states of the Mediterranean world. In the East there were the kingdoms of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, which had inherited the dominions of Alexander the Great. In the West there were Carthage and Rome, once in friendly alliance, but now to become the bitterest foes. Rome had scarcely reached the headship of united Italy before she was involved in a life-and-death struggle with this rival power. The three wars between them are known as the Punic wars; they are the most famous contests that ancient history records; and they ended in the complete destruction of Carthage.

FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE

More than a century before the traditional date at which Rome rose upon her seven hills, Phoenician colonists laid the foundations of a second Tyre. The new city occupied an admirable site, for it bordered on rich farming land and had the largest harbor of the north African coast. A position at the junction of the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean gave it

unsurpassed opportunities for trade. At the same time Carthage was far enough away to be out of the reach of Persian or Macedonian conquerors.

COMMERCIAL EMPIRE OF CARTHAGE

By the middle of the third century B.C. the Carthaginians had formed an imposing commercial empire. Their African dominions included the strip of coast from Cyrene westward to the strait of Gibraltar. Their colonies covered the shores of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and southern Spain. The western half of the Mediterranean had become a Carthaginian lake.

CARTHAGINIAN CIVILIZATION

Before the opening of the Punic wars Carthage had been much enlarged by emigrants from Tyre, after the capture of that city by Alexander. [2] The Phoenician colonists kept their own language, customs, and beliefs and did not mingle with the native African peoples. Carthage in form was a republic, but the real power lay in the hands of one hundred men, selected from the great merchant families. It was a government by capitalists who cared very little for the welfare of the poor freemen and slaves over whom they ruled. The wealth of Carthage enabled her to raise huge armies of mercenary soldiers and to build warships which in size, number, and equipment surpassed those of any other Mediterranean state. Mistress of a wide realm, strong both by land and sea, Carthage was now to prove herself Rome's most dangerous foe.

[Illustration: COLUMN OF DUILIUS (RESTORED) The Roman admiral, Duilius, who won a great victory in 260 B.C., was honored by a triumphal column set up in the Forum. The monument was adorned with the brazen beaks of the captured Carthaginian vessels. Part of the inscription, reciting the achievements of the Roman fleet, has been preserved.]

ORIGIN OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

The First Punic War was a contest for Sicily. The Carthaginians aimed to establish their rule over that island, which from its situation seems to belong almost as much to Africa as to Italy. But Rome, having become supreme in Italy, also cast envious eyes on Sicily. She believed, too, that the Carthaginians, if they should conquer Sicily, would sooner or later invade southern Italy. The fear for her possessions, as well as the desire to gain new ones, led Rome to fling down the gage of battle.

COURSE AND RESULTS OF THE WAR, 264-241 B.C.

The contest between the two rival states began in 264 B.C. and lasted nearly twenty-four years. The Romans overran Sicily and even made an unsuccessful invasion of Africa, but the main struggle was on the sea. Here at first the Romans were at a disadvantage, for they had no ships as large and powerful as those of the Carthaginians. With characteristic energy, however, they built several great war fleets and finally won a complete victory over the enemy. The treaty of peace provided that Carthage should abandon Sicily, return all prisoners without ransom, and pay a heavy indemnity.

THE INTERVAL OF PREPARATION, 241-218 B.C.

Carthage, though beaten, had not been humbled. She had lost Sicily and the commercial monopoly of the Mediterranean. But she was not ready to abandon all hope of recovering her former supremacy. The peace amounted to no more than an armed truce. Both parties were well aware that the real conflict was yet to come. The war, however, was delayed for nearly a quarter of a century. During this interval Rome strengthened her military position by seizing the islands of Sardinia and Corsica from Carthage and by conquering the Gauls in the Po valley. The Carthaginians, meanwhile,

began to create a new empire in Spain, whose silver mines would supply fresh means for another contest and whose hardy tribes would furnish soldiers as good as the Roman legionaries.

57. HANNIBAL AND THE GREAT PUNIC WAR, 218-201 B.C.

BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, 218 B.C.

The steady advance of the Carthaginian arms in Spain caused much uneasiness in Rome and at length led that city to declare war. Carthage herself was not unwilling for a second trial of strength. Her leading general, Hannibal, who had been winning renown in Spain, believed that the Carthaginians were now in a position to wage an aggressive war against their mighty rival. And so the two great Mediterranean powers, each confident of success, renewed the struggle for supremacy.

HANNIBAL

At the opening of the conflict Hannibal was not quite twenty-seven years of age. While yet a mere child, so the story went, his father had led him to the altar, and bade him swear by the Carthaginian gods eternal enmity to Rome. He followed his father to Spain and there learned all the duties of a soldier. As a master of the art of war, he ranks with Alexander the Great. The Macedonian king conquered the world for the glory of conquest; Hannibal, burning with patriotism, fought to destroy the power which had humbled his native land. He failed; and his failure left Carthage weaker than he found her. Few men have possessed a more dazzling genius than Hannibal, but his genius was not employed for the lasting good of humanity.

HANNIBAL'S INVASION OF ITALY

The Romans planned to conduct the war in Spain and Africa, at a distance from their own shores. Hannibal's bold movements totally upset these calculations. The Carthaginian general had determined that the conflict should take place in the Italian peninsula itself. Since Roman fleets now controlled the Mediterranean, it was necessary for Hannibal to lead his army, with its supplies, equipment, and beasts of burden, by the long and dangerous land route from Spain to Italy. In the summer of 218 B.C. Hannibal set out from Spain with a large force of infantry and cavalry, besides a number of elephants. Beyond the river Ebro he found himself in hostile territory, through which the soldiers had to fight their way. To force the passage of the Pyrenees and the Alps cost him more than half his original army. When, after a five months' march he stood on the soil of Italy, Hannibal had scarcely twenty-five thousand troops with which to meet the immense power of Rome—a power that, given time, could muster to her defense more than half a million disciplined soldiers.

FIRST VICTORIES OF HANNIBAL

The Romans were surprised by the boldness and rapidity of Hannibal's movements. They had expected to conduct the war far away in foreign lands; they now knew that they must fight for their own homes and firesides. The first battles were complete victories for the Carthaginians and opened the road to Rome. Hannibal's plans, however, did not include a siege of the capital. He would not shatter his victorious army in an assault on a fortified town. Hannibal's real object was to bring the Italians over to his side, to ruin Rome through the revolts of her allies. But now he learned, apparently for the first time, that Italy was studded with Latin colonies, [3] each a miniature Rome, each prepared to resist to the bitter end. Not a single city opened its gates to the invader. On such solid foundations rested Roman rule in Italy.

A DICTATORSHIP

The Senate faced the crisis with characteristic energy. New forces were raised and intrusted to a dictator, [4] Quintus Fabius Maximus. He refused to meet Hannibal in a pitched battle, but followed doggedly his enemy's footsteps, meanwhile drilling his soldiers to become a match for the Carthaginian veterans. This strategy was little to the taste of the Roman populace, who nicknamed Fabius *Cunctator*, "the Laggard." However, it gave Rome a brief breathing space, until her preparations to crush the invader should be completed.

[Illustration: A CARTHAGINAN OR ROMAN HELMET (British Museum, London)
Found on the battle field of Cannae.]

BATTLE OF CANNAE, 316 B.C.

After the term of Fabius as dictator had expired, new consuls were chosen. They commanded the largest army Rome had ever put in the field. The opposing forces met at Cannae in Apulia. The Carthaginians numbered less than fifty thousand men; the Romans had more than eighty thousand troops. Hannibal's sole superiority lay in his cavalry, which was posted on the wings with the infantry occupying the space between. Hannibal's center was weak and gave way before the Romans, who fought this time massed in solid columns. The arrangement was a poor one, for it destroyed the mobility of the legions. The Roman soldiers, having pierced the enemy's lines, now found themselves exposed on both flanks to the African infantry and taken in the rear by Hannibal's splendid cavalry. The battle ended in a hideous butchery. One of the consuls died fighting bravely to the last; the other escaped from the field and with the wreck of his army fled to Rome. A Punic commander who survived such a disaster would have perished on

the cross; the Roman commander received the thanks of the Senate "for not despairing of the republic." [5]

AFTER CANNAE

The battle of Cannae marks the summit of Hannibal's career. He maintained himself in Italy for thirteen years thereafter, but the Romans, taught by bitter experience, refused another engagement with their foe. Hannibal's army was too small and too poorly equipped with siege engines for a successful attack on Rome. His brother, Hasdrubal, led strong reinforcements from Spain to Italy, but these were caught and destroyed before they could effect a junction with Hannibal's troops. Meanwhile the brilliant Roman commander, Publius Scipio, drove the Carthaginians from Spain and invaded Africa. Hannibal was summoned from Italy to face this new adversary. He came, and on the field of Zama (202 B.C.) met his first and only defeat. Scipio, the victor, received the proud surname, *Africanus*.

PEACE IN 201 B.C.

Exhausted Carthage could now do no more than sue for peace on any terms that Rome was willing to grant. In the hour of defeat she still trusted her mighty soldier, and it was Hannibal who conducted the final negotiations. The conditions of peace were severe enough. The Carthaginians gave up Spain and all their ships except ten triremes. They were saddled with a huge indemnity and bound to engage in no war without the consent of Rome. Carthage thus became a dependent ally of the Roman city.

VICTORIOUS ROME

In describing the course and outcome of the Second Punic War our sympathies naturally go out to the heroic figure of Hannibal, who fought so

long and so bravely for his native land. It is clear, however, that Rome's victory in the gigantic struggle was essential to the continued progress of classical civilization. The triumph of Carthage in the third century, like that of Persia in the fifth century, [6] must have resulted in the spread of Oriental ideas and customs throughout the Mediterranean. From this fate Rome saved Europe.

58. ROMAN SUPREMACY IN THE WEST AND IN THE EAST, 201-133 B.C.

THIRD PUNIC WAR BEGUN, 148 B.C.

Carthage had been humbled, but not destroyed. She still enjoyed the advantages of her magnificent situation and continued to be a competitor of Rome for the trade of the Mediterranean. The Romans watched with jealousy the reviving strength of the Punic city and at last determined to blot it out of existence. In 149 B.C. a large army was landed in Africa, and the inhabitants of Carthage were ordered to remove ten miles from the sea. They resolved to perish in the ruins of their capital, rather than obey such a cruel command.

[Illustration: A TESTUDO A relief from the Column of Trajan, Rome. The name *testudo* a tortoise (shell) was applied to the covering made by a body of soldiers who placed their shields over their heads The shields fitted so closely together that men could walk on them and even horses and chariots could be driven over them.]

[Illustration: Map, THE EXPANSION OF ROMAN DOMINIONS 264-133 B. C.]

DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE, 146 B.C.

Carthage held out for three years. The doubtful honor of its capture belonged to Scipio Aemilianus, grandson, by adoption, of the victor of Zama. For seven days the legionaries fought their way, street by street, house by house, until only fifty thousand inhabitants were left to surrender to the tender mercies of the Romans. The Senate ordered that the city should be burned and that its site should be plowed up and dedicated to the infernal gods. Such was the end of the most formidable rival Rome ever met in her career of conquest. [7]

SICILY

The two European countries, Sicily and Spain, which Rome had taken from Carthage, presented to the conqueror very different problems. Sicily had been long accustomed to foreign masters. Its civilized and peace-loving inhabitants were as ready to accept Roman rule as, in the past, they had accepted the rule of Greeks and Carthaginians. Every year the island became more and more a part of Italy and of Rome.

SPAIN

Spain, on the contrary, gave the Romans some hard fighting. The wild Spanish tribes loved their liberty, and in their mountain fastnesses long kept up a desperate struggle for independence. It was not until the Romans sent Scipio Aemilianus to Spain that the Spanish resistance was finally overcome (133 B.C.).

ROMANIZATION OF SPAIN

All Spain, except the inaccessible mountain district in the northwest, now became Roman territory. Many colonists settled there; traders and speculators flocked to seaports; even the legionaries, quartered in Spain for long periods, married Spanish wives and, on retiring from active service,

made their homes in the peninsula. Rome thus continued in Spain the process of Romanization which she had begun in Italy. [8] She was to repeat this process in Gaul and Britain. [9] Her way was prepared by the sword; but after the sword came civilization.

ROME AND MACEDONIA

While Rome was subduing the West, she was also extending her influence over the highly civilized peoples of the East. Roman interference in the affairs of Macedonia found an excuse in the attempt of that country, during the Second Punic War, to give aid to Hannibal. It was a fateful moment when, for the second time, the legion faced the phalanx. The easy victory over Macedonia showed that this Hellenistic kingdom was no match for the Italian republic. Macedonia was finally made into a subject state or province of Rome. Thus disappeared a great power, which Philip had founded and which Alexander had led to the conquest of the world.

[Illustration: STORMING A CITY (RECONSTRUCTION)]

ROME AND GREECE

Having subdued Macedonia, Rome proclaimed Greece a free state. But this "freedom" really meant subjection, as was amply proved when some of the Greek cities rose in revolt against Roman domination. The heavy hand of Roman vengeance especially descended on Corinth, at this time one of the most beautiful cities of the world. In 146 B.C., the same year in which the destruction of Carthage occurred, Corinth was sacked and burned to the ground. [10] The fall of Corinth may be said to mark the final extinction of Greek liberty. Though the Hellenic cities and states were allowed to rule themselves, they paid tribute and thus acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. A century later, Greece became in name, as well as in fact, a province of the Roman Empire. [11]

ROME AND SYRIA

Rome, in the meantime, was drawn into a conflict with the kingdom of Syria. That Asiatic power proved to be no more capable than Macedonia of checking the Roman advance. The Syrian king had to give up the greater part of his possessions in Asia Minor. The western part of the peninsula, together with the Greek cities on the coast, was formed in 133 B.C. into the province of Asia. Thus the same year that witnessed the complete establishment of Roman rule in Spain saw Rome gain her first possessions at the opposite end of the Mediterranean.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 133 B.C.

Roman supremacy over the Mediterranean world was now all but complete. In 264 B.C. Rome had been only one of the five great Mediterranean states. In 133 B.C. no other power existed to match its strength with that of Rome. To her had fallen in the West the heritage of Carthage, in the East the heritage of Alexander. Rome had built up this mighty empire at a terrible cost in blood and treasure. Let us see what use she was to make of it.

59. THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD UNDER ROMAN RULE

CREATION OF THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM

Rome's dealings with the new dependencies across the sea did not follow the methods that had proved so successful in Italy. The Italian peoples had been treated with great liberality. Rome regarded them as allies, exempted them from certain taxes, and in many instances gave them Roman citizenship. It did not seem possible to extend this wise policy to remote and often barbarous lands beyond the borders of Italy. Rome adopted, instead, much the same system of imperial rule that had been previously

followed by Persia and by Athens. [12] She treated the foreign peoples from Spain to Asia as subjects and made her conquered territories into provinces. [13] Their inhabitants were compelled to pay tribute and to accept the oversight of Roman officials.

EVILS OF THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM

As the Romans came more and more to relish the opportunities for plunder afforded by a wealthy province, its inhabitants were often wretchedly misgoverned. Many governors of the conquered lands were corrupt and grasping men. They tried to wring all the money they could from their helpless subjects. To the extortions of the governors must be added those of the tax collectors, whose very name of "publican" [14] became a byword for all that was rapacious and greedy. In this first effort to manage the world she had won, Rome had certainly made a failure. A city-state could not rule, with justice and efficiency, an empire.

THE PROFITS OF CONQUEST

In the old days, before Rome entered on a career of foreign conquest, her citizens were famous among men for their love of country, their simple lives, and their conservative, old-fashioned ways. They worked hard on their little farms, fought bravely in the legions, and kept up with careful piety all the ceremonies of their religion. But now the Roman republic was an imperial power with all the privileges of universal rule. Her foreign wars proved to be immensely profitable. At the end of a successful campaign the soldiers received large gifts from their general, besides the booty taken from the enemy. The Roman state itself profited from the sale of enslaved prisoners and their property. Large sums of money were sometimes seized and taken to Rome. When once peace had been made, the Roman governors and tax collectors followed in the wake of the armies and squeezed the

provincials at every turn. The Romans, indeed, seem to have conquered the world less for glory than for profit.

GROWTH OF LUXURY

So much wealth poured into Rome from every side that there could scarcely fail to be a sudden growth of luxurious tastes. Rich nobles quickly developed a relish for all sorts of reckless display. They built fine houses adorned with statues, costly paintings, and furnishings. They surrounded themselves with troops of slaves. Instead of plain linen clothes they and their wives wore garments of silk and gold. At their banquets they spread embroidered carpets, purple coverings, and dishes of gilt plate. Pomp and splendor replaced the rude simplicity of an earlier age.

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE PEASANTRY

But if the rich were becoming richer, it seems that the poor were also becoming poorer. After Rome became mistress of the Mediterranean, her markets were flooded with the cheap wheat raised in the provinces, especially in those granaries, Sicily and Africa. The price of wheat fell so low that Roman peasants could not raise enough to support their families and pay their taxes. When agriculture became unprofitable, the farmer was no longer able to remain on the soil. He had to sell out, often at a ruinous sacrifice. His land was bought by capitalists, who turned many small fields into vast sheep pastures and cattle ranches. Gangs of slaves, laboring under the lash, gradually took the place of the old Roman peasantry, the very strength of the state. Not unjust was the famous remark, "Great domains ruined Italy." [15]

THE EXODUS OF THE CITIES

The decline of agriculture and the disappearance of the small farmer under the stress of foreign competition may be studied in modern England as well as in ancient Italy. Nowadays an English farmer, under the same circumstances, will often emigrate to America or to Australia, where land is cheap and it is easy to make a living. But these Roman peasants did not care to go abroad and settle on better soil in Spain or in Africa. They thronged, instead, to the cities, to Rome especially, where they labored for a small wage, fared plainly on wheat bread, and dwelt in huge lodging houses, three or four stories high.

THE CITY MOB

We know very little about this poorer population of Rome. They must have lived from hand to mouth. Since their votes controlled elections, [16] they were courted by candidates for office and kept from grumbling by being fed and amused. Such poor citizens, too lazy for steady work, too intelligent to starve, formed, with the other riffraff of a great city, the elements of a dangerous mob. And the mob, henceforth, plays an ever-larger part in the history of the times.

HELLENIC INFLUENCE AT ROME

We must not imagine, however, that all the changes in Roman life worked for evil. If the Romans were becoming more luxurious, they were likewise gaining in culture. The conquests which brought Rome in touch, first with Magna Graecia and Sicily, then with Greece itself and the Hellenic East, prepared the way for the entrance of Hellenism. Roman soldiers and traders carried back to Italy an acquaintance with Greek customs and ideas. Thousands of cultivated Greeks, some as slaves, others as freemen, settled in the capital as actors, physicians, artists, and writers. There they introduced the Greek language, as well as the religion, literature, and art of their native land. Roman nobles of the better type began to take

an interest in other things than simply farming, commerce, or war. They imitated Greek fashions in dress and manners, collected Greek books, and filled their homes with the productions of Greek artists. Henceforth every aspect of Roman society felt the quickening influence of the older, richer culture of the Hellenic world. It was a Roman poet who wrote, "Captive Greece captured her conqueror rude." [17]

60. THE GRACCHI

TIBERIUS AND GAIUS GRACCHUS

In 133 B.C., a year otherwise made memorable by the final subjugation of Spain and the acquisition of Asia, efforts began Rome to remedy some of the disorders which were now seen to be sapping the strength of Roman society. The first persons to undertake the work of reform were the two brothers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. The Gracchi belonged to the highest nobility of Rome. Their father had filled a consulship and a censorship and had celebrated triumphs. Cornelia, their mother, was a daughter of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. A fine type of the Roman matron, she called her boys her "jewels," more precious than gold, and brought them up to love their country better than their own lives. Tiberius, the elder brother, was only thirty years of age when he became a tribune and began his career in Roman politics.

AGRARIAN LAW OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

Tiberius signalized his election to the tribunate by bringing forward his celebrated agrarian law. He proposed that the public lands of Rome, then largely occupied by wealthy men who alone had the money necessary to work them with cattle and slaves, should be reclaimed by the state, divided into small tracts, and given to the poorer citizens. By getting the people

back again on the soil, Tiberius hoped to revive the declining agriculture of Italy.

DEFECTS OF THE AGRARIAN LAW

This agrarian law, though well intentioned, did not go to the root of the real difficulty—foreign competition. No legislation could have helped the farming class, except import duties to keep out the cheap grain from abroad. But the idle mob at Rome, controlling the assemblies, would never have voted in favor of taxing their food, thus making it more expensive. At the same time the proposal to take away part of the public domains from its possessors roused a hornet's nest about the reformer's ears. Rich people had occupied the public land for so long that they had come to look upon it as really their own. They would be very sure to oppose such a measure. Poor people, of course, welcomed a scheme which promised to give them farms for nothing. Tiberius even wished to use the public funds to stock the farms of his new peasantry. This would have been a mischievous act of state philanthropy.

FAILURE AND DEATH OF TIBERIUS, 133 B.C.

In spite of these defects in his measure, Tiberius urged its passage with fiery eloquence. But the great landowners in the Senate got another tribune, devoted to their interests, to place his veto [18] on the proposed legislation. The impatient Tiberius at once took a revolutionary step. Though a magistrate could not legally be removed from office, Tiberius had the offending tribune deposed and dragged from his seat. The law was then passed without further opposition. This action of Tiberius placed him clearly in the wrong. The aristocrats threatened to punish him as soon as his term of office was over. To avoid impeachment Tiberius sought reelection to the tribunate for the following year. This, again, was contrary to custom, since no one might hold office for two successive terms. On the day

appointed for the election, while voting was in progress, a crowd of angry senators burst into the Forum and killed Tiberius, together with three hundred of his followers. Both sides had now begun to display an utter disregard for law. Force and bloodshed, henceforth, were to help decide political disputes.

GAIUS GRACCHUS BECOMES TRIBUNE, 123 B.C.

Tiberius Gracchus, in his efforts to secure economic reform, had unwittingly provoked a conflict between the Senate and the assemblies. Ten years after his death, his brother, Gaius Gracchus, came to the front. Gaius quickly made himself a popular leader with the set purpose of remodeling the government of Rome. He found in the tribunate an office from which to work against the Senate. After the death of Tiberius a law had been passed permitting a man to hold the position of tribune year after year. Gaius intended to be a sort of perpetual tribune, and to rule the Roman assemblies very much as Pericles had ruled the people at Athens. [19] One of his first measures was a law permitting the sale of grain from the public storehouses to Roman citizens at about half the market price. This measure, of course, won over the city mob, but it must be regarded as very unwise. It saddled the treasury with a heavy burden, and later the government had to furnish the grain for nothing. Indiscriminate charity of this sort increased, rather than lessened, the number of paupers.

MEASURES OF GAIUS TO RELIEVE THE POOR

Having won popular support, Gaius was able to secure the additional legislation which he deemed necessary to carry out his brother's work. He reenacted the land laws for the benefit of the peasantry and furnished work for the unemployed by building roads throughout Italy. He also began to establish colonies of poor citizens, both in Italy and in the provinces. This was a wise policy. Had it been allowed to continue, such state-assisted

emigration, by providing the landless poor of Italy with farms abroad, would have relieved the economic distress of the peninsula.

AN EFFORT TO EXTEND ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

Gaius now came forward with another measure which marked him as an able and prudent statesman. He proposed to bestow the right of voting in the Roman assemblies upon the inhabitants of the Latin colonies. [20] He thought, also, that the Italian allies should be allowed to intermarry with Romans and hold property under the protection of the Roman law. No doubt Gaius believed that the time might come when all the Italian peoples would be citizens of Rome. This time did come, thirty years later, but only after a terrible war that nearly ruined Rome.

FAILURE AND DEATH OF GAIUS, 121 B.C.

The effort by Gaius to extend Roman citizenship cost the reformer all his hard-won popularity. It aroused the jealousy of the selfish city mob, which believed that the entrance of so many new citizens would mean the loss of its privileges. There would not be so many free shows and so much cheap grain. So the people rejected the measure and, turning from their former favorite, failed to reëlect him to the tribunate. When Gaius was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribune's office, [21] he fell an easy victim to senatorial hatred. Another bloody tumult broke out, in which Gaius and three thousand of his followers perished. The consul who quelled the disturbance erected at the head of the Forum a temple to Harmony (*Concordia*).

THE GRACCHI BEGIN THE REVOLUTION

The pathetic career of the Gracchi had much significance in Roman history. They were the unconscious sponsors of a revolutionary movement

which did not end until the republic had come under the rule of one man. They failed because they put their trust in the support of the Roman mob. Future agitators were to appear with the legionaries at their heels.

61. MARIUS AND SULLA

MARIUS AND THE JUGURTHINE WAR, 112-106 B.C.

Although Rome now ruled throughout the Mediterranean, she was constantly engaged in border wars in one corner or another of her wide dominions. These wars brought to the front new military leaders, of whom the first was Gaius Marius. He was a peasant's son, a coarse, rude soldier, but an honest, courageous, and able man. Marius rose to prominence in the so- called Jugurthine War, which the Romans were waging against Jugurtha, king of Numidia. That wily African had discovered that it was easier to bribe the Roman commanders than to fight them; and the contest dragged on in disgraceful fashion year after year. Marius at last persuaded the people to elect him consul and intrust him with the conduct of the war. By generalship and good fortune he speedily concluded the struggle and brought Jugurtha in chains to Rome.

MARIUS AND THE WAR WITH THE GERMANS, 102-101 B.C.

A few years later Marius had another opportunity to win distinction. He became the defender of Rome and Italy against a dangerous invasion of Germanic barbarians, who were ravaging Transalpine Gaul and the Po Valley. The decisive victories which Marius gained over them removed a grave danger which threatened the Roman world. The time had not yet come for ancient civilization to be submerged under a wave of barbarism.

SULLA AND THE SOCIAL WAR, 90-88 B.C.

The second military leader whom this troubled period brought forth was Lucius Cornelius Sulla. He was a man of noble birth, and with his social gifts, his appreciation of art and letters, his knowledge of men and the world, presented a sharp contrast to Marius. Sulla's great abilities quickly brought him into public notice; he rose rapidly from one office to another; and in the Social War showed his skill as a commander. This struggle was the consequence of Rome's refusal to grant the rights of citizenship to her Italian allies. The strength of the rebellion lay among the Samnites and other peoples of central and southern Italy. The war came to an end only when Rome promised the franchise to all Italians who returned to their allegiance. Before many years had passed, the inhabitants of nearly all the Italian towns south of the Rubicon River received Roman citizenship. It was this same wise policy of making conquered peoples equal with herself that afterwards led Rome to grant citizenship to the inhabitants of the provinces. [22]

SULLA AND THE MITHRADATIC WAR, 88-84 B.C.

What military honors were gained in the struggle belonged to Sulla. His reward was the consulship and an appointment as general in still another conflict which distracted Rome had to face. While that city had been busy with civil enemies and barbarian foes, a powerful state, known as Pontus, had been growing up in Asia Minor. Its king, Mithradates, overran the Roman provinces in the Orient and threatened to annex them to his own kingdom. But Sulla, with greatly inferior forces, compelled Mithradates to abandon his conquests, surrender his fleet, and pay a large indemnity. If Marius had the honor of repelling the barbarian invasion of the West, Sulla had the honor of preserving Rome's possessions in the East.

RIVALRY OF MARIUS AND SULLA

Marius and Sulla were rivals not only in war but also in politics. Sulla naturally espoused the aristocratic cause and stood as the champion of the Senate. Marius just as naturally became the head of the democratic party. The rivalry between the two leaders finally led to civil war. During Sulla's absence in the East the democrats got the upper hand at Rome and revenged themselves by murdering their political foes among the aristocrats. The reign of terror ended only with the sudden death of Marius, just after he had been elected to his seventh consulship. A few years later Sulla returned to Italy with his army and defeated the democrats in a great battle outside the Colline Gate of Rome. Sulla signalized his victory by ordering the assassination of every prominent man in the democratic party.

SULLA AS "PERPETUAL DICTATOR"

Sulla regarded this legalized butchery as a necessary step in his self-appointed task of putting the Roman government once more to rights. He now received the title of "Perpetual Dictator," with complete authority to govern the state until the new order of things should be established. Rome thus came under the rule of one man for the first time since the expulsion of the kings.

SULLA'S DEATH, 78 B.C.

The various measures by which Sulla intrenched the Senate in power did not long survive his death and hence had no lasting influence on Roman politics. After a rule of three years Sulla voluntarily gave up the dictatorship and retired to his villa on the bay of Naples. He died a few months later. The Senate honored him with a public funeral, the most splendid that Rome had ever seen. His monument bore an inscription which the dictator himself is said to have composed: "No friend ever did him a kindness and no enemy, a wrong, without being fully repaid." [23] That was one epitaph which told the truth.

62. POMPEY AND CAESAR

RISE OF POMPEY

The struggle between Marius and Sulla, decided as it was by the sword, marks a stage in the decline of the Roman Republic. The careers of these two men showed how easily the state could be ruled by a successful commander who had his soldiers behind him. After Sulla's death his friend Pompey became the leading figure in Roman politics. Pompey's first service was in Spain, where the adherents of Marius sought to humble the Senate and the aristocratic party by encouraging the Spaniards to rise against Roman rule. Having crushed this rebellion, Pompey returned to Italy in time to take part in putting down a formidable insurrection of slaves, outlaws, and ruined peasants. He was next intrusted with the war against the pirates, who swarmed in the Mediterranean, preyed on commerce, and plundered wealthy cities near the coast. Brilliant success in clearing the seas of these marauders led to his being sent to the East to end the war with Mithradates, who was once more in arms against Rome. Pompey drove the Pontic monarch from his kingdom and then annexed Syria to the Roman dominions. When Pompey returned to Rome in 62 B.C., he brought with him a reputation as the most successful general of his time.

[Illustration: GNAEUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS (Spada Palace, Rome)]

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

We have seen how steadily since the days of the Gracchi the Roman state had been moving toward the rule of one man. Marius, Sulla, and Pompey each represent a step in the direction of monarchy. Yet there were still able and patriotic leaders at Rome who believed in the old order of things and tried their best to uphold the fast-perishing republic. No republican statesman was more devoted to the constitution than Cicero. A native of

Arpinum, the same Italian town which had already given birth to Marius, Cicero came to Rome a youth without wealth or family influence. He made his way into Roman society by his social and conversational powers and by his capacity for friendship. His mind had been carefully trained under the influence of Hellenic culture; he had traveled and studied in Greece; and throughout life he loved to steal away from the tumult of the Forum and the law courts and enjoy the companionship of his books. Though the proud nobles were inclined to look down on him as a "new man," Cicero's splendid eloquence soon gave him prominence in politics. He ranks in fame as the second orator of antiquity, inferior only to Demosthenes.

[Illustration: MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO (Vatican Museum, Rome)]

IMPEACHMENT OF VERRES, 70 B.C.

Cicero rose to prominence through his prosecution of Verres, a thieving governor of Sicily. Verres had powerful friends among the nobles at Rome and counted on his influence and wealth to escape punishment. He openly boasted that he had plunder enough to live in luxury, even though he had to surrender two-thirds of it as fees to his lawyers and bribes to the jury. But Verres had not reckoned with the brilliant young advocate who took up the cause of the oppressed provincials. Cicero hurried to Sicily and there collected such an overwhelming mass of evidence that the bare statement of the facts was enough to condemn the criminal. Verres went into exile. Cicero became the head of the Roman bar. Seven years later he was elected consul.

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE, 63 B.C.

The year of Cicero's consulship was marked by an event which throws a lurid light on the conditions of the time. Lucius Catiline, a young noble of ability, but bankrupt in character and purse, organized a conspiracy to seize

Rome, murder the magistrates, and plunder the rich. He gathered about himself outlaws of every description, slaves, and starving peasants —all the discontented and needy classes throughout Italy. He and his associates were desperate anarchists who sought to restore their own broken fortunes by overturning the government. The spread of the insurrection was checked by Cicero's vigorous measures. In a series of famous speeches he exposed Catiline's plans to the astounded Senate. Catiline then fled to his camp in Etruria and shortly afterwards perished in battle, together with three thousand of his followers. Cicero now gained fresh popularity and honor. The grateful citizens called him "Father of his Country" (*Pater Patriae*).

RISE OF CAESAR

Rome at this time held another prominent leader in politics, namely, Gaius Julius Caesar. He belonged to a noble family, but his father had favored the democratic cause and his aunt had married Marius. After Sulla's death Caesar threw himself with energy into the game of politics at the capital city. In these early years the future statesman seems to have been a demagogue of the usual type, who sought through the favor of the people a rapid rise to power. He won the ear of the multitude by his fiery harangues, his bribes of money, and his gifts of food and public shows. Caesar's expenditures for such purposes were enormous. Before he was twenty-four he had spent all his private fortune. Henceforth he was "financed" by the millionaire Crassus, who lent him the money so necessary for a successful career as a politician.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE, 60 B.C.

Caesar and Crassus, the two leaders of the democratic party at Rome, now joined with Pompey in what is called the First Triumvirate. To this "ring" Pompey contributed his military reputation, Crassus, his wealth, and Caesar, his influence over the Roman mob. Supported both by the people

and by the army, these three men were really masters of Rome. An immediate result of the First Triumvirate was the appointment of Caesar as governor of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul.

[Illustration: GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR (British Museum, London)]

CAESAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL, 58-50 B.C.

The story of his career in Gaul has been related by Caesar himself in the famous *Commentaries*. This book describes a series of military successes which have given the author a place among the world's generals. Caesar overran Transalpine Gaul, twice bridged the Rhine and invaded Germany, made two expeditions to Britain, and brought within the Roman dominions all the territory bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Atlantic Ocean.

ROMANIZATION OF GAUL

Caesar's conquests in Gaul are more than a chapter in the history of the art of war. They belong to the history of civilization. Henceforth the frontier of prehistoric Europe retreated rapidly to the north. The map of the ancient civilized world widened from the Mediterranean basin to the shores of the Atlantic. Into the conquered lands came the Latin language, the Roman law, and the customs and institutions of Rome. Gaul speedily became one of the most flourishing parts of the Roman world. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed Cicero, "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but now they are no longer needed."

DEFEAT AND DEATH OF CRASSUS, 53 B.C.

During Caesar's long absence in Gaul the First Triumvirate was suddenly ended by the death of one of its members. It had been a part of their bargain

in dividing the Roman world that Crassus should have the government of Syria. But this unlucky general, while aspiring to rival Caesar's exploits by new conquests beyond the Euphrates, lost his army and his life in battle with the Parthians. Besides checking the extension of the Roman arms in the remote East, the disaster had its effect on Roman politics. It dissolved the triumvirate and prepared the way for that rivalry between Caesar and Pompey which formed the next step in the downward course of the republic.

GROWING OPPOSITION BETWEEN POMPEY AND CAESAR

The two men were now rapidly drawing apart. Pompey grew more and more jealous of Caesar and more and more fearful that the latter was aiming at despotic power. He himself had no desire to be king or dictator. He was equally determined that Caesar should not gain such a position. In this attitude he had the full support of Cicero and the other members of the Senate. They saw clearly that the real danger to the state was Caesar, not Pompey.

CAESAR DECLARES WAR IN THE REPUBLIC, 49 B.C.

Caesar's command in Gaul was to expire in 49 B.C. The senatorial party desired that he should return to Rome without an army. His opponents intended to prosecute him when he became a private citizen. Caesar had no inclination to trust himself to their tender mercies and refused to disband his legions unless his rival did the same. Finally the Senate, conscious of Pompey's support, ordered him to lay down his arms on pain of outlawry. Caesar replied to this challenge of the Senate by leading his troops across the Rubicon, the little stream that separated Cisalpine Gaul from Italy. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast." [24] He had now declared war on the republic.

CAESAR MASTER OF THE WEST

Caesar's bold movement caught the senatorial party unawares. Pompey could not gather his legions before his audacious foe reached Rome. Finding it impossible to make a stand in Italy, Pompey, with the consuls and many senators, withdrew to Greece. Caesar did not follow him at once. He hurried to Spain and, after a brilliant campaign only six weeks in length, broke down the republican resistance in that peninsula. Having now secured Italy and Spain, Caesar was free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East.

[Illustration: Map, THE EXPANSION OF ROMAN DOMINIONS 133-31 B.C.]

BATTLE OF PHARSALUS, 48 B.C.

The final battle took place on the plain of Pharsalus in Thessaly. Pompey's troops, though nearly twice as numerous as Caesar's, were defeated after a severe struggle. Their great leader then fled to Egypt, only to be foully murdered. Pompey's head was sent to Caesar, but he turned from it with horror. Such was the end of an able general and an honest man, one who should have lived two hundred years earlier, when Rome was still a free state.

CAESAR IN EGYPT, ASIA MINOR, AND AFRICA, 48-46 B.C.

After Pharsalus there still remained several years of fighting before Caesar's victory was complete. He made Cleopatra, the beautiful queen of Egypt, secure in the possession of the throne and brought that country into dependence on Rome. He passed through Asia Minor and in one swift campaign crushed a revolt headed by the son of Mithridates. The conqueror sent tidings of his victory in a laconic dispatch: "I came, I saw, I

conquered." [25] After subduing the remnants of the senatorial party in Africa, Caesar returned home to crown his exploits by a series of splendid triumphs and to enjoy less than two years of untrammeled power.

63. THE WORK OF CAESAR

AUTHORITY AND POSITION OF CAESAR

The new government which Caesar brought into being was a monarchy in all except name. He became dictator for life and held other republican offices, such as the consulship and censorship. He refused the title of king, but accepted as a civil magistrate the name of *imperator*, [26] with which the soldiers had been wont to salute a victorious general. Though he abolished none of the old republican forms, the Senate became simply his advisory council, the assemblies, his submissive agents the consuls, praetors and tribunes, his pliant tools. The laurel wreath, the triumphal dress, the conqueror's scepter—all proclaimed the autocrat.

[Illustration: A ROMAN COIN WITH THE HEAD OF JULIUS CAESAR]

CHARACTER OF CAESAR'S RULE

Caesar used his power wisely and well. No massacres or confiscations sullied his victory. He treated his former foes with clemency and even with kindness. No sooner was domestic tranquillity assured than, with restless energy, he entered on a series of far-reaching reforms.

REFORMS AT ROME AND IN ITALY

Caesar's measures sought to remove the economic evils which a century of discord had made so manifest. By restricting the monthly distribution of

grain to those actually in need, he tried to discourage the public charity which was making the capital city a paradise for the idle and the shiftless. By planning great colonies beyond the sea, notably at Corinth and Carthage, he sought to provide farms for the landless citizens of Italy. His active mind even found time for such matters as the codification of Roman law, the construction of great public works, and the improvement of the coinage and the calendar. [27]

REFORMATION OF THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM

Caesar's reforms in the provinces had an epoch-making character. He reduced taxes, lessened the burden of their collection, and took into his own hands the appointment of provincial magistrates. Henceforth oppressive governors and swindling publicans had to expect swift, stern punishment from one whose interests included the welfare of both citizens and subjects. By granting Roman citizenship to communities in Gaul and Sicily, he indicated his purpose, as rapidly as possible, to convert the provincials into Romans. It was Caesar's aim to break down the barriers between Rome and her provinces, to wipe out the distinction between the conquerors and the conquered.

ASSASSINATION OF CAESAR, 44 B.C.

Caesar did not live to complete his task. Like that other colossal figure, Alexander the Great, he perished before his work as a statesman had hardly more than begun. On the Ides of March, 44 B.C., he was struck down in the Senate-house by the daggers of a group of envious and irreconcilable nobles, headed by Cassius and Brutus. He fell at the foot of Pompey's statue, pierced with no less than twenty-three wounds. His body was burnt on a pyre in the Forum, and his friend, Antony, pronounced the funeral eulogy.

CONSEQUENCES OF CAESAR'S DEATH

In the light of all the possibilities of beneficent government which Caesar was revealing, his cowardly murder becomes one of the most stupendous follies recorded in history. Caesar's death could not restore the republic. It served only to prolong disorder and strife within the Roman state. As Cicero himself said, hearing the news, "The tyrant is dead; the tyranny still lives."

64. ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN

ANTONY BECOMES CAESAR'S SUCCESSOR

The murderers of Caesar called themselves the "liberators" of the republic. They thought that all Rome would applaud their deed, but the contrary was true. The senatorial order remained lukewarm. The people, instead of flocking to their support, mourned the loss of a friend and benefactor. Soon the conspirators found themselves in great peril. Caesar's friend and lieutenant, Antony, who became sole consul after Caesar's death, quickly made himself master of the situation. Brutus and Cassius were forced to withdraw to the provinces which had been previously assigned to them by Caesar, leaving Antony to rule Rome as his successor.

A RIVAL IN THE YOUNG OCTAVIAN

Antony's hope of reigning supreme was soon disturbed by the appearance of a new rival. Caesar, in his will, had made his grandnephew, Octavian, [28] his heir. He now came to Rome to claim the inheritance. In that sickly, studious youth people did not at first recognize the masterful personality he was soon to exhibit. They rather reëchoed Cicero's sentiment that "the young man was to be praised, complimented, and got rid of." [29] But Octavian easily made himself a power, winning the populace by paying Caesar's legacies to them and conciliating the senatorial party by siding

with it against Antony. Men now began to talk of Octavian as the destined restorer of the republic.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE, 43 B.C.

Octavian, however, entertained other designs. He had never been sincere in his support of the Senate, and the distrustful policy of that body soon converted him into an active foe. From fighting Antony, Octavian turned to alliance with him. The two antagonists made up their differences, and with Lepidus, one of Caesar's lieutenants, as a third ally, marched on Rome at the head of their legions. The city fell again under military rule. The three men then united in the Second Triumvirate with full authority to govern and reorganize the state. The advent of this new tyranny was signalized by a butchery almost as bloody as Sulla's. Cicero, who had incurred the hatred of Antony by his fiery speeches against him, was the most illustrious victim. More than two thousand persons, mainly men of high rank, were slain. The triumvirs by this massacre firmly established their rule at Rome and in the West.

BATTLES OF PHILIPPI, 42 B.C.

In the East, where Brutus and Cassius had gathered a formidable force, the triumvirs were not to win without a struggle. It took place on the plain of Philippi in Macedonia. The two battles fought there ended in the suicide of the republican leaders and the dispersal of their troops. This was the last attempt to restore the republic by force of arms.

DIVISION OF THE ROMAN WORLD

Though the republic had been overthrown, it remained to be seen who would be master of the new empire, Antony or Octavian. The triumvirate lasted for more than ten years, but during this period the incompetent

Lepidus was set aside by his stronger colleagues. The two remaining members then divided between them the Roman world. Octavian took Italy and the West; Antony took the East, with Alexandria as his capital.

OCTAVIAN IN THE WEST

In the western half of the empire Octavian ruled quietly and with success. Men were already congratulating themselves on the return of peace under a second Caesar. In a few years Octavian, from an obscure boy of eighteen, had grown to be one of the most powerful personalities of his age.

ANTONY IN THE EAST

In the eastern half of the empire things did not go so well. Antony was clever, but fond of luxury and vice. He had married a sister of Octavian, but he soon grew tired of her and put her away for the fascinating Cleopatra. [30] The Roman world was startled by tidings that she had been proclaimed "queen of kings," and that to her and her sons had been given the richest provinces in the East. It was even rumored that Cleopatra, having enslaved Antony with her charms, planned to be enthroned as queen at Rome.

BATTLE OF ACTIUM, 31 B.C.

Antony's disgraceful conduct aroused the Roman people. They willingly followed Octavian to a war against one who seemed a national enemy. A naval battle in the bay of Actium, on the coast of Epirus, decided the issue. The fight had hardly begun before Cleopatra and Antony sailed away, leaving their fleet to take care of itself. Octavian pursued the infatuated pair into Egypt. Antony committed suicide, and Cleopatra, rather than be led a captive in a Roman triumph, followed his example. With the death of Cleopatra the dynasty of the Ptolemies [31] came to an end. Egypt henceforth formed a province of the Roman Empire.

THE TRIUMPH OF OCTAVIAN

Octavian, on his return to Rome, enjoyed the honors of a three days' triumph. [32] As the grand parade moved along the Sacred Way through the Forum, and thence to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, men noted that the magistrates, instead of heading the procession as was the custom, followed in the conqueror's train. It was a significant change. Octavian, not the magistrates of Rome, now ruled the Roman world.

65. THE END OF AN EPOCH

DOOM OF THE REPUBLIC

The republic, indeed, was doomed. A hundred years of dissension and civil warfare proclaimed clearly enough the failure of the old order. Rome was a city-state suddenly called to the responsibilities of universal rule. Both the machinery of her government and the morals of her people were inadequate for so huge a task. The gradual revolution which changed this Roman city-state into imperial Rome, judged by its results, is perhaps the most momentous movement in the annals of mankind. Let us summarize its course.

A CENTURY OF REVOLUTION

In 133 B.C. Roman society had been corrupted and enfeebled as the result of foreign conquests. The supreme power in the state more and more tended to fall into the hands of a narrow oligarchy—the senatorial nobility. Its dishonesty and weakness soon led to efforts at reform. The attempts of the Gracchi to overthrow the Senate's position and restore popular sovereignty ended in disaster. Then, in quick succession, arose a series of military leaders who aimed to secure by the sword what was no longer to be obtained through constitutional and legal means. Marius, a great general but

no politician, could only break down and destroy. Sulla, a sincere but narrow-minded statesman, could do no more than prop up the structure—already tottering—of senatorial rule. Pompey soon undid that work and left the constitution to become again the sport of rival soldiers. Caesar, triumphing over Pompey, gained a position of unchallenged supremacy. After Caesar's death, imperial power was permanently restored in the person of Octavian. The battle of Actium in 31 B.C. made Octavian master of the Roman world.

THE FUTURE

But the Romans were not yet an old and worn-out people. On the ruins of the old republican order it was still possible to build up a new imperial system in which good government, peace, and prosperity should prevail for more than two centuries. During this period Rome performed her real, her enduring, work for civilization.

STUDIES

1. Write a summary account (500 words) of Roman expansion 264-133 B.C.

2. On outline maps indicate the possessions of Carthage and Rome at the beginning of the First Punic War; at the beginning of the Second Punic War; at the end of the Second Punic War.

3. On outline maps indicate the boundaries of the Roman world in 133 B.C. and in 31 B.C. and the division into provinces at these dates.

4. What events are connected with the following places: Zama; Cannae; Actium; Pharsalus, and Philippi?

5. Who were Quintus Fabius Maximus, Mithradates, Catiline, and Cleopatra?

6. Identify the following dates: 146 B.C.; 264 B.C.; 133 B.C.; 201 B.C.; 44 B.C.; and 63 B.C.

7. Why has Carthage been called the "London" of the ancient world?

8. What is meant by the statement that Carthage is a "dumb actor on the stage of history"?

9. Was Rome wise in adopting her new policy of expansion beyond the limits of Italy?

10. Give some examples in modern times of war indemnities paid by defeated nations.

11. Why did the Romans call the Second Punic War the "War of Hannibal"?

12. What is a "Fabian policy"? Do you know why Washington was called the "American Fabius"?

13. What reasons can you give for Hannibal's early successes and final failure?

14. Show the signal importance to Rome of her control of the sea during the Second Punic War.

15. Comment on this statement: "As the rise of Rome was central in history, the Second Punic War was central in the rise of Rome."

16. What provinces had been formed by 133 B.C. (map facing page 184)?

17. What parts of the world belonged to Rome in 133 B.C. but were not yet provinces?

18. Might Rome have extended her federal policy to her territories outside of Italy? Was a provincial system really necessary?

19. Compare a Persian satrapy with a Roman province.

20. Would import duties on foreign grain have revived Italian agriculture?

21. Why did the cattle breeder in Italy have no reason to fear foreign competition?

22. Compare the Athenian practice of state pay with the Roman "bread and the games of the circus."

23. Had the Italians triumphed in the Social War, is it likely they would have established a better government than that of Rome?

24. Was Marius or was Sulla more to blame for the Civil War?

25. Explain the real meaning of Sulla's "perpetual dictatorship."

26. Why was the rule of the Senate, unsatisfactory though it was, to be preferred to that of the Roman populace?

27. Why is the First Triumvirate described as a "ring"? Did it have an official character?

28. Why does the First Triumvirate mark a distinct step toward the establishment of the empire?

29. Why can wars with barbarous and savage peoples be justified as "the most ultimately righteous of all wars"?

30. Can you suggest why Caesar's conquest of Gaul had even greater importance than Pompey's conquests in the East?

31. Was Caesar justified in leading his army against Rome?

32. Had Pompey triumphed over Caesar, is it probable that the republic would have been restored?

33. What contrasts can you draw between Caesar and Alexander?

34. Justify the aphorism, "In the midst of arms the laws are silent," by the statements in this chapter.

35. How do you account for the failure of the republican institutions of Rome?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter xv, "Hannibal and the Great Punic War"; chapter xvi, "Cato the Censor: a Roman of the Old School"; chapter xvii, "Cicero the Orator"; chapter xviii, "The Conquest of Gaul, Related by Caesar"; chapter xix, "The Makers of Imperial Rome: Character Sketches by Suetonius."

[2] See page 123.

[3] See page 155.

[4] See page 149.

[5] Livy, xxii, 61.

[6] See page 100.

[7] In 29 B.C., one hundred and seventeen years after the destruction of Carthage at the end of the Punic wars, a new town was founded near the old site by the emperor Augustus. It became in time the third city of the Roman Empire. It was destroyed by the Arabs in 698 A.D.

[8] See page 158.

[9] See pages 184 and 197.

[10] Corinth offered too good a site to remain long in ruins. Resettled in 46 B.C. as a Roman colony, it soon became one of the great cities in the empire. It was to the Corinthians that St Paul wrote two of his *Epistles*.

[11] The Greeks were not again a free people until the nineteenth century of our era. In 1821 A.D. they rose against their Turkish masters in a glorious struggle for liberty. Eight years later the powers of Europe forced the Sultan to recognize the freedom of Greece. That country then became an independent kingdom, with its capital at Athens.

[12] See pages 39-40 and 104.

[13] In 133 B.C. there were eight provinces—Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hither Spain, Farther Spain, Illyricum, Africa, Macedonia, and Asia. See the map facing page 184.

[14] In the New Testament "publicans and sinners" are mentioned side by side. See *Matthew*, ix, 10.

[15] *Latifundia perdidere Italiam* (Pliny, *Natural History*, xviii, 7).

[16] See page 155.

[17] Horace, *Epistles*, ii, 1, 156.

[18] See page 103.

[19] See page 150.

[20] See page 155, note 2.

[21] See page 150.

[22] See page 204.

[23] Plutarch, Sulla, 38.

[24] Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 32.

[25] *Veni, vidi, vici* (Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 37).

[26] Hence our word "emperor."

[27] Before Caesar's reform (46 B.C.) the Roman year consisted of 12 months and 355 days. As this lunar year, like that of the Greeks, was shorter than the solar year, it had been necessary to intercalate an additional month, of varying length, in every alternate year. Caesar adopted the more accurate Egyptian calendar of 365 days and instituted the system of leap years. His rearrangement made the year 11 minutes, 14 seconds too long. By 1582 A.D. this difference had amounted to nearly 10 days. Pope Gregory XIII modified the "Julian Calendar" by calling Oct. 5, 1582, Oct. 15, and continuing the count 10 days in advance. This "Gregorian Calendar" was adopted by Great Britain in 1752 A.D. and subsequently by other Protestant countries. It has not won acceptance in Russia and Greece. The difference

between the two systems—the Old Style and the New Style—is now about 13 days.

[28] His name was Octavius, but after his adoption by Caesar he called himself Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus.

[29] Cicero, *Letters*, xix, 20.

[30] See page 185.

[31] See page 127.

[32] See page 160.

CHAPTER IX

THE EARLY EMPIRE: THE WORLD UNDER ROMAN RULE, 31 B.C.-l80 A.D. [1]

66. AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.-l4 A.D.

[Illustration: AUGUSTUS (Vatican Museum, Rome)]

THE EARLY EMPIRE, 31 B.C.-180 A.D.

The period of two hundred and eleven years, between the accession of Augustus and the death of Marcus Aurelius, is known as the Early Empire. As we shall now learn, it was a time of settled government and of internal tranquillity. Except for a brief period of anarchy at the close of the reign of Nero, it was also a time of regular succession to the throne. Nearly all the emperors were vigorous and capable rulers. The peace and prosperity which they gave to the Roman world amply justify—if justification be needed—the change from republic to empire.

THE NEW RULER

Few persons have set their stamp more indelibly on the pages of history than Octavian, whom we may now call by his more familiar name *Augustus* ("Majestic"). Augustus was no military genius to dazzle the world with his

achievements. He was a cool and passionless statesman who took advantage of a memorable opportunity to remake the Roman state, and who succeeded in the attempt. Absolute power, which destroys weaker men, with Augustus brought out the nobler elements of character. From the successful leader of a party he became the wise and impartial ruler of an empire.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Augustus had almost unlimited power. His position was that of a king, as supreme as Julius Caesar had ever been. Better, however, than Julius Caesar, Augustus realized that an undisguised autocracy would only alienate public opinion and invite fresh plots and rebellions, Augustus intended to be the real master, but he would also be careful to conceal his authority under republican forms. The emperor was neither king, dictator, nor triumvir. He called himself a republican magistrate— *Princeps* [2]—the "First Citizen" of the state.

POWERS ENJOYED BY AUGUSTUS

Augustus gave up the externals, only to keep the essentials, of royalty. He held the proconsular authority, which extended over the frontier provinces and their legions. He held the tribunician authority, which made his person sacred. As perpetual tribune he could preside over the popular assemblies, manage the Senate and change its membership at pleasure, and veto the acts of almost any magistrate. In the provinces and at home in the capital city the emperor was supreme.

THE EMPIRE UNDER AUGUSTUS

Augustus ruled a vast realm. In it all the dreams of world dominion which Alexander had cherished were more than realized. The empire included nearly the entire circle of the Mediterranean lands. On the west

and south it found natural barriers in the Atlantic Ocean and the African desert. On the east the Euphrates River had formed, since the defeat of Crassus, [3] the dividing line between Rome and Parthia. The northern frontier, beyond which lay the Germanic barbarians, required, however, additional conquests for its protection.

[Illustration: Map, THE EXPANSION OF ROMAN DOMINIONS 31 B.C.-180 A.D.]

THE DANUBE BOUNDARY

The Danube River made an admirable boundary for much of the Roman territory between the Black Sea and the Rhine. Augustus annexed the district south of the lower course of this river and formed it into the province of Moesia (modern Serbia and Bulgaria). The line of the upper Danube was later secured by the creation of three new provinces on the northern slopes of the Alps. [4] Henceforth the Balkan peninsula and Italy on the northeast, where the Alpine passes are low and comparatively easy, were shielded from attack.

THE RHINE BOUNDARY

After the conquests of Julius Caesar in Gaul the Rhine had become the frontier between that country and Germany. Augustus repeatedly sent the legions into western Germany on punitive expeditions to strike terror into its warlike tribes and to inspire respect for Roman power. It is doubtful, however, whether he ever intended to conquer Germany and to convert it into another province. His failure to do so meant that the Germans were not to be Romanized as were their neighbors, the Celts of Gaul. The Rhine continued to be the dividing-line between Roman civilization and Germanic barbarism.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE

The clash of arms on the distant frontiers scarcely disturbed the serenity of the Roman world. Within the boundaries of the empire the Augustan Age was an age of peace and prosperity. The emperor, with unwearied devotion, turned to the task of ruling wisely and well his vast dominions. He followed the example of Julius Caesar in his insistence on just government of the provincials. [5] In Italy he put down brigandage, repaired the public highways, and planted many colonies in unsettled districts. In Rome he established a regular police service, organized the supply of grain and water, and continued, on a larger scale than ever, the public games. So many were his buildings in the capital city that he could boast he had "found Rome of brick and left it of marble." [6] Augustus was also very successful as a religious reformer. He restored numerous temples that had fallen into decay, revived the ancient sacrifices, and celebrated with pomp and majesty the festivals that had been neglected. These reforms gave new vigor to the Roman state religion.

[Illustration: MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM An inscription on the walls of a ruined temple at Ancyra (modern Angora) in Asia Minor. It is a copy of the record descriptive of the reign of Augustus which that emperor in his will decreed to be inscribed on bronze tablets and placed before his mausoleum at Rome.]

DEIFICATION OF AUGUSTUS

Even during the lifetime of Augustus worship had been offered to him by the provincials. After his death the Senate gave him divine honors and enrolled his name among the gods. Temples rose in every province to the deified Augustus, and altars smoked with sacrifices to him. Emperor worship spread rapidly over the ancient world and helped to unite all classes in allegiance to the new government. It provided a universal religion

for a universal empire. Yet just at the time when this new cult was taking root, and in the midst of the happy reign of Augustus, there was born in Bethlehem of Judea the Christ whose religion was to overcome the worship of the emperors and with it all other faiths of pagan antiquity. [7]

67. THE SUCCESSORS OF AUGUSTUS, 14-96 A.D.

JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN CAESARS, 14-68 A.D.

For more than half a century following the death of Augustus his place was filled by emperors who, either by descent or adoption, claimed kinship with himself and the mighty Julius. They are known as the Julian and Claudian Caesars. [8] Though none of these four princes had the political ability of Augustus, two of them (Tiberius and Claudius) were excellent rulers, who ably maintained the standards set by that great emperor. The other two (Caligula and Nero) were vicious tyrants, the recital of whose follies and crimes occupies much space in the works of ancient historians. Their doings and misdoings fortunately exerted little influence outside the circle of the imperial court and the capital city. Rome itself might be disturbed by conspiracy and bloodshed, but Italy and the provinces kept their prosperity.

CONQUEST OF BRITAIN BEGUN, 43 A.D.

The reign of Claudius was marked by the beginning of the extension of the empire over Britain. For nearly a hundred years after Caesar's expeditions no further attempt had been made to annex that island. But its nearness to Gaul, already thoroughly Romanized, brought the country within the sphere of Roman influence. The thorough conquest of Britain proved to be no easy task. It was not until the close of the first century that the island, as far north as the Scottish Highlands, was brought under Roman

sway. The province of Britannia remained a part of the empire for more than three hundred years.

BURNING OF ROME, 64 A.D.

During Nero's reign half of Rome was laid in ashes by a great fire, which raged for a week. But a new Rome speedily arose. It was a much finer city than the old, with wide, straight streets instead of narrow alleys, and with houses of good stone in place of wooden hovels. Except for the loss of the temples and public buildings, the fire was a blessing in disguise.

FLAVIAN CAESARS, 69-96 A.D.

After the death of Nero the dynasty that traced its descent from Julius and Augustus became extinct. There was no one who could legally claim the vacant throne. The Senate, which in theory had the appointment of a successor, was too weak to exercise its powers. The imperial guard and the legions on the frontiers placed their own candidates in the field. The Roman world fell into anarchy, and Italy became once more the seat of civil war. The throne was finally seized by the able general, Flavius Vespasianus, supported by the armies of the East. He and his two sons, Titus and Domitian, are called the Flavian Caesars.

[Illustration: POMPEII]

CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM, 70 A.D.

During the reign of Vespasian a revolt of the Jews was crushed, and Jerusalem was captured by Titus, Vespasian's son. It is said, doubtless with exaggeration, that one million Jews perished in the siege, the most awful that history records. The Holy City, together with the Temple, was

destroyed, and a Roman camp was pitched upon the spot. We may still see in Rome the splendid arch that commemorates this tragic event. [9]

[Illustration: PLAN OF JERUSALEM AND ITS ENVIRONS.]

[Illustration: A RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF TITUS
The relief shows Roman soldiers bearing the spoils of the Temple at Jerusalem. Among these are two trumpets, the table of the shewbread, and the seven-branched golden candlestick.]

ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS, 79 A.D.

The reign of Titus is chiefly memorable for the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum, two cites on the bay of Naples. After long inactivity the volcano of Vesuvius suddenly belched forth torrents of liquid lava and mud, followed by a rain of ashes. Pompeii was covered to a depth of about fifteen feet by the falling cinders. Herculaneum was overwhelmed in a sea of sulphurous mud and lava to a depth of eighty feet in many places. The cities were completely entombed, and in time even their location was forgotten. Modern excavations have disclosed a large part of Pompeii, with its streets, shops, baths, temples, and theaters. The visitor there gains a vivid impression of Roman life during the first century of our era. [10]

68. THE "GOOD EMPERORS," 96-180 A.D.

THE ANTONINE CAESARS

The five rulers—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius—whose reigns cover the greater part of the second century, are sometimes called the Antonine Caesars, because two of them bore the name Antoninus. They are better known as the "Good Emperors," a title which

well describes them. Under their just and beneficent government the empire reached its greatest prosperity.

[Illustration: NERVA (Vatican Museum, Rome)
A remarkably fine example of Roman portrait statuary.]

TRAJAN THE CONQUEROR

The emperor Trajan rivaled Julius Caesar in military ability and enlarged the Roman world to the widest limits it was ever to attain. His first conquests were in Europe and resulted in the annexation of Dacia, an extensive territory north of the Danube. Thousands of colonists settled in Dacia and spread everywhere the language and arts of Rome. Its modern name (Rumania) bears witness to Rome's abiding influence there. Trajan's campaigns in Asia had less importance, though in appearance they were more splendid. He drove the Parthians from Armenia and conquered the Tigris- Euphrates valley. To hold in subjection such distant regions only increased the difficulty of guarding the frontiers. Trajan's successor, Hadrian, at once abandoned them.

[Illustration: COLUMN OF TRAJAN A bronze statue of Trajan formerly occupying the top of the monument has been replaced by a figure of St Peter. The column is decorated with a continuous spiral relief representing scenes from the Dacian War. About twenty five hundred separate designs are included in this remarkable collection.]

HADRIAN THE ADMINISTRATOR

Hadrian distinguished himself as an administrator. He may be compared with Augustus in his love of peace and in his care for the interests of the provincials. Hadrian made two long journeys throughout the Roman world. On the frontiers he built fortresses and walls, in the provinces he raised

baths, aqueducts, theaters, and temples. Scarcely a city throughout the empire lacked some monument to his generosity. Hadrian left behind him the memory of a prince whose life was devoted to the public welfare—the first servant of the state.

[Illustration: WALL OF HADRIAN IN BRITAIN The wall extended between the Tyne and the Solway a distance of seventy miles. It was built of concrete faced with square blocks. The height is nearly twenty feet, the thickness about eight feet. Along the wall were numerous towers and gates and a little to the north of it stretched an earthen rampart protected by a deep ditch. A broad road, lined with seventeen military camps, ran between the two fortifications.]

MARCUS AURELIUS, THE PHILOSOPHER ON THE THRONE

The last of the "Good Emperors," Marcus Aurelius, was a thinker and a student, but he enjoyed little opportunity for meditation. His reign was filled with an almost uninterrupted series of campaigns against the Parthians on the Euphrates and the Germans on the Danube and the Rhine. These wars revealed the weakness of the frontiers and rapidly growing strength of the barbarians. After the death of Marcus Aurelius the empire entered on its downward course. But before passing to this period of our study, we may take a survey of the world under Roman rule, during the two centuries between Augustus and Marcus Aurelius.

[Illustration: MARCUS AURELIUS IN HIS TRIUMPHAL CAR (Palace of the
Conservatori, Rome)

A panel from an arch erected by the emperor.]

69. THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE STANDING ARMY

The Roman Empire, at its widest extent in the second century, included forty-three provinces. They were protected against Germans, Parthians and other foes by twenty-five legions, numbering with the auxiliary forces, about three hundred thousand men. This standing army was one of Rome's most important agencies for the spread of her civilization over barbarian lands. Its membership was drawn largely from the border provinces, often from the very countries where the soldiers' camps were fixed. Though the army became less and less Roman in blood, it always kept in character and spirit the best traditions of Rome. The long intervals of peace were not passed by the soldiers in idleness. They built the great highways that penetrated every region of the empire, spanned the streams with bridges, raised dikes and aqueducts, and taught the border races the arts of civilization. It was due, finally, to the labors of the legionaries, that the most exposed parts of the frontiers were provided with an extensive system of walls and ramparts.

[Illustration: THE PANTHEON The original building was the work of Agrippa, a minister of Augustus. The temple was reconstructed by Hadrian who left the Greek portico unchanged but added the rotunda and the dome. This great dome, the largest in the world, is made of solid concrete. During the Middle Ages, the Pantheon was converted into a church. It is now the burial place of the kings of Italy.]

THE ROMAN ROADS

The Roman system of roads received its great extension during the imperial age. The principal trunk lines began at the gates of Rome and radiated thence to every province. Along these highways sped the couriers of the Caesars, carrying dispatches and making, by means of relays of horses, as much as one hundred and fifty miles a day. The roads resounded

to the tramp of the legionaries passing to their stations on the distant frontier. Travelers by foot, horseback, or litter journeyed on them from land to land, employing maps which described routes and distances. Traders used them for the transport of merchandise. Roman roads, in short, were the railways of antiquity. [11]

[Illustration: THE TOMB OF HADRIAN The building was formerly topped by another of smaller size which bore a statue of the emperor. In medieval times this stately tomb was converted into a castle. It is now used as a museum. The bridge across the Tiber was built by Hadrian.]

[Illustration: Map, ROMAN BRITAIN SHOWING CHIEF ROMAN ROADS]

THE PAX ROMANA

In her roads and fortifications, in the living rampart of her legions, Rome long found security. Except for the districts conquered by Trajan but abandoned by Hadrian, [12] the empire during this period did not lose a province. For more than two hundred years, throughout an area as large as the United States, the civilized world rested under what an ancient writer calls "the immense majesty of the Roman peace." [13]

EXTENSION OF ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

The grant of Roman citizenship to all Italians after the Social War [14] only increased for a time the contrast between Italy and the provinces. But even before the fall of the republic Caesar's legislation had begun the work of uniting the Roman and the provincial. [15] More and more the emperors followed in his footsteps. The extension of Roman citizenship was a gradual process covering two centuries. It was left for the emperor Caracalla, early in the third century, to take the final step. In 212 A.D. he issued an edict

which bestowed citizenship on all freeborn inhabitants of the empire. This famous edict completed the work, begun so many centuries before, of Romanizing the ancient world.

PRIVILEGES OF ROMAN CITIZENS

The grant of citizenship, though it increased the burden of taxation, brought no slight advantage to those who possessed it. A Roman citizen could not be maltreated with impunity or punished without a legal trial before Roman courts. If accused in a capital case, he could always protect himself against an unjust decision by an "appeal to Caesar", that is, to the emperor at Rome. St. Paul did this on one occasion when on trial for his life. [16] Wherever he lived, a Roman citizen enjoyed, both for his person and his property, the protection of Roman law.

70. THE ROMAN LAW AND THE LATIN LANGUAGE

IMPROVEMENT OF ROMAN LAW

The Romans were the most legal-minded people of antiquity. It was their mission to give laws to the world. Almost at the beginning of the republic they framed the code of the Twelve Tables, [17] which long remained the basis of their jurisprudence. This code, however, was so harsh, technical, and brief that it could not meet the needs of a progressive state. The Romans gradually improved their legal system, especially after they began to rule over conquered nations. The disputes which arose between citizens and subjects were decided by the praetors or provincial governors in accordance with what seemed to them to be principles of justice and equity. These principles gradually found a place in Roman law, together with many rules and observances of foreign peoples. Roman law in this way tended to take over and absorb all that was best in ancient jurisprudence.

CHARACTER OF ROMAN LAW

Thus, as the extension of the citizenship carried the principles and practice of Roman law to every quarter of the empire, the spirit of that law underwent an entire change. It became exact, impartial, liberal, humane. It limited the use of torture to force confession from persons accused of crime. It protected the child against a father's tyranny. It provided that a master who killed a slave should be punished as a murderer, and even taught that all men are originally free by the law of nature and therefore that slavery is contrary to natural right. Justice it defined as "the steady and abiding purpose to give every man that which is his own." [18] Roman law, which began as the rude code of a primitive people, ended as the most refined and admirable system of jurisprudence ever framed by man. This law, as we shall see later, has passed from ancient Rome to modern Europe. [19]

LATIN IN ITALY

The conquest by Latin of the languages of the world is almost as interesting and important a story as the conquest by Rome of the nations of the world. At the beginning of Latin in Roman history Latin was the speech of only the Italy people of Latium. Beyond the limits of Latium Latin came into contact with the many different languages spoken in early Italy. Some of them, such as Greek and Etruscan, soon disappeared from Italy after Roman expansion, but those used by native Italian peoples showed more power of resistance. It was not until the last century B.C. that Latin was thoroughly established in the central and southern parts of the peninsula. After the Social War the Italian peoples became citizens of Rome, and with Roman citizenship went the use of the Latin tongue.

LATIN IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES

The Romans carried their language to the barbarian peoples of the West, as they had carried it to Italy. Their missionaries were colonists, merchants, soldiers, and public officials. The Latin spoken by them was eagerly taken up by the rude, unlettered natives, who tried to make themselves as Roman as possible in dress, customs, and speech. This provincial Latin was not simply the language of the upper classes; the common people themselves used it freely, as we know from thousands of inscriptions found in western and central Europe. In the countries which now make up Spain, France, Switzerland, southern Austria, England, and North Africa, the old national tongues were abandoned for the Latin of Rome.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

The decline of the Roman Empire did not bring about the downfall of the Latin language in the West. It became the basis of the so-called Romance languages—French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian—which arose in the Middle Ages out of the spoken Latin of the common people. Even our English language, which comes to us from the speech of the Germanic invaders of Britain, contains so many words of Latin origin that we can scarcely utter a sentence without using some of them. The rule of Rome has passed away; the language of Rome still remains to enrich the intellectual life of mankind.

71. THE MUNICIPALITIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

PREVALENCE OF CITY LIFE

The world under Roman rule was a world of cities. Some had earlier been native settlements, such as those in Gaul before the Roman conquest. Others were the splendid Hellenistic cities in the East. [20] Many more were of Roman origin, arising from the colonies and fortified camps in

which citizens and soldiers had settled. [21] Where Rome did not find cities, she created them.

SOME IMPORTANT CITIES

Not only were the cities numerous, but many of them, even when judged by modern standards, reached great size. Rome was the largest, her population being estimated at from one to two millions. Alexandria came next with more than half a million people. Syracuse was the third metropolis of the empire. Italy contained such important towns as Verona, Milan, and Ravenna. In Gaul were Marseilles, Nîmes, Bordeaux, Lyons—all cities with a continuous existence to the present day. In Britain York and London were seats of commerce, Chester and Lincoln were military colonies, and Bath was celebrated then, as now, for its medicinal waters. Carthage and Corinth had risen in new splendor from their ashes. Athens was still the home of Greek art and Greek culture. Asia included such ancient and important centers as Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus, Rhodes, and Antioch. The student who reads in his New Testament the *Acts of the Apostles* will get a vivid impression of some of these great capitals.

[Illustration: ROMAN BATHS, AT BATH, ENGLAND Bath, the ancient Aquae Sulis, was famous in Roman times for its hot springs. Here are very interesting remains, including a large pool, eighty-three by forty feet in size, and lined at the bottom with the Roman lead, besides smaller bathing chambers and portions of the ancient pipes and conduits. The building and statues are modern restorations.]

APPEARANCE OF THE CITIES

Every municipality was a Rome in miniature. It had its forum and senate-house, its temples, theaters, and baths, its circus for racing, and its amphitheater for gladiatorial combats. Most of the municipalities enjoyed

an abundant supply of water, and some had good sewer systems. The larger towns had well-paved, though narrow, streets. Pompeii, a small place of scarcely thirty thousand inhabitants, still exists to give us an idea of the appearance of one of these ancient cities. And what we find at Pompeii was repeated on a more splendid scale in hundreds of places from the Danube to the Nile, from Britain to Arabia.

CITY GOVERNMENT

The municipalities of Roman origin copied the government of Rome itself. [22] Each city had a council, or senate, and a popular assembly which chose the magistrates. These officials were generally rich men; they received no salary, and in fact had to pay a large sum on entering office. Local politics excited the keenest interest. Many of the inscriptions found on the walls of Pompeii are election placards recommending particular candidates for office. Women sometimes took part in political contests. Distributions of grain, oil, and money were made to needy citizens, in imitation of the bad Roman practice. There were public banquets, imposing festivals, wild-beast hunts, and bloody contests of gladiators, like those at Rome.

SURVIVAL OF THE ROMAN MUNICIPAL SYSTEM

The busy, throbbing life in these countless centers of the Roman world has long since been stilled. The cities themselves, in many instances, have utterly disappeared. Yet the forms of municipal government, together with the Roman idea of a free, self-governing city, never wholly died out. Some of the most important cities which flourished in southern and western Europe during the later Middle Ages preserved clear traces of their ancient Roman origin.

72. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES

PROMOTION OF COMMERCE

The first two centuries of our era formed the golden age of Roman commerce. The emperors fostered it in many ways. Augustus and his successors kept the Mediterranean free from pirates, built lighthouses and improved harbors, policed the highways, and made travel by land both speedy and safe. An imperial currency [23] replaced the various national coinages with their limited circulation. The vexatious import and export duties, levied by different countries and cities on foreign produce, were swept away. Free trade flourished between the cities and provinces of the Roman world.

PRINCIPAL TRADE ROUTES

Roman commerce followed, in general, the routes which Phoenicians had discovered centuries before. After the annexation of Gaul the rivers of that country became channels of trade between western Europe and Italy. The conquest of the districts north and south of the Danube opened up an important route between central Europe and the Mediterranean. Imports from the far eastern countries came by caravan through Asia to ports on the Black Sea. The water routes led by way of the Persian Gulf to the great Syrian cities of Antioch and Palmyra and, by way of the Red Sea, to Alexandria on the Nile. From these thriving commercial centers products were shipped to every region of the empire. [24]

[Illustration: A ROMAN FREIGHT SHIP The ship lies beside the wharf at Ostia. In the after-part of the vessel is a cabin with two windows. Notice the figure of Victory on the top of the single mast and the decoration of the

mainsail with the wolf and twins. The ship is steered by a pair of huge paddles.]

LOCAL TRADING AT ROME

The importation and disposal of foreign goods at Rome furnished employment for many thousands of traders. There were great wholesale merchants whose warehouses stored grain and all kinds of merchandise. There were also many retail shopkeepers. They might be sometimes the slaves or freedmen of a wealthy noble who preferred to keep in the background. Sometimes they were men of free birth. The feeling that petty trade was unworthy of a citizen, though strong in republican days, tended to disappear under the empire.

FREE LABORERS AT ROME

The slaves at Rome, like those at Athens, [25] carried on many industrial tasks. We must not imagine, however, that all the manual labor of the city was performed by bondmen. The number of slaves even tended to decline, when there were no more border wars to yield captives for the slave markets. The growing custom of emancipation worked in the same direction. We find in this period a large body of free laborers, not only in the capital city, but in all parts of the empire.

THE GUILDS

The workmen engaged in a particular calling frequently formed clubs, or guilds. [26] There were guilds of weavers, shoe-makers, jewelers, painters, musicians, and even of gladiators. These associations were not organized for the purpose of securing higher wages and shorter hours by strikes or threat of strikes. They seem to have existed chiefly for social and religious purposes. Each guild had its clubhouse for official meetings and banquets.

Each guild had its special deity, such as Vesta, the fire goddess, for bakers, and Bacchus, the wine god, for innkeepers. Every year the guildsmen held a festival, in honor of their patron, and marched through the streets with banners and the emblems of their trade. Nearly all the guilds had as one main object the provision of a proper funeral and tomb for deceased members. The humble laborer found some consolation in the thought that he belonged to a club of friends and fellow workers, who after death would give him decent burial and keep his memory green.

LIFE OF THE WORKING CLASSES

Free workingmen throughout the Roman world appear to have led reasonably happy lives. They were not driven or enslaved by their employers or forced to labor for long hours in grimy, unwholesome factories. Slums existed, but no sweatshops. If wages were low, so also was the cost of living. Wine, oil, and wheat flour were cheap. The mild climate made heavy clothing unnecessary and permitted an outdoor life. The public baths— great clubhouses—stood open to every one who could pay a trifling fee. [27] Numerous holidays, celebrated with games and shows, brightened existence. On the whole we may conclude that working people at Rome and in the provinces enjoyed greater comfort during this period than had ever been their lot in previous ages.

[Illustration: A ROMAN VILLA
Wall painting, Pompeii.]

GREAT FORTUNES

It was an age of millionaires. There had been rich men, such as Crassus, [28] during the last century of the republic; their numbers increased and their fortunes rose during the first century of the empire. The philosopher Seneca, a tutor of Nero, is said to have made twelve million dollars within

four years by the emperor's favor. Narcissus, the secretary of Claudius, made sixteen million dollars—the largest Roman fortune on record. This sum must be multiplied four or five times to find its modern equivalent, since in antiquity interest rates were higher and the purchasing power of money was greater than to-day. Such private fortunes are surpassed only by those of the present age.

LUXURY AND EXTRAVAGANCE

The heaping-up of riches in the hands of a few brought its natural consequence in luxury and extravagance. The palaces of the wealthy, with their gardens, baths, picture galleries, and other features, were costly to build and costly to keep up. The money not lavished by a noble on his town house could be easily sunk on his villas in the country. All Italy, from the bay of Naples, to the foot of the Alps, was dotted with elegant residences, having flower gardens, game preserves, fishponds, and artificial lakes. Much senseless waste occurred at banquets and entertainments. Vast sums were spent on vessels of gold and silver, jewelry, clothing, and house furnishings. Even funerals and tombs required heavy outlays. A capitalist of imperial Rome could get rid of a fortune in selfish indulgences almost as readily as any modern millionaire not blessed with a refined taste or with public spirit.

SOME SOCIAL EVILS

Some of the customs of the time appear especially shocking. The brutal gladiatorial games [29] were a passion with every one, from the emperor to his lowest subject. Infanticide was a general practice. Marriage grew to be a mere civil contract, easily made and easily broken. Common as divorce had become, the married state was regarded as undesirable. Augustus vainly made laws to encourage matrimony and discourage celibacy. Suicide, especially among the upper classes, was astonishingly frequent. No one

questioned another's right to leave this life at pleasure. The decline of the earlier paganism left many men without a deep religious faith to combat the growing doubt and worldliness of the age.

BRIGHTER ASPECTS OF ROMAN SOCIETY

Yet this dark picture needs correction at many points. It may be questioned whether the vice, luxury, and wickedness of ancient Rome, Antioch, or Alexandria much exceeded what our great modern capitals can show, During this period, moreover, many remarkable improvements took place in social life and manners. There was an increasing kindliness and charity. The weak and the infirm were better treated. The education of the poor was encouraged by the founding of free schools. Wealthy citizens of the various towns lavished their fortunes on such public works as baths, aqueducts, and temples, for the benefit of all classes. Even the slaves were much better treated. Imperial laws aimed to check the abuses of cruelty, overwork, and neglect, and philosophers recommended to masters the exercise of gentleness and mercy toward slaves. In fact, the first and second centuries of our era were marked by a great growth of the humanitarian spirit.

73. THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

THE NEW COSMOPOLITANISM

Just as the conquests of Alexander, by uniting the Orient to Greece, produced a Graeco-Oriental civilization, so now the expansion of Rome over the Mediterranean formed another world-wide culture, in which both Greek and Roman elements met and mingled. A new sense of cosmopolitanism arose in place of the old civic or national patriotism.

Roman elements met and mingled. A new sense of cosmopolitanism arose in place of the old civic or national patriotism.

[Illustration: A ROMAN TEMPLE The best preserved of Roman temples. Located at Nîmes in southern France, where it is known as La Maison Carrée ("the square house"). The structure is now used as a museum of antiquities.]

UNIFYING AND CIVILIZING FORCES This cosmopolitan feeling was the outcome of those unifying and civilizing forces which the imperial system set at work. The extension of Roman citizenship broke down the old distinction between the citizens and the subjects of Rome. The development of Roman law carried its principles of justice and equity to the remotest regions. The spread of the Latin language provided the western half of the empire with a speech as universal there as Greek was in the East. Trade and travel united the provinces with one another and with Rome. The worship of the Caesars dimmed the luster of all local worships and kept constantly before men's minds the idea of Rome and of her mighty emperors. Last, but not least important, was the fusion of alien peoples through intermarriage with Roman soldiers and colonists. "How many settlements," exclaims the philosopher Seneca, "have been planted in every province! Wherever the Roman conquers, there he dwells." [30]

[Illustration: THE AMPHITHEATER AT ARLES The amphitheater at Arles in southern France was used during the Middle Ages as a fortress then as a prison and finally became the resort of criminals and paupers. The illustration shows it before the removal of the buildings about 1830 A.D. Bullfights still continue in the arena, where, in Roman times, animal baitings and gladiatorial games took place.]

MONUMENTS OF ROMAN RULE

The best evidence of Rome's imperial rule is found in the monuments she raised in every quarter of the ancient world. Some of the grandest ruins of antiquity are not in the capital city itself, or even in Italy, but in Spain, France, England, Greece, Switzerland, Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa. Among these are Hadrian's Wall in Britain, the splendid aqueduct known as the Pont du Gard near Nîmes in southern France, the beautiful temple called La Maison Carrée in the same city, the Olympieum at Athens, and the temple of the Sun at Baalbec in Syria Thus the lonely hilltops, the desolate desert sands, the mountain fastnesses of three continents bear witness even now to the widespreading sway of Rome.

[Illustration: A MEGALITH AT BAALBEC A block of stone 68 feet long 10 feet high and weighing about 1500 tons. It is still attached to its bed in the quarry not far from the ruins of Baalbec in Syria. The temples of Baalbec seen in the distance were built by the Romans in the third century A.D. The majestic temple of the Sun contains three megaliths almost as huge as the one represented in the illustration. They are the largest blocks known to have been used in any structure. For a long time they were supposed to be relics of giant builders.]

ROMANIZATION OF EAST AND WEST

The civilized world took on the stamp and impress of Rome. The East, indeed, remained Greek in language and feeling, but even there Roman law and government prevailed, Roman roads traced their unerring course, and Roman architects erected majestic monuments. The West became completely Roman. North Africa, Spain, Gaul, distant Dacia, and Britain were the seats of populous cities, where the Latin language was spoken and Roman customs were followed. From them came the emperors. They furnished some of the most eminent men of letters. Their schools of grammar and rhetoric attracted students from Rome itself. Thus

unconsciously, but none the less surely, local habits and manners, national religions and tongues, provincial institutions and ways of thinking disappeared from the ancient world.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the additions to Roman territory: during the reign of Augustus, 31 B.C.-14 A.D.; during the period 14-180 A.D.

2. On an outline map indicate ten important cities of the Roman Empire.

3. Connect the proper events with the following dates: 79 A.D.; 180 A.D.; and 14 A.D.

4. Whom do you consider the greater man, Julius Caesar or Augustus? Give reasons for your answer.

5. Compare the Augustan Age at Rome with the Age of Pericles at Athens.

6. What is the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and its historic importance (illustration Monumentum Ancyranum, section 66. Augustus, 31 B.C.-l4 A.D., topic The Augustan Age)?

7. How did the worship of the Caesars connect itself with ancestor worship?

8. In the reign of what Roman emperor was Jesus born? In whose reign was he crucified?

9. How did the "year of anarchy" after Nero's death exhibit a weakness in the imperial system?

10. How many provinces existed under Trajan?

11. What modern countries are included within the limits of the Roman Empire in the age of Trajan?

12. Compare the extent of the Roman Empire under Trajan with (a) the empire of Alexander; and (b) the empire of Darius.

13. Give the Roman names of Spain, Italy, Gaul, Germany, Britain, Scotland, and Ireland.

14. Contrast the Roman armies under the empire with the standing armies of modern Europe.

15. Trace on the map, page 205, the Roman roads in Britain.

16. "To the Roman city the empire was political death; to the provinces it was the beginning of new life." Comment on this statement.

17. Why should Rome have made a greater success of her imperial policy than either Athens or Sparta?

18. Compare Roman liberality in extending the franchise with the similar policy displayed by the United States.

19. Compare the freedom of trade between the provinces of the Roman Empire with that between the states of the American Union.

20. On the map, page 48, trace the trade routes during imperial times.

21. Compare as civilizing forces the Roman and the Persian empires.

22. What was the *Pax Romana*? What is the *Pax Britannica*?

23. Compare the Romanization of the ancient world with that process of Americanization which is going on in the United States to-day.

24. Explain this statement: "The Roman Empire is the lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves and which all the streams of modern history flow out of."

25. "Republican Rome had little to do, either by precept or example, with the modern life of Europe, Imperial Rome everything." Can you justify this statement?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter xix, "The Makers of Imperial Rome: Character Sketches by Suetonius"; chapter xx, "Nero, a Roman Emperor."

[2] Hence our word "prince".

[3] See page 184.

[4] The provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, and Raetia. See the map facing page 184.

[5] See page 187.

[6] For a description of ancient Rome see pages 292-296.

[7] Jesus was born probably in 4 B.C., the last year of the reign of Herod, whom the triumvirs, Antony and Octavian, had placed on the throne of Judea in 37 B.C.

[8] A Roman emperor was generally called "Caesar" by the provincials. See, for example, *Matthew*, xxii, 17-21, or *Acts*, xxv, 10-12. This title survives in the German *Kaiser* and perhaps in the Russian *Tsar* or *Czar*.

[9] In 131 A.D., during the reign of the emperor Hadrian, the Jews once more broke out in revolt. Jerusalem, which had risen from its ruins, was again destroyed by the Romans, and the plow was passed over the foundations of the Temple. From Roman times to the present the Jews have been a people without a country.

[10] See Bulwer-Lytton's novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii*.

[11] See the map on page 205 for the system of Roman roads in Britain.

[12] See page 200.

[13] Pliny, *Natural History*, xxvii, 1.

[14] See page 179.

[15] See page 187.

[16] See *Acts*, XXV, 9-12.

[17] See page 151.

[18] *Institutes*, bk. i, tit. i.

[19] See page 331.

[20] See page 127.

[21] Several English cities, such as Lancaster, Leicester, Manchester, and Chester, betray in their names their origin in the Roman castra, or camp.

[22] See page 149.

[23] For illustrations of Roman coins see the plate facing page 134.

[24] See the map on page 48.

[25] See page 107.

[26] Latin *collegia*, whence our "college."

[27] See pages 263 and 285.

[28] See page 183.

[29] See page 267.

[30] Seneca, *Minor Dialogues*, XI, 7.

CHAPTER X

THE LATER EMPIRE: CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN WORLD, 180-395 A.D.

74. THE "SOLDIER EMPERORS," 180-284 A.D.

THE LATER EMPIRE, 180-395 A.D.

The period called the Later Empire covers the two hundred and fifteen years from the accession of Commodus to the final division of the Roman world at the death of Theodosius. It formed, in general, a period of decline. The very existence of the empire was threatened, both from within and from without. The armies on the frontiers often set up their favorite leaders as contestants for the throne, thus provoking civil war. Ambitious governors of distant provinces sometimes revolted against a weak or unpopular emperor and tried to establish independent states. The Germans took advantage of the unsettled condition of affairs to make constant inroads. About the middle of the third century it became necessary to surrender to them the great province of Dacia, which Trajan had won. [1] A serious danger also appeared in the distant East. Here the Persians, having overcome the Parthians, [2] endeavored to recover from Roman hands the Asiatic provinces which had once belonged to the old Persian realm. Though the Persians failed to make any permanent conquest of Roman territory, their constant attacks weakened the empire at the very time when the northern barbarians had again become a menace.

"IMPERIAL PHANTOMS"

The rulers who occupied the throne during the first half of this troubled period are commonly known as the "Soldier Emperors," because so many of them owed their position to the swords of the legionaries. Emperor after emperor followed in quick succession, to enjoy a brief reign and then to perish in some sudden insurrection. Within a single year (237-238 A.D.) six rulers were chosen, worshiped, and then murdered by their troops "You little know," said one of these imperial phantoms, "what a poor thing it is to be an emperor." [3]

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 284 A.D.

The close of the third century thus found the empire engaged in a struggle for existence. No part of the Roman world had escaped the ravages of war. The fortification of the capital city by the emperor Aurelian was itself a testimony to the altered condition of affairs. The situation was desperate, yet not hopeless. Under an able ruler, such as Aurelian, Rome proved to be still strong enough to repel her foes. It was the work of the even more capable Diocletian to establish the empire on so solid a foundation that it endured with almost undiminished strength for another hundred years.

[Illustration: THE WALL OF ROME Constructed by Aurelian and rebuilt by Honorius. The material is concrete faced with brick, thickness 13 feet, greatest height 58 feet. This is still the wall of the modern city, although at present no effort is made to keep it in repair.]

75. THE "ABSOLUTE EMPERORS," 284-395 A.D.

REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN, 284-305 A.D.

Diocletian, whose reign is one of the most illustrious in Roman history, entered the army as a common soldier, rose to high command, and fought his way to the throne. A strong, ambitious man, Diocletian resolutely set himself to the task of remaking the Roman government. His success in this undertaking entitles him to rank, as a statesman and administrator, with Augustus.

WEAKNESSES IN THE IMPERIAL SYSTEM

The reforms of Diocletian were meant to remedy those weaknesses in the imperial system disclosed by the disasters of the preceding century. In the first place, experience showed that the empire was unwieldy. There were the distant frontiers on the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates to be guarded; there were all the provinces to be governed. A single ruler, however able and energetic, had more than he could do. In the second place, the succession to the imperial throne was uncertain. Now an emperor named his successor, now the Senate elected him, and now the swords of the legionaries raised him to the purple. Such an unsettled state of affairs constantly invited those struggles between rival pretenders which had so nearly brought the empire to destruction.

DIOCLETIAN'S REFORMS

Diocletian began his reforms by adopting a scheme for "partnership emperors." He shared the Roman world with a trusted lieutenant named Maximian. Each was to be an Augustus, with all the honors of an emperor. Diocletian ruled the East; Maximian ruled the West. Further partnership soon seemed advisable, and so each *Augustus* chose a younger associate, or *Caesar*, to aid him in the government and at his death or abdication to become his heir. Diocletian also remodeled the provincial system. The entire empire, including Italy, was divided into more than one hundred provinces. They were grouped into thirteen dioceses and these, in turn, into

four prefectures. [4] This reform much lessened the authority of the provincial governor, who now ruled over a small district and had to obey the vicar of his diocese.

THE NEW ABSOLUTISM

The emperors, from Diocletian onward, were autocrats. They bore the proud title of *Dominus* ("Lord"). They were treated as gods. Everything that touched their persons was sacred. They wore a diadem of pearls and gorgeous robes of silk and gold, like those of Asiatic monarchs. They filled their palaces with a crowd of fawning, flattering nobles, and busied themselves with an endless round of stately and impressive ceremonials. Hitherto a Roman emperor had been an *imperator*, [5] the head of an army. Now he became a king, to be greeted, not with the old military salute, but with the bent knee and the prostrate form of adoration. Such pomps and vanities, which former Romans would have thought degrading, helped to inspire reverence among the servile subjects of a later age. If it was the aim of Augustus to disguise, it was the aim of Diocletian to display, the unbounded power of a Roman emperor.

CONSTANTINE, SOLE EMPEROR, 324-337 A.D.

There can be little doubt that Diocletian's reforms helped to prolong the existence of the empire. In one respect, however, they must be pronounced a failure. They did not end the disputes about the succession. Only two years after the abdication of Diocletian there were six rival pretenders for the title of *Augustus*. Their dreary struggles continued, until at length two emperors were left—Constantine in the West, Licinius in the East. After a few years of joint rule another civil war made Constantine supreme. The Roman world again had a single master.

REIGN OF CONSTANTINE

Constantine was an able general and a wise statesman. Two events of lasting importance have made his reign memorable. It was Constantine who recognized Christianity as one of the religions of the empire and thus paved the way for the triumph of that faith over the ancient paganism. His work in this connection will be discussed presently. It was Constantine, also, who established a new capital for the Roman world at Byzantium [6] on the Bosporus. He christened it "New Rome," but it soon took the emperor's name as Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." [7]

FOUNDATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Several good reasons could be urged for the removal of the world's metropolis from the Tiber to the Bosporus. The Roman Empire was ceasing to be one empire. Constantine wanted a great city for the eastern half to balance Rome in the western half. Again, Constantinople, far more than Rome, was the military center of the empire. Rome lay too far from the vulnerable frontiers; Constantinople occupied a position about equidistant from the Germans on the lower Danube and the Persians on the Euphrates. Finally, Constantine believed that Christianity, which he wished to become the prevailing religion, would encounter less opposition and criticism in his new city than at Rome, with its pagan atmosphere and traditions. Constantinople was to be not simply a new seat of government but also distinctively a Christian capital. Such it remained for more than eleven centuries. [8]

AFTER CONSTANTINE, 337-395 A.D.

After the death of Constantine the Roman world again entered on a period of disorder. The inroads of the Germans across the Danube and the Rhine threatened the European provinces of the empire with dissolution. The outlook in the Asiatic provinces, overrun by the Persians, was no less gloomy. Meanwhile the eastern and western halves of the empire tended

more and more to grow apart. The separation between the two had become well marked by the close of the fourth century. After the death of the emperor Theodosius (395 A.D.) there came to be in fact, if not in name, a Roman Empire in the East and a Roman Empire in the West.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 395 A.D.

More than four hundred years had now elapsed since the battle of Actium made Octavian supreme in the Roman world. If we except the abandonment of Trajan's conquests beyond the Danube and the Euphrates, [9] no part of the huge empire had as yet succumbed to its enemies. The subject peoples, during these four centuries, had not tried to overthrow the empire or to withdraw from its protection. The Roman state, men believed, would endure forever. Yet the times were drawing nigh when the old order of things was to be broken up; when barbarian invaders were to seize the fairest provinces as their own; and when new kingdoms, ruled by men of Germanic speech, were to arise in lands that once obeyed Rome.

76. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES

THE "FALL" OF ROME

Rome, it has been said, was not built in a day; the rule of Rome was not destroyed in a day. When we speak of the "fall" of Rome, we have in mind, not a violent catastrophe which suddenly plunged the civilized world into ruin, but rather the slow and gradual decay of ancient society throughout the basin of the Mediterranean. This decay set in long before the Germans and the Persians became a serious danger to the empire. It would have continued, doubtless, had there been no Germans and Persians to break through the frontiers and destroy. The truth seems to be that, during the

third and fourth centuries of our era, classical civilization, like an overtrained athlete, had grown "stale."

DEPOPULATION DUE TO THE SLAVE SYSTEM

It is not possible to set forth all the forces which century after century had been sapping the strength of the state. The most obvious element of weakness was the want of men to fill the armies and to cultivate the fields. The slave system seems to have been partly responsible for this depopulation. The peasant on his little homestead could not compete with the wealthy noble whose vast estates were worked by gangs of slaves. The artisan could not support himself and his family on the pittance that kept his slave competitor alive. Peasants and artisans gradually drifted into the cities, where the public distributions of grain, wine, and oil assured them of a living with little expense and almost without exertion. In both Italy and the provinces there was a serious decline in the number of free farmers and free workingmen.

"RACE SUICIDE"

But slavery was not the only cause of depopulation. There was a great deal of what has been called "race suicide" in the old Roman world. Well-to-do people, who could easily support large families, often refused to be burdened with them. Childlessness, however, was not confined to the wealthy, since the poorer classes, crowded in the huge lodging houses of the cities, had no real family life. Roman emperors, who saw how difficult it was to get a sufficient number of recruits for the army, and how whole districts were going to waste for lack of people to cultivate them, tried to repopulate the empire by force of law. They imposed penalties for the childlessness and celibacy of the rich, and founded institutions for the rearing of children, that the poor might not fear to raise large families. Such

measures were scarcely successful. "Race suicide" continued during pagan times and even during the Christian age.

LOSS OF REVENUES

The next most obvious element of weakness was the shrinkage of the revenues. The empire suffered from want of money, as well as from want of men. To meet the heavy cost of the luxurious court, to pay the salaries of the swarms of public officials, to support the idle populace in the great cities required a vast annual income. But just when public expenditures were rising by leaps and bounds, it became harder and harder to secure sufficient revenue. Smaller numbers meant fewer taxpayers. Fewer taxpayers meant a heavier burden on those who survived to pay.

ECONOMIC RUIN

These two forces—the decline in population and the decline in wealth—worked together to produce economic ruin. It is no wonder, therefore, that in province after province large tracts of land went out of cultivation, that the towns decayed, and that commerce and manufactures suffered an appalling decline. "Hard times" settled on the Roman world.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

Doubtless still other forces were at work to weaken the state and make it incapable of further resistance to the barbarians. Among such forces we must reckon Christianity itself. By the close of the fourth century Christianity had become the religion of the empire. The new faith, as we shall soon see, helped, not to support, but rather to undermine, pagan society.

77. THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY

DECLINE OF PAGANISM

Several centuries before the rise of Christianity many Greek thinkers began to feel a growing dissatisfaction with the crude faith that had come down to them from prehistoric times. They found it more and more difficult to believe in the Olympian deities, who were fashioned like themselves and had all the faults of mortal men. [10] An adulterous Zeus, a bloodthirsty Ares, and a scolding Hera, as Homer represents them, were hardly divinities that a cultured Greek could love and worship. For educated Romans, also, the rites and ceremonies of the ancient religion came gradually to lose their meaning. The worship of the Roman gods had never appealed to the emotions. Now it tended to pass into the mere mechanical repetition of prayers and sacrifices. Even the worship of the Caesars, [11] which did much to hold the empire together, failed to satisfy the spiritual wants of mankind. It made no appeal to the moral nature; it brought no message, either of fear or hope, about a future world and a life beyond the grave.

STOICISM

During these centuries a system of Greek philosophy, called Stoicism, gained many adherents among the Romans. Any one who will read the Stoic writings, such as those of the noble emperor, Marcus Aurelius, [12] will see how nearly Christian was the Stoic faith. It urged men to forgive injuries—to "bear and forbear." It preached the brotherhood of man. It expressed a humble and unfaltering reliance on a divine Providence. To many persons of refinement Stoicism became a real religion. But since Stoic philosophy could reach and influence only the educated classes, it could not become a religion for all sorts and conditions of men.

THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

Many Greeks found a partial satisfaction of their religious longings in secret rites called mysteries. Of these the most important grew up at Eleusis, [13] a little Attic town thirteen miles from Athens. They were connected with the worship of Demeter, goddess of vegetation and of the life of nature. The celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries came in September and lasted nine days. When the candidates for admission to the secret rites were worked up to a state of religious excitement, they entered a brilliantly lighted hall and witnessed a passion play dealing with the legend of Demeter. They seem to have had no direct moral instruction but saw, instead, living pictures and pantomimes which represented the life beyond the grave and held out to them the promise of a blessed lot in another world. As an Athenian orator said, "Those who have shared this initiation possess sweeter hopes about death and about the whole of life." [14]

INFLUENCE OF THE MYSTERIES

The Eleusinian mysteries, though unknown in the Homeric Age, were already popular before the epoch of the Persian wars. They became a Panhellenic festival open to all Greeks, women as well as men, slaves as well as freemen. The privilege of membership was later extended to Romans. During the first centuries of our era the influence of the mysteries increased, as faith in the Olympian religion declined. They formed one of the last strongholds of paganism and endured till the triumph of Christianity in the Roman world.

ORIENTAL RELIGIONS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The Asiatic conquests of Alexander, followed in later centuries by the extension of Roman rule over the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, brought the classical peoples into contact with new religions which had arisen in the Orient. Slaves, soldiers, traders, and travelers carried the eastern faiths to the West, where they speedily won many followers. Even

before the downfall of the republic the deities of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Persia had found a home at Rome. Under the empire many men and women were attracted to their worship.

MITHRA

Perhaps the most remarkable of the Asiatic religions was Mithraism. Mithra first appears as a Persian sun god, the leader of Ahuramazda's hosts in the ceaseless struggle against the forces of darkness and evil. [15] As a god of light Mithra was also a god of truth and purity. His worship, spreading over the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, became the noblest of all pagan faiths. Men saw in Mithra a Lord and Giver of Life, who protected the weak and miserable, cleansed the sinner, conquered death, and procured for his faithful followers the crown of immortality.

[Illustration: A MITHRAIC MONUMENT A bas relief discovered in 1838 A.D. in a cave near Heidelberg, Germany. The central group represents Mithra slaying the bull. The smaller reliefs show scenes from the life of Mithra, including his birth from the rock and his ascent to Ahuramazda.]

THE WORSHIP OF MITHRA

The Mithraic worship took the form of a mystery with seven grades, or degrees, through which candidates passed by ordeals of initiation. The rites included a kind of baptism with holy water, a sacrificial meal of bread and wine, and daily litanies to the sun. Mithra was represented as a youthful hero miraculously born from a rock at the dawn of day; for this reason his worship was always conducted underground in natural or artificial caves, or in cellars. At the back of one of these subterranean temples would be often a picture of Mithra slaying a bull, and an inscription: "To the Unconquerable Sun, to Mithra." [16]

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORIENTAL RELIGIONS

The new Oriental religions all appealed to the emotions. They helped to satisfy the spiritual wants of men and women, by dwelling on the need of purification from sin and by holding forth the prospect of a happier life beyond the tomb. It is not strange, therefore, that they penetrated every province of the Roman Empire and flourished as late as the fourth century of our era. Christianity had no more dangerous antagonists than the followers of Mithra and other eastern divinities.

78. RISE AND SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JEWS

Christianity rose among the Jews, for Jesus was a Jew and his disciples were Jews. At the time of the death of Jesus [17] his immediate followers numbered scarcely a Christianity hundred persons. The catastrophe of the crucifixion struck them with sorrow and dismay. When, however, the disciples came to believe in the resurrection of their master, a wonderful impetus was given to the growth of the new religion. They now asserted that Jesus was the true Messiah, or Christ, who by rising from the dead had sealed the truth of his teachings. For several years after the crucifixion, the disciples remained at Jerusalem, preaching and making converts. The new doctrines met so much opposition on the part of Jewish leaders in the capital city that the followers of Jesus withdrew to Samaria, Damascus, and Antioch. In all these places there were large Jewish communities, among whom Peter and his fellow apostles labored zealously.

[Illustration: Map, PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST]

[Illustration: MODERN JERUSALEM AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES]

MISSIONARY LABORS OF PAUL

Up to this time the new faith had been spread only among the Jews. The first Christians did not neglect to keep up all the customs of the Jewish religion. It was even doubted for a while whether any but Jews could properly be allowed within the Christian fold. A new convert, Saul of Tarsus, afterwards the Apostle Paul, did most to admit the Gentiles, or pagans, to the privileges of the new religion. Though born a Jew, Paul had been trained in the schools of Tarsus, a city of Asia Minor which was a great center of Greek learning. He possessed a knowledge of Greek philosophy, and particularly of Stoicism. This broad education helped to make him an acceptable missionary to Greek-speaking peoples. During more than thirty years of unceasing activity Paul established churches in Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, and Italy. To many of these churches he wrote the letters (epistles), which have found a place in the New Testament. So large a part of the doctrines of Christianity has been derived from Paul's writings that we may well speak of him as the second founder of the Christian faith.

[Illustration: MADONNA AND CHILD The earliest known representation of Mary and the infant Jesus. The prophet Isaiah is shown pointing to the new star. The picture dates from about 200 A.D. and comes from the catacombs of St. Priscilla.]

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GENTILES

Christianity advanced with marvelous rapidity over the Roman world. At the close of the first century there were Christians everywhere in Asia Minor. The second century saw the establishment of flourishing churches in almost every province of the empire. A hundred years later there were missionaries along the Rhine, on the Danube frontier, and in distant Britain. "We are but of yesterday," says a Christian writer, with pardonable

exaggeration, "yet we have filled all your places of resort— cities, islands, fortresses, towns, markets, the camp itself, the tribes, town councils, the palace, the senate, and the forum, We have left to you only the temples of your gods." [18]

CONDITIONS FAVORING THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

Certain circumstances contributed to the success of this gigantic missionary enterprise. Alexander's conquests in the East and those of Rome in the West had done much to remove the barriers to intercourse between nations. The spread of Greek and Latin as the common languages of the Mediterranean world furnished a medium in which Christian speakers and writers could be easily understood. The scattering of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem [19] provided the Christians with an audience in many cities of the empire. The early missionaries, such as Paul himself, were often Roman citizens who enjoyed the protection of the Roman law and profited by the ease of travel which the imperial rule had made possible. At no other period in ancient history were conditions so favorable for the rapid spread of a new religion.

ORGANIZATION OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

While Christianity was conquering the world, the believers in its doctrines were grouping themselves into communities or churches. Every city had a congregation of Christian worshipers. [20] They met, not in synagogues as did the Jews, but in private houses, where they sang hymns, listened to readings from the Holy Scriptures, and partook of a sacrificial meal in memory of the last supper of Jesus with his disciples. Certain officers called presbyters, [21] or elders, were chosen to conduct the services and instruct the converts. The chief presbyter received the name of "overseer," or bishop. [22] Each church had also one or more deacons, who visited the sick and relieved the wants of the poor. Every Christian

community thus formed a little brotherhood of earnest men and women, united by common beliefs and common hopes.

[Illustration: CHRIST, THE GOOD SHEPHERD (Imperial Museum, Constantinople) This quaint, rude figure, found in an early Christian tomb in Asia Minor, dates probably from the beginning of the third century. It is the oldest known statue of Christ. He wears the coarse garb of an Oriental peasant; his countenance is gentle and thoughtful; on his broad shoulders rests a lamb.]

79. THE PERSECUTIONS

HOSTILITY TOWARD THE CHRISTIANS

The new religion from the start met popular disapproval. The early Christians, who tried to keep themselves free from idolatry, were regarded as very unsociable persons. They never appeared at public feasts and entertainments. They would not join in the amusements of the circus or the amphitheater. They refused to send their children to the schools. The ordinary citizen could not understand such people. It is not surprising, therefore, that they gained the evil name of "haters of mankind."

SUPERSTITIOUS FEAR OF THE CHRISTIANS

If the multitude despised the Christians, they sometimes feared them as well. Strange stories circulated about the secret meetings of the Christians, who at their sacrificial meal were declared to feast on children. The Christians, too, were often looked upon as magicians who caused all sorts of disasters. It was not difficult to excite the vicious crowds of the larger cities to riots and disorders, in which many followers of the new religion lost their lives.

ANTAGONISM OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT

Such outbursts of mob hatred were only occasional. There would have been no organized, persistent attack, if the imperial government had not taken a hand. Rome, which had treated so many other foreign faiths with careless indifference or even with favor, which had tolerated the Jews and granted to them special privileges of worship, made a deliberate effort to crush Christianity.

ATTITUDE OF THE CHRISTIANS TOWARD PAGANISM

Rome entered on the persecutions because it saw in Christianity that which threatened its own existence. The Christians declined to support the state religion; they even condemned it unsparingly as sinful and idolatrous. The Christians, moreover, would not worship the *genius*, or guardian spirit of the emperor, and would not burn incense before his statue, which stood in every town. Such a refusal to take what was really an oath of allegiance was regarded as an act of rebellion. These feelings of hostility to the Christians were strengthened by their unwillingness to serve in the army and to swear by the pagan gods in courts of law. In short, the members of this new sect must have appeared very unruly subjects who, if allowed to become numerous enough, would endanger the security of the government.

DIOCLETIAN'S PERSECUTION, 303-311 A.D.

As early as the beginning of the second century Roman officials began to search out and punish Christians, wherever they were found. During the third century the entire power of the imperial government was directed against this outlawed sect. The persecution which began under Diocletian was the last and most severe. With some interruptions it continued for eight years. Only Gaul and Britain seem to have escaped its ravages. The government began by burning the holy books of the Christians, by

destroying their churches, and by taking away their property. Members of the hated faith lost their privileges as full Roman citizens. Then sterner measures followed. The prisons were crowded with Christians. Those who refused to recant and sacrifice to the emperor were thrown to wild animals in the arena, stretched on the rack, or burned over a slow fire. Every refinement of torture was practiced. Paganism, fighting for its existence, left no means untried to root out a sect both despised and feared.

THE MARTYRS

The Christians joyfully suffered for their religion. They welcomed the torture and death which would gain for them a heavenly crown. Those who perished were called martyrs, that is, "witnesses." Even now the festal day of a martyr is the day of his death.

[Illustration: INTERIOR OF THE CATACOMBS The catacombs of Rome are underground cemeteries in which the Christians buried their dead. The bodies were laid in recesses in the walls of the galleries or underneath the pavement. Several tiers of galleries (in one instance as many as seven) lie one below the other. Their total length has been estimated at no less than six hundred miles. The illustration shows a small chamber, or cubiculum. The graves have been opened and the bodies taken away.]

80. TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY BECOMES A TOLERATED RELIGION

Diocletian's persecution, which continued for several years after his abdication, came to an end in 311 A.D. In that year Galerius, the ruler in the East, published an edict which permitted the Christians to rebuild their churches and worship undisturbed. It remained for the emperor Constantine to take the next significant step. In 313 A.D. Constantine and his colleague,

Licinius, issued the Edict of Milan, which proclaimed for the first time in history the noble principle of religious toleration. It gave absolute freedom to every man to choose and follow the religion which he deemed best suited to his needs. This edict placed the Christian faith on an equality with paganism.

CONSTANTINE'S CONVERSION

The conversion of Constantine is one of the most important events in ancient history. A Roman emperor, himself a god to the subjects of Rome, became the worshiper of a crucified provincial of his empire. Constantine favored the Christians throughput his reign. He surrounded himself with Christian bishops, freed the clergy from taxation, and spent large sums in building churches. One of his laws abolished the use of the cross as an instrument of punishment. Another enactment required that magistrates, city people, and artisans were to rest on Sunday. This was the first "Sunday law." [23]

[Illustration: THE LABARUM The sacred military standard of the early Christian Roman emperors. First adopted by Constantine. It consisted of a staff or lance with a purple banner on a cross-bar. The two Greek letters XP (CHR) make a monogram of the word Christ (Greek *Christos*).]

CHURCH COUNCIL AT NICAEA, 325 A.D.

Significant of the emperor's attitude toward Christianity was his action in summoning all the bishops in the different provinces to a gathering at Nicaea in Asia Minor. It was the first general council of the Church. The principal work of the Council of Nicaea was the settlement of a great dispute which had arisen over the nature of Christ. Some theologians headed by Arius, a priest of Alexandria, maintained that Christ the Son, having been created by God the Father, was necessarily inferior to him

Athanasius, another Alexandrian priest, opposed this view and held that Christ was not a created being, but was in all ways equal to God. The Council accepted the arguments of Athanasius, condemned Arius as a heretic, and framed the Nicene Creed, which is still the accepted summary of Christian doctrine. Though thrust out of the Church, Arianism lived to flourish anew among the Germanic tribes, of which the majority were converted to Christianity by Arian missionaries.

[Illustration: ARCH OF CONSTANTINE Erected at Rome in 315 A.D. to commemorate the victory of Constantine over Maxentius. The monument consists of a central gateway and two smaller arches flanked by detached columns in the Corinthian style. The arch is decorated with four large statues in front of the upper story and also with numerous sculptures in relief.]

CHRISTIANITY BECOMES THE STATE RELIGION UNDER THEODOSIUS, 379-395 A.D.

The recognition given to Christianity by Constantine helped immensely to spread the new faith. The emperor Theodosius, whose services to the church won him the title of "the Great," made Christianity the state religion. Sacrifices to the pagan gods were forbidden, the temples were closed, and their property was taken away. Those strongholds of the old paganism, the Delphic oracle, the Olympian games, and the Eleusinian mysteries, were abolished. Even the private worship of the household Lares and Penates [24] was prohibited. Though paganism lingered for a century or more in the country districts, it became extinct as a state religion by the end of the fourth century.

[Illustration: Map, THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE END OF THE FOURTH
CENTURY.]

81. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY

MORAL TEACHINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

The new religion certainly helped to soften and refine manners by the stress which it laid upon such "Christian" virtues as humility, tenderness, and gentleness. By dwelling on the sanctity of human life, Christianity did its best to repress the very common practice of suicide as well as the frightful evil of infanticide. [25] It set its face sternly against the obscenities of the theater and the cruelties of the gladiatorial shows. [26] In these and other respects Christianity had much to do with the improvement of ancient morals.

SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

Perhaps even more original contributions of Christianity to civilization lay in its social teachings. The belief in the fatherhood of God implied a corresponding belief in the brotherhood of man. This doctrine of the equality of men had been expressed before by ancient philosophers, but Christianity translated the precept into practice. In this way it helped to improve the condition of slaves and, by favoring emancipation, even tended to decrease slavery. [27] Christianity also laid much emphasis on the virtue of charity and the duty of supporting all institutions which aimed to relieve the lot of the poor, the sick, and the downtrodden.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE GERMANS

At the close of the fourth century the Germanic tribes living nearest the frontiers had been visited by missionaries and had become converts to Christianity. The fact that both Romans and Germans were Christians tended to lessen the terrors of the invasions and to bring about a peaceful fusion of the conquerors and the conquered.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the territories of the Roman Empire and their division, 395 A D.

2. What is the date of the accession of the emperor Commodus? of the accession of Diocletian? of the death of Theodosius? of the Edict of Milan? of the Council of Nicaea?

3. What elements of weakness in the imperial system had been disclosed during the century 180-284 A.D.?

4. Explain Diocletian's plan of "partnership emperors."

5. Define the terms *absolutism* and *centralization*. Give an example of a European country under a centralized administration; of a European country under an absolute government.

6. What are the advantages of local self-government over a centralized government?

7. "The emperor of the first century was a *Prince*, that is, 'first citizen'; the emperor of the fourth century was a *Sultan*." Comment on this statement.

8. What arguments might have been made for and against the removal of the capital to Constantinople?

9. Enumerate the causes of the decline of population in imperial times.

10. Show how an unwise system of taxation may work great economic injury.

11. Give reasons for the decline of Greek and Roman paganism.

12. Why should Mithraism have proved "the most formidable foe which Christianity had to overcome"?

13. Were any of the ancient religions missionary faiths?

14. When and where was Jesus born? Who was king of Judea at the time? Were the Jews independent of Rome during the lifetime of Jesus?

15. Locate on the map, facing page 230, the three divisions of Palestine at the time of Christ.

16. To what cities of Asia Minor did Paul write his epistles, or letters? To what other cities in the Roman Empire?

17. What was the original meaning of the words "presbyter," "bishop," and "deacon"?

18. What is meant by calling the Church an episcopal organization?

19. How can you explain the persecution of the Christians by an emperor so great and good as Marcus Aurelius?

20. What is the meaning of the word "martyr"?

21. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Explain.

22. Describe the *Labarum* (illustration, page 235).

23. What reasons suggest themselves as helping to explain the conversion of the civilized world to Christianity?

FOOTNOTES

[1] See page 200.

[2] See pages 184, 194.

[3] Vopiscus, *Saturninus*, 10.

[4] The number and arrangement of these divisions varied somewhat during the fourth century. See the map, between pages 222-223, for the system as it existed about 395 A.D.

[5] See page 186.

[6] See page 88.

[7] See the map, page 340.

[8] Until the capture of the city by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D.

[9] See pages 200, 219.

[10] See page 77.

[11] See page 196.

[12] See page 201.

[13] See the map, page 107.

[14] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 29.

[15] See page 54.

[16] *Soli Invicto Mithrae.* An interesting survival of Mithra worship is the date of our festival of Christmas. The 25th of December was the day of the great annual celebration in memory of the Persian deity. In 274 A.D. the

emperor Aurelian raised a gorgeous temple to the sun god in the Campus Martius, dedicating it on the 25th of December, "the birthday of the Unconquerable Sun." After the triumph of Christianity the day was still honored, but henceforth as the anniversary of the birth of Christ.

[17] The exact date of the crucifixion is unknown. It took place during the reign of Tiberius, when Pontius Pilatus was procurator of Judea.

[18] Tertullian, *Apology*, 37.

[19] See page 199, note 1.

[20] The meeting was called *ecclesia* from the Greek word for "popular assembly." Hence comes our word "ecclesiastical."

[21] Whence the word "priest."

[22] The word "bishop" comes from the Greek *episkopos* and means, literally, an "overseer."

[23] It is highly doubtful, however, whether this legislation had any reference to Christianity. More probably, Constantine was only adding the day of the Sun, the worship of which was then firmly established in the empire (see page 229, note 1) to the other holy days of the Roman calendar.

[24] See page 146.

[25] See page 253.

[26] See page 267.

[27] See page 270.

CHAPTER XI

THE GERMANS TO 476 A.D. [1]

82. GERMANY AND THE GERMANS

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF GERMANY

The Germans were an Indo-European people, as were their neighbors, the Celts of Gaul and Britain. They had lived for many centuries in the wild districts of central Europe north of the Alps and beyond the Danube and the Rhine. This home land of the Germans in ancient times was cheerless and unhealthy. Dense forests or extensive marshes covered the ground. The atmosphere was heavy and humid; in summer clouds and mists brooded over the country; and in winter it was covered with snow and ice. In such a region everything was opposed to civilization. Hence the Germans, though a gifted race, had not advanced as rapidly as the Greek and Italian peoples.

THE GERMANS DESCRIBED BY THE ROMANS

Our earliest notice of the Germans is found in the *Commentaries* by Julius Caesar, who twice invaded their country. About a century and a half later the Roman historian, Tacitus, wrote a little book called Germany, which gives an account of the people as they were before coming under the influence of Rome and Christianity. Tacitus describes the Germans as

barbarians with many of the usual marks of barbarism. He speaks of their giant size, their fierce, blue eyes, and their blonde or ruddy hair. These physical traits made them seem especially terrible to the smaller and darker Romans. He mentions their love of warfare, the fury of their onset in battle, and the contempt which they had for wounds and even death itself. When not fighting, they passed much of their time in the chase, and still more time in sleep and gluttonous feasts. They were hard drinkers, too, and so passionately fond of gambling that, when a man's wealth was gone, he would even stake his liberty on a single game. In some of these respects the Germans resembled our own Indian tribes.

GERMAN MORALS

On the other hand, the Germans had certain attractive qualities not always found even among civilized peoples. They were hospitable to the stranger, they respected their sworn word, they loved liberty and hated restraint. Their chiefs, we are told, ruled rather by persuasion than by authority. Above all, the Germans had a pure family life. "Almost alone among barbarians," writes Tacitus, "they are content with one wife. No one in Germany laughs at vice, nor is it the fashion to corrupt and be corrupted. Good habits are here more effectual than good laws elsewhere." [2] The Germans, then, were strong and brave, hardy, chaste, and free.

PROGRESS OF THE GERMANS

The Germans, during the three centuries between the time of Tacitus and the beginning of the invasions, had advanced somewhat in civilization. They were learning to live in towns instead of in rude villages, to read and write, to make better weapons and clothes, to use money, and to enjoy many Roman luxuries, such as wine, spices, and ornaments. They were likewise uniting in great confederations of tribes, ruled by kings who were able to lead them in migrations to other lands.

[Illustration: RUNIC ALPHABET The word "rune" comes from a Gothic word meaning a secret thing, a mystery. To the primitive Germans it seemed a mysterious thing that letters could be used to express thought. The art of writing with an alphabet appears to have been introduced into Germanic Europe during the first centuries of our era. Most Runic inscriptions have been found in Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula.]

REASONS FOR THE GERMANIC MIGRATIONS

During this same period, also, the Germans increased rapidly in numbers. Consequently it was a difficult matter for them to live by hunting and fishing, or by such rude agriculture as their country allowed. They could find additional land only in the fertile and well cultivated territories of the Romans. It was this hunger for land, together with the love of fighting and the desire for booty and adventure, which led to their migrations.

GROWING WEAKNESS OF ROME

The German inroads were neither sudden, nor unexpected, nor new. Since the days of Marius and of Julius Caesar not a century had passed without witnessing some dangerous movement of the northern barbarians. Until the close of the fourth century Rome had always held their swarming hordes at bay. Nor were the invasions which at length destroyed the empire much more formidable than those which had been repulsed many times before. Rome fell because she could no longer resist with her earlier power. If the barbarians were not growing stronger, the Romans themselves were steadily growing weaker. The form of the empire was still the same, but it had lost its vigor and its vitality. [3]

83. BREAKING OF THE DANUBE BARRIER

THE GOTHS

North of the Danube lived, near the close of the fourth century, a German people called Visigoths, or West Goths. Their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths, or East Goths, held the land north of the Black Sea between the Danube and the Don. These two nations had been among the most dangerous enemies of Rome. In the third century they made so many expeditions against the eastern territories of the empire that Aurelian at last surrendered to the Visigoths the great province of Dacia. [4] The barbarians now came in contact with Roman civilization and began to lead more settled lives. Some of them even accepted Christianity from Bishop Ulfilas, who translated the Bible into the Gothic tongue.

THE VISIGOTHS CROSS THE DANUBE, 376 A.D.

The peaceful fusion of Goth and Roman might have gone on indefinitely but for the sudden appearance in Europe of the Huns. They were a nomadic people from central Asia. Entering Europe north of the Caspian Sea, the Huns quickly subdued the Ostrogoths and compelled them to unite in an attack upon their German kinsmen. Then the entire nation of Visigoths crowded the banks of the Danube and begged the Roman authorities to allow them to cross that river and place its broad waters between them and their terrible foes. In an evil hour for Rome their prayer was granted. At length two hundred thousand Gothic warriors, with their wives and children, found a home on Roman soil.

BATTLE OF ADRIANOPLE, 378 A.D.

The settlement of such a host of barbarians within the frontier of the empire was in itself a dangerous thing. The danger was increased by the ill treatment which the immigrants received. The Roman officials robbed them of their possessions, withheld the promised supplies of food, and even tried to murder their leaders at a banquet. Finally, the Germans broke out in open revolt. The emperor Valens misjudged their strength and rashly gave them

battle near Adrianople in Thrace. The once invincible legions fell an easy prey to their foes, and the emperor himself perished.

[Illustration: A PAGE OF THE GOTHIC GOSPELS (REDUCED) A manuscript of Ulfilas's translation of the Bible forms one of the treasures of the library of the university of Upsala, Sweden. It is beautifully written in letters of gold and silver on parchment of a rich purple dye. In making his version Ulfilas, who was himself a converted Visigoth, generally indicated the Gothic sounds by means of the Greek alphabet. He added, however, a few signs from the Runic alphabet, with which the Germans were familiar.]

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE

The defeat at Adrianople is considered one of the few really decisive battles in the world's history. It showed the barbarians that they could face the Romans in open fight and beat them. And it broke, once for all, the Danube barrier. Swarms of fighting men, Ostrogoths as well as Visigoths, overran the provinces south of the Danube. The great ruler, Theodosius, [5] saved the empire for a time by granting lands to the Germans and by enrolling them in the army under the high-sounding title of "allies." Until his death the Goths remained quiet—but it was only the lull before the storm.

ALARIC THE VISIGOTH

Theodosius, "the friend of the Goths," died in 395 A.D., leaving the defense of the Roman world to his weakling sons, Arcadius and Honorius. In the same year the Visigoths raised one of their young nobles, named Alaric, upon a shield and with joyful shouts acclaimed him as their king. The Visigothic leader despised the service of Rome. His people, he thought, should be masters, not servants. Alaric determined to lead them into the

very heart of the empire, where they might find fertile lands and settle once for all.

ALARIC IN GREECE AND ITALY

Alaric at first fixed his attention on Constantinople. Realizing, at length, how hopeless would be the siege of that great city, he turned toward the west and descended upon Greece. The Germans marched unopposed through the pass of Thermopylae and devastated central Greece, as the Persians had done nearly nine centuries before. [6] Then the barbarians entered the Peloponnesus, but were soon driven out by Stilicho, a German chieftain who had risen to the command of the army of Honorius. Alaric gave up Greece only to invade Italy. Before long the Goths crossed the Julian Alps and entered the rich and defenseless valley of the Po. To meet the crisis the legions were hastily called in, even from the distant frontiers. Stilicho formed them into a powerful army, beat back the enemy, and captured the Visigothic camp, filled with the spoil of Greek cities. In the eyes of the Romans Stilicho seemed a second Marius, who had arisen in an hour of peril to save Italy from its barbarian foes. [7]

THE VISIGOTHS BEFORE ROME

Alaric and his Goths had been repulsed; they had not been destroyed. Beyond the Alps they were regaining their shattered strength and biding their time. Their opportunity came soon enough, when Honorius caused Stilicho to be put to death on a charge of plotting to seize the throne. The accusation may have been true, but in killing Stilicho the emperor had cut off his right hand with his left. Now that Stilicho was out of the way, Alaric no longer feared to descend again on Italy. The Goths advanced rapidly southward past Ravenna, where Honorius had shut himself up in terror, and made straight for Rome. In 410 A.D., just eight hundred years after the sack of the city by the Gauls, [8] Rome found the Germans within her gates.

SACK OF ROME BY THE VISIGOTHS, 410 A.D.

The city for three days and nights was given up to pillage. Alaric, who was a Christian, ordered his followers to respect the churches and their property and to refrain from bloodshed. Though the city did not greatly suffer, the moral effect of the disaster was immense. Rome the eternal, the unconquerable, she who had taken captive all the world, was now herself a captive. The pagans saw in this calamity the vengeance of the ancient deities, who had been dishonored and driven from their shrines. The Christians believed that God had sent a judgment on the Romans to punish them for their sins. In either case the spell of Rome was forever broken.

KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS, 415-711 A.D.

From Rome Alaric led his hosts, laden with plunder, into southern Italy. He may have intended to cross the Mediterranean and bring Africa under his rule. The plan was never carried out, for the youthful chieftain died suddenly, a victim to the Italian fever. After Alaric's death, the barbarians made their way northward through Italy and settled in southern Gaul and Spain. In these lands they founded an independent Visigothic kingdom, the first to be created on Roman soil.

[Illustration: Map, THE GERMANIC MIGRATIONS to 476 A.D.]

ROMANIZATION OF THE VISIGOTHS

The possessions of the Visigoths in Gaul were seized by their neighbors, the Franks, in less than a century; [9] but the Gothic kingdom in Spain had three hundred years of prosperous life. [10] The barbarian rulers sought to preserve the institutions of Rome and to respect the rights of their Roman subjects. Conquerors and conquered gradually blended into one people, out of whom have grown the Spaniards of modern times.

84. BREAKING OF THE RHINE BARRIER

THE GERMANS CROSS THE RHINE, 406 A.D.

After the departure of the Visigoths Rome and Italy remained undisturbed for nearly forty years. The western provinces were not so fortunate. At the time of Alaric's first attack on Italy the legions along the Rhine had been withdrawn to meet him, leaving the frontier unguarded. In 406 A.D., four years before Alaric's sack of Rome, a vast company of Germans crossed the Rhine and swept almost unopposed through Gaul. Some of these peoples succeeded in establishing kingdoms for themselves on the ruins of the empire.

KINGDOM OF THE BURGUNDIANS, 443-534 A.D.

The Burgundians settled on the upper Rhine and in the fertile valley of the Rhone, in southeastern Gaul. Alter less than a century of independence they were conquered by the Franks. [11] Their name, however, survives in modern Burgundy.

VANDAL KINGDOM IN NORTH AFRICA, 429-534 A.D.

The Vandals settled first in Spain. The territory now called Andalusia still preserves the memory of these barbarians. After the Visigothic invasion of Spain the Vandals passed over to North Africa. They made themselves masters of Carthage and soon conquered all the Roman province of Africa. Their kingdom here lasted about one hundred years. [12]

THE FRANKS IN NORTHERN GAUL

While the Visigoths were finding a home in the districts north and south of the Pyrenees, the Burgundians in the Rhone valley, and the Vandals in Africa, still another Germanic people began to spread over northern Gaul.

They were the Franks, who had long held lands on both sides of the lower Rhine. The Franks, unlike the other Germans, were not of a roving disposition. They contented themselves with a gradual advance into Roman territory. It was not until near the close of the fifth century that they overthrew the Roman power in northern Gaul and began to form the Frankish kingdom, out of which modern France has grown.

THE ANGLES AND SAXONS IN BRITAIN, FROM 449 A.D.

The troubled years of the fifth century saw also the beginning of the Germanic conquest of Britain. The withdrawal of the legions from that island left it defenseless, for the Celtic inhabitants were too weak to defend themselves. Bands of savage Picts from Scotland swarmed over Hadrian's Wall, attacking the Britons in the rear. Ireland sent forth the no less savage Scots. The eastern coasts, at the same time, were constantly exposed to raids by German pirates. The Britons, in their extremity, adopted the old Roman practice of getting the barbarians to fight for them. Bands of Jutes were invited over from Denmark in 449 A.D. The Jutes forced back the Picts and then settled in Britain as conquerors. Fresh swarms of invaders followed them, chiefly Angles from what is now Schleswig-Holstein and Saxons from the neighborhood of the rivers Elbe and Weser in northern Germany. The invaders subdued nearly all that part of Britain that Rome had previously conquered. In this way the Angles and Saxons became ancestors of the English people, and Engleland became England. [13]

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 451 A.D.

By the middle of the fifth century the larger part of the Roman Empire in the West had come under barbarian control. The Germans ruled in Africa, Spain, Britain, and parts of Gaul. But now the new Germanic kingdoms, together with what remained of the old empire, were threatened by a common foe—the terrible Huns.

85. INROADS OF THE HUNS

THE HUNS

We know very little about the Huns, except that they were not related to the Germans or to any other European people. Some scholars believe them to have belonged to the Mongolian race. But the Huns, to the excited imagination of Roman writers, were demons rather than men. Their olive skins, little, turned-up noses, and black, beady eyes must have given them a very frightful appearance. They spent most of their time on horseback, sweeping over the country like a whirlwind and leaving destruction and death in their wake.

ATTILA THE HUN

The Huns did not become dangerous to Rome for more than half a century after their first appearance in Europe. [14] During this time they moved into the Danube region and settled in the lands now known as Austria and Hungary. At last the Huns found a national leader in Attila, "a man born into the world to agitate the nations, the fear of all lands," [15] one whose boast it was that the grass never grew again where his horse's hoofs had trod. He quickly built up a great military power obeyed by many barbarous nations from the Caspian to the Rhine.

INVASION OF GAUL BY ATTILA

Attila, from his capital on the Danube, could threaten both the East and the West. The emperors at Constantinople bought him off with lavish gifts, and so the robber-ruler turned to the western provinces for his prey. In 451 A.D. he led his motley host, said to number half a million men, across the Rhine. Many a noble municipality with its still active Roman life was visited by the Huns with fire and sword. Paris, it is worthy of note, escaped

destruction. That now famous city was then only a little village on an island in the Seine.

BATTLE OF CHÂLONS, 451 A.D.

In this hour of danger Romans and Germans gave up quarreling and united against the common foe. Visigoths under their native king hastened from Spain; Burgundians and Franks joined their ranks; to these forces a German general, named Aëtius, added the last Roman army in the West. Opposed to them Attila had his Huns, the conquered Ostrogoths, and many other barbarian peoples. The battle of Châlons has well been called a struggle of the nations. It was one of the fiercest conflicts recorded in history. On both sides thousands perished, but so many more of Attila's men fell that he dared not risk a fresh encounter on the following day. He drew his shattered forces together and retreated beyond the Rhine.

ATTILA INVADES ITALY, 452 A.D.

In spite of this setback Attila did not abandon the hope of conquest. The next year he led his still formidable army over the Julian Alps and burned or plundered many towns of northern Italy. A few trembling fugitives sought shelter on the islands at the head of the Adriatic. Out of their rude huts grew up in the Middle Ages splendid and famous Venice, a city that in later centuries was to help defend Europe against those kinsmen of the Huns, the Turks.

DEATH OF ATTILA, 453 A.D.

The fiery Hun did not long survive this Italian expedition. Within a year he was dead, dying suddenly, it was said, in a drunken sleep. The great confederacy which he had formed broke up after his death. The German subjects gained their freedom, and the Huns themselves either withdrew to

their Asiatic wilds or mingled with the peoples they had conquered. Europe breathed again; the nightmare was over.

86. END OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST, 476 A.D.

VANDAL PIRATES

Rome escaped a visitation by the Huns only to fall a victim, three years later, to the Vandals. After the capture of Carthage,[16] these barbarians made that city the seat of a pirate empire. Putting out in their long, light vessels, they swept the seas and raided many a populous city on the Mediterranean coast. So terrible were their inroads that the word "vandalism" has come to mean the wanton destruction of property.

SACK OF ROME BY THE VANDALS, 455 A.D.

In 455 A.D. the ships of the Vandals, led by their king, Gaiseric, appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. The Romans could offer no resistance. Only the noble bishop Leo went out with his clergy to meet the invader and intercede for the city. Gaiseric promised to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not to destroy the public buildings. These were the best terms he would grant. The Vandals spent fourteen days stripping Rome of her wealth. Besides shiploads of booty the Vandals took away thousands of Romans as slaves, including the widow and two daughters of an emperor.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST, 455-476 A.D.

After the Vandal sack of Rome the imperial throne became the mere plaything of the army and its leaders. A German commander, named Ricimer, set up and deposed four puppet emperors within five years. He was, in fact, the real ruler of Italy at this time. After his death Orestes, another German general, went a step beyond Ricimer's policy and placed

his own son on the throne of the Caesars. By a curious coincidence, this lad bore the name of Romulus, legendary founder of Rome, and the nickname of Augustulus ("the little Augustus"). The boy emperor reigned less than a year. The German troops clamored for a third of the lands of Italy and, when their demand was refused, proclaimed Odoacer king. The poor little emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was sent to a villa near Naples, where he disappears from history.

[Illustration: Map, EUROPE at the Deposition of Romulus Augustulus 476
A.D.]

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 476 A.D.

There was now no emperor in the West. To the men of that time it seemed that East and West had been once more joined under a single ruler, as in the days of Constantine. The emperors who reigned at Constantinople did not relinquish their claims to be regarded as the rightful sovereigns in Italy and Rome. Nevertheless, as an actual fact, Roman rule in the West was now all but extinct. Odoacer, the head of the barbarians in Italy, ruled a kingdom as independent as that of the Vandals in Africa or that of the Visigoths in Spain and Gaul. The date 476 A.D. may therefore be chosen as marking, better than any other, the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West by the Germans.

87. GERMANIC INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GERMANIC INVASIONS

Classical civilization suffered a great shock when the Germans descended on the empire and from its provinces carved out their kingdoms. These barbarians were rude in manners, were very ignorant, and had little

taste for anything except fighting and bodily enjoyments. They were unlike the Romans in dress and habits of life. They lived under different laws, spoke different languages, obeyed different rulers. Their invasions naturally ushered in a long period of confusion and disorder, during which the new race slowly raised itself to a level of culture somewhat approaching that which the Greeks and the Romans had attained.

RETROGRESSIVE FORCES

The Germans in many ways did injury to classical civilization. They sometimes destroyed Roman cities and killed or enslaved the inhabitants. Even when the invaders settled peaceably in the empire, they took possession of the land and set up their own tribal governments in place of the Roman. They allowed aqueducts, bridges, and roads to go without repairs, and theaters, baths, and other public buildings to sink into ruins. Having no appreciation of education, the Germans failed to keep up the schools, universities, and libraries. Being devoted chiefly to agriculture, they had no need for foreign wares or costly articles of luxury, and hence they permitted industry and commerce to languish. In short, large parts of western Europe, particularly Gaul, Spain, and Britain, fell backward into a condition of ignorance, superstition, and even barbarism.

PROGRESSIVE FORCES

But in closing our survey of the Germanic invasions we need to dwell on the forces that made for progress, rather than on those that made for decline. Classical civilization, we have already found reason to believe, [17] had begun to decay long before the Germans broke up the empire. The Germans came, as Christianity had come, only to hasten the process of decay. Each of these influences, in turn, worked to build up the fabric of a new society on the ruins of the old. First Christianity infused the pagan world with its quickening spirit and gave a new religion to mankind. Later followed the

Germans, who accepted Christianity, who adopted much of Graeco-Roman culture, and then contributed their fresh blood and youthful minds and their own vigorous life.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the extent of Germany in the time of Tacitus.

2. Make a list of all the Germanic nations mentioned in this chapter, and give a short account of each.

3 Give dates for the following: battle of Châlons; sack of Rome by Alaric; battle of Adrianople; and end of the Roman Empire in the West.

4. What resemblances existed between the culture of the Germans and that of the early Greeks?

5. Why did the Germans progress more slowly in civilization than the Greeks and the Romans?

6. Comment on this statement: "The Germans had stolen their way into the very citadel of the empire long before its distant outworks were stormed."

7. Why is modern civilization, unlike that of antiquity, in little danger from barbarians?

8. Why has the battle of Adrianople been called "the Cannae of the fourth century"?

9. Why has Alaric been styled "the Moses of the Visigoths"?

10. What is the origin of the geographical names Andalusia, Burgundy, England, and France?

11. Why was Attila called the "scourge of God"?

12. Can you suggest a reason why some historians do not regard Châlons as one of the world's decisive battles?

13. In what sense does the date, 476 A.D., mark the "fall" of the Roman Empire?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter xxiii, "The Germans as Described by Tacitus."

[2] Tacitus, *Germania*, 19.

[3] See pages 224-226.

[4] See page 219.

[5] See page 223.

[6] See page 98.

[7] See page 178.

[8] See page 153.

[9] See page 303.

[10] See page 378.

[11] See page 303.

[12] See page 330.

[13] The invasion of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons was followed by the migration across the Channel of large numbers of the defeated islanders. The district in France where they settled is called after them, Brittany.

[14] See page 241.

[15] Jordanes, *De rebus Geticis*, 35.

[16] See page 225.

[17] See page 224.

CHAPTER XII

CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION [1]

88. THE CLASSICAL CITY

THE CENTER OF CLASSICAL LIFE

The history of the Greeks and Romans ought not to be studied only in their political development and the biographies of their great statesmen and warriors. We must also know something of ancient literature, philosophy, and art. Especially do we need to learn about the private life of the classical peoples—their manners, customs, occupations, and amusements. This life centered in the city.

ORIGIN OF THE CITY

A Greek or a Roman city usually grew up about a hill of refuge (*acropolis, capitolium*), to which the people of the surrounding district could flee in time of danger. The hill would be crowned with a fortress and the temples of the gods. Not far away was the market place (*agora, forum*), where the people gathered to conduct their business and to enjoy social intercourse. About the citadel and market place were grouped the narrow streets and low houses of the town.

GENERAL APPEARANCE OF AN ANCIENT CITY

The largest and most beautiful buildings in an ancient city were always the temples, colonnades, and other public structures. The houses of private individuals, for the most part, had few pretensions to beauty. They were insignificant in appearance and were often built with only one story. From a distance, however, their whitewashed walls and red-tiled roofs, shining brightly under the warm sun, must have made an attractive picture.

LIFE IN THE CITY

To the free-born inhabitant of Athens or of Rome his city was at once his country and his church, his club and his home. He shared in its government; he took part in the stately ceremonies that honored its patron god; in the city he could indulge his taste for talking and for politics; here he found both safety and society. No wonder that an Athenian or a Roman learned, from early childhood, to love his city with passionate devotion.

89. EDUCATION AND THE CONDITION OF CHILDREN

IMPORTANCE OF MALE CHILDREN

The coming of a child, to parents in antiquity as to parents now, was usually a very happy event. Especially welcome was the birth of a son. The father felt assured that through the boy his old age would be cared for and that the family name and the worship of the family ancestors would be kept up after his own death. "Male children," said an ancient poet, "are the pillars of the house." [2] The city, as well, had an interest in the matter, for a male child meant another citizen able to take the father's place in the army and the public assembly. To have no children was regarded as one of the greatest calamities that could befall a Greek or a Roman.

INFANTICIDE

The ancient attitude toward children was in one respect very unlike our own. The law allowed a father to do whatever he pleased with a newly born child. If he was very poor, or if his child was deformed, he could expose it in some desert spot, where it soon died. An infant was sometimes placed secretly in a temple, where possibly some kind-hearted person might rescue it. The child, in this case, became the slave of its adopter. This custom of exposure, an inheritance from prehistoric savagery, tended to grow less common with advancing culture. The complete abolition of infanticide was due to the spread of Christian teachings about the sacredness of human life. [3]

NAMES

A Greek boy generally had but one name. The favorite name for the eldest son was that of his paternal grandfather. A father, however, might give him his own name or that of an intimate friend. The Romans at first seem to have used only the one name, then two were given; and later we have the familiar three-fold name, representing the individual, the clan, and the family. [4]

GREEK EDUCATION

Greek education consisted of three main branches, known as gymnastics, music, and grammar. By gymnastics the Greeks meant the physical training in the palestra, an open stretch of ground on the outskirts of the city. Here a private teacher gave instruction in the various athletic sports which were so popular at the national games. The training in music was intended to improve the moral nature of young men and to fit them for pleasant social intercourse. They were taught to play a stringed instrument, called the lyre, and at the same time to sing to their own accompaniment. Grammar, the third branch of education, included instruction in writing and the reading of the national literature. After a boy had learned to write and to read, the

schoolmaster took up with him the works of the epic poets, especially Homer, besides *Aesop's Fables* and other popular compositions. The student learned by heart much of the poetry and at so early an age that he always remembered it. Not a few Athenians, it is said, could recite the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

[Illustration: AN ATHENIAN SCHOOL (Royal Museum, Berlin) A painting by Duris on a drinking-cup, or cylix. The picture is divided by the two handles. In the upper half, beginning at the left: a youth playing the double flute as a lesson to the boy before him; a teacher holding a tablet and stylus and correcting a composition; a slave (*paedagogus*), who accompanied the children to and from school. In the lower half: a master teaching his pupil to play the lyre; a teacher holding a half- opened roll, listening to a recitation by the student before him; a bearded *paedagogus*. The inner picture, badly damaged, represents a youth in a bath.]

ROMAN EDUCATION

A Roman boy began his school days at about the age of seven. He learned to read, to write with a stylus on wax tablets, and to cipher by means of the reckoning board, or abacus. He received a little instruction in singing and memorized all sorts of proverbs and maxims, besides the laws of the Twelve Tables. [5] His studying went on under the watchful eyes of a harsh schoolmaster, who did not hesitate to use the rod. After Rome began to come into close contact with Greece, the curriculum was enlarged by the study of literature. The Romans were the first people who made the learning of a foreign tongue an essential part of education. Schools now arose in which the Greek language and literature formed the chief subject of instruction. As Latin literature came into being, its productions, especially the orations of Cicero and the poems of Vergil and Horace, were also used as texts for study.

[Illustration: A ROMAN SCHOOL SCENE
Wall painting, Herculaneum.]

[Illustration: YOUTH READING A PAPYRUS ROLL Relief on a sarcophagus. The papyrus roll was sometimes very long. The entire *Iliad* or *Odyssey* might be contained in a single manuscript measuring one hundred and fifty feet in length. In the third century A.D. the unwieldy roll began to give way to the tablet, composed of a number of leaves held together by a ring. About this time, also, the use of vellum, or parchment made of sheepskin, became common.]

TRAVEL AND STUDY ABROAD

Persons of wealth or noble birth might follow their school training by a university course at a Greek city, such as Athens, Alexandria, or Rhodes. Here the Roman youth would listen to lectures on philosophy, delivered by the deep thinkers whom Greece still produced, and would profit by the treasures of art and science preserved in these ancient capitals. Many famous Romans thus passed several years abroad in graduate study. During the imperial age, as we have already seen, [6] schools of grammar and rhetoric arose in the West, particularly in Gaul and Spain, and attracted students from all parts of the empire.

90. MARRIAGE AND THE POSITION OF WOMEN

ENGAGEMENTS

A young man in Athens or in Rome did not, as a rule, marry immediately on coming of age. He might remain a bachelor for several years, sometimes till he was thirty or over. The young man's father had most to do with the selection of a wife. He tried to secure for his son some daughter of a friend who possessed rank and property equal to his own. The parents of the two

parties would then enter into a contract which, among other things, usually stated how large a dowry the bride's father was to settle on his daughter. An engagement was usually very little a matter of romance and very much a matter of business.

WEDDING CUSTOMS

The wedding customs of the Greeks and Romans presented many likenesses. Marriage, among both peoples, was a religious ceremony. On the appointed day the principals and their guests, dressed in holiday attire, met at the house of the bride. In the case of a Roman wedding the auspices [7] were then taken, and the words of the nuptial contract were pronounced in the presence of witnesses. After a solemn sacrifice to the gods of marriage, the guests partook of the wedding banquet. When night came on, the husband brought his wife to her new abode, escorted by a procession of torchbearers, musicians, and friends, who sang the happy wedding song.

POSITION OF WOMEN

An Athenian wife, during her younger years, always remained more or less a prisoner. She could not go out except by permission. She took no part in the banquets and entertainments which her husband gave. She lived a life of confinement in that quarter of the house assigned to the women for their special abode. Married women at Rome enjoyed a far more honorable position. Although early custom placed the wife, together with her children, in the power of the husband, [8] still she possessed many privileges. She did not remain all the time at home, but mingled freely in society. She was the friend and confidante of her husband, as well as his housekeeper. During the great days of Roman history the women showed themselves virtuous and dignified, loving wives and excellent companions.

91. THE HOME AND PRIVATE LIFE

CLOTHING

There were no great differences between the dress of the two classical peoples. Both wore the long, loosely flowing robes that contrast so sharply with our tight-fitting garments. [9] Athenian male attire consisted of but two articles, the tunic and the mantle. The tunic was an undergarment of wool or linen, without sleeves. Over this was thrown a large woolen mantle, so wrapped about the figure as to leave free only the right shoulder and head. In the house a man wore only his tunic; out of doors and on the street he usually wore the mantle over it. Very similar to the two main articles of Greek clothing were the Roman *tunica* and *toga*. [10]

COVERING FOR THE HEAD AND FEET

On a journey or out in the country broad-brimmed hats were used to shield the head from the sun. In rainy weather the mantle, pulled up over the head, furnished protection. Sandals, merely flat soles of wood or leather fastened by thongs, were worn indoors, but even these were laid aside at a dinner party. Outside the house leather shoes of various shapes and colors were used. They cannot have been very comfortable, since stockings were not known in antiquity.

EXTERIOR OF THE HOUSE

The ancient house lay close to the street line. The exterior was plain and simple to an extreme. The owner was satisfied if his mansion shut out the noise and dust of the highway. He built it, therefore, round one or more open courts, which took the place of windows supplying light and air. Except for the doorway the front of the house presented a bare, blank surface, only relieved by narrow slits or lattices in the wall of the upper

story. The street side of the house wall received a coating of whitewash or of fine marble stucco. The roof of the house was covered with clay tiles. This style of domestic architecture is still common in eastern lands.

[Illustration: HOUSE OF THE VETTII AT POMPEII (RESTORED) Notice the large area of blank wall both on the front and on the side. The front windows are very small and evidently of less importance for admitting light than the openings of the two *atria*. At the back is seen the large, well-lighted peristyle.]

[Illustration: ATRIUM OF POMPEIAN HOUSE The view shows the *atrium* with the basin for rainwater, in the center the *tabinum* with its wall paintings, and the peristyle at the rear.]

INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE

In contrast with its unpretentious exterior a classical dwelling indoors had a most attractive appearance. We cannot exactly determine just what were the arrangements of a Greek interior. But the better class of Roman houses, such as some of those excavated at Pompeii, [11] followed Greek designs in many respects. The Pompeian remains, therefore, will give some idea of the sort of residence occupied by a well-to-do citizen of Athens or Rome.

[Illustration: POMPEIAN FLOOR MOSAIC]

THE ATRIUM

The visitor at one of these ancient houses first entered a small vestibule, from which a narrow passage led to the heavy oaken door. A dog was sometimes kept chained in this hallway; in Pompeii there is a picture of one worked in mosaic on the floor with the warning beneath it, "Beware of the

dog." Having made known his presence by using the knocker, the guest was ushered into the reception room, or *atrium*. This was a large apartment covered with a roof, except for a hole in the center admitting light and air. A marble basin directly underneath caught the rain water which came through the opening. The *atrium* represents the single room of the primitive Roman house without windows or chimney. [12]

THE PERISTYLE

A corridor from the *atrium* led into the *peristyle*, the second of the two main sections of a Roman house. It was a spacious court, open to the sky and inclosed by a colonnade or portico. This delightful spot, rather than the formal *atrium*, served as the center of family life. About it were grouped the bedchambers, bathrooms, dining rooms, kitchen, and other apartments of a comfortable mansion. Still other rooms occupied the upper stories of the dwelling.

BUSINESS OF THE FORENOON

The ancient Athenian was no sluggard. At sunrise, or even before, he rose from his couch, washed his face and hands, put on his scanty garments, and was soon ready for the street. Before leaving the house, he broke his fast with a meal as simple as the European "rolls and coffee"—in this case merely a few mouthfuls of bread dipped in wine. After breakfast he might call on his friends or perhaps ride into the country and visit his estates. About ten o'clock (which the Athenians called "full market"), he would be pretty sure to find his way to the Agora. The shops at this time were crowded with purchasers, and every sociable citizen of Athens was to be found in them or in the neighboring colonnades which lined the market place.

[Illustration: PERISTYLE OF A POMPEIAN HOUSE House of the Vettii Pompeii. The peristyle, excavated in 1894-1895 A.D. has been carefully restored. The garden, fountains, tables, and marble colonnades are all modern]

OCCUPATIONS IN THE AFTERNOON

The public resorts were deserted at noon, when the Athenian returned home to enjoy a light meal and a rest during the heat. As the day grew cooler, men again went out and visited a gymnasium, such as the Lyceum or the Academy, in the city suburbs. [13] Here were grounds for running, wrestling, discus-throwing, and other sports, as well as rooms for bathing and anointing. While the younger men busied themselves in such active exercises, those of maturer years might be content with less vigorous games or with conversation on political or philosophical themes.

THE EVENING MEAL

The principal meal of the day came about sunset. The master of the house, if he had no guests, shared the repast with his wife and children. For a man of moderate means the ordinary fare was very much what it is now in Greece—bread, olives, figs, cheese, and a little meat as an occasional luxury. At the end of the meal the diners refreshed themselves with wine mixed with water. The Greeks appear to have been usually as temperate in their drink as they were frugal in their food. The remainder of the evening would be devoted to conversation and music and possibly a little reading. As a rule the Athenian went early to bed.

[Illustration: A GREEK BANQUET
From a vase painting by Duns.]

MORNING ROUND OF A ROMAN NOBLE

A Roman of the higher class, who lived in late republican or early imperial times, passed through much the same daily routine as an Athenian citizen in the days of Pericles. He rose at an early hour and after a light breakfast dispatched his private business with the help of his steward and manager. He then took his place in the *atrium* to meet the crowd of poor dependents who came to pay their respects to their patron and to receive their usual morning alms—either food or sufficient money to buy a modest dinner. Having greeted his visitors and perhaps helped them in legal or business matters, the noble entered his litter and was carried down to the Forum. Here he might attend the law courts to plead a case for himself or for his clients. If he were a member of the Senate, he would take part in the deliberations of that body. At eleven o'clock, when the ordinary duties of the morning were over, he would return home to eat his luncheon and enjoy the midday rest, or siesta. The practice of having a nap in the heat of the day became so general that at noon the streets of a Roman city had the same deserted appearance as at midnight.

[Illustration: A ROMAN LITTER The litter consists of an ordinary couch with four posts and a pair of poles. Curtains fastened to the rod above the canopy shielded the occupant from observation.]

THE AFTERNOON EXERCISE AND BATH

After an hour of refreshing sleep it was time for the regular exercise out of doors in the Campus Martius or indoors at one of the large city baths. Then came one of the chief pleasures of a Roman's existence—the daily bath. It was taken ordinarily in one of the public bathing establishments, or *thermae*, to be found in every Roman town. [14] A Roman bath was a luxurious affair. After undressing, the bathers entered a warm anteroom and sat for a time on benches, in order to perspire freely. This was a precaution against the danger of passing too suddenly into the hot bath, which was

taken in a large tank of water sunk in the middle of the floor. Then came an exhilarating cold plunge and anointing with perfumed oil. Afterwards the bathers rested on the couches with which the resort was supplied and passed the time in reading or conversation until the hour for dinner.

THE LATE DINNER

The late dinner, with the Romans as with the Greeks, formed the principal meal of the day. It was usually a social function. The host and his guests reclined on couches arranged about a table. The Romans borrowed from the Greeks the custom of ending a banquet with a symposium, or drinking-bout. The tables were cleared of dishes, and the guests were anointed with perfumes and crowned with garlands. During the banquet and the symposium it was customary for professional performers to entertain the guests with music, dancing, pantomimes, and feats of jugglery.

92. AMUSEMENTS

ATHENIAN RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

The Athenians celebrated many religious festivals. One of the most important was the Great Panathenaea, [15] held every fourth year in the month of July. Athletic contests and poetical recitations, sacrifices, feasts, and processions honored the goddess Athena, who presided over the Athenian city. Even more interesting, perhaps, were the dramatic performances held in midwinter and in spring, at the festivals of Dionysus. The tragedies and comedies composed for these entertainments took their place among the masterpieces of Greek literature.

[Illustration: THEATER OF DIONYSUS, ATHENS The theater of Dionysus where dramatic exhibitions were held lay close to the south eastern angle of the Acropolis. The audience at first sat upon wooden

benches rising tier after tier on the adjacent hillside. About the middle of the fourth century B.C. these were replaced by the stone seats which are still to be seen. Sixteen thousand people could be accommodated in this open air theater.]

FEATURES OF A GREEK PLAY

There is very little likeness between the ancient and the modern drama. Greek plays were performed out of doors in the bright sunlight. Until late Roman times it is unlikely that a raised stage existed. The three actors and the members of the chorus appeared together in the dancing ring, or orchestra. The performers were all men. Each actor might play several parts. There was no elaborate scenery; the spectator had to rely chiefly on his own imagination for the setting of the piece. The actors indulged in few lively movements or gestures. They must have looked from a distance like a group of majestic statues. All wore elaborate costumes, and tragic actors, in addition, were made to appear larger than human with masks, padding, and thick-soled boots, or buskins. The performances occupied the three days of the Dionysiac festivals, beginning early in the morning and lasting till night. All this time was necessary because they formed contests for a prize which the people awarded to the poet and chorus whose presentation was judged of highest excellence.

[Illustration: A DANCING GIRL A Greek bronze statuette found in a sunken galley off the coast of Tunis. The galley had been wrecked while on its way to Rome carrying a load of art objects to decorate the villas of wealthy nobles. This statuette was doubtless a life-like copy of some well-known entertainer. The dancer's pose suggests the American "cakewalk" and her costume, the modern "hobble skirt."]

PANTOMIME AND VAUDEVILLE AT ROME

Pantomimes formed the staple amusement of the Roman theater. In these performances a single dancer, by movements and gestures, represented mythological scenes and love stories. The actor took several characters in succession and a chorus accompanied him with songs. There were also "vaudeville" entertainments, with all manner of jugglers, ropedancers, acrobats, and clowns, to amuse a people who found no pleasure in the refined productions of the Greek stage.

CHARIOT RACES

Far more popular than even pantomime and vaudeville were the "games of the circus." At Rome these were held chiefly in the Circus Maximus. Chariot races formed the principal attraction of the circus. There were usually four horses to a chariot, though sometimes the drivers showed their skill by handling as many as six or seven horses. The contestants whirled seven times around the low wall, or *spina*, which divided the race course. The shortness of the stretches and the sharp turns about the *spina* must have prevented the attainment of great speed. A race, nevertheless, was a most exciting sport. What we should call "fouling" was permitted and even encouraged. The driver might turn his team against another or might endeavor to upset a rival's car. It was a very tame contest that did not have its accompaniment of broken chariots, fallen horses, and killed or injured drivers.

[Illustration: THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS (RESTORATION)]

ANIMAL BAITINGS

The Circus Maximus was often used for a variety of animal shows. Fierce wild beasts, brought from every quarter of the empire, were turned loose to slaughter one another, or to tear to pieces condemned criminals. [16] More popular still were the contests between savage animals and men.

Such amusements did something to satisfy the lust for blood in the Roman populace—a lust which was more completely satisfied by the gladiatorial combats.

[Illustration: GLADIATORS From a stucco relief on the tomb of Scaurus, Pompeii. Beginning at the left are two fully armed horsemen fighting with lances. Behind them are two gladiators, one of whom is appealing to the people. Then follows a combat in which the defeated party raises his hand in supplication for mercy. The lower part of the relief represents fights with various wild beasts.]

GLADIATORIAL SHOWS

Exhibitions of gladiators were known in Italy long before they became popular at Rome. The combats probably started from the savage practice of sacrificing prisoners or slaves at the funeral of their master. Then the custom arose of allowing the victims a chance for their lives by having them fight one another, the conquerors being spared for future battles. From this it was but a step to keeping trained slaves as gladiators. During the imperial epoch the number of such exhibitions increased greatly. The emperor Trajan, for example, to celebrate his victories over the Dacians, [17] exhibited no less than ten thousand men within the space of four months. The gladiators belonged to various classes, according to the defensive armor they wore and the style of fighting they employed. When a man was wounded and unable to continue the struggle, he might appeal to the spectators. He lifted his finger to plead for release; if he had fought well, the people indicated their willingness to spare him by waving their handkerchiefs. If the spectators were in a cruel mood, they turned down their thumbs as the signal for his deathblow. These hideous exhibitions continued in different parts of the Roman Empire until the fifth century of our era.

"BREAD AND THE GAMES OF THE CIRCUS."

Gladiatorial combats, chariot races, and dramatic shows were free performances. For the lower classes in the Roman city they became the chief pleasure of life. The days of their celebration were public holidays, which in the fourth century numbered no less than one hundred and seventy-five. The once-sovereign people of Rome became a lazy, worthless rabble, fed by the state and amused with the games. It was well said by an ancient satirist that the Romans wanted only two things to make them happy—"bread and the games of the circus." [18]

93. SLAVERY

PLACE OF SLAVERY IN CLASSICAL LIFE

The private life of the Greeks and Romans, as described in the preceding pages, would have been impossible without the existence of a large servile class. Slaves did much of the heavy and disagreeable work in the ancient world, thus allowing the free citizen to engage in more honorable employment or to pass his days in dignified leisure.

SOURCES OF SLAVES

The Greeks seem sometimes to have thought that only barbarians should be degraded to the condition of servitude. Most Greek slaves, as a matter of fact, were purchased from foreign countries. But after the Romans had subdued the Mediterranean world, their captives included not only members of inferior races, but also the cultivated inhabitants of Greece, Egypt, and Asia Minor. We hear of slaves at Rome who served as clerks, secretaries, librarians, actors, and musicians. Their education was often superior to that of the coarse and brutal masters who owned them.

NUMBER AND CHEAPNESS OF SLAVES

The number of slaves, though great enough in Athens and other Greek cities, reached almost incredible figures during the later period of Roman history. Every victorious battle swelled the troops of captives sent to the slave markets at Rome. Ordinary slaves became as cheap as beasts of burden are now. The Roman poet Horace tells us that at least ten slaves were necessary for a gentleman in even moderate circumstances. Wealthy individuals, given to excessive luxury, might number their city slaves by the hundreds, besides many more on their country estates.

SLAVES' TASKS

Slaves engaged in a great variety of occupations. They were domestic servants, farm laborers, miners, artisans, factory hands, and even shopkeepers. Household slaves at Rome were employed in every conceivable way. Each part of a rich man's residence had its special staff of servants. The possession of a fine troop of slaves, dressed in handsome liveries, was a favorite method of showing one's wealth and luxury.

TREATMENT OF SLAVES

It is difficult for us to realize the attitude of ancient peoples toward their slaves. They were regarded as part of the chattels of the house—as on a level with domestic animals rather than human beings. Though Athenian law forbade owners to kill their slaves or to treat them cruelly, it permitted the corporal punishment of slaves for slight offenses. At Rome, until the imperial epoch, [19] no restraints whatever existed upon the master's power. A slave was part of his property with which he could do exactly as he pleased. The terrible punishments, the beating with scourges which followed the slightest misconduct or neglect of duty, the branding with a hot iron which a runaway slave received, the fearful penalty of crucifixion

which followed an attempt upon the owner's life—all these tortures show how hard was the lot of the bondman in pagan Rome.

POSSIBILITIES OF FREEDOM

A slave, under some circumstances, could gain his freedom. In Greece, where many little states constantly at war bordered one another, a slave could often run away to liberty. In a great empire like Rome, where no boundary lines existed, this was usually impossible. Freedom, however, was sometimes voluntarily granted. A master in his will might liberate his favorite slave, as a reward for the faithful service of a lifetime. A more common practice permitted the slave to keep a part of his earnings until he had saved enough to purchase his freedom.

[Illustration: A SLAVE'S COLLAR A runaway slave, if recaptured, was sometimes compelled to wear a metal collar riveted about his neck. One of these collars, still preserved at Rome, bears the inscription: *Servus sum dom(i)ni mei Scholastici v(iri) sp(ectabüis). Tene me ne fugiam de domo.* —"I am the slave of my master Scholasticus, a gentleman of importance. Hold me, lest I flee from home."]

PERMANENCE OF SLAVERY

Slavery in Greece and Italy had existed from the earliest times. It never was more flourishing than in the great age of classical history. Nor did it pass away when the Roman world became Christian. The spread of Christianity certainly helped to improve the lot of the slave and to encourage his liberation. The Church, nevertheless, recognized slavery from the beginning. Not until long after ancient civilization had perished did the curse of slavery finally disappear from European lands. [20]

94. GREEK LITERATURE

EPIC POETRY

The literature of Greece begins with epic poetry. An epic may be defined as a long narrative in verse, dealing with some large and noble theme. The earliest epic poetry of the Greeks was inseparable from music. Wandering minstrels sang at feasts in the palaces of kings and accompanied their lays with the music of the clear-toned lyre. In time, as his verse reached a more artistic character, the singer was able to give up the lyre and to depend for effect solely on the poetic power of his narrative. Finally, the scattered lays were combined into long poems. The most famous are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, works which the Greeks attributed to Homer. [21]

LYRIC POETRY

Several centuries after Homer the Greeks began to create a new form of poetic expression—lyric poetry. In short poems, accompanied by the flute or the lyre, they found a medium for the expression of personal feelings which was not furnished by the long and cumbrous epic. The greatest lyric poet was Pindar. We still possess forty-four of his odes, which were written in honor of victorious athletes at the Olympian and other national games. [22] Pindar's verses were so popular that he became, as it were, the "poet laureate" of Greece. When Alexander the Great destroyed Thebes, [23] the native town of Pindar, he spared that poet's birthplace from the general ruin.

[Illustration: SOPHOCLES (Lateran Museum, Rome)
This marble statue is possibly a copy of the bronze original which the Athenians set up in the theater of Dionysus. The feet and the box of manuscript rolls are modern restorations.]

ATHENIAN TRAGEDY

The three great masters of the tragic drama [24] lived and wrote in Athens during the splendid half century between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars. Such was the fertility of their genius that they are said

to have written altogether nearly three hundred plays. Only thirty-two have come down to us. Aeschylus, the first of the tragic poets, had fought at Marathon and Salamis. One of his works, the *Persians*, is a magnificent song of triumph for the victory of Hellas. Sophocles, while yet a young man, gained the prize in a dramatic contest with Aeschylus. His plays mark the perfection of Greek tragedy. After the death of Sophocles the Athenians revered him as a hero and honored his memory with yearly sacrifices. Euripides was the third of the Athenian dramatists and the most generally popular. His fame reached far beyond his native city. We are told that the Sicilians were so fond of his verses that they granted freedom to every one of the Athenian prisoners captured at Syracuse who could recite the poet's lines.

ATHENIAN COMEDY

Athenian comedy during the fifth century B.C. is represented by the plays of Aristophanes. He was both a great poet and a great satirist. In one comedy Aristophanes attacks the demagogue Cleon, who was prominent in Athenian politics after the death of Pericles. In other comedies he ridicules the philosophers, makes fun of the ordinary citizen's delight in sitting on jury courts and trying cases, and criticizes those responsible for the unfortunate expedition to Sicily. The plays of Aristophanes were performed before admiring audiences of thousands of citizens and hence must have had much influence on public opinion.

HISTORY

The "father of history," Herodotus, flourished about the middle of the fifth century B.C. Though a native of Asia Minor, Herodotus spent some of the best years of his life at Athens, mingling in its brilliant society and coming under the influences, literary and artistic, of that city. He traveled widely in the Greek world and in the East, as a preparation for his great task

of writing an account of the rise of the Oriental nations and the struggle between Greece and Persia. Herodotus was not a critical historian, diligently sifting truth from fable. Where he can he gives us facts. Where facts are lacking, he tells interesting stories in a most winning style. A much more scientific writer was Thucydides, an Athenian who lived during the epoch of the Peloponnesian War and became the historian of that contest. An Athenian contemporary of Thucydides, Xenophon, is best known from his *Anabasis*, which describes the famous expedition of the "Ten Thousand" Greeks against Persia. [25]

BIOGRAPHY

Of the later prose writers of Greece it is sufficient to name only one— the immortal Plutarch. He was a native of Chaeronea in Boeotia and lived during the first century of our era. Greece at that time was only a province of the Roman Empire; the days of her greatness had long since passed away. Plutarch thus had rather a melancholy task in writing his *Parallel Lives*. In this work he relates, first the life of an eminent Greek, then of a famous Roman who in some way resembled him; and ends the account with a short comparison of the two men. Plutarch had a wonderful gift of sympathy for his heroes and a keen eye for what was dramatic in their careers. It is not surprising, therefore, that Plutarch has always been a favorite author. No other ancient writer gives us so vivid and intimate a picture of the classical world.

ORIGINALITY OF GREEK LITERATURE

From the foregoing survey it is clear that the Greeks were pioneers in many forms of literature. They first composed artistic epic poems. They invented lyric and dramatic poetry. They were the first to write histories and biographies. In oratory, as has been seen, they also rose to eminence. [26]

We shall now find that the Greek intellect was no less fertile and original in the study of philosophy.

95. GREEK PHILOSOPHY

THE SOPHISTS

The Greek philosophy took its rise in the seventh century B.C., when a few bold students began to search out the mysteries of the universe. Their theories were so many and so contradictory, however, that after a time philosophers gave up the study of nature and proposed in turn to study man himself. These later thinkers were called sophists. They traveled throughout Greece, gathering the young men about them and lecturing for pay on subjects of practical interest. Among other things they taught the rhetoric and oratory which were needed for success in a public career.

SOCRATES

One of the founders of Greek philosophy and the greatest teacher of his age was Socrates the Athenian. He lived and taught during the period of the Peloponnesian War. Socrates resembled the sophists in his possession of an inquiring, skeptical mind which questioned every common belief and superstition. But he went beyond the sophists in his emphasis on problems of every-day morality.

Though Socrates wrote nothing, his teaching and personality made a deep impression on his contemporaries. The Delphic oracle declared that no one in the world was wiser than Socrates. Yet he lived through a long life at Athens, a poor man who would neither work at his trade of sculptor, nor (as did the sophists) accept money for his instruction. He walked the streets, barefoot and half-clad, and engaged in animated conversation with anyone who was willing to discuss intellectual subjects with him. Socrates must

have been a familiar figure to the Athenians. His short body, large, bald head, and homely features hardly presented the ideal of a philosopher. Even Aristophanes in a comedy laughs at him.

[Illustration: SOCRATES (Vatican Gallery, Rome)]

CONDEMNATION AND DEATH OF SOCRATES

Late in life Socrates was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth of Athens with his doctrines. As a matter of fact he was a deeply religious man. If he objected to the crude mythology of Homer, he often spoke of one God, who ruled the world, and of a divine spirit or conscience within his own breast. A jury court found him guilty, however, and condemned him to death. He refused to escape from prison when opportunity offered and passed his last days in eager conversation on the immortality of the soul. When the hour of departure arrived, he bade his disciples farewell and calmly drained the cup of hemlock, a poison that caused a painless death. Although Socrates gave his life for his philosophy, this did not perish with him.

PLATO

One of the members of the Socratic circle was Plato, a wealthy noble who abandoned a public career for the attractions of philosophy. After the death of Socrates, Plato traveled widely in the Greek world and even visited Egypt, where he interviewed the learned priests. On his return to Athens Plato began teaching in the garden and gymnasium called the Academy. [27] His writings, known as *Dialogues*, are cast in the form of question and answer that Socrates had used. In most of them Plato makes Socrates the chief speaker. Plato's works are both profound in thought and admirable in style. The Athenians used to say that if Zeus had spoken Greek he would have spoken it as did Plato.

ARISTOTLE

As great a philosopher as Plato, but a far less attractive writer, was Aristotle. He was not an Athenian by birth, but he passed many years in Athens, first as a pupil of Plato, who called him the "mind" of the school, and then as a teacher in the Athenian city. Aristotle seems to have taken all knowledge for his province. He investigated the ideas underlying the arts of rhetoric and poetry; he gathered the constitutions of many Greek states and drew from them some general principles of politics; he studied collections of strange plants and animals to learn their structure and habits; he examined the acts and beliefs of men in order to write books on ethics. In all this investigation Aristotle was not content to accept what previous men had written or to spin a pleasing theory out of his own brain. Everywhere he sought for facts; everything he tried to bring to the test of personal observation. Aristotle, then, was as much a scientist as a philosopher. His books were reverently studied for centuries after his death and are still used in our universities.

EPICUREANISM

The system of philosophy called Epicureanism was founded by a Greek named Epicurus. He taught in Athens during the earlier part of the third century B.C. Epicurus believed that pleasure is the sole good, pain, the sole evil. He meant by pleasure not so much the passing enjoyments of the hour as the permanent happiness of a lifetime. In order to be happy men should not trouble themselves with useless luxuries, but should lead the "simple life." They must be virtuous, for virtue will bring more real satisfaction than vice. Above all, men ought to free themselves from idle hopes and fears about a future existence. The belief in the immortality of the soul, said Epicurus, is only a delusion, for both soul and body are material things which death dissolves into the atoms making up the universe. And if there

are any gods, he declared, they do not concern themselves with human affairs. Some of the followers of Epicurus seemed to find in his philosophic system justification for free indulgence in every appetite and passion. Even to-day, when we call a person an "Epicurean," we think of him as a selfish pleasure seeker.

STOICISM

The noblest of all pagan philosophies was Stoicism, founded by Zeno, a contemporary of Epicurus. Virtue, said the Stoic, consists in living "according to nature," that is, according to the Universal Reason or Divine Providence that rules the world. The followers of this philosophy tried, therefore, to ignore the feelings and exalt the reason as a guide to conduct. They practiced self-denial, despised the pomps and vanities of the world, and sought to rise above such emotions as grief, fear, hope, and joy. The doctrines of Stoicism gained many adherents among the Romans [28] and through them became a real moral force in the ancient world. Stoicism is even now no outworn creed. Our very word "stoical" is a synonym for calm indifference to pleasure or to pain.

96. ROMAN LITERATURE

RISE OF ROMAN LITERATURE

The beginnings of Roman literature go back to the third century B.C., when some knowledge of the Greek language became increasingly common in Rome. The earlier writers—chiefly poets and dramatists—did little original work, and usually were content to translate and adapt the productions of Greek authors for Roman audiences. During this period the Romans gradually discovered the capabilities of their language for prose composition. The republican institutions of Rome, like those of Athens,

were highly favorable to the art of public speaking. It was the development of oratory which did most to mold the Latin language into fitness for the varied forms of prose.

CICERO

Cicero, the greatest of Roman orators, created a style for Latin prose composition which has been admired and imitated by men of letters even to our own day. Latin, in his hands, became a magnificent instrument for the expression of human thought. Cicero's qualities as an author are shown, not only by his *Orations*, but also by the numerous *Epistles* which he wrote to friends and correspondents in all parts of the Roman world. Besides their historical interest Cicero's letters are models of what good letters ought to be—the expression of the writer's real thoughts and feelings in simple, unstilted language. Cicero also composed a number of *Dialogues*, chiefly on philosophical themes. If not very profound, they are delightfully written, and long served as textbooks in the schools.

CAESAR

Another eminent statesman—Julius Caesar—won success in literature. As an orator he was admitted by his contemporaries to stand second to Cicero. None of his speeches have survived. We possess, however, his invaluable *Commentaries* on the Gallic and Civil wars. These works, though brief and in most parts rather dull, are highly praised for their simple, concise style and their mastery of the art of rapid narration.

VERGIL AND HORACE

The half century included within the Augustan Age marks a real epoch in the history of Latin literature. The most famous poet of this period was Vergil. The *Aeneid*, which he undertook at the suggestion of Augustus, is

his best-known work. In form the poem is a narrative of the adventures of the Trojan hero, Aeneas, [29] but its real theme is the growth of Rome under the fostering care of the gods. The *Aeneid*, though unfinished at the author's death, became at once what it has always remained—the only ancient epic worthy of comparison with the *Iliad* or with the *Odyssey.* Another member of the Augustan circle was Vergil's friend and fellow-worker, Horace. An imitative poet, Horace reproduced in Latin verse the forms, and sometimes even the substance, of his Greek models. But, like Vergil, what Horace borrowed he made his own by the added beauty which he gave to it. His *Odes* are perhaps the most admirable examples of literary art to be found in any language.

LIVY

The most famous prose writer of the Augustan Age was Livy. His *History of Rome*, beginning with Romulus and extending to Augustus, traced the rise and growth of the Roman state during eight centuries of triumphal progress. It did in prose what Vergil's *Aeneid* had done in verse.

TACITUS

The period of the "Good Emperors" saw the rise of several important authors, of whom one, the historian Tacitus, was a man of genius. The crowning labor of his life was a history of Rome from Tiberius to Domitian. Of this work, issued under the two titles of *Histories* and *Annals*, only about one-half is extant.

SURVIVAL OF ROMAN LITERATURE

Less than two hundred years separate Cicero and Tacitus. During this period Latin authors, writing under the influence of old Greece, accomplished much valuable work. Some of their productions are scarcely

inferior to the Greek masterpieces. In later centuries, when Greek literature was either neglected or forgotten in the West, the literature of Rome was still read and enjoyed. Even to-day a knowledge of it forms an essential part of a "classical" education.

97. GREEK ARCHITECTURE

CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE

The existing monuments of Greek architecture—chiefly ruined temples — afford some idea of its leading characteristics. The building materials were limestone and white marble. The blocks of stone were not bound together by cement, but by metal clamps which held them in a firm grip. It was usual to color the ornamental parts of a temple and the open spaces that served as a background for sculpture. The Greeks did not employ the principle of the arch, in order to cover large spaces with a vaulted ceiling. Their temples and other public buildings had only flat ceilings, resting on long rows of columns. The column probably developed from the wooden post or tree trunk used in timber construction. The capital at the top of the column originated in the square wooden slab which supported the heavy beam of the roof.

[Illustration: CORNER OF A DORIC FAÇADE]

[Illustration: CORNER OF AN IONIC FAÇADE]

THE DORIC COLUMN

The two Greek orders of architecture, Doric and Ionic, [30] are distinguished mainly by differences in the treatment of the column. The Doric column has no base of its own. The sturdy shaft is grooved lengthwise with some twenty flutings. The capital is a circular band of stone

capped by a square block, all without decoration. The mainland of Greece was the especial home of the Doric order. This was also the characteristic style of southern Italy and Sicily.

THE IONIC COLUMN.

The Ionic column rests upon a base. Its shaft is tall and slender. The beautifully carved capital swells outward into two spiral rolls, the ends of which are curled under to form the "volutes." The Ionic order flourished particularly in Asia Minor. It was well known, too, at Athens.

[Illustration: CAPITALS The highly decorative Corinthian capital, modeled on acanthus leaves, came into fashion in Alexandrian and Roman times. The Composite capital, as its name indicates, combined details from the Ionic and Corinthian into one ornate whole. This and the plain Tuscan capital were quite generally employed by the Romans.]

NATURE OF THE GREEK TEMPLE

The temple formed the chief structure in a Greek city. It was very simple in outline—merely a rectangular building provided with doors, but without windows. Around it was a single or a double row of columns. Above them rose the architrave, a plain band of massive stones which reached from one column to another. Then came the frieze, adorned with sculptured reliefs, then the horizontal cornice, and at the ends of the building the triangular pediments formed by the sloping roof. The pediments were sometimes decorated with statues. Since the temple was not intended to hold a congregation of worshipers, but only to contain the image of the god, the interior usually had little ornamentation.

[Illustration: THE PARTHENON RESTORATION PRESENT CONDITION After serving as a temple for about nine centuries the

Parthenon was turned into a Christian church and later into a Mohammedan mosque. In 1687 A.D. the Venetians bombarded Athens and sent a shell into the center of the building which the Turks had used as a powder magazine. The result was an explosion that threw down the side walls and many of the columns.]

[Illustration: FIGURES FROM THE PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON]

[Illustration: FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE]

[Illustration: CORNER OF THE PARTHENON (RESTORED)]

[Illustration: CARYATID PORCH OF THE ERECHTHEUM]

UNIQUENESS OF THE GREEK TEMPLE

Greek temples were not very large, for hugeness was no object to the builders. They were not even lavishly decorated. Their beauty lies, most of all, in their harmonious proportions and perfect symmetry. In the best examples of the Greek temple there are, for instance, no straight lines. The columns are not set at equal intervals, but closer together near the corners of the building. The shafts of the columns, instead of tapering upward at a uniform rate, swell slightly toward the center. The artistic eyes of the Greeks delighted in such subtle curves. These characteristics make a classical temple unique of its kind. [31]

98. GREEK SCULPTURE

THE GREEK GENIUS IN SCULPTURE

The greatest achievement of the Greeks in art was their sculpture. Roman artists surpassed them in the creation of massive architectural works; modern artists have surpassed them in painting. In sculpture the Greeks still remain unexcelled.

LOSS OF THE MASTERPIECES

The existing remains of Greek sculpture are very scanty. The statues of gold and ivory vanished long ago. The bronze statues, formerly numbered by thousands, have nearly all gone into the melting pot. Sculptures in marble were turned into mortar or used as building materials. Those which escaped such a fate were often ruined by wanton mutilation and centuries of neglect. The statues which we still possess are mainly marble copies, made in Roman times from Greek originals. It is as if the paintings by the old masters of Europe, four centuries ago, were now known only in the reproductions by modern artists of inferior powers.

MATERIALS

The Greek sculptor worked with a variety of materials. Wood was in common use during primitive times. Terra cotta was employed at all periods for statuettes a few inches in height. Productions in gold and ivory, from the costliness of these objects, were extremely rare. Bronze was the favorite material of some of the most eminent artists. The Greek sculptor especially relied on the beautiful marbles in which his country abounded.

TECHNICAL PROCESSES

The methods employed by the ancient sculptor differed in some respects from those followed by his modern successors. A Greek marble statue was usually built up out of several parts. The joining was accomplished with such skill as to escape ordinary observation. The preliminary work of

hewing out from the rough was done by means of chisels. The surface of the marble afterwards received a careful polishing with the file, and also with sand. Marble statues were always more or less painted. The coloring seems to have been done sparingly, being applied, as a rule, only to the features and draperies. Still, it is worth while to remember that the pure white statues of modern sculptors would not have satisfied Greek artists of the classical age.

VARIETIES OF GREEK SCUPLTURE

Greek sculpture existed in the two forms of bas-reliefs and statuary in the round. Reliefs were chiefly used for temple pediments and friezes, and also for the many grave monuments. Statues consisted of the images of the gods set up in their shrines, the sculptures dedicated as offerings to divinities, and the figures of statesmen, generals, and victorious athletes raised in public places and sanctuaries.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SCULPTOR'S ART

This list will show how many were the opportunities which the ancient sculptor enjoyed. The service of religion created a constant demand for his genius. The numerous athletic contests and the daily sports of the gymnasium gave him a chance to study living models in the handsome, finely-shaped bodies of the contestants. With such inspiration it is not remarkable that sculpture reached so high a development in ancient Greece. [32]

99. ROMAN ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

THE ARCH AND DOME IN ROMAN BUILDINGS

In architecture the Romans achieved preëminence. The temples and other public works of Greece seem almost insignificant beside the stupendous edifices raised by Roman genius in every province of the empire. The ability of the Romans to build on so large a scale arose from their use of vaulted constructions. Knowledge of the round arch passed over from the Orient to the Etruscans and from them to the Romans. [33] At first the arch was employed mainly for gates, drainage sewers, aqueducts, and bridges. In imperial times this device was adopted to permit the construction of vast buildings with overarching domes. The principle of the dome has inspired some of the finest creations of ancient and modern architecture.

ROMAN USE OF CONCRETE AND RUBBLE

The Romans for many of their buildings made much use of concrete. Its chief ingredient was *pozzolana*, a sand found in great abundance near Rome and other sites. When mixed with lime, it formed a very strong cement. This material was poured in a fluid state into timber casings, where it quickly set and hardened. Small pieces of stone, called rubble, were also forced down into the cement to give it additional stability. Buildings of this sort were usually faced with brick, which in turn might be covered with thin slabs of marble, thus producing an attractive appearance.

TEMPLES

The triumphs of Roman architecture were not confined chiefly to sacred edifices. Roman temples, indeed, are mostly copies from the Greek. In comparison with their originals, they lack grace and refinement. There is less accuracy in the masonry fitting and far less careful attention to details of construction. A frequent departure from Greek models is found in the restriction of the rows of pillars to the front of the building, while the sides and rear are lined with "engaged" columns to give the idea of a colonnade.

[34] More characteristically Roman are vaulted temples, such as the Pantheon, [35] where the circular dome is faced with a Greek portico.

BASILICAS

Roman basilicas, of which only the ruins are now in existence, were once found in every city. These were large, lofty buildings for the use of judges and merchants. The chief feature of a basilica was the spacious central hall flanked by a single or double row of columns, forming aisles and supporting the flat roof. At one end of the hall was a semicircular recess—the apse—where the judges held court. This arrangement of the interior bears a close resemblance to the plan of the early Christian church with its nave, choir (or chancel) and columned aisles. The Christians, in fact, seem to have taken the familiar basilicas as the models for their places of worship.

[Illustration: PLAN OF THE ULPIAN BASILICA
The hall measured 360 feet in length and 180 feet in width.]

[Illustration: INTERIOR VIEW OF THE ULPIAN BASILICA (RESTORATION)
Built by the Emperor Trajan in connection with his Forum at Rome.]

AQUEDUCTS

Perhaps the most imposing, and certainly among the most useful, of Roman structures were aqueducts. [36] There were sixty-eight in Italy and the provinces. No less than fourteen supplied the capital city with water. The aqueducts usually ran under the surface of the ground, as do our water pipes. They were carried on arches only across depressions and valleys. The Claudian aqueduct ran for thirty-six miles underground and for nine and a half miles on arches. Though these monuments were intended simply as

engineering works, their heavy masses of rough masonry produce an inspiring sense of power.

[Illustration: A ROMAN AQUEDUCT The Pont du Gard near Nîmes (ancient Nemausus) in southern France. Built by the emperor Antoninus Pius. The bridge spans two hilltops nearly a thousand feet apart. It carries an aqueduct with three tiers of massive stone arches at a height of 160 feet above the stream. This is the finest and best preserved aqueduct in existence.]

THERMAE

The abundant water supply furnished by the aqueducts was connected with a system of great public baths, or *thermae*. [37] Scarcely a town or village throughout the empire lacked one or more such buildings. Those at Rome were constructed on a scale of magnificence of which we can form but a slight conception from the ruins now in existence. In addition to many elaborate arrangements for the bathers, the *thermae* included lounging and reading rooms, libraries, gymnasia, and even museums and galleries of art. The baths, indeed, were splendid clubhouses, open at little or no expense to every citizen of the metropolis.

[Illustration: THE COLOSSEUM]

TRIUMPHAL ARCHES AND COLUMNS

A very characteristic example of Roman building is found in the triumphal arches. [38] Their sides were adorned with bas-reliefs, which pictured the principal scenes of a successful campaign. Memorial structures, called columns of victory, [39] were also set up in Rome and other cities. Both arch and column have been frequently imitated by modern architects.

[Illustration: A ROMAN CAMEO
Portrait of a youth cut in sardonyx. Probably of the first century A.D.]

CIRCUSES, THEATERS, AND AMPHITHEATERS

The palaces of Roman emperors and nobles, together with their luxurious country houses, or villas, have all disappeared. A like fate has befallen the enormous circuses, such as the Circus Maximus [40] at Rome and the Hippodrome [41] at Constantinople. The Roman theaters that still survive reproduce, in most respects, the familiar outlines of the Greek structures. In the amphitheaters, where animal shows and gladiatorial combats were exhibited, we have a genuinely Roman invention. The gigantic edifice, called the Colosseum, in its way as truly typifies Roman architectural genius as the Parthenon represents at its best that of the Greeks.

ROMAN SCULPTURE

Roman sculpture owed much to Greek models. However, the portrait statues and bas-reliefs show originality and illustrate the tendency of the Romans toward realism in art. The sculptor tried to represent an historic person as he really looked or an historic event, for example, a battle or a triumphal procession, as it actually happened. The portrait statues of Roman emperors and the bas-reliefs from the arch of Titus impress us at once with a sense of their reality.

WALL PAINTINGS

Our knowledge of Roman painting is almost wholly confined to the wall paintings found at Rome, Herculaneum, and Pompeii. What has survived is apparently the work of ordinary craftsmen, who, if not Greeks, were deeply affected by the Greek spirit. Most of the scenes they depict are taken from classical mythology. The coloring is very rich; and the peculiar shade of red

used is known to-day by the name of "Pompeian red." The practice of mural painting passed over from the Romans to European artists, who have employed it in the frescoes of medieval and modern churches.

100. ARTISTIC ATHENS

ART CENTERS OF ANTIQUITY

Athens and Rome were the artistic centers of the classical world. Architects, sculptors, and painters lavished their finest efforts on the adornment of these two capitals. Here there are still to be seen some of the most beautiful and impressive monuments of antiquity.

ROADS AND SUBURBS OF ATHENS

Athens lies in the center of the Attic plain, about four miles from the sea. [42] The city commands a magnificent view of purple-hued mountains and the shining waters of the Aegean. Roads approached the ancient city from all parts of Attica. Among these were the highway from Piraeus, running between the Long Walls, [43] and the Sacred Way from Eleusis, where the famous mysteries were yearly celebrated. [44] The suburbs of Athens included the Outer Ceramicus, part of which was used as a national cemetery, and a pleasure ground and gymnasium on the banks of the Cephissus, called the Academy. Another resort, known as the Lyceum, bordered the little stream of the Ilissus.

WALLS OF ATHENS

The traveler who passed through these suburbs came at length to the great wall, nearly five miles in circumference, raised by Themistocles to surround the settlement at the foot of the Acropolis. [45] The area included within this wall made up Old Athens. About six centuries after Themistocles

the Roman emperor Hadrian, by building additional fortifications on the east, brought an extensive quarter, called New Athens, inside the city limits.

HILLS OF ATHENS

The region within the walls was broken up by a number of rocky eminences which have a prominent place in the topography of Athens. Near the center the Acropolis rises more than two hundred feet above the plain, its summit crowned with monuments of the Periclean Age. Not far away is the hill called the Areopagus. Here the Council of the Areopagus, a court of justice in trials for murder, held its deliberations in the open air. Beyond this height is the hill of the Pnyx. This was the meeting place of the Athenian Assembly until the fourth century B.C., when the sessions were transferred to the theater of Dionysus.

[Illustration: Map, ATHENS]

THE AGORA

The business and social center of an ancient city was the agora or market place. The Athenian Agora lay in the hollow north of the Areopagus and Acropolis. The square was shaded by rows of plane trees and lined with covered colonnades. In the great days of the city, when the Agora was filled with countless altars and shrines, it presented a most varied and attractive scene.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Not all the splendid structures in Athens were confined to the Agora and the Acropolis. On a slight eminence not far from the Agora, rose the so-called "Theseum," [46] a marble temple in the Doric order. Another famous temple, the colossal edifice known as the Olympieum, lay at some distance

from the Acropolis on the southeast. Fifteen of the lofty columns with their Corinthian capitals are still standing. The theater of Dionysus [47] is in a fair state of preservation. Beyond this are the remains of the Odeum, or "Hall of Song," used for musical contests and declamations. The original building was raised by Pericles, in imitation, it is said, of the tent of Xerxes. The present ruins are those of the structure erected in the second century A.D. by a public-spirited benefactor of Athens.

THE ACROPOLIS

The adornment of the Acropolis formed perhaps the most memorable achievement of Pericles. [48] This rocky mount was approached on the western side by a flight of sixty marble steps. To the right of the stairway rose a small but very beautiful Ionic temple dedicated to Athena. Having mounted the steps, the visitor passed through the superb entrance gate, or Propylaea, which was constructed to resemble the front of a temple with columns and pediment. Just beyond the Propylaea stood a great bronze statue of the Guardian Athena, a masterpiece of the sculptor Phidias.

[Illustration: THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS (RESTORATION)]

[Illustration: ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS FROM THE SOUTHWEST]

THE ERECHTHEUM

The Erechtheum, a temple which occupies part of the Acropolis, is in the Ionic style. It may be regarded as the best existing example of this light and graceful order. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the porch of the Caryatides, with a marble roof supported by six pillars carved in the semblance of maidens. [49] This curious but striking device has been often copied by modern architects.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE PARTHENON

The other temple on the Acropolis is the world-famed edifice known as the Parthenon, the shrine of the Virgin of the Athena. [50] The Parthenon illustrates the extreme simplicity of a Greek temple. It had no great size or height and included only two chambers. The rear room stored sacred vessels and furniture used in worship, state treasure, and the more valuable offerings intrusted to the goddess for safekeeping. The second and larger room contained a colossal gold and ivory statue of Athena, the work of Phidias. It faced the eastern entrance so that it might be bathed in the rays of the rising sun. Apart from the large doors a certain amount of light reached the interior through the semi-transparent marble tiles of the roof. The Doric columns surrounding the building are marvels of fine workmanship. The Parthenon, because of its perfection of construction and admirable proportions, is justly regarded as a masterpiece of architecture.

[Illustration: PLAN OF THE PARTHENON
The larger room (cella) measured exactly one hundred feet in length.]

SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON

The Parthenon was also remarkable for its sculptures [51] executed under the superintendence of Phidias. The subjects of the pediment sculptures are taken from the mythic history of Athena. The frieze of the Parthenon consists of a series of sculptured slabs, over five hundred feet in length. The subject was the procession of the Great Panathenaea, [52] the principal festival in honor of Athena. At this time the sacred robe of the goddess, woven anew for each occasion, was brought to adorn her statue. The procession is thought of as starting from the western front, where Athenian youths dash forward on their spirited steeds. Then comes a brilliant array of maidens, matrons, soldiers, and luteplayers. Near the center of the eastern front they meet a group of divinities, who are represented as spectators of the imposing scene. This part of the frieze is still in excellent condition.

THE GLORY OF ATHENS

It was, indeed, a splendid group of buildings that rose on the Acropolis height. If to-day they have lost much of their glory, we can still understand how they were the precious possession of the Athenians and the wonder of all the ancient world. "O shining, violet-crowned city of song, great Athens, bulwark of Hellas, walls divine!" The words are those of an old Greek poet, [53] but they are reëchoed by all who have come under the magic spell of the literature and art of the Athenian city.

101. ARTISTIC ROME

DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT ROME

The monuments of Rome, unlike those of Athens, cannot lay claim to great antiquity. The destruction wrought by the Gauls in 390 B.C. and the great fire under Nero in 64 A.D. removed nearly all traces of the regal and republican city. Many buildings erected in the imperial age have also disappeared, because in medieval and modern times the inhabitants of Rome used the ancient edifices as quarries. The existing monuments give only a faint idea of the former magnificence of the capital city.

HILLS OF ROME

The city of Rome lies on the Tiber. Where the river approaches Rome it makes two sharp turns, first to the west and then to the east. On the western, or Etruscan, bank stood the two hills called Vatican and Janiculum. They were higher than the famous seven which rose on the eastern side, where the ancient city was built. Two of these seven hills possess particular interest. The earliest settlement, as we have seen, [54] probably occupied the Palatine. It became in later days the favorite site for the town houses of Roman nobles. In the imperial age the splendid palaces of the Caesars were

located here. The Capitoline, steepest of the seven hills, was divided into two peaks. On one of these rose the most famous of all Roman temples, dedicated to Jupiter and his companion deities, Juno and Minerva. The other peak was occupied by a large temple of Juno Moneta ("the Adviser"), which served as the mint. The altars, shrines, and statues which once covered this height were so numerous that the Capitoline, like the Athenian Acropolis, became a museum of art.

[Illustration: Map, ROME]

WALLS AND OPEN SPACES

Rome in early times was surrounded by a wall which bore the name of its legendary builder, Servius Tullius. The present fortifications were not constructed until the reign of the emperor Aurelian. [55] The ancient city was closely built up, with only two great open spaces, in addition to the Forum. These were the Circus Maximus, in the hollow between the Palatine Mount and the Aventine, and the Campus Martius, stretching along the Tiber to the northwest of the Capitoline Hill.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Following the map of ancient Rome under the empire we may note the more important monuments which still exist in something like their original condition. Across the Tiber and beyond the Campus Martius stands the mausoleum of Hadrian. [56] The most notable structure in the Campus Martius is the Pantheon. [57] It is the one ancient building in the entire Roman world which still survives, inside and out, in a fair state of preservation. The depression between the Caelian and Esquiline hills contains the Flavian Amphitheater, better known as the Colosseum. [58] It was begun by Vespasian and probably completed by Titus. No less than eighty entrances admitted the forty-five thousand spectators who could be

accommodated in this huge structure. Despite the enormous mass of the present ruins probably two-thirds of the original materials have been carried away to be used in other buildings. Close to the Colosseum stands the arch [59] erected by the Senate in honor of the victory of Constantine over his rival Maxentius. From this event is dated the triumph of Christianity in the Roman state. The ruins of the huge baths of Caracalla lie about half a mile from the Colosseum. Near the center of the city are the remains of the Forum added by Trajan to the accommodations of the original Forum. It contains the column of Trajan [60] under which that emperor was buried.

THE FORUM

The Forum lies in the valley north of the Palatine Hill. It was the business and social center of the Roman city. During the Middle Ages the site was buried in ruins and rubbish, in some places to a depth of forty feet or more. Recent excavations have restored the ancient level and uncovered the remains of the ancient structures.

[Illustration: THE ROMAN FORUM AND THE SURROUNDING BUILDINGS (RESTORED)]

[Illustration: THE ROMAN FORUM AT THE PRESENT TIME]

APPROACH TO THE FORUM

The Forum could be approached from the east by one of the most famous streets in the world, the Roman Sacred Way. The illustration of the Forum at the present time gives a view, looking eastward from the Capitoline Mount, and shows several of the buildings on or near the Sacred Way. At the left are seen the ruins of the basilica of Constantine. Farther in the distance the Colosseum looms up. Directly ahead is the arch of Titus, which

commemorates the capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. [61] The ruins of the palaces of the Caesars occupy the slopes of the Palatine.

THE FORUM TO-DAY

The only well-preserved monument in the Forum is the beautiful arch erected by the emperor Septimius Severus. Beyond it are three columns which once formed part of the temple of Castor. They date from the time of Tiberius. In front are the foundations of the Basilica Julia, built by Augustus. Next come eight Ionic columns, all that remain of the temple of Saturn. Near it and in the foreground are several columns in the Corinthian style, belonging to a temple built by Vespasian.

THE FORUM IN ANTIQUITY

These ruined monuments, these empty foundations and lonely pillars, afford little idea of all the wealth of architecture that once adorned this spot. Here stood the circular shrine of Vesta, [62] guarding the altar and its ever-blazing fire. Here was the temple of Concord, famous in Roman history. [63] The Senate-house was here, and just before it, the Rostra, a platform adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of captured ships. From this place Roman orators addressed their assembled fellow-citizens.

THE GRANDEUR OF ROME

How splendid a scene must have greeted an observer in ancient times who, from the height of the Capitol, gazed at the city before him. The Forum was then one radiant avenue of temples, triumphal arches, columns, and shrines. And beyond the Forum stretched a magnificent array of theaters and amphitheaters, enormous baths, colossal sepulchers, and statues in stone and bronze. So prodigious an accumulation of objects beautiful, costly, and rare has never before or since been found on earth.

STUDIES

1. What is the origin of our words *pedagogue*, *symposium*, *circus*, and *academy*?

2. Make a list of such Roman names as you have met in your reading.

3. Write a letter describing an imaginary visit to the theater of Dionysus during the performance of a tragedy.

4. What did civic patriotism mean to the Greek and to the Roman?

5. Have we anything to learn from the Greeks about the importance of training in music?

6. What were the schoolbooks of Greek boys?

7. What features of Athenian education are noted in the illustration, page 254?

8. How did the position of women at Athens differ from their position in Homeric Greece?

9. Why does classical literature contain almost no "love stories," or novels?

10. What contrasts exist between the ancient and the modern house?

11. Describe a Roman litter (illustration, page 263).

12. What differences exist between an ancient and a modern theatre?

13. What features of our "circus" recall the proceedings at the Roman games?

14. How many holidays (including Sundays) are there in your state? How do they compare in number with those at Rome in the reign of Marcus Aurelius?

15. Describe the theater of Dionysus (illustration, page 264).

16. What is the "Socratic method" of teaching?

17. How did the Greeks manage to build solidly without the use of mortar?

18. Discuss the appropriateness of the terms: *severe* Doric; *graceful* Ionic; *ornate* Corinthian.

19. Can you find examples of any of the Greek orders in public buildings familiar to you?

20. How do you explain the almost total loss of original Greek sculptures?

21. By reference to the illustrations, page 279, explain the following terms: *shaft*; *capital*; *architrave*; *frieze;* and *cornice.*

22. Explain the "Greek profile" seen in the Aphrodite of Cnidus and the Apollo of the Belvedere (plate facing page 76).

23. Name five famous works of Greek sculpture which exist to-day only in Roman copies.

24. What is your favorite Greek statue? Why do you like it?

25. "The dome, with the round arch out of which it sprang, is the most fertile conception in the whole history of building." Justify this statement.

26. What famous examples of domed churches and public buildings are familiar to you?

27. What artistic objections to the use of "engaged columns" can you mention?

28. Discuss the revival of cement construction in modern times. What are its special advantages?

29. What examples of triumphal arches in the United States and France are known to you?

30. Do you know of any modern columns of victory?

31. Why is it likely that the bust of Nerva (illustration, page 200) is a more faithful likeness than that of Pericles (illustration, page 103)?

32. Write a brief essay describing an imaginary walk on the Athenian Acropolis in the Age of Pericles.

33. Enumerate the most important contributions to civilization made in classical antiquity.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter xxi, "Roman Life as Seen in Pliny's Letters"; chapter xxii, "A Satirist of Roman Society."

[2] Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 57.

[3] See page 237.

[4] In "Marcus Tullius Cicero," "Marcus," the *praenomen*, corresponds to our "given" name; "Tullius," the *nomen*, marks the clan, or *gens;* "Cicero," the *cognomen*, indicates the family.

[5] See pages 151, 206.

[6] See page 218.

[7] See page 148.

[8] See page 144.

[9] See the illustrations, pages 117, 271.

[10] The corresponding names of women's garments were *stola* and *pallet*.

[11] See page 199.

[12] See the illustration, page 145.

[13] See page 288.

[14] See page 285.

[15] Panathenaic means 'belonging to all the Athenians.' See page 292.

[16] See page 234.

[17] See page 200.

[18] *Panem et circenses* (Juvenal x, 80-81).

[19] See page 215.

[20] See pages 436, 463.

[21] See page 73.

[22] See page 80.

[23] See page 120.

[24] See page 265.

[25] See page 121.

[26] See page 117.

[27] See page 261.

[28] See page 226.

[29] See page 142.

[30] The so-called Corinthian order differs from the Ionic only in its capital.

[31] For illustrations of Greek temples, see pages 89, 101.

[32] For illustrations of Greek statues see pages 80, 81, 103, 117, 119, 129, 271 and the plates facing pages 76, 77, 80, 130, 131.

[33] See pages 61, 138.

[34] See the illustration, page 215.

[35] See the illustration, page 202.

[36] See the illustrations, pages 157, 285.

[37] See page 263.

[38] See the illustration, page 236.

[39] See the illustrations, pages 163, 201.

[40] See the illustration, page 266.

[41] See the illustration, page 339.

[42] See the map, page 107.

[43] See page 108.

[44] See page 227.

[45] See page 100.

[46] See the illustration, page 101.

[47] See the illustration, page 264.

[48] See page 108.

[49] See the plate facing page 281.

[50] See the plate facing page 280.

[51] See the plate facing page 281.

[52] See page 264.

[53] Pindar, *Fragments*, 76.

[54] See page 140.

[55] See the illustration, page 220.

[56] See the illustration, page 203.

[57] See the illustration, page 202.

[58] See the illustration, page 286.

[59] See the illustration, page 236.

[60] See the illustration, page 201.

[61] See the plate facing page 198.

[62] See page 146.

[63] See page 177.

CHAPTER XIII

WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES, 476-962 A.D. [1]

102. THE OSTROGOTHS IN ITALY, 488-553 A.D.

TRANSITION TO THE MIDDLE AGES

We are not to suppose that the settlement of Germans within the Roman Empire ended with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, near the close of the fifth century. The following centuries witnessed fresh invasions and the establishment of new Germanic states. The study of these troubled times leads us from the classical world to the world of medieval Europe, from the history of antiquity to the history of the Middle Ages.

THE OSTROGOTHS UNDER THEODORIC

The kingdom which Odoacer established on Italian soil did not long endure. It was soon overthrown by the Ostrogoths. At the time of the "fall" of Rome in 476 A.D. they occupied a district south of the middle Danube, which the government at Constantinople had hired them to defend. The Ostrogoths proved to be expensive and dangerous allies. When, therefore, their chieftain, Theodoric, offered to lead his people into Italy and against Odoacer, the Roman emperor gladly sanctioned the undertaking.

OSTROGOTHIC INVASION OF ITALY, 488-493 A.D.

Theodoric led the Ostrogoths—women and children as well as warriors — across the Alps and came down to meet Odoacer and his soldiers in battle. After suffering several defeats, Odoacer shut himself up in the strong fortress of Ravenna. Theodoric could not capture the place and at last agreed to share with Odoacer the government of Italy, if the latter would surrender. The agreement was never carried into effect. When Theodoric entered Ravenna, he invited Odoacer to a great feast and at its conclusion slew him in cold blood. Theodoric had now no rival in Italy.

THEODORIC KING OF ITALY, 493-526 A.D.

Though Theodoric gained the throne by violence and treachery, he soon showed himself to be, as a ruler, wise, broad-minded, and humane. He had lived as a youth in the imperial court at Constantinople and there had become well acquainted with Roman ideas of law and order. Roman civilization impressed him; and he wished not to destroy but to preserve it. Theodoric reigned in Italy for thirty-three years, and during this time the country enjoyed unbroken peace and prosperity.

[Illustration: TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA A two storied marble building erected by Theodoric in imitation of a Roman tomb. The roof is a single block of marble 33 feet in diameter and weighing more than 300 tons. Theodoric's body was subsequently removed from its resting place, and the mausoleum was converted into a church.]

THEODORIC'S RULE IN ITALY.

The enlightened policy of Theodoric was exhibited in many ways. He governed Ostrogoths and Romans with equal consideration. He kept all the old offices, such as the senatorship and the consulate, and by preference filled them with men of Roman birth. His chief counselors were Romans. A legal code, which he drew up for the use of Ostrogoths and Romans alike,

contained only selections from Roman law. He was remarkably tolerant and, in spite of the fact that the Ostrogoths were Arians, [2] was always ready to extend protection to Catholic Christians. Theodoric patronized literature and gave high positions to Roman writers. He restored the cities of Italy, had the roads and aqueducts repaired, and so improved the condition of agriculture that Italy, from a wheat-importing, became a wheat-exporting, country. At Ravenna, the Ostrogothic capital, Theodoric erected many notable buildings, including a palace, a mausoleum, and several churches. The remains of these structures are still to be seen.

THEODORIC'S FOREIGN POLICY

The influence of Theodoric reached far beyond Italy. He allied himself by marriage with most of the Germanic rulers of the West. His second wife was a Frankish foreign princess, his sister was the wife of a Vandal chieftain, one of his daughters married a king of the Visigoths, and another daughter wedded a Burgundian king. Theodoric by these alliances brought about friendly relations between the various barbarian peoples. It seemed, in fact, as if the Roman dominions in the West might again be united under a single ruler; as if the Ostrogoths might be the Germanic people to carry on the civilizing work of Rome. But no such good fortune was in store for Europe.

END OF THE OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM, 553 A.D.

Theodoric died in 526 A.D. The year after his death, a great emperor, Justinian, came to the throne at Constantinople. Justinian had no intention of abandoning to the Ostrogothic Germans the rich provinces of Sicily and Italy. Although the Ostrogoths made a stubborn resistance to his armies, in the end they were so completely overcome that they agreed to withdraw from the Italian peninsula. The feeble remnant of their nation filed sadly

through the passes of the Alps and, mingling with other barbarian tribes, disappeared from history.

103. THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY, 568-774 A.D.

INVASION OF ITALY BY THE LOMBARDS

The destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom did not free Italy of the Germans. Soon after Justinian's death the country was again overrun, this time by the Lombards. The name of these invaders (in Latin, *Langobardi*) may have been derived from the long beards that gave them such a ferocious aspect. The Lombards were the last of the Germanic peoples to quit their northern wilderness and seek new homes in sunny Italy. They seized the territory north of the river Po—a region ever since known as Lombardy— and established their capital at Pavia. The Lombards afterwards made many settlements in central and southern Italy, but never succeeded in subduing the entire peninsula.

[Illustration: Map, EUROPE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY]

LOMBARD RULE IN ITALY

The rule of the Lombards at first bore hardly on Italy, which they treated as a conquered land. In character they seem to been far less attractive than their predecessors the Visigoths and Ostrogoths. Many of them were still heathen when they entered Italy and others were converts to the Arian [3] form of Christianity. In course of time, however, the Lombards accepted Roman Catholicism and adopted the customs of their subjects. They even forgot their Germanic language and learned to speak Latin. The Lombard kingdom lasted over two centuries, until it was overthrown by the Franks. [4]

RESULTS OF THE LOMBARD INVASION

The failure of the Lombards to conquer all Italy had important results in later history. Sicily and the extreme southern part of the Italian peninsula, besides large districts containing the cities of Naples, Rome, Genoa, Venice, and Ravenna, continued to belong to the Roman Empire in the East. The rulers at Constantinople could not exercise effective control over their Italian possessions, now that these were separated from one another by the Lombard territories. The consequence was that Italy broke up into a number of small and practically independent states, which never combined into one kingdom until our own time. The ideal of a united Italy waited thirteen hundred years for its realization. [5]

104. THE FRANKS UNDER CLOVIS AND HIS SUCCESSORS

CLOVIS, KING OF THE FRANKS, 481-511 A.D.

We have already met the Franks in their home on the lower Rhine, from which they pushed gradually into Roman territory. [6] In 486 A.D., just ten years after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the Franks went forth to conquer under Clovis, [7] one of their chieftains. By overcoming the governor of Roman Gaul, in a battle near Soissons, Clovis destroyed the last vestige of imperial rule in the West and extended the Frankish dominions to the river Loire. Clovis then turned against his German neighbors. East of the Franks, in the region now known as Alsace, lived the Alamanni, a people whose name still survives in the French name of Germany. [8] The Alamanni were defeated in a great battle near Strassburg (496 A.D.), and much of their territory was added to that of the Franks. Clovis subsequently conquered the Visigothic possessions between the Loire and the Pyrenees, and compelled the Burgundians to pay tribute. Thus Clovis made himself supreme over nearly the whole of Gaul and even

extended his authority to the other side of the Rhine. This great work entitles him to be called the founder of the French nation.

THE FRANKS AND THE GALLO-ROMANS

Clovis reigned in western Europe as an independent king, but he acknowledged a sort of allegiance to the Roman emperor by accepting the title of honorary consul. Henceforth to the Gallo-Romans he represented the distant ruler at Constantinople. The Roman inhabitants of Gaul were not oppressed; their cities were preserved; and their language and laws were undisturbed. Clovis, as a statesman, may be compared with his eminent contemporary, Theodoric the Ostrogoth.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE FRANKS, 496 A.D.

The Franks were still a heathen people, when they began their career of conquest. Clovis, however, had married a Burgundian princess, Clotilda, who was a devout Catholic and an ardent advocate of Christianity. The story is told how, when Clovis was hard-pressed by the Alamanni at the battle of Strassburg, he vowed that if Clotilda's God gave him victory he would become a Christian. The Franks won, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, had himself baptized by St. Remi, bishop of Reims. "Bow down thy head," spoke the bishop, as the Frankish king approached the font, "adore what thou hast burned, burn what thou has adored." [9] With Clovis were baptized on that same day three thousand of his warriors.

[Illustration: Map, GROWTH OF THE FRANKISH DOMINIONS, 481-768 A.D.]

SIGNIFICANCE OF CLOVIS'S CONVERSION

The conversion of Clovis was an event of the first importance. He and his Franks naturally embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, which was that of his wife, instead of the Arian form of Christianity, which had been accepted by almost all the other Germanic invaders. Thus, by what seems the merest accident, Catholicism, instead of Arianism, became the religion of a large part of western Europe. More than this, the conversion of Clovis gained for the Frankish king and his successors the support of conversion the Roman Church. The friendship between the popes and the Franks afterwards ripened into a close alliance which greatly influenced European history.

THE EARLIER MEROVINGIAN KINGS

The descendants of Clovis are called Merovingians. [10] They occupied the throne of the Franks for nearly two hundred and fifty years. The annals of their reigns form an unpleasant catalogue of bloody wars, horrible murders, and deeds of treachery without number. Nevertheless, the earlier Merovingians were strong men, under whose direction the Frankish territory continued to expand, until it included nearly all of what is now France, Belgium, and Holland, besides a considerable part of Germany.

CHARACTER OF THE FRANKISH CONQUESTS

The Frankish conquests differed in two important respects from those of the other Germanic peoples. In the first place, the Franks did not cut themselves off completely from their original homes. They kept permanently their territory in Germany, drawing from it continual reinforcements of fresh German blood. In the second place, the Franks steadily added new German lands to their possessions. They built up in this way what was the largest and the most permanent of all the barbarian states founded on the ruins of the Roman Empire.

105. THE FRANKS UNDER CHARLES MARTEL AND PEPIN THE SHORT

THE LATER MEROVINGIAN KINGS

After the middle of the seventh century the Frankish rulers, worn out by violence and excesses, degenerated into weaklings, who reigned but did not rule. The actual management of the state passed into the hands of officers, called "mayors of the palace." They left to the kings little more than their title, their long hair,—the badge of royalty among the Franks,—and a scanty allowance for their support. The later Merovingians, accordingly, are often known as the "do-nothing kings."

CHARLES MARTEL

The most illustrious of these mayors was Charles, surnamed Martel, "the Hammer," from the terrible defeat which he administered to the Mohammedans near Tours, in central France. [11] Charles Martel was virtually a king, but he never ventured to set aside the Merovingian ruler and himself ascend the throne. This step was taken, however, by Charles's son, Pepin the Short.

PEPIN THE SHORT BECOMES KING OF THE FRANKS, 751 A.D.

Before dethroning the last feeble "do-nothing," Pepin sought the approval of the bishop of Rome. The pope, without hesitation, declared that it was only right that the man who had the real authority in the state should have the royal title also. Pepin, accordingly, caused himself to be crowned king of the Franks, thus founding the Carolingian [12] dynasty. (751 A.D.). Three years later Pope Stephen II came to Pepin's court and solemnly anointed the new ruler with holy oil, in accordance with ancient Jewish custom. The rite of anointing, something unknown to the Germans, gave to

Pepin's coronation the sanction of the Roman Church. Henceforth the Frankish sovereigns called themselves "kings by the grade of God."

"DONATION OF PEPIN," 756 A.D.

Pepin was soon able to repay his great obligation to the Roman Church by becoming its protector against the Lombards. These barbarians, who were trying to extend their rule in Italy, threatened to capture Rome and the territory in the vicinity of that city, then under the control of the pope. Pepin twice entered Italy with his army, defeated the Lombards, and forced them to cede to Pope Stephen an extensive district lying between Rome and Ravenna. Pepin might have returned this district to the emperor at Constantinople, to whom it belonged, but the Frankish king declared that he had not fought for the advantage of any man but for the welfare of his own soul. He decided, therefore, to bestow his conquests on St. Peter's representative, the pope. Before this time the bishops of Rome had owned much land in Italy and had acted as virtual sovereigns in Rome and its neighborhood. Pepin's gift, known as the "Donation of Pepin," greatly increased their possessions, which came to be called the States of the Church. They remained in the hands of the popes until late in the nineteenth century. [13]

106. THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE, 768-814 A.D.

CHARLEMAGNE THE MAN

Pepin was succeeded in 768 A.D. by his two sons, one of whom, Charlemagne, three years later became sole king of the Franks. Charlemagne reigned for nearly half a century, and during this time he set his stamp on all later European history. His character and personality are familiar to us from a brief biography, written by his secretary, Einhard.

Charlemagne, we learn, was a tall, square-shouldered, strongly built man, with bright, keen eyes, and an expression at once cheerful and dignified. Riding, hunting, and swimming were his favorite sports. He was simple in his tastes and very temperate in both food and drink. Except when in Rome, he wore the old Frankish costume, with high-laced boots, linen tunic, blue cloak, and sword girt at his side. He was a clear, fluent speaker, used Latin as readily as his native tongue, and understood Greek when it was spoken. "He also tried to learn to write and often kept his tablets and writing book under the pillow of his couch, that, when he had leisure, he might practice his hand in forming letters; but he made little progress in this task, too long deferred and begun too late in life." [14] For the times, however, Charlemagne was a well-educated man—by no means a barbarian.

[Illustration: CHARLEMAGNE (Lateran Museum, Rome) A mosaic picture, made during the lifetime of Charlemagne and probably a fair likeness of him.]

CONQUEST AND CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS, 772-804 A.D.

Much of Charlemagne's long life, almost to its close, was filled with warfare. He fought chiefly against the still-heathen peoples on the frontiers of the Frankish realm. The subjugation of the Saxons, who lived in the forests and marshes of northwestern Germany, took many years. Charlemagne at the head of a great army would invade their territory, beat them in battle, and receive their submission, only to find his work undone by a sudden rising of the liberty-loving natives, after the withdrawal of the Franks. Once when Charlemagne was exasperated by a fresh revolt, he ordered forty-five hundred prisoners to be executed. This savage massacre was followed by equally severe laws, which threatened with death all Saxons who refused baptism or observed the old heathen rites. By such harsh means Charlemagne at length broke down the spirit of resistance

among the people. All Saxony, from the Rhine to the Elbe, became a Christian land and a permanent part of the Frankish realm.

[Illustration: THE IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY
A fillet of iron, which, according to pious legend, had been beaten out of one of the nails of the True Cross. It came to the Lombards as a gift from Pope Gregory I. as a reward for their conversion to Roman Catholicism. During the Middle Ages it was used to crown the German emperors kings of
Italy. This precious relic is now kept in a church at Monza in northern Italy.]

CONQUEST OF THE LOMBARDS, 774 A.D.

Shortly after the beginning of the Saxon wars the king of the Franks received an urgent summons from the pope, who was again being threatened by his old enemies, the Lombards. Charlemagne led a mighty host across the Alps, captured Pavia, where the Lombard ruler had taken refuge, and added his possessions to those of the Franks. Thus passed away one more of the Germanic states which had arisen on the ruins of the Roman Empire. Charlemagne now placed on his own head the famous "Iron Crown," and assumed the title of "King of the Franks and Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans."

CHARLEMAGNE'S OTHER CONQUESTS

Charlemagne's conquests were not confined to Germanic peoples. He forced the wild Avars, who had advanced from the Caspian into the Danube valley, to acknowledge his supremacy. He compelled various Slavic tribes, including the Bohemians, to pay tribute. He also invaded Spain and wrested from the Moslems the district between the Ebro River and the Pyrenees. By

this last conquest Charlemagne may be said to have begun the recovery of the Spanish peninsula from Mohammedan rule. [15]

[Illustration: Map, EUROPE In the Age of Charlemagne, 800 A.D.]

CHARLEMAGNE'S GOVERNMENT

Charlemagne was a statesman, as well as a warrior. He divided his wide dominions into counties, each one ruled by a count, who was expected to keep order and administer justice. The border districts, which lay exposed to invasion, were organized into "marks," under the military supervision of counts of the mark, or margraves (marquises). These officials had so much power and lived so far from the royal court that it was necessary for Charlemagne to appoint special agents, called *missi dominici* ("the lord's messengers"), to maintain control over them. The *missi* were usually sent out in pairs, a layman and a bishop or abbot, in order that the one might serve as a check upon the other. They traveled from county to county, bearing the orders of their royal master and making sure that these orders were promptly obeyed. In this way Charlemagne kept well informed as to the condition of affairs throughout his kingdom.

REVIVAL OF LEARNING UNDER CHARLEMAGNE

Charlemagne made a serious effort to revive classical culture in the West from the low state into which it had fallen during the period of the invasions. We still possess a number of laws issued by this Frankish king for the promotion of education. He founded schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, where not only the clergy but also the common people might receive some training. He formed his whole court into a palace school, in which learned men from Italy, Spain, and England gave instruction to his own children and those of his nobles. The king himself often studied with them, under the direction of his good friend, Alcuin, an Englishman and the

foremost scholar in western Europe. He had the manuscripts of Latin authors collected and copied, so that the knowledge preserved in books should not be forgotten. All this civilizing work, together with the peace and order which he maintained throughout a wide territory, made his reign the most brilliant period of the early Middle Ages.

[Illustration: CATHEDRAL AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) was the capital city and favorite residence of Charlemagne. The church which he built here was almost entirely destroyed by the Northmen in the tenth century. The octagonal building surmounted by a dome which forms the central part of the present cathedral is a restoration of the original structure. The marble columns pavements and mosaics of Charlemagne's church were brought by him from Ravenna.]

107. CHARLEMAGNE AND THE REVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 800 A.D.

CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE, 800 A.D.

Charlemagne, the champion of Christendom and the foremost ruler in Europe, seemed to the men of his day the rightful successor of the Roman emperors. He had their power, and now he was to have their name. In the year 800 A.D. the Frankish king visited Rome to investigate certain accusations made against the pope, Leo III, by his enemies in the city. Charlemagne absolved Leo of all wrong-doing and restored him to his office. Afterwards, on Christmas Day Charlemagne went to old St. Peter's Church, where the pope was saying Mass. As the king, dressed in the rich robes of a Roman patrician, knelt in prayer before the high altar, the pope suddenly placed on his head a golden crown, while all the people cried out with one voice, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans, crowned by God!"

REASONS FOR THE CORONATION

Although Charlemagne appears to have been surprised by the pope's act, we know that he wished to become emperor. The imperial title would confer upon him greater dignity and honor, though not greater power, than he possessed as king of the Franks and of the Lombards. The pope, in turn, was glad to reward the man who had protected the Church and had done so much to spread the Catholic faith among the heathen. The Roman people also welcomed the coronation, because they felt that the time had come for Rome to assume her old place as the capital of the world. To reject the eastern ruler, in favor of the great Frankish king, was an emphatic method of asserting Rome's independence of Constantinople.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CORONATION

The coronation of Charlemagne was one of the most important events in medieval history. It might be thought a small matter that he should take the imperial title, when he already exercised imperial sway throughout western Europe. But Charlemagne's contemporaries believed that the old Roman Empire had now been revived, and a German king now sat on the throne once occupied by Augustus and Constantine. Henceforth there was established in the West a line of Roman emperors which lasted until the opening of the nineteenth century. [16]

CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

Charlemagne's empire was not in any true sense a continuation of the Roman Empire. It did not include the dominions over which the emperors at Constantinople were to reign for centuries. Moreover, Charlemagne and his successors on the throne had little in common with the old rulers of Rome, who spoke Latin, administered Roman law, and regarded the Germans as

among their most dangerous enemies. Charlemagne's empire was, in fact, largely a new creation.

108. DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE, 814-870 A.D.

AFTER CHARLEMAGNE

The empire of Charlemagne did not long remain intact. So vast was its extent and so unlike were its inhabitants in race, language, and customs that it could be managed only by a ruler of the greatest energy and strength of will. Unfortunately, the successors of Charlemagne proved to be too weak for the task of maintaining peace and order. Western Europe now entered on a long period of confusion and violence, during which Charlemagne's possessions broke up into separate and warring kingdoms.

TREATY OF VERDUN, 843 A.D.

Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious, who became emperor in 814 A.D., was a well-meaning but feeble ruler, better fitted for the quiet life of a monastery than for the throne. He could not control his rebellious sons, who, even during his lifetime, fought bitterly over their inheritance. The unnatural strife, which continued after his death, was temporarily settled by a treaty concluded at the city of Verdun. According to its terms Lothair, the eldest brother, received Italy and the imperial title, together with a narrow stretch of land along the valleys of the Rhine and the Rhone, between the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Louis and Charles, the other brothers, received kingdoms lying to the east and west, respectively, of Lothair's territory. The Treaty of Verdun may be said to mark the first stage in the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire.

TREATY OF MERSEN, 870 A.D.

A second treaty, made at Mersen in Holland, was entered into by Louis and Charles, after the death of their brother Lothair. They divided between themselves Lothair's kingdom north of the Alps, leaving to his young son the possession of Italy and the empty title of "emperor." The Treaty of Mersen may be said to mark the second stage in the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire. That empire, as such, had now ceased to exist.

[Illustration: Map, THE FRANKISH DOMINIONS AS DIVIDED BY THE TREATIES OF
VERDUN (843 A.D.) AND MERSEN (870 A.D.)]

IMPORTANCE OF THE TWO TREATIES

The territorial arrangements made by the treaties of Verdun and Mersen foreshadowed the future map of western Europe. The East Frankish kingdom of Louis, inhabited almost entirely by Germanic peoples, was to develop into modern Germany. The West Frankish kingdom of Charles, inhabited mainly by descendants of Romanized Gauls, was to become modern France. Lothair's kingdom, separated into two parts by the Alps, never became a national state. Italy, indeed, might be united under one government, but the long, narrow strip north of the Alps had no unity of race, no common language, and no national boundaries. It was fated to be broken into fragments and to be fought over for centuries by its stronger neighbors. Part of this territory now forms the small countries of Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, and another part, known as Alsace and Lorraine, [17] still remains a bone of contention between France and Germany.

RENEWED BARBARIAN INVASIONS

Even had Charlemagne been followed by strong and able rulers, it would have been a difficult matter to hold the empire together in the face of the fresh series of barbarian inroads which began immediately after his death.

The Mohammedans, though checked by the Franks at the battle of Tours, [18] continued to be dangerous enemies. They ravaged southern France, Sicily, and parts of Italy. The piratical Northmen from Denmark and Norway harried the coast of France and made inroads far beyond Paris. They also penetrated into western Germany, sailing up the Rhine in their black ships and destroying such important towns as Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. Meanwhile, eastern Germany lay exposed to the attacks of the Slavs, whom Charlemagne had defeated but not subdued. The Magyars, or Hungarians, were also dreaded foes. Their wild horsemen entered Europe from the plains of Asia and, like the Huns and Avars to whom they were probably related, spread devastation far and wide. A great part of Europe thus suffered from invasions almost as destructive as those which had brought ruin to the old Roman world.

109. GERMANY UNDER THE SAXON KINGS, 919-973 A.D.

THE GERMAN STEM-DUCHIES

The tenth century saw another movement toward the restoration of law and order. The civilizing work of Charlemagne was taken up by German kings, not of the old Prankish stock, but belonging to that Saxon people which had opposed Charlemagne so long and bitterly. Saxony was one of the five great territorial states, or stem-duchies, as they are usually called, into which Germany was then divided. [19] Germany at that time extended only as far east as the river Elbe, beyond which lay the territory occupied by half-civilized Slavic tribes.

ELECTIVE KINGSHIP OF GERMANY

The rulers of the stem-duchies enjoyed practical independence, though they had recognized some king of Germany ever since the Treaty of Verdun.

Early in the tenth century the Carolingian dynasty died out in Germany, and the German nobles then proceeded to elect their own kings. Their choice fell first upon Conrad, duke of Franconia, but he had little authority outside his own duchy. A stronger man was required to keep the peace among the turbulent nobles and to repel the invaders of Germany. Such a man appeared in the person of Henry, duke of Saxony, who, after Conrad's death, was chosen king.

REIGN OF HENRY THE FOWLER, 919-936 A.D.

Henry I, called the Fowler, because he was fond of hunting birds, spent the greater part of his reign in wars against the Slavs, Magyars, and other invaders. He conquered from the Slavs the territory afterwards known as Brandenburg. This country was to furnish Germany, in later centuries, with its present dynasty—the Hohenzollerns. [20] He occupied the southern part of Denmark (Schleswig) and Christianized it. He also recovered for Germany Lorraine, a district which remained in German hands until the eighteenth century.

REIGN OF OTTO THE GREAT, 936-973 A.D.

Henry the Fowler was succeeded by his son, Otto I, whom history knows as Otto the Great. He well deserved the title. Like Charlemagne, Otto presented the aspect of a born ruler. He is described as being tall and commanding in presence, strong and vigorous of body, and gifted with great charm of manner. In his bronzed face shone clear and sparkling eyes, and down his breast hung a long, thick beard. Though subject to violent outbursts of temper, he was liberal to his friends and just to his foes. Otto was a man of immense energy and ambition, with a high conception of his duties as a sovereign. His reign forms one of the most notable epochs in German history.

[Illustration: RING SEAL OF OTTO THE GREAT
The inscription reads *Oddo Rex*.]

OTTO AND THE MAGYARS

Otto continued Henry's work of defending Germany from the foes which threatened to overrun that country. He won his most conspicuous success against the Magyars, who suffered a crushing defeat on the banks of the river Lech in Bavaria (955 A.D.). These barbarians now ceased their raids and retired to the lands on the middle Danube which they had seized from the Slavs. Here they settled down, accepted Christianity from the Roman Church, and laid the foundations of the kingdom of Hungary. [21] As a protection against future Magyar inroads Otto established the East Mark. This region afterwards rose to great importance under the name of Austria.

OTTO AND THE STEM-DUKES

Otto was an excellent ruler of Germany. He made it his business to strengthen the royal authority by weakening that of the stem-dukes. He had to fight against them on more than one occasion, for they regarded themselves almost as independent kings. Otto was able to keep them in check, but the rulers who followed him were less successful in this respect. The struggle between the kings and their powerful nobles formed a constant feature of the medieval history of Germany.

110. OTTO THE GREAT AND THE RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 962 A.D.

CONDITION OF ITALY

Otto the Great is not to be remembered only as a German king. His reign was also noteworthy in the history of Italy. The country at this time was

hopelessly divided between rival and contending peoples. The emperor at Constantinople controlled the southern extremity of the peninsula. The Mohammedans held Sicily and some cities on the mainland. The pope ruled at Rome and in the States of the Church. A so-called king of Italy still reigned in Lombardy, but he could not manage the powerful counts, dukes, and marquises, who were virtually independent within their own domains. Even the imperial title died out, and now there was no longer a Roman emperor in the West.

CORONATION OF OTTO THE GREAT, 962 A.D.

The deplorable condition of Italy invited interference from abroad. Following in the footsteps of Charlemagne, Otto the Great led two expeditions across the Alps, assumed the "Iron Crown" [22] of Lombardy, and then proceeded to Rome, where he secured the pope (John XII) against the latter's enemies in that city. Otto's reward was the same as Charlemagne's. On Candlemas Day, (February 2d) 962 A.D., the grateful pope crowned him Roman emperor.

MEANING OF THE CORONATION

The coronation of Otto the Great seemed to his contemporaries a necessary and beneficial act. They still believed that the Roman Empire was suspended, not extinct; and that now, one hundred and fifty years after Charlemagne, the occasion was opportune to revive the name and power associated with the golden age of the first Frankish emperor. Otto's ardent spirit, one may well believe, was fired with this vision of imperial sway and the renewal of a title around which clustered so many memories of success and glory.

[Illustration: Map, EUROPE IN THE AGE OF OTTO THE GREAT, 962 A.D.]

ULTIMATE RESULTS OF THE CORONATION

But the outcome of Otto's restoration of the Roman Empire was good neither for Italy nor for Germany. It became the rule, henceforth, that the man whom the German nobles chose as their king had a claim, also, to the Italian crown and the imperial title. The efforts of the German kings to make good this claim led to their constant interference in the affairs of Italy. They treated that country as a conquered province which had no right to a national life and an independent government under its own rulers. At the same time they neglected Germany and failed to keep their powerful territorial lords in subjection. Neither Italy nor Germany, in consequence, could become a unified, centralized state, such as was formed in France and England during the later Middle Ages.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The empire of Charlemagne, restored by Otto the Great, came to be called in later centuries the "Holy Roman Empire." The title points to the idea of a world monarchy—the Roman Empire—and a world religion—Roman Christianity—united in one institution. This magnificent idea was never fully realized. The popes and emperors, instead of being bound to each other by the closest ties, were more generally enemies than friends. A large part of medieval history was to turn on this conflict between the Empire and the Papacy. [23]

111. THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN BRITAIN, 449-839 A.D.

ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST OF BRITAIN

From the history of Continental Europe we now turn to the history of Britain. That island had been overrun by the Germanic barbarians after the middle of the fifth century. [24] They are commonly known as Anglo-

Saxons, from the names of their two principal peoples, the Angles and Saxons. The Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain was a slow process, which lasted at least one hundred and fifty years. The invaders followed the rivers into the interior and gradually subdued more than a half of what is now England, comprising the fertile plain district in the southern and eastern parts of the island.

NATURE OF THE CONQUEST

Though the Anglo-Saxons probably destroyed many flourishing cities and towns of the Romanized Britons, it seems likely that the conquerors spared the women, with whom they intermarried, and the agricultural laborers, whom they made slaves. Other natives took refuge in the hill regions of western and northern Britain, and here their descendants still keep up the Celtic language and traditions. The Anglo-Saxons regarded the Britons with contempt, naming them Welsh, a word which means one who talks gibberish. The antagonism between the two peoples died out in the course of centuries, conquerors and conquered intermingled, and an English nation, partly Celtic and partly Germanic, came into being.

[Illustration: ANGLO-SAXON DRINKING HORN Horn of Ulphus (Wulf) in the cathedral of York. The old English were heavy drinkers chiefly of ale and mead. The evening meal usually ended with a drinking bout.]

THE SEVEN KINGDOMS IN BRITAIN

The Anglo-Saxons started to fight one another before they ceased fighting their common enemy, the Britons. Throughout the seventh and eighth centuries, the Anglo-Saxon states were engaged in almost constant struggles, either for increase of territory or for supremacy. The kingdoms farthest east—Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia—found their expansion

checked by other kingdoms—Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex—which grew up in the interior of the island. Each of these three stronger states gained in turn the leading place.

EGBERT AND THE SUPREMACY OF WESSEX, 802-839 A.D.

The beginning of the supremacy of Wessex dates from the reign of Egbert. He had lived for some years as an exile at the court of Charlemagne, from whom he must have learned valuable lessons of war and statesmanship. After returning from the Continent, Egbert became king of Wessex and gradually forced the rulers of the other states to acknowledge him as overlord. Though Egbert was never directly king of all England, he began the work of uniting the Anglo-Saxons under one government. His descendants have occupied the English throne to the present day.

ANGLO-SAXON BRITAIN

When the Germans along the Rhine and the Danube crossed the frontiers and entered the western provinces, they had already been partially Romanized. They understood enough of Roman civilization to appreciate it and to desire to preserve it. The situation was quite different with the Anglo- Saxons. Their original home lay in a part of Germany far beyond the borders of the Roman Empire and remote from the cultural influences of Rome. Coming to Britain as barbarians, they naturally introduced their own language, laws, and customs wherever they settled. Much of what the Anglo- Saxons brought with them still lives in England, and from that country has spread to the United States and the vast English colonies beyond the seas. The English language is less indebted to Latin than any of the Romance languages, [25] and the Common law of England owes much less to Roman law than do the legal systems of Continental Europe. England, indeed, looks to the Anglo-Saxons for some of the most characteristic and important elements of her civilization.

[Illustration: Map, ANGLO-SAXON BRITAIN]

112. CHRISTIANITY IN THE BRITISH ISLES

PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY

The Anglo-Saxons also brought to Britain their heathen faith. Christianity did not come to them until the close the sixth century. At this time more or less intercourse had sprung up between the people of Kent, lying nearest to the Continent, and the Franks in Gaul. Ethelbert, the king of Kent, had even married the Frankish princess, Bertha. He allowed his Christian wife to bring a bishop to her new home and gave her the deserted church of St. Martin at Canterbury as a place of worship. Queen Bertha's fervent desire for the conversion of her husband and his people prepared the way for an event of first importance in English history—the mission of Augustine.

MISSION OF AUGUSTINE, 597 A.D.

The pope at this time was Gregory I, better known, from his services to the Roman Church, as Gregory the Great. [26] The kingdom of Kent, with its Christian queen, must have seemed to him a promising field for missionary enterprise. Gregory, accordingly, sent out the monk Augustine with forty companions to carry the Gospel to the heathen English. The king of Kent, already well disposed toward the Christian faith, greeted the missionaries kindly and told them that they were free to convert whom they would. Before long he and his court embraced Christianity, and the people of Kent soon followed the royal example. The monks were assigned a residence in Canterbury, a city which has ever since remained the religious capital of England. From Kent Christianity in its Roman form gradually spread into the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

[Illustration: ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY The present church, dating from the thirteenth century occupies the site of a chapel built before the arrival of Augustine, The walls still contain some of the Roman bricks used in the original structure. St Martin's Church was the scene of the earliest work of Augustine in Canterbury.]

CELTIC CHRISTIANITY

Augustine and his monks were not the first missionaries to Britain. Roman soldiers, merchants, and officials had introduced Christianity among the Britons as early as second century. During the fifth century the famous St. Patrick had carried Christianity to the heathen Irish. The Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain drove many Christians to Ireland, and that island in the sixth and seventh centuries became a center from which devoted monks went forth to labor in western Scotland and northern Britain [27] Here they came in contact with the Roman missionaries.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CELTIC AND ROMAN CHRISTIANITY

The Celtic Christians followed some customs which differed from those observed by Roman Christians. They computed the date on which Easter fell according to a system unlike that of the Romans. They permitted their priests to marry; the Romans forbade the practice. Their monks shaved the front of the head from ear to ear as a tonsure, while Roman monks shaved the top of the head, leaving a "crown of thorns." These differences may not seem very important, but they were enough to prevent the cooperation of Celtic and Roman missionaries for the conversion of the heathen.

[Illustration: CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL The choir dates from the twelfth century, the nave, transepts, and central tower, from the fifteenth century. One of the two towers at the west front was built in 1834-1840

A.D. The beautiful stained glass in the windows of the choir belongs to the thirteenth century.]

SYNOD OF WHITBY, 664 A.D.

The rivalry between Celtic and Roman Christians was finally settled at a church gathering, or synod, called by the king of Northumbria at Whitby. The main controversy at this synod concerned the proper date for Easter. In the course of the debate it was asserted that the Roman custom had the sanction of St. Peter, to whom Christ had intrusted the keys of heaven. This statement was enough for the Northumbrian king, who thereupon decided in favor of the Roman claim, declaring that he would not oppose St. Peter, "lest when I come before the gates of the kingdom of heaven, he who holds the keys should not open to me." [28] The representatives of the Celtic Church then withdrew from England, leaving the field clear for Roman missionaries.

THE BRITISH ISLES BECAME ROMAN CATHOLIC

The decision of the Synod of Whitby in favor of Rome meant that all England henceforth would recognize the pope's authority in religious matters. It remained a Roman Catholic country until the time of the Reformation, nearly nine hundred years later. [29] The Celtic Christians in Ireland and Scotland also in the course of time became the devoted children of the Roman Church.

113. THE FUSION OF GERMANS AND ROMANS

THE GERMANIC KINGDOMS

We have now followed the fortunes of the Germans for five centuries from the end of the Roman Empire in the West. Most of their kingdoms, it

has been seen, were not permanent. The Visigothic and Burgundian dominions in Gaul yielded to the Franks, and those of the Visigoths in Spain, to the Mohammedan Arabs. [30] The Vandal possessions in North Africa were regained by the emperors at Constantinople. [31] The rule of the Ostrogoths in Italy endured for only sixty years and that of the Lombards passed away after two centuries. The kingdoms established by the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons alone developed into lasting states.

HINDRANCES TO THE FUSION OF GERMANS AND ROMANS

But even where the Germans did not found permanent kingdoms, they mingled with the subject provincials and adopted much of the old Roman civilization. The fusion of the two peoples naturally required a long time, being scarcely completed before the middle of the tenth century. It was hindered, in the first place, by the desire of the Germans to secure the lands of the Romans. Wherever the barbarians settled, they appropriated a large part of the agricultural soil. How much they took varied in different countries. The Ostrogoths seem to have seized one- third of the land in Italy; the Visigoths, two-thirds of that in Gaul and Spain; the Anglo-Saxons, perhaps all the tillable soil of Britain. It could not but be galling to the Romans to surrender their farms to the barbarians. In the second place, the Germans often assessed heavy taxes on the Romans, which they themselves refused to pay. Tax-paying seemed to the Germans a mark of servitude. In the third place, a barrier between the two peoples arose from the circumstance that each had its particular law. For several centuries following the invasions there was one law for the Romans—that which they had enjoyed under the empire—and another law for the Germans—their old tribal customs. After the Germans had lived for some time in contact with the Romans they wrote out their laws in the Latin language. These "Laws of the Barbarians" still survive and throw much light on their early beliefs and manners.

CONDITIONS FAVORING FUSION

In spite of the hindrances to fusion, it seems true that the Germans and the Romans felt no great dislike for each other and that, as a rule, they freely intermingled. Certain conditions directly favored this result. First, many Germans had found their way within the empire as hired soldiers, colonists, and slaves, long before the invasions began. Second, the Germanic invaders came in relatively small numbers. Third, the Germans entered the Roman world not as destroyers, but as homeseekers. They felt a real reverence for Roman civilization. And fourth, some of the principal Germanic nations, including the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Vandals, were already Christians at the time of their invasions, while other nations, such as the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, were afterwards converted to Christianity. As long, however, as most of the Germans remained Arian Christians [32] their belief stood in the way of friendly intercourse with the Roman provincials, who had accepted the Catholic faith.

[Illustration: Map, THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE at the beginning of the Tenth
Century.]

CONTRAST BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

If western Europe during the early Middle Ages presented a scene of violence and confusion while the Germans were settling in their new homes, a different picture was afforded by eastern Europe. Here the Roman Empire still survived and continued to uphold for centuries the Roman tradition of law and order. The history of that empire forms the theme of the following chapter.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the boundaries of the empire of Charlemagne, distinguishing his hereditary possessions from those which he acquired by conquest.

2. On an outline map indicate the boundaries of the empire of Otto the Great.

3. What events are connected with the following places: Soissons; Mersen; Whitby; Reims; Verdun; Canterbury; and Strassburg?

4. What is the historical importance of Augustine, Henry the Fowler, Pepin the Short, Charles Martel, Egbert, and Ethelbert?

5. Give dates for the following events: battle of Tours; crowning of Charlemagne as emperor; crowning of Otto the Great as emperor; deposition of Romulus Augustulus; Augustine's mission to England; and the Treaty of Verdun.

6. Explain the following expressions: "do-nothing kings"; *missi dominici*; Holy Roman Empire; and "Donation of Pepin."

7. Why was the extinction of the Ostrogothic kingdom a misfortune for Italy?

8. Why did Italy remain for so many centuries after the Lombard invasion merely "a geographical expression"?

9. What difference did it make whether Clovis became an Arian or a Catholic?

10. What events in the lives of Clovis and Pepin the Short contributed to the alliance between the Franks and the popes?

11. What provinces of the Roman Empire in the West were not included within the limits of Charlemagne's empire?

12. What countries of modern Europe are included within the limits of Charlemagne's empire?

13. Compare the *missi dominici* with the "eyes and ears" of Persian kings.

14. What is the origin of the word "emperor"? As a title distinguish it from that of "king."

15. Why has Lothair's kingdom north of the Alps been called the "strip of trouble"?

16. In what parts of the British Isles are Celtic languages still spoken?

17. How did the four English counties, Sussex, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, receive their names?

18. What was the importance of the Synod of Whitby?

19. Set forth the conditions which hindered, and those which favored, the fusion of Germans and Romans.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter i, "Stories of the Lombard Kings"; chapter ii, "Charlemagne."

[2] See page 236.

[3] See page 236.

[4] See page 309.

[5] The modern kingdom of Italy dates from 1861-1870 A.D.

[6] See page 245.

[7] His name is properly spelled Chlodweg, which later became Ludwig, and in French, Louis.

[8] *Allemagne*. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Gaul came to call their country *France* and themselves *Français* after their conquerors, the Germanic Franks.

[9] Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, ii, 31.

[10] From Merovech, grandfather of Clovis.

[11] See page 379.

[12] So called from Pepin's son, Charles the Great (in Latin, *Carolus Magnus*). The French form of his name is Charlemagne.

[13] In 1870 A.D. the States of the Church were added to the newly formed kingdom of Italy.

[14] Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*, 25.

[15] The rearguard of Charlemagne's army, when returning from Spain, was attacked and overwhelmed by the mountaineers of the Pyrenees. The incident gave rise to the famous French epic known as the *Song of Roland*.

[16] The title of "Holy Roman Emperor," assumed by the later successors of Charlemagne, was kept by them till 1806 A.D.

[17] The French name Lorraine and the German name Lothringen are both derived from the Latin title of Lothair's kingdom—*Lotharii regnum*.

[18] See page 306.

[19] The others were Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine.

[20] The Hohenzollerns became electors of Brandenburg in 1415 A.D., kings of Prussia in 1701, and emperors of Germany in 1871.

[21] The Magyar settlement in central Europe had the important result of dividing the Slavic peoples into three groups. Those who remained south of the Danube (Serbians, Croatians, etc.) were henceforth separated from the northwestern Slavs (Bohemians, Moravians, and Poles) and from the eastern Slavs (Russians). See the map facing page 326.

[22] See the Illustration, page 308.

[23] See pages 455-463.

[24] See page 246.

[25] See page 208.

[26] See page 350.

[27] The enthusiasm of the Celtic Christians reached such proportions that it swept back upon the Continent. In the seventh and eighth centuries Irish missionaries worked among the heathen Germans and founded monasteries in Burgundy, Lombardy, and southern Germany (now Switzerland).

[28] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iii, 25.

[29] The separation from Rome occurred in 1534 A.D., during the reign of Henry VIII.

[30] See page 378.

[31] See page 330.

[32] See page 236.

CHAPTER XIV

EASTERN EUROPE DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES, 395-1096 A.D.

114. THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

SURVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

The Roman Empire in the West moved rapidly to its "fall" in 476 A.D., at the hands of the Germanic invaders. The Roman Empire in the East, though threatened by enemies from without and weakened by civil conflicts from within, endured for more than a thousand years. Until the middle of the eleventh century it was the strongest state in Europe, except during the reign of Charlemagne, when the Frankish kingdom eclipsed it. Until the middle of the fifteenth century it preserved the name, the civilization, and some part of the dominions, of ancient Rome. [1]

CAUSES OF THE SURVIVAL

The long life of the Roman Empire in the East is one of the marvels of history. Its great and constant vitality appears the more remarkable, when one considers that it had no easily defensible frontiers, contained many different races with little in common, and on all sides faced hostile states. The empire survived so long, because of its vast wealth and resources, its

despotic, centralized government, the strength of its army, and the almost impregnable position occupied by Constantinople, the capital city.

CHARACTER OF THE EMPIRE

The changing fortunes of the empire during the Middle Ages are reflected in some of the names by which it is often known. The term "Greek Empire" expresses the fact that the state became more and more Greek in character, owing to the loss, first of the western provinces in the fifth century, and then of Syria and Egypt in the seventh century. Another term— "Byzantine Empire"—appropriately describes the condition of the state in still later times, when its possessions were reduced to Constantinople (ancient Byzantium) and the territory in the neighborhood of that city. But through all this period the rulers at Constantinople regarded themselves as the true successors of Augustus, Diocletian, and Constantine. They never admitted the right of Charlemagne and Otto the Great to establish a rival Roman Empire in western Europe. [2] They claimed to be the only legitimate heirs of Old Rome.

115. THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN, 527-565 A.D.

SUCCESSORS OF THEODOSIUS, 395-527 A.D.

The history of the Roman Empire in the East, for more than one hundred years after the death of Theodosius, is uneventful. His successors, though unable to prevent the Germans from seizing Italy and the other western provinces, managed to keep their own dominions intact. The eastern provinces escaped the fate of those in the West, because they were more populous and offered greater obstacles to the barbarian invaders, who followed the line of least resistance. The gradual recovery of the empire in

strength and warlike energy prepared the way for a really eminent ruler—Justinian.

JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

Justinian is described as a man of noble bearing, simple in his habits, affable in speech, and easy of approach to all his subjects. Historians have often drawn attention to his wonderful activity of mind and power of steady industry. So great was his zeal for work that one of his courtiers called him "the emperor who never sleeps." Possessed of large ideas and inspired by the majesty of Rome, Justinian aimed to be a great conqueror, a great lawgiver, and a great restorer of civilization. His success in whatever he undertook must be ascribed in part to his wife, Theodora, whom he associated with himself on the throne. Theodora, strong of mind and wise in counsel, made a worthy helpmate for Justinian, who more than once declared that in affairs of state he had consulted his "revered wife."

CONQUESTS OF JUSTINIAN

It was the ambition of Justinian to conquer the Germanic kingdoms which had been formed out of the Mediterranean provinces. In this task he relied chiefly on the military genius of Belisarius, one of the world's foremost commanders. Belisarius was able in one short campaign to destroy the Vandal kingdom in North Africa. [3] The Vandals by this time had lost their early vigor; they made but a feeble resistance; and their Roman subjects welcomed Belisarius as a deliverer. Justinian awarded a triumph to his victorious general, an honor which for five centuries emperors alone had enjoyed. The conquest of North Africa, together with the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, was followed by the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Sicily and Italy. [4] Justinian also recovered from the Visigoths [5] the southeastern part of Spain. He could now say with truth that the Mediterranean was once more a Roman sea. [6]

[Illustration: A MOSAIC OF JUSTINIAN A mosaic dating from 547 A.D., in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna. It shows the emperor (in the center) with a bishop, his suite and imperial guards. The picture probably gives us a fair idea of Justinian's appearance, though it represents him as somewhat younger than he was at the time.]

CODIFICATION OF ROMAN LAW

The conquests of Justinian proved to be less enduring than his work as a lawgiver. Until his reign the sources of Roman law, including the legislation of the popular assemblies, the decrees of the Senate, the edicts of the of Roman praetors and emperors, and the decisions of learned lawyers, had never been completely collected and arranged in scientific form. Justinian appointed a commission of legal scholars to perform this task. The result of their labors, in which the emperor himself assisted, was the publication of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of Civil Law." Under this form the Roman principles of jurisprudence have become the foundation of the legal systems of modern Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and other European countries. These principles even influenced the Common law of England, which has been adopted by the United States. [7] The *Corpus Juris Civilis*, because of this widespread influence, is justly regarded as one of Rome's most important gifts to the world.

CIVILIZING WORK OF JUSTINIAN

Justinian's claim to the title of "Great" rests also on his civilizing work. He wished to restore the prosperity, as well as the provinces, of the empire. During his reign roads, bridges, and aqueducts were repaired, and commerce and agriculture were encouraged. It was at this time that two Christian missionaries brought from China the eggs of the silkworm, and introduced the manufacture of silk in Europe. As a builder Justinian gained special fame. The edifices which he caused to be raised throughout his

dominions included massive fortifications on the exposed frontiers, splendid palaces, and many monasteries and churches. The most noteworthy monument to his piety is the church of Sancta Sophia [8] at Constantinople, now used as a Mohammedan mosque. By his conquests, his laws, and his buildings, Justinian revived for a time the waning glory of imperial Rome.

116. THE EMPIRE AND ITS ASIATIC FOES

AFTER JUSTINIAN

The Roman Empire in the East did not long remain at the pinnacle of greatness to which Justinian had raised it. His conquests, indeed, weakened rather than strengthened the empire, since now there were much more extensive frontiers to defend. Within half a century after his death it was attacked both in Europe and in Asia. The Lombards [9] soon seized Italy, and in the East the Persians renewed their contest against the Roman power.

[Illustration: Map, THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST DURING THE TENTH AND
ELEVENTH CENTURIES]

PERSIANS

The struggle with the Persians was an inheritance from earlier times. [10] Under an ambitious king, Chosroes II, the Persians overran all the Asiatic provinces of the empire. A savior arose, however, in the person of the Roman emperor, Heraclius (610-641 A.D.). His brilliant campaigns against Chosroes partook of the nature of a crusade, or "holy war," for the Persians had violated the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem and had stolen away the True Cross, the most sacred relic of Christendom. Heraclius recovered all his provinces, but only at the cost of a bloody struggle which drained them of

men and money and helped to make them fall easy victims to foes still more terrible than the Persians. These were the Arabs.

ARABS

Heraclius had not closed his reign before he saw all his victories undone by the advance of the Arabs. The first wave of invasion tore away Syria and Egypt from the empire, penetrated Asia Minor, and reached the shores of the Bosporus. Repulsed before the walls of Constantinople, the Arabs carried their arms to the West and seized North Africa, Spain, part of southern Italy, and the Mediterranean islands. Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula still held out, however, and during the tenth century a line of able rulers at Constantinople succeeded in winning back some of their lost provinces.

SELJUK TURKS

During the eleventh century the empire had to face new enemies. These were the Seljuk Turks, [11] fierce nomads from the steppes beyond the Caspian. After their conversion to Mohammedanism, they swept with irresistible force through the East and conquered nearly all Asia Minor. The ruin of this country, in earlier ages one of the most populous and flourishing regions of the world, dates from its occupation by the Seljuks. To resist their further advance the Roman emperor sought in 1095 A.D. the help of the Christians of Europe. His appeals for aid resulted in the First Crusade, with which a new chapter of medieval history began. (See Chapter XX.)

WORK OF THE EMPIRE IN ASIA

Thus, for more than five centuries after Justinian, the Roman Empire in the East was engaged in a long struggle with the foes—Persians, Arabs, and Seljuk Turks—which successively attacked its dominions. By its stubborn

resistance of the advance of the invaders the old empire protected the young states of Europe from attack, until they grew strong enough to meet and repulse the hordes of Asia. This service to civilization was not less important than that which had been performed by Greece and Rome in their contests with the Persians and the Carthaginians.

117. THE EMPIRE AND ITS FOES IN EUROPE

SLAVS

The troubled years after Justinian's death also witnessed the beginning of the Slavic [12] settlements in southeastern Europe. The Slavs belonged to the Indo-European race, but had not progressed in civilization as far as the Germans. Their cradle land seems to have been in western Russia, whence they slowly spread to the Baltic, the Elbe, and the Danube. We have already mentioned the campaigns which Charlemagne and Henry the Fowler waged against them. [13] The emperors at Constantinople were less successful in resisting that branch of the Slavs which tried to occupy the Balkan peninsula. After crossing the Danube, the Slavs pressed on farther and farther, until they reached the southern extremity of ancient Greece. They avoided the cities, but formed peasant communities in the open country, where they readily mingled with the inhabitants. Their descendants have remained in the Balkan peninsula to this day. The inhabitants of modern Serbia [14] are Slavs, and even in the Greeks there is a considerable strain of Slavic blood.

BULGARIANS

The Bulgarians, a people akin to the Huns and Avars, made their appearance south of the lower Danube in the seventh century. For more than three hundred years these barbarians, brutal, fierce, and cruel, were a

menace to the empire. At one time they threatened Constantinople and even killed a Roman emperor, whose skull was converted into a drinking cup to grace their feasts. The Bulgarians settled in the region which now bears their name and gradually adopted the speech and customs of the Slavs. Modern Bulgaria is essentially a Slavic state.

RUSSIANS

The empire was attacked in southeastern Europe by still other barbarians, among whom were the Russians. This Slavic people, led by chieftains from Sweden, descended the Dnieper and Dniester rivers and, crossing the Black Sea, appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Already, in the tenth century, that city formed the goal of Russian ambitions. The invaders are said to have made four attempts to plunder its treasures. Though unsuccessful, they compelled the emperors from time to time to pay them tribute.

WORK OF THE EMPIRE IN EUROPE

Christianity reached the invaders of the Balkan peninsula from Constantinople. The Serbians, Bulgarians, and Russians were converted in the ninth and tenth centuries. With Christianity they received the use of letters and some knowledge of Roman law and methods of government. Constantinople was to them, henceforth, such a center of religion and culture as Rome was to the Germans. By becoming the teacher of the vast Slavic peoples of the Balkan peninsula and European Russia, the empire performed another important service to civilization.

118. BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION

STRENGTH AND WEALTH OF THE EMPIRE

The Roman Empire in the East, though often menaced by barbarian foes, long continued to be the leading European power. Its highest degree of prosperity was reached between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the eleventh century. The provinces in Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula produced a vast annual revenue, much of which went for defense. It was necessary to maintain a large, well-disciplined army, great fleets and engines of war, and the extensive fortifications of Constantinople and the frontier cities. Confronted by so many dangers, the empire could hope to survive only by making itself a strong military state.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The merchant ships of Constantinople, during the earlier part of the Middle Ages, carried on most of the commerce of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The products of Byzantine industry, including silks, embroideries, mosaics, enamels, and metal work, were exchanged at that city for the spices, drugs, and precious stones of the East. Byzantine wares also found their way into Italy and France and, by way of the Russian rivers, reached the heart of eastern Europe. Russia, in turn, furnished Constantinople with large quantities of honey, wax, fur, wool, grain, and slaves. A traveler of the twelfth century well described the city as a metropolis "common to all the world, without distinction of country or religion."

CHARACTER OF BYZANTINE ART

Many of the Roman emperors from Justinian onward were great builders. Byzantine architecture, seen especially in the churches, became a leading form of art. Its most striking feature is the dome, which replaces the flat, wooden roof used in the basilican [15] Churches of Italy. The exterior of a Byzantine church is plain and unimposing, but the interior is adorned on a magnificent scale. The eyes of the worshiper are dazzled by the walls faced

with marble slabs of variegated colors, by the columns of polished marble, jasper, and porphyry, and by the brilliant mosaic pictures of gilded glass. The entire impression is one of richness and splendor. Byzantine artists, though mediocre painters and sculptors, excelled in all kinds of decorative work. Their carvings in wood, ivory, and metal, together with their embroideries, enamels, and miniatures, enjoyed a high reputation throughout medieval Europe.

INFLUENCE OF BYZANTINE ART

Byzantine art, from the sixth century to the present time, has exerted a wide influence. Sicily, southern Italy, Rome, Ravenna, and Venice contain many examples of Byzantine churches. Italian painting in the Middle Ages seems to have been derived directly from the mosaic pictures of the artists of Constantinople. Russia received not only its religion but also its art from Constantinople. The great Russian churches of Moscow and Petrograd follow Byzantine models. Even the Arabs, in spite of their hostility to Christianity, borrowed Byzantine artists and profited by their services. The Mohammedan mosques of Damascus, Cairo, and Cordova, both in methods of construction and in details of ornamentation, reproduce Byzantine styles.

LITERATURE AND LEARNING

The libraries and museums of Constantinople preserved classical learning. In the flourishing schools of that city the wisest men of the day taught philosophy, law, medicine, and science to thousands of students. The professors figured among the important persons of the court: official documents mention the "prince of the rhetoricians" and the "consul of the philosophers." Many of the emperors showed a taste for scholarship; one of them was said to have been so devoted to study that he almost forgot to reign. When kings in western Europe were so ignorant that they could with difficulty scrawl their names, eastern emperors wrote books and composed

poetry. It is true that Byzantine scholars were erudite rather than original. Impressed by the great treasures of knowledge about them, they found it difficult to strike out into new, unbeaten paths. Most students were content to make huge collections of extracts and notes from the books which antiquity had bequeathed to them. Even this task was useful, however, for their encyclopedias preserved much information which otherwise would have been lost. During the Middle Ages the East cherished the productions of classical learning, until the time came when the West was ready to receive them and to profit by them.

119. CONSTANTINOPLE

POSITION OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The heart of Byzantine civilization was Constantinople. The city lies on a peninsula between the Sea of Marmora and the spacious harbor called the Golden Horn. Washed on three sides by the water and, like Rome, enthroned upon seven hills, Constantinople occupies a site justly celebrated as the noblest in the world. It stands in Europe, looks on Asia, and commands the entrance to both the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. As a sixteenth century writer pointed out, Constantinople "is a city which Nature herself has designed to be the mistress of the world."

[Illustration: Map, VICINITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE]

CONSTANTINOPLE AS A NATURAL CITADEL

The position of Constantinople made it difficult to attack but easy to defend. To surround the city an enemy would have to be strong upon both land and sea. A hostile army, advancing through Asia Minor, found its further advance arrested by the long, winding channel which the Bosporus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles combine to form. A hostile fleet,

coming by way of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea, faced grave difficulties in attempting to penetrate the narrow strait into which this waterway contracts at each extremity. On the landward side the line of defense was so short—about four miles in width—that it could be strongly fortified and held by a small force against large numbers. During the Middle Ages the rear of the city was protected by two huge walls, the remains of which are still visible. Constantinople, in fact, was all but impregnable. Though each new century brought a fresh horde of enemies, it resisted siege after siege and long continued to be the capital of what was left of the Roman Empire. [16]

MONUMENTS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantine had laid out his new city on an imposing scale and adorned it with the choicest treasures of art from Greece, Italy, and the Orient. Fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, eight public baths, and several triumphal arches are assigned to the founder of the city. His most stately building was the Hippodrome, an immense structure devoted to chariot races and all sorts of popular gatherings. There new emperors, after their consecration in Sancta Sophia, were greeted by their subjects; there civic festivals were held; and there the last Roman triumphs were celebrated. Theodosius the Great built the principal gate of Constantinople, the "Golden Gate," as it was called, by which the emperors made their solemn entry into the city. But it was Justinian who, after Constantine, did most to adorn the new capital by the Bosporus. He is said to have erected more than twenty-five churches in Constantinople and its suburbs. Of these, the most beautiful is the world-famed cathedral dedicated by Justinian to "Holy Wisdom." On its completion the emperor declared that he had surpassed Solomon's Temple. Though nearly fourteen hundred years old and now defaced by vandal hands, it remains perhaps the supreme achievement of Christian architecture.

[Illustration: SANCTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE Built by Justinian and dedicated on Christmas Day, 538 A.D. The main building is roofed over by a great central dome 107 feet in diameter and 179 feet in height. After the Ottoman Turks turned the church into a mosque, a minaret was erected at each of the four exterior angles. The outside of Sancta Sophia is somewhat disappointing, but the interior, with its walls and columns of polished marble granite and porphyry, is magnificent. The crystal balustrades, pulpits, and large metal disks are Turkish.]

[Illustration: THE THREE EXISTING MONUMENTS OF THE HIPPODROME,
CONSTANTINOPLE.

These three monuments preserve for us the exact line of the low wall or *spina*, which divided the race course and around which the charioteers drove their furious steeds. The obelisk was transported from Egypt by Constantine. Between it and the crumbling tower beyond is a pillar of three brazen serpents, originally set up at Delphi by the Greeks, after the battle of Plataea. On this trophy were engraved the names of the various states that sent soldiers to fight the Persians.]

[Illustration: Map, CONSTANTINOPLE]

HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Excepting Athens and Rome, no other European city can lay claim to so long and so important a history as Constantinople. Her day came after theirs was done. Throughout the Middle Ages Constantinople remained the most important city in Europe. When London, Paris, and Vienna were small and mean towns, Constantinople was a large and flourishing metropolis. The renown of the city penetrated even into barbarian lands. The Scandinavians called it Micklegarth, the "Great City"; the Russians knew of it as Tsarigrad,

the "City of the Caesars." But its own people best described it as the "City guarded by God." Here, for more than eleven centuries, was the capital of the Roman Empire and the center of Eastern Christendom.

STUDIES

1. Compare the area of the Roman Empire in the East in 395 A.D. with its area in 800 A.D. (maps between pages 222-223 and facing page 308).

2. Compare the respective areas in 800 A.D. of the Roman Empire in the East and Charlemagne's empire.

3. On the map, page 338, locate Adrianople, Gallipoli, Nicaea, the Bosporus, Sea of Marmora, and Dardanelles.

4. Who were Belisarius, Chosroes II, and Heraclius?

5. In your opinion which of the two rival imperial lines after 800 A.D. had the better title to represent ancient Rome?

6. Why has Justinian been called the "lawgiver of civilization"?

7. Why was it necessary to codify Roman law? Is the English Common law codified?

8. Compare the work of Alexandrian and Byzantine scholars in preserving learning.

9. "The Byzantines were the teachers of the Slavs, as the Romans were of the Germans." Comment on this statement.

10. The Byzantine Empire was once called "a gigantic mass of mould, a thousand years old." Does this seem a fair description?

11. "The history of medieval civilization is, in large measure, the history of the Roman Empire in the East." Comment on this statement.

12. Show that Constantinople formed "a natural citadel."

13. On the map, page 340, trace the successive walls of Constantinople.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The fall of the empire came in 1453 A.D., when Constantinople was captured by the Ottoman Turks.

[2] See pages 311-312, 317-318.

[3] See page 245.

[4] See page 300.

[5] See page 244.

[6] See the map, page 301.

[7] Roman law still prevails in the province of Quebec and the state of Louisiana, territories formerly under French control, and in all the Spanish-American countries.

[8] In Greek, *Hagia Sophia*, "Holy Wisdom."

[9] See page 302.

[10] See page 219.

[11] So named from one of their leaders.

[12] The word *slova* means "speech"; the Slavs are those who speak the same language.

[13] See pages 309, 315.

[14] A more accurate designation than Servia. Originally, all Slavic peoples called themselves Serbs.

[15] See page 284.

[16] Of the eight sieges to which Constantinople was subjected in medieval times, only two succeeded. In 1204 A.D. it was captured by the Venetians and in 1453 A.D., by the Ottoman Turks. See pages 477 and 492.

CHAPTER XV

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE EAST AND IN THE WEST TO 1054 A.D. [1]

120. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

A preceding chapter has traced the early history of Christianity. We there saw how the new religion appeared in the Orient, how it spread rapidly over the Roman Empire, how it engaged with the imperial government in the long conflict called the Persecutions, how the emperor Constantine, after his conversion, placed it on an equality with paganism, and how at the end of the fourth century the emperor Theodosius made it the state religion. By this time the Church had become a great and powerful organization, with fixed laws, with a graded system of officers, and with councils attended by clergy from all parts of the Roman world. To this organization the word Catholic, that is, "universal," came to be applied. Membership in the Catholic Church, secured only by baptism, was believed to be essential to salvation. As St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, had said, "He can no longer have God for his Father who has not the Church for his Mother."

THE EPISCOPATE

The first three centuries of Christianity witnessed the development of the episcopal system in the Church. Each provincial city had its bishop, assisted by priests and deacons. An archbishop (sometimes called a metropolitan) presided over the bishops of each province, and a patriarch had jurisdiction, in turn, over metropolitans. This graded arrangement of ecclesiastical officers, from the lowest to the highest, helped to make the Church centralized and strong. It appears to have been modeled, almost unconsciously, on the government of the Roman Empire. [2]

THE PATRIARCHS

The development of the patriarchate calls for special notice. At the time of the Council of Nicaea [3] there were three patriarchs, namely, the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. These cities ranked among the most important in the Roman world. It was only natural, therefore, that the churches established in them should be singled out for preëminence. Some years after the removal of the capital to Constantinople, the bishop of that imperial city was recognized as a patriarch at a general council of the Church. In the fifth century the bishop of Jerusalem received the same dignity. Henceforth there were five patriarchs—four in the East but only one in the West.

CLERGY AND LAITY

The Christian Church was a very democratic organization. Patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons were drawn from all ranks of life. No special training at first was considered necessary to fit them for their duties, though the more celebrated ministers were often highly educated. To eke out their salaries the clergy sometimes carried on business as farmers and shopkeepers. Where, however, a church had sufficient funds to support its bishop, his engagement in secular affairs was discouraged and finally prohibited. In the fourth century, as earlier, priests and bishops were

generally married men. The sentiment in favor of celibacy for the clergy became very pronounced during the early Middle Ages, especially in the West, and led at length to the general abandonment of priestly marriage in those parts of Europe where papal influence prevailed. Distinctive garments for clergymen did not begin to come into use until the fifth century, when some of them began to don clothing of a more sober hue than was fashionable at the time. Clerical vestments were developed from two pieces of ancient Roman dress—the tunic and the toga. [4] Thus the clergy were gradually separated from the people, or laity, by differences in dress, by their celibate lives, and by their abstention from worldly occupations.

HERESIES

While the Church was perfecting her organization, she was also elaborating her doctrines. Theologians engaged in many controversies upon such subjects as the connection of Christ with God and the nature of the Trinity. In order to obtain an authoritative expression of Christian opinion, councils of the higher clergy were held, at which the opposing views were debated and a decision was reached. The Council of Nicaea, which condemned Arianism, formed the first, and one of the most important, of these general gatherings of the Church. After the Church had once expressed itself on any matter of Christian belief, it was regarded as unlawful to maintain a contrary opinion. Those who did so were called heretics, and their teachings, heresies. The emperor Theodosius, whose severe laws finally shattered the ancient paganism, [5] devoted even more attention to stamping out heresies among his Christian subjects. He prohibited meetings of heretics, burned their books, and threatened them with death if they persisted in their peculiar doctrines. During his reign a Spanish bishop and six of his partisans were executed for holding unorthodox beliefs. This was the beginning of the persecutions for heresy.

WORSHIP

As soon as Christianity had triumphed in the Roman Empire, thus becoming the religion of the rich and powerful as well as the religion of the poor and lowly, more attention was devoted to the conduct of worship. Magnificent church buildings were often erected. Their architects seem to have followed as models the basilicas, or public halls, which formed so familiar a sight in Roman cities. [6] Church interiors were adorned with paintings, mosaic pictures, images of saints and martyrs, and the figure of the cross. Lighted candles on the altars and the burning of fragrant incense lent an additional impressiveness to worship. Beautiful prayers and hymns were composed. Some of the early Christian hymns, such as the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Te Deum Laudamus*, are still sung in our churches. Organs did not come into use until the seventh century, and then only in the West, but church bells, summoning the worshiper to divine service, early became attached to Christian edifices.

[Illustration: RELIGIOUS MUSIC From a window of the cathedral of Bourges, a city in central France. Shows a pipe organ and chimes.]

SUNDAY

The Christians from the start appear to have observed "the first day of the week" [7] in memory of Christ's resurrection. They attended public worship on the Lord's Day, but otherwise did not rigidly abstain from worldly business and amusements. The Jewish element in some churches, and especially in the East, was strong enough to secure an additional observance of Saturday as a weekly festival. Saturday long continued to be marked by religious assemblies and feasting, though not by any compulsory cessation of the ordinary occupations. During the fourth century Sunday, as the Lord's Day was now generally called, came more and more to be kept as a day of obligatory rest. Constantine's Sunday law [8] formed the first of a long

series of imperial edicts imposing the observance of that day as a legal duty. In this manner Sunday, like the Jewish Sabbath on the seventh day of the week, was dedicated wholly to the exercises of religion.

FESTIVALS

The great yearly festivals of the Church gradually took shape during the early Christian centuries. The most important anniversary to be observed was Easter, in memory of the resurrection of Christ. A period of fasting (Lent), which finally lasted forty days, preceded the festival. Whitsunday, or Pentecost, was celebrated on the fiftieth day after Easter. [9] Two other festivals of later adoption were Christmas, the celebration of which was finally assigned to the 25th of December, [10] and Epiphany (January 6), commemorating the baptism of Christ. In course of time many other feasts and fasts, together with numerous saints' days, were added to the calendar of the "Christian Year."

121. EASTERN CHRISTIANITY

EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST

By the time of Constantine, Christianity had spread widely throughout the eastern half of the Roman Empire. Asia Minor was then largely Christian. Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece were all ecclesiastical provinces with their own metropolitans. Many Christians were found in Syria and Egypt. Churches also existed in Mesopotamia and Arabia, and even beyond the boundaries of the empire in Armenia and Persia. Between the time of Constantine and that of Justinian, Christianity continued to expand in the East, until the gospel had been carried to such distant regions as Abyssinia and India.

UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Most of the Christian communities in the Orient owed allegiance to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. The Roman emperor, however, was the supreme religious authority in the East. He felt it as much his duty to maintain the doctrines and organization of Christianity as to preserve the imperial dominions against foreign foes. Since he presided over the Church, there could be no real independence for its officers. Bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs were in every respect subordinate to his will. This union of Church and State formed one of the most characteristic features of Christianity in the East.

THEOLOGICAL DISPUTES; HERESIES

Eastern Christians, far more than those in the West, devoted themselves to theological speculations. Constantinople and the great Hellenistic cities of Antioch and Alexandria contained many learned scholars who had prolonged and heated arguments over subtle questions of belief. After the Arian controversy had been settled in the fourth century, other disputes concerning the true nature of Christ broke out. These gave rise to many heresies.

NESTORIANISM

The heresy known as Nestorianism, from Nestorius, a patriarch of Constantinople, spread widely in the East. Nestorian missionaries even penetrated to India, China, and Mongolia. The churches which they established were numerous and influential during the Middle Ages, but since then most of them have been destroyed by the Mohammedans. Members of this sect are still to be found, however, in eastern lands. [11]

[Illustration: THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT Evidence of Nestorian missions in China is afforded by the famous monument at Chang-an, province of Shensi. The stone, which was set up in 781 A.D.,

commemorates by an inscription in Chinese characters and the figure of a cross the introduction of Christianity into northwestern China. A replica of the Nestorian monument was taken to the United States in 1908 A.D. and was deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.]

ORTHODOXY

After the formation of the Nestorian and other heretical sects, the orthodox faith was preserved in the East only by the Greeks of Asia Minor and Europe. The Greek Church, which calls itself the "Holy Orthodox Church," for a time remained in unity with the Roman Church in the West. The final separation of these two churches occurred in the eleventh century. [12]

122. WESTERN CHRISTIANITY: RISE OF THE PAPACY

THE PAPACY

Christianity in the West presented two sharp contrasts to eastern Christianity. In the first place, the great heresies which divided the East scarcely affected the West. In the second place, no union of Church and State existed among western Christians. Instead of acknowledging the religious supremacy of the emperor at Constantinople, they yielded obedience to the bishop of Rome, the head of the Roman Church. He is known to us as the pope, and his office is called the Papacy. We shall now inquire how the popes secured their unchallenged authority over western Christendom.

[Illustration: PAPAL ARMS According to the well-known passage in *Matthew* (xvi, 19), Christ gave to St. Peter the "keys of the kingdom of heaven," with the power "to bind and to loose." These keys are always

represented in the papal arms, together with the tiara or headdress, worn by the popes on certain occasions.]

ROME AN APOSTOLIC CHURCH

A church in Rome must have been established at an early date, for it was to Roman Christians that St. Paul addressed one of the *Epistles* now preserved in the New Testament. St. Paul visited Rome, as we know from the *Acts of the Apostles*, and there he is said to have suffered martyrdom. Christian tradition, very ancient and very generally received, declares that St. Peter also labored in Rome, where he met a martyr's death, perhaps during the reign of the emperor Nero. To the early Christians, therefore, the Roman Church must have seemed in the highest degree sacred, for it had been founded by the two greatest apostles and had been nourished by their blood.

ROME A "MOTHER-CHURCH"

Another circumstance helped to give the Roman Church a superior position in the West. It was a vigorous missionary church. Rome, the largest and most flourishing city in the empire and the seat of the imperial government, naturally became the center from which Christianity spread over the western provinces. Many of the early Christian communities planted in Spain, Gaul, and Africa owed their start to the missionary zeal of the Roman Church. To Rome, as the great "Mother-church," her daughters in western Europe would turn henceforth with reverence and affection; they would readily acknowledge her leading place among the churches; and they would seek her advice on disputed points of Christian belief or worship.

THE ROMAN CHURCH INDEPENDENT

The independence of the Roman Church also furthered its development. The bishop of Rome was the sole patriarch in the West, while in the East there were two, and later four patriarchs, each exercising authority in religious matters. Furthermore, the removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople helped to free the Roman bishop from the close oversight of the imperial government. He was able, henceforth, to promote the interests of the church under his control without much interference on the part of the eastern emperor.

THE ROMAN CHURCH ORTHODOX

Finally, it must be noted how much the development of the Roman Church was aided by its attitude on disputed questions of belief. While eastern Christendom was torn by theological controversies, the Church of Rome stood firmly by the Nicene Creed. [13] After the Arian, Nestorian, and other heresies were finally condemned, orthodox Christians felt indebted to the Roman Church for its unwavering championship of "the faith once delivered to the saints." They were all the more ready, therefore, to defer to that church in matters of doctrine and to accept without question its spiritual authority.

THE PETRINE SUPREMACY

The claim of the Roman bishops to supremacy over the Christian world had a double basis. Certain passages in the New Testament, where St. Peter is represented as the rock on which the Church is built, the pastor of the sheep and lambs of the Lord, and the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, appear to indicate that he was regarded by Christ as the chief of the Apostles. Furthermore, a well-established tradition made St. Peter the founder of the Roman Church and its first bishop. It was then argued that he passed to his successors, the popes, all his rights and dignity. As St. Peter was the first among the Apostles, so the popes were to be the first among

bishops. Such was the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy, expressed as far back as the second century, strongly asserted by many popes during the Middle Ages, and maintained to-day by the Roman Church.

123. GROWTH OF THE PAPACY

PONTIFICATE OF LEO I, 440-461 A.D.

Up to the middle of the fifth century about forty-five bishops had occupied St. Peter's chair at Rome. The most eminent these was Leo the Great. When he became bishop, the Germans were overrunning the western provinces of the empire. The invaders professed the Arian faith, as we have seen, and often persecuted the orthodox Christians among whom they settled. At such a time, when the imperial power was growing weaker, faithful Catholics in the West naturally turned for support to the bishop of Rome. Leo became their champion against the barbarians. Tradition declares that he succeeded in diverting Attila from an attack on Rome, and when the Vandals sacked the city Leo also intervened to prevent its destruction. [14]

PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY I, 590-604 A.D.

After Leo, no important name occurs in the list of popes until we come to Gregory the Great. Gregory, as the son of a rich and distinguished Roman senator, enjoyed a good education in all the learning of the time. He entered public life and at an early age became prefect of Rome. But now, almost at the outset of his career, Gregory laid aside earthly ambition. He gave up his honorable position and spent the fortune, inherited from his father, in the foundation of monasteries and the relief of the poor. He himself became a monk, turned his palace at Rome into a monastery, and almost ruined his health by too great devotion to fasts and midnight vigils. Gregory's

conspicuous talents, however, soon called him from retirement and led to his election as pope.

TEMPORAL POWER OF GREGORY

The work of Gregory lay principally in two directions. As a statesman he did much to make the popes virtual sovereigns at Rome and in Italy. At this time the Italian peninsula, overrun by the Lombards and neglected by the eastern emperor, was in a deplorable condition. The bishop of Rome seemed to be the only man who could protect the people and maintain order. Gregory had very great success in this task. He appointed governors of cities, issued orders to generals, drilled the Romans for military defense, and sent ambassadors to treat with the king of the Lombards. It was largely owing to Gregory's efforts that these barbarians were prevented from conquering central Italy.

GREGORY'S SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY

Gregory was no less eminent as a churchman. His writings and his personal influence greatly furthered the advancement of the Roman Church in the West. We find him sternly repressing heresies wherever they arose, aiding the conversion of Arian Visigoths in Spain and Arian Lombards in Italy, and sending out monks as missionaries to distant Britain. [15] He well deserved by these labors the title "Servant of the servants of God," [16] which he assumed, and which the popes after him have retained. The admiration felt for his character and abilities raised him, in later ages, to the rank of a saint.

POSITION OF THE PAPACY

When Gregory the Great closed his remarkable career, the Papacy had reached a commanding place in western Christendom. To their spiritual

authority the popes had now begun to add some measure of temporal power as rulers at Rome and in Italy. During the eighth century, as we have already learned, [17] the alliance of the popes and the Franks helped further to establish the Papacy as an ecclesiastical monarchy, ruling over both the souls and bodies of men. Henceforth it was to go forward from strength to strength.

124. MONASTICISM

THE MONASTIC SPIRIT

The Papacy during the Middle Ages found its strongest supporters among the monks. By the time of Gregory the Great monasticism [18] was well established in the Christian Church. Its origin must be sought in the need, often felt by spiritually-minded men, of withdrawing from the world — from its temptations and its transitory pleasures—to a life of solitude, prayer, and religious contemplation. Joined to this feeling has been the conviction that the soul may be purified by subduing the desires and passions of the body. Men, influenced by the monastic spirit, sought a closer approach to God.

EARLY CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

The monastic spirit in Christianity owed much to the example of its founder, who was himself unmarried, poor, and without a place "where to lay his head." Some of Christ's teachings, taken literally, also helped to exalt the worth of the monastic life. At a very early period there were Christian men and women who abstained from marriage, flesh meat, and the use of wine, and gave themselves up to prayer, religious exercises, and works of charity. This they did in their homes, without abandoning their families and human society.

THE HERMITS

Another monastic movement began about the middle of the third century, when many Christians in Egypt withdrew into the desert to live as hermits. St. Anthony, who has been called the first Christian hermit, passed twenty years in a deserted fort on the east bank of the Nile. During all this time he never saw a human face. Some of the hermits, believing that pain and suffering had a spiritual value, went to extremes of self- mortification. They dwelt in wells, tombs, and on the summits of pillars, deprived themselves of necessary food and sleep, wore no clothing, and neglected to bathe or to care for the body in any way. Other hermits, who did not practice such austerities, spent all day or all night in prayer. The examples of these recluses found many imitators in Syria and other eastern lands. [19]

[Illustration: ST. DANIEL THE STYLITE ON HIS COLUMN
From a Byzantine miniature in the Vatican.]

RULE OF ST. BASIL

A life shut off from all contact with one's fellows is difficult and beyond the strength of ordinary men. The mere human need for social intercourse gradually brought the hermits together, at first in small groups and then in larger communities, or monasteries. The next step was to give the scattered monasteries a common organization and government. Those in the East gradually adopted the regulations which St. Basil, a leading churchman of the fourth century, drew up for the guidance of the monks under his direction. St. Basil's Rule, as it is called, has remained to the present time the basis of monasticism in the Greek Church.

ST. BENEDICT

The monastic system, which early gained an entrance into western Christendom, looked to St. Benedict as its organizer. While yet a young man, St. Benedict had sought to escape from the vice about him by retiring to a cave in the Sabine hills near Rome. Here he lived for three years as a hermit, shutting himself off from all human intercourse, wearing a hair shirt, and rolling in beds of thistles to subdue "the flesh." St. Benedict's experience of the hermit's life convinced him that there was a surer and better road to religious peace of mind. His fame as a holy man had attracted to him many disciples, and these he now began to group in monastic communities under his own supervision. St. Benedict's most important monastery was at Monte Cassino, midway between Rome and Naples. It became the capital of monasticism in the West.

[Illustration: PLAN OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY, YORKSHIRE]

RULE OF ST. BENEDICT, 529(?) A.D.

To control the monks of Monte Cassino St. Benedict framed a Rule, or constitution, which was modeled in some respects upon the earlier Rule of St. Basil. The monks formed a sort of corporation, presided over by an abbot, [20] who held office for life. To the abbot every candidate for admission took the vow of obedience. Any man, rich or poor, noble or peasant, might enter the monastery, after a year's probation; having once joined, however, he must remain a monk for the rest of his days. The monks were to live under strict discipline. They could not own any property; they could not go beyond the monastery walls without the abbot's consent; they could not even receive letters from home; and they were sent to bed early. A violation of the regulations brought punishment in the shape of private admonitions, exclusion from common prayer, and, in extreme cases, expulsion.

SPREAD OF THE BENEDICTINE RULE

The Rule of St. Benedict came to have the same wide influence in the West which that of St. Basil exerted in the East. Gregory the Great established it in many places in Italy, Sicily, and England. During Charlemagne's reign it was made the only form of monasticism throughout his dominions. By the tenth century the Rule prevailed everywhere in western Europe. [21]

125. LIFE AND WORK OF THE MONKS

A MONASTIC COMMUNITY

St. Benedict sought to draw a sharp line between the monastic life and that of the outside world. Hence he required that, as far as possible, each monastery should form an independent, self-supporting community whose members had no need of going beyond its limits for anything. In course of time, as a monastery increased in wealth and number of inmates, it might come to form an enormous establishment, covering many acres and presenting within its massive walls the appearance of a fortified town.

THE MONASTERY BUILDINGS

The principal buildings of a Benedictine monastery of the larger sort were grouped around an inner court, called a cloister. These included a church, a refectory, or dining room, with the kitchen and buttery near it, a dormitory, where the monks slept, and a chapter house, where they transacted business. There was also a library, a school, a hospital, and a guest house for the reception of strangers, besides barns, bakeries, laundries, workshops, and storerooms for provisions. Beyond these buildings lay vegetable gardens, orchards, grain fields, and often a mill, if the monastery was built on a stream. The high wall and ditch, usually

surrounding a monastery, shut it off from outsiders and in time of danger protected it against attack.

[Illustration: ABBEY OF SAINT GERMAIN DES PRÉS, PARIS This celebrated monastery was founded in the sixth century. Of the original buildings only the abbey church remains. The illustration shows the monastery as it was in 1361 A.D., with walls, towers, drawbridge, and moat. Adjoining the church were the cloister, the refectory, and the dormitory.]

MONASTIC OCCUPATIONS

St. Benedict defined a monastery as "a school for the service of the Lord." The monks under his Rule occupied themselves with a regular round of worship, reading, and manual labor. Each day was divided into seven sacred offices, beginning and ending with services in the monastery church. The first service came usually about two o'clock in the morning; the last, just as evening set in, before the monks retired to rest. In addition to their attendance at church, the monks spent several hours in reading from the Bible, private prayer, and meditation. For most of the day, however, they worked hard with their hands, doing the necessary washing and cooking for the monastery, raising the necessary supplies of vegetables and grain, and performing all the other tasks required to maintain a large establishment. This emphasis on labor, as a religious duty, was a characteristic feature of western monasticism. "To labor is to pray" became a favorite motto of the Benedictines. [22]

[Illustration: A MONK COPYIST
From a manuscript in the British Museum, London.]

ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE MONASTIC LIFE

It is clear that life in a Benedictine monastery appealed to many different kinds of people in the Middle Ages. Those of a spiritual turn of mind found in the monastic life the opportunity of giving themselves wholly to God. Studious and thoughtful persons, with no disposition for an active career in the world, naturally turned to the monastery as a secure retreat. The friendless and the disgraced often took refuge within its walls. Many a troubled soul, to whom the trials of this world seemed unendurable, sought to escape from them by seeking the peaceful shelter of the cloister.

THE MONKS AS CIVILIZERS

The civilizing influence of the Benedictine monks during the early Middle Ages can scarcely be over-emphasized. A monastery was often at once a model farm, an inn, a hospital, a school, and a library. By the careful cultivation of their lands the monks set an example of good farming wherever they settled. They entertained pilgrims and travelers, at a period when western Europe was almost destitute of inns. They performed many works of charity, feeding the hungry, healing the sick who were brought to their doors, and distributing their medicines freely to those who needed them. In their schools they trained both boys who wished to become priests and those who intended to lead active lives in the world. The monks, too, were the only scholars of the age. By copying the manuscripts of classical authors, they preserved valuable books that would otherwise have been lost. By keeping records of the most striking events of their time, they acted as chroniclers of medieval history. To all these services must be added the work of the monks as missionaries to the heathen peoples of Europe.

126. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY OVER EUROPE

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE BARBARIANS

Almost all Europe had been won to Christianity by the end of the eleventh century. In the direction of this great missionary campaign the Roman Church took the leading part. [23] The officers of her armies were zealous popes, bishops, and abbots; her private soldiers were equally zealous monks, priests, and laymen. Pagan Rome had never succeeded in making a complete and permanent conquest of the barbarians. Christian Rome, however, was able to bring them all under her spiritual sway.

RECONVERSION OF THE ARIAN GERMANS

Christianity first reached the Germanic invaders in its Arian [24] form. Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards were all Arians. The Roman Church regarded them as heretics and labored with success to reconvert them. This work was at last completed when the Lombards, in the seventh century, accepted the Catholic faith.

FRANKS AND ANGLO-SAXONS CONVERTED TO ROMAN CATHOLICISM

The Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, whose kingdoms were to develop into the chief states of medieval Europe, adopted from the outset the Catholic form of Christianity. The conversion of the Franks provided the Roman Church with its strongest and most faithful adherents among the Germanic tribes. [25] The conversion of Anglo-Saxon Britain by Augustine and his monks, followed later by the spread of Roman Catholicism in Ireland and Scotland, firmly united the British Isles to the Papacy. [26] Thus Rome during the Middle Ages came to be the one center of church life for the peoples of western Europe.

ST. BONIFACE AND THE CONVERSION OF THE GERMANS

An Anglo-Saxon monk, St. Boniface, did more than any other missionary to carry Christianity to the remote tribes of Germany. Like Augustine in

England, St. Boniface was sent by the pope, who created him missionary bishop and ordered him to "carry the word of God to unbelievers." St. Boniface also enjoyed the support of the Frankish rulers, Charles Martel and Pepin the Short. Thanks to their assistance this intrepid monk was able to penetrate into the heart of Germany. Here he labored for nearly forty years, preaching, baptizing, and founding numerous churches, monasteries, and schools. His boldness in attacking heathenism is illustrated by the story of how he cut down with his own hands a certain oak tree, much reverenced by the natives of Hesse as sacred to the god Woden, and out of its wood built a chapel dedicated to St. Peter. St. Boniface crowned a lifetime of missionary labor with a martyr's death, probably in 754 A.D. His work was continued by Charlemagne, who forced the Saxons to accept Christianity at the point of the sword. [27] All Germany at length became a Christian land, devoted to the Papacy.

CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS

Roman Catholicism not only spread to Celtic and Germanic peoples, but it also gained a foothold among the Slavs. Both Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great attempted to Christianize the Slavic tribes between the Elbe of the Slavs and the Vistula, by locating bishoprics in their territory. The work of conversion encountered many setbacks and did not reach completion until the middle of the twelfth century. The most eminent missionaries to the Slavs were Cyril and Methodius. These brother-monks were sent from Constantinople in 863 A.D. to convert the Moravians, who formed a kingdom on the eastern boundary of Germany. Seeing their great success as missionaries, the pope invited them to Rome and secured their consent to an arrangement which brought the Moravian Christians under the control of the Papacy. [28] From Moravia Christianity penetrated into Bohemia and Poland. These countries still remain strongholds of the Roman Church. The

Serbians and Russians, as we have learned, [29] received Christianity by way of Constantinople and so became adherents of the Greek Church.

FINAL EXTENSION OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Roman Catholicism gradually spread to most of the remaining peoples of Europe. The conversion of the Norwegians and Swedes was well advanced by the middle of the eleventh century. The Magyars, or Hungarians, accepted Christianity at about the same date. The king of Hungary was such a devout Catholic that in the year 1000 A.D. the pope sent to him a golden crown and saluted him as "His Apostolic Majesty." The last parts of heathen Europe to receive the message of the gospel were the districts south and east of the Baltic, occupied by the Prussians, Lithuanians, and Finns. Their conversion took place between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

127. SEPARATION OF EASTERN AND WESTERN CHRISTIANITY

DIVERGENCE OF EAST AND WEST

Before the Christian conquest of Europe was finished, Christianity had divided into two great communions—the Greek Church and the Roman Church. Their separation was a long, slow process, arising from the deep-seated differences between East and West. Though Rome had carried her conquering arms throughout the Mediterranean basin, all the region east of the Adriatic was imperfectly Romanized. [30] It remained Greek in language and culture, and tended, as time went on, to grow more and more unlike the West, which was truly Roman. The founding of Constantinople and the transference of the capital from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Bosporus still further widened the breach between the two halves of the Roman world. After the Germans established their kingdoms in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, western Europe was practically independent of the

rulers at Constantinople. The coronation of Charlemagne in 800 A.D. marked the final severance of East and West.

THE PAPACY AND THE EASTERN EMPERORS

The division of the Roman Empire led naturally to a grouping of the Christian Church about Rome and Constantinople, the two chief centers of government. The popes, it has been seen, had always enjoyed spiritual leadership in the West. In temporal matters they acknowledged the authority of the eastern emperors, until the failure of the latter to protect Rome and Italy from the barbarians showed clearly that the popes must rely on their own efforts to defend Christian civilization. We have already learned how well such men as Leo the Great and Gregory the Great performed this task. Then in the eighth century came the alliance with the Frankish king, Pepin the Short, which gave the Papacy a powerful and generous protector beyond the Alps. Finally, by crowning Charlemagne, the pope definitely broke with the emperor at Constantinople and transferred his allegiance to the newly created western emperor.

RISE OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The patriarch of Constantinople, as bishop of the capital city, enjoyed an excellent position from which to assert his preeminence over the bishops of the other churches in the East. Justinian in 550 A.D. conferred on him the privilege of receiving appeals from the other patriarchs, and a few years later that dignitary assumed the high-sounding title of "Universal Archbishop." The authority of the patriarch of Constantinople was immensely strengthened when the Mohammedans, having conquered Syria and Egypt, practically extinguished the three patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. [31] The Church in the East now had a single patriarch, just as that in the West had the one bishop of Rome. Rivalry between them was inevitable.

RIVALRY BETWEEN POPE AND PATRIARCH

One source of strife between pope and patriarch was the controversy, arising in the eighth century, over the use of images in the churches. These images seem to have been, not statues, but pictures (icons) of the apostles, saints, and martyrs. Many eastern Christians sought to strip the churches of icons, on the ground that by the ignorant they were venerated almost as idols. The Iconoclasts ("image-breakers") gained no support in the West. The Papacy took the view that images were a help to true devotion and might, therefore, be allowed. When a Roman emperor issued a decree for the destruction of all images, the pope refused to obey the order in the churches under his direction, and went so far as to exclude the Iconoclasts from Christian fellowship. Although the iconoclastic movement failed in the East, after a violent controversy, it helped still further to sharpen the antagonism between the two branches of Christendom. Other causes of dispute arose in later times, chiefly concerning fine points of doctrine on which neither side would yield.

THE FINAL RUPTURE, 1054 A.D.

The final rupture of Christendom was delayed until the middle of the eleventh century. In 1054 A.D. the pope sent his legates to Constantinople to demand obedience to the Papacy. This being refused, they laid upon the high altar of Sancta Sophia the pope's bill of excommunication. Against the patriarch and his followers they pronounced a solemn curse, or anathema, devoting them "to the eternal society of the Devil and his angels." Then, we are told, they strode out of Sancta Sophia, shaking the dust from their feet and crying, "Let God see and judge." The two branches of the Christian Church, thus torn apart, were never afterward reunited. [32]

128. THE GREEK CHURCH

THE GREEK AND ROMAN CHURCH COMPARED

The Greek and Roman churches, in some respects, are nearer together than Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Both recognize three orders for the ministry, namely, bishops, priests, and deacons. Priests of the Greek Church may marry, but this privilege is not extended to bishops, who, therefore, are chosen from the monks. Baptism, by both churches, is administered to infants, but by the Greek Church under the form of total immersion. Confirmation in the Greek Church follows immediately after baptism; in the Roman Church it is postponed to the age of reason. In the communion service the Greek Church gives leavened bread, dipped in wine. The Roman Church withholds wine from the laity and uses only a dry, unleavened wafer. While the services of the Roman Church are conducted in Latin, for those of the Greek Church the national languages (Greek, Russian, etc.) of the communicants are used. Its festivals do not coincide in time of celebration with those of the Roman Church, since the "Julian Calendar" followed in the East is now thirteen days behind the "Gregorian Calendar." [33]

SPREAD OF THE GREEK CHURCH

The Greek Church has not lacked missionary zeal. Through her agency the barbarians who entered southeastern Europe during the early Middle Ages were converted to Christianity. At the present time nearly all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula, including Greeks, Montenegrins, Serbians, Bulgarians, and Rumanians, belong to the Greek Church. [34] Its greatest victory was won toward the close of the tenth century, when the Russians were induced to accept the Greek form of Christianity. Outlying branches of the Greek Church are found also in the Turkish Empire. It now includes about one hundred and thirty-five million adherents in European lands.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE GREEK CHURCH

The patriarch of Constantinople is the spiritual head of the Greek Church. He enjoys, however, no such wide authority over eastern Christians as that exercised by the pope over all Roman Catholics. There are as many as sixteen branches of the Greek Church, each self-governing and under its own officers. Despite the local independence of its branches, the Greek Church remains unified in doctrine. It claims to be the only "Orthodox" church and clings with almost Oriental conservatism to the traditions of earlier ages. Nevertheless, as the official church of Russia, the largest and most swiftly growing of European countries, the Greek Church has before it a future of great importance.

129. THE ROMAN CHURCH

THE ROMAN CHURCH PROGRESSIVE

The separation of eastern and western Christianity naturally increased the importance of the Papacy. The popes henceforth had a free hand to guide the destinies of the Roman Church. That church under their direction was to show itself vigorous and progressive, with a wonderful power of adaptation to new and changed conditions.

THE ROMAN CHURCH SURVIVES THE EMPIRE

The Roman Empire in the West had gone down before the assaults of the Germanic barbarians, but in its place had arisen a new creation—the Roman Church. The chief city of the old empire became the capital of the Papacy. The pope took, and has since retained, the title of Supreme Pontiff (*Pontifex Maximus*), once given to the head of the Roman state religion. [35] Latin has continued to be the official language of Roman Catholicism. The Roman genius for law and government found a new expression in the creation of the papal power. The true successors of the ancient Roman

statesmen were the popes of the Middle Ages. The idea of Rome, of her universality and of her eternity, lived on in the Roman Church.

WORK OF THE ROMAN CHURCH

The Roman Church, as the successor of the Roman Empire in the West, formed the chief center of civilization during the earlier part of the Middle Ages. She stood between the conquering Germans and the Romanized provincials and helped to join them both in lasting union. To the heathen she sent out her missionaries, preaching a religion of love and charity and introducing a higher morality than the barbarians had ever known before. She multiplied hospitals, orphanages, and asylums. Her bishops were the only protectors of the weak and the oppressed. She fostered education, art, and learning within the walls of churches and monasteries. Her priests and monks were the only teachers in an ignorant age. In an age of bloodshed and violence, when might made right, she proclaimed the superiority of the spirit to mere brute force. To sum up: the Roman Church was an indispensable agent in the making of medieval Europe.

THE MENACE TO CHRISTENDOM

Christianity in its Greek and Roman forms was not the only great religion of the Middle Ages. In the seventh century, before the separation of the two churches had been completed and before all Europe had become Christian, another religion arose. It grew with marvelous rapidity, stripped the Church of much territory in western Asia, northern Africa, and Spain, and promised for a time to become the dominant faith of the world. This was Islam, or Mohammedanism, the religion of the Arabs.

STUDIES

1. In what different senses is the word "church" often used?

2. "The eastern patriarch was the shadow of the emperor, cast on the spiritual world." Explain this statement.

3. Why did heresies develop in the East rather than in the West?

4. Look up in the New Testament the following texts relating to the primacy of St. Peter: *Matthew*, xvi, 18-19; *Luke*, xxii, 31-32; and *John*, xxi, 15-17.

5. What is "the power of the keys" which the popes claim to possess?

6. What reasons for the growth of the Papacy have been set forth in this chapter?

7. In what non-Christian religions is monasticism an established institution?

8. Look up in the New Testament the following texts quoted as favorable to monasticism: *Matthew*, xix, 21; *Mark*, x, 29-30; and *Luke*, xiv, 26.

9. What is the origin of the words "monk," "hermit," "anchorite," and "abbot"?

10. Summarize the principal benefits which the monastic system conferred on Europe.

11. Give reasons for the rapid conversion of the Germans to Christianity.

12. In what sense is it true that "half Europe owes its Christianity to women"?

13. Who was the "Apostle to the Germans"?

14. Who were the "Apostles to the Slavs"?

15. Comment on the significance to European civilization of the missionary activity of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages.

16. Why has the separation of the Greek and Roman churches been described as "the most momentous fact in the history of Christendom during the Middle Ages"?

17. Why could not such an institution as the Papacy develop in the East?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter iii, "The Benedictine Rule"; chapter iv, "The Reestablishment of Christianity in Britain"; chapter v, "St. Boniface, Apostle to the Germans."

[2] The correspondence may be indicated as follows:

The Roman Empire	The Christian Church
City—Municipal officials.	Bishop.
Province—Governor.	Archbishop, or Metropolitan.
Diocese—Vicar.	Patriarch.
Prefecture—Prefect.	(No corresponding division.)

[3] See page 235.

[4] See page 258.

[5] See page 236.

[6] See page 284.

[7] *John*, xx, i, 19; compare I *Corinthians*, xvi, 2.

[8] See page 235 and note 1.

[9] See *Acts*, ii, 1-4.

[10] See page 239, note 1.

[11] In modern India (Malabar) there are no less than 400,000 Syrian Christians who owe their religion to Nestorian missionaries.

[12] See page 362.

[13] See page 236.

[14] See pages 248-249.

[15] See page 322.

[16] *Servus servorum Dei*.

[17] See pages 305-307.

[18] From a Greek word which means "living alone."

[19] See Tennyson's poem, *St. Simeon Stylites*.

[20] From a Syrian word, abba, meaning "father." Hence a monastery was often called an abbey.

[21] Other monastic orders arose during the later Middle Ages (see pages 449, 452), but the Benedictines still exist, chiefly in Austria and Italy. Their order was introduced into the United States during the nineteenth century.

[22] *Laborare est orare.*

[23] For the missionary work of Celtic Christians see page 323 and note 1.

[24] See page 236.

[25] See pages 304-305.

[26] See pages 322-325.

[27] See page 308.

[28] Cyril and Methodius were canonized by Pope Leo XIII in 1881 A.D. A millenial celebration of the two apostles was held in 1863 A.D. by the people of Moravia and Bohemia.

[29] See page 335. The Bulgarians also got their Christianity from Constantinople in the ninth century.

[30] See pages 217, 223.

[31] See page 376.

[32] Unsuccessful attempts to heal the schism between the two churches took place in the Middle Ages. The latest movement in this direction was made by Pope Leo XIII in 1894 A.D., but his efforts were not crowned with success.

[33] See page 186, note 2.

[34] Many Roman Catholics are found in Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Albania.

[35] See page 148, note 2.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ORIENT AGAINST THE OCCIDENT: RISE AND SPREAD OF ISLAM, 622-1058 A.D. [1]

130. ARABIA AND THE ARABS

THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

Arabia, a vast peninsula between the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea, forms the link between Asia and Africa. It is connected with Asia by the arid plains extending northward to the Euphrates; with Africa, by the equally arid isthmus of Suez. Though the country is more than one-third the size of the United States (excluding Alaska), it has never supported a large population. The interior, except for occasional oases, is a desert, inhabited only by wandering tribes. Along the southern and western coasts, between the mountains and the sea, the soil is generally fertile, the climate temperate, and the rainfall sufficient. Here the chief cities and towns are located.

INHABITANTS OF ARABIA

The original home of the Semites is believed to have been Arabia. Some Semitic peoples appear to have migrated northward to Babylonia and Syria, while others crossed the Red Sea to Abyssinia. Physically, the Arabs are an

attractive people, with well-shaped, muscular figures, handsome, bronzed faces, brilliant, black eyes, and all the organs of sense exquisitely acute. Simple and abstemious in their habits, they lead healthy lives and often reach an extreme yet vigorous old age.

THE BEDOUINS OF THE DESERT

The Bedouin Arabs, by which name the nomadic inhabitants of the desert are known, claim Ishmael, the son of Abraham and half-brother of Isaac, as their ancestor. The life which they lead in the Arabian wilderness closely resembles that of the Hebrew patriarchs, as described in the Old Testament. The Bedouins are shepherds and herdsmen, continually moving with their sheep and camels from one pasturage and water-hole to another. Their virtues—hospitality to the stranger, generosity, faithfulness to the ties of kinship—are those of a nomadic, barbarian people. Such also are their vices—love of fighting and plunder, revengefulness, and impatience of restraint. Nothing like a settled government is known to them. The only tribal authority is that of the chief, or "sheik," who, because of his birth, courage, or wealth, has been chosen to the leadership. This description of the Bedouins to-day applies equally well to them in the age of Mohammed, during the sixth century.

[Illustration: MECCA The chief sanctuary of Mecca is the building called the Kaaba, which lies in the center of a vast courtyard surrounded by a colonnade. The Kaaba is here seen covered with a heavy black cloth renewed each year. Pilgrims enter the courtyard, walk slowly around the Kaaba seven times—seven is a holy number in Islam—and kiss the sacred black stone fixed in the walls of the structure. The stone is now broken into pieces, which are kept together by a silver setting. The Kaaba has been rebuilt several times since the days of Mohammed, but it still preserves the old form of a heathen temple.]

THE SEDENTARY ARABS

The Arabs who settled along the southern and western coasts of the peninsula had reached in the sixth century a considerable degree of civilization. They practiced agriculture and carried on a flourishing trade across the Red Sea and even to distant India. Between these sedentary Arabs and the Bedouins raged constant feuds, leading to much petty warfare. Nevertheless the hundreds of tribes throughout the peninsula preserved a feeling of national unity, which was greatly strengthened by Mohammed's appearance on the scene.

ARABIAN HEATHENISM

The city of Mecca, located about fifty miles from the Red Sea, was a commercial metropolis and the center of Arabian heathenism. Every year the Arab tribes ceased fighting for four months, and went up to Mecca to buy and sell and visit the famous sanctuary called the Kaaba. Here were three hundred and sixty idols and a small, black stone (probably a meteorite), which legend declared had been brought from heaven. The stone was originally white, but the sins of the people who touched it had blackened it. Although most of the Arabs were idolaters, yet some of them recognized the "Unknown God" of the Semites, Allah, the Creator of all things. Arabia at this time contained many Jews, Zoroastrians, and Christians, who helped to spread abroad the conception of one God and thus to prepare the way for a prophet of a new religion.

131. MOHAMMED: PROPHET AND STATESMAN, 622-632 A.D.

EARLY LIFE OF MOHAMMED

Mohammed, [2] born at Mecca about 570 A.D., belonged to the tribe of the Koreish, who had long been guardians of the sacred Kaaba. Left an

orphan at an early age, the future prophet was obliged to earn his own living. He served first as a shepherd on the hillsides of Mecca. This occupation, though lowly, gave him the love of solitude, and helped to nourish in his soul that appreciation of nature which later found expression in so many of his utterances. While still a youth he became a camel-driver and twice crossed the deserts with caravans to Syria. Doubtless he made many acquaintances on these journeys and picked up much useful information. Mohammed, however, did not receive a regular education; it is doubtful whether he could read or write. His marriage, when about twenty-five years of age, to a rich widow, named Khadija, brought him wealth and consideration. For some time, henceforth, he led the life of a prosperous merchant of Mecca.

[Illustration: A LETTER OF MOHAMMED A letter, probably in the handwriting of Mohammed's secretary, addressed to the governor of Alexandria. The seal is inscribed "Mohammed, the prophet of God."]

MOHAMMED'S VISIONS

Mohammed seems always to have been a deeply religious man. As he grew older, his thoughts more and more centered on spiritual themes. He could not reconcile the gross idolatry of the Arabs with that belief in the unity of God which he himself had reached. In his distress he would withdraw into the wilderness, where he spent much time in fasting and solitary vigils, practices perhaps suggested to him by the example of Christian hermits. [3] During these lonely hours in the desert strange scenes passed before his eyes and strange voices sounded in his ears. At first Mohammed thought that evil spirits possessed him, but Khadija encouraged him to believe that his visions were a revelation from another world. One day, so he declared, God's messenger, the archangel Gabriel, appeared to him and bade him preach a new religion to the Arabs. It was very simple,

but in its simplicity lay its strength: "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God."

THE HEGIRA, 622 A.D.

The prophet made his first converts in his wife, his children, and the friends who knew him best. Then, becoming bolder, he began to preach publicly in Mecca. In spite of Mohammed's eloquence, obvious sincerity, and attractive personality, he met a discouraging reception. A few slaves and poor freemen became his followers, but most of the citizens of Mecca regarded him as a madman. Mohammed's disciples, called Moslems, [4] were bitterly persecuted by the Koreish, who resented the prophet's attacks on idolatry and feared the loss of their privileges at the Kaaba. Finally Mohammed and his converts took refuge in Medina, where some of the inhabitants had already accepted his teachings. This was the famous Hegira (Flight of the prophet). [5]

LATER LIFE OF MOHAMMED

At Medina Mohammed occupied a position of high honor and influence. The people welcomed him gladly and made him their chief magistrate. As his adherents increased in number, Mohammed began to combine fighting with preaching. His military expeditions against the Arab tribes proved to be very successful. Many of the conquered Bedouins enlisted under his banner and in 630 A.D. captured Mecca for the prophet. He treated its inhabitants leniently, but threw down all the idols in the Kaaba, After the submission of Mecca most of the Arabs abandoned idolatry and accepted the new religion.

DEATH OF MOHAMMED, 632 A.D.

Mohammed did not long enjoy his position as uncrowned king of Arabia. He died in 632 A.D., at Medina, where he was buried and where his tomb is still visited by pious Moslems. His followers could scarcely believe that their great prophet had gone away from them forever. They were ready to worship him as a god, until old Abu Bekr, Mohammed's father-in-law, rebuked them with the memorable words: "Whoso worshipeth Mohammed, let him know that Mohammed is dead; but whoso worshipeth God, let him know that God liveth and dieth not."

MOHAMMED'S CHARACTER

The character of Mohammed has been variously estimated. Moslem writers make him a saint; Christian writers, until Mohammed's recent times, have called him an "impostor." We know that he was a man of simple habits, who, even in the days of his prosperity, lived on dates, barley bread, and water, mended his woolen garments, and attended to his own wants. He was mild and gentle, a lover of children, devoted to his friends, and forgiving toward his foes. He seems to have won the admiration of all with whom he came in contact. We know, too, that Mohammed was so deeply impressed with the consciousness of his religious mission that he was ready to give up wealth and an honorable position and face for years the ridicule and hatred of the people of Mecca. His faults—deceitfulness, superstitiousness, sensuality—were those of the Arabs of his time. Their existence in Mohammed's character should not prevent our recognition of his real greatness as a prophet and as a statesman.

132. ISLAM AND THE KORAN

FORMATION OF THE KORAN

The religion which Mohammed preached is called Islam, an Arabic word meaning "surrender," or "resignation." This religion has its sacred book, the Koran ("thing read" or "thing recited"). It contains the speeches, prayers, and other utterances of Mohammed at various times during his career. Some parts of the Koran were dictated by the prophet to his disciples and by them were written out on skins, leaves of palm trees, bones, and bits of parchment. Many other parts remained at first only in the memory of Mohammed's followers. Soon after his death all the scattered passages were collected into one book. Since the middle of the seventh century the Koran, every word of which the Moslems consider holy, has remained unchanged.

[Illustration: A PASSAGE FROM THE KORAN
From a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.]

RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS OF THE KORAN

The doctrines found in the Koran show many adaptations from the Jewish and Christian religions. Like them Islam emphasizes the unity of God. The Moslem cry—"*Allah Akbar!*" "God is Great!"—forms its cardinal principle. Like them, also, Islam recognizes the existence of prophets, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, but insists that Mohammed was the last and greatest of the prophets. The existence of angels and demons is recognized. The chief of the demons, Iblis, bears some resemblance to the Jewish Satan and the Christian Devil. The account of the creation and fall of man is taken, with variations, from the Old Testament. The description of the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, and the division of the future world into paradise and hell, the former for believers in Islam, the latter for those who have refused to accept it, seems to have been based on Persian and Jewish ideas. These borrowings from other religions facilitated the spread of Islam among eastern peoples.

OBSERVANCES OF ISLAM

The Koran imposes on the faithful Moslem five great obligations. First, he must recite, at least once in his life, aloud, correctly, and with full understanding, the short creed: "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God." Second, he must pray five times a day: at dawn, just after noon, before sunset, just after sunset, and at the end of the day. In every Mohammedan city the hour of prayer is announced from the tall minaret of the mosque by a crier (*muezzin*). Before engaging in prayer the worshiper washes face, hands, and feet; during the prayer he turns toward Mecca and bows his head to the ground. Third, he must observe a strict fast, from morning to night, during every day of *Ramadan*, the ninth month of the Mohammedan year. [6] In this month God presented the Koran to Gabriel for revelation to the prophet. Fourth, he must give alms to the poor. Fifth, he must, "if he is able," undertake at least one pilgrimage to Mecca. The annual visit of thousands of pilgrims to the holy city helps to preserve the feeling of brotherhood among Moslems all over the world. These five obligations are the "pillars" of Islam.

ORGANIZATION OF ISLAM

As a religious system Islam is exceedingly simple. It does not provide any elaborate ceremonies of worship and permits no altars, pictures, or images in the mosque. Islam even lacks a priesthood. Every Moslem acts as his own priest. There is, however, an official, who on Friday, the Mohammedan Sabbath, offers up public prayers in the mosque and delivers a sermon to the assembled worshipers. All work is suspended during this service, but at its close secular activities are resumed.

MORAL TEACHINGS OF THE KORAN

The Koran furnishes a moral code for the adherents of Islam. It contains a few important prohibitions. The Moslem is not to make images, to engage in games of chance, to eat pork, or to drink wine. This last prohibition has

saved the Mohammedan world from the degradation and misery which alcohol has introduced into Christian lands. To Mohammed strong drink was "the mother of all evil," and drunkenness, a sin. The Koran also inculcates many active virtues, including reverence toward parents, protection of widows and orphans, charity toward the poor, kindness to slaves, and gentle treatment of the lower animals. On the whole it must be admitted that the laws of the Koran did much to restrain the vices of the Arabs and to provide them with higher standards of right and wrong. Islam marked a great advance over Arabian heathenism.

133. EXPANSION OF ISLAM IN ASIA AND EGYPT

ISLAM SPREAD BY THE SWORD

Mohammed, as we have learned, did not scruple to use the sword as a means of spreading his new religion among the idolatrous Arab tribes. By thus following up preaching with force, he subdued the greater part of Arabia. The prophet's methods were adopted by his successors. Within a century after Mohammed's death, they carried the doctrines of Islam over a large part of the civilized world and founded an Arabian Empire.

ISLAM AS A RELIGION OF CONQUEST

Islam was a religion of conquest. It proclaimed the righteousness of a "holy war," or *jihad*, against unbelievers. It promised rich booty for those who fought and won, and paradise for those who fell. The Arab soldier, dying on the battlefield, expected to be carried away by bright- eyed maidens to a garden of delight, where, reclining on soft cushions and rugs, he was to enjoy forever an existence of sensual ease. "Whosoever falls in battle," so runs a passage in the Koran, "his sins are forgiven, and at the day

of judgment his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim."

ISLAM AS A POLITICAL FORCE

The sudden creation of the Arabian power must not be understood, however, as solely a religious movement. Pride and greed, as well as fanaticism, drove the Arabs forward on their conquering career. Long before Mohammed's time Arabia had been in a state of unrest. Its warlike tribes, feeling a sense of their superiority to other peoples, were eager to overrun the rich districts of western Asia, much as the Germans had overrun western Europe. Islam strengthened the racial pride of the Arabs, united them into one nation, and gave them an effective organization for world-wide rule.

ARAB CONQUESTS IN THE EAST, 632-642 A.D.

The most extensive conquests of the Arabs were made within ten years after Mohammed's death. During this time the Moslem warriors, though poorly armed, ill-disciplined, and in every battle greatly outnumbered, attacked with success the two strongest military powers then in the world—Rome and Persia. From the Roman Empire in the East they seized the provinces of Syria and Palestine, with the famous cities of Damascus, Antioch, and Jerusalem. [7] They took Mesopotamia from the Persians and then, invading Iran, overthrew the Persian power. [8] Egypt also was subjugated by these irresistible soldiers of the Crescent.

TREATMENT OF THE CONQUERED PEOPLES

According to the strict teaching of the Koran, those who refused to accept Islam were either to be killed or to be reduced to slavery. As a matter of fact, the Arabs treated their new subjects with marked liberality. No

massacres and no persecutions occurred. The conquered peoples were allowed to retain their own religions, on condition of paying ample tribute. In course of time, however, many of the Christians in Syria and Egypt and most of the Zoroastrians [9] in Persia adopted Islam, in order that they might acquire the rights and privileges of Moslem citizens.

LATER ARAB CONQUESTS

The sweeping conquests of the decade 632-642 A.D. were followed in later years by a further extension of the boundaries of the Arabian Empire. In the remote East the Arabs sent their victorious armies beyond the Oxus and Indus rivers to central Asia and India. They captured the island of Cyprus, annexed parts of Armenia and Asia Minor, and at length threatened to take Constantinople. Had that city fallen, all eastern Europe would have been laid open to invasion.

[Illustration: Map, EXPANSION OF ISLAM]

SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 716-717 A.D.

The first attempts on Constantinople were made by sea and were repulsed, but during the years 716-717 A.D. the city had to face a combined attack by a Moslem navy and army. The eastern emperor, Leo the Isaurian, conducted a heroic defense, using with much effectiveness the celebrated mixture known as "Greek fire." This combustible, probably composed of sulphur, naphtha, and quicklime, was poured or hurled on the enemy's ships in order to burn them. "Greek fire," the rigors of an uncommonly severe winter, and timely aid from the Bulgarians at length compelled the Arabs to beat a retreat. Their failure to take Constantinople gave the Roman Empire in the East another long lease of life.

[Illustration: NAVAL BATTLE SHOWING USE OF "GREEK FIRE" From a Byzantine manuscript of the fourteenth century at Madrid. "Greek fire" in marine warfare was most commonly propelled through long tubes of copper which were placed on the prow of a ship and managed by a gunner. Combustibles might also be kept in tubes flung by hand and exploded on board the enemy's vessel.]

134. EXPANSION OF ISLAM IN NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN

NORTH AFRICA SUBDUED

Though repulsed before the impregnable walls of Constantinople, the Arabs continued to win new dominions in other North Africa parts of the Christian world. After their occupation of Egypt, they began to overrun North Africa, which Justinian, little more than a century earlier, had reconquered from the Vandals. [10] The Romanized provincials, groaning under the burdensome taxes imposed on them by the eastern emperors, made only a slight resistance to the Moslem armies. A few of the great cities held out for a time, but after the capture and destruction of Carthage [11] in 698 A.D., Arab rule was soon established over the whole extent of the Mediterranean coast from Egypt to the Atlantic.

ARABS AND BERBERS

Islam made in North Africa one of its most permanent conquests. After the coming of the Arabs many of the Christian inhabitants appear to have withdrawn to Spain and Sicily, leaving the field clear for the introduction of Arabian civilization. The Arabs who settled in North Africa gave their religion and government to the Berbers, as the natives of the country were called, and to some extent intermingled with them. Arabs and Berbers still

comprise the population of North Africa, though their once independent states have now been absorbed by European powers. [12]

SUBJUGATION OF SPAIN BEGUN, 711 A.D.

With North Africa in their hands the Moslems did not long delay the invasion of Spain. In 711 A.D. an army of Arabs and Berbers, under their leader Tarik, crossed the strait which still bears his name [13] and for the first time confronted the Germans. The Visigothic kingdom, [14] already much enfeebled, proved to be an easy prey. A single battle made the invaders masters of half of Spain. Within a few years their hosts swept northward to the Pyrenees. Only small districts in the northern part of the Spanish peninsula remained unconquered.

THE MOSLEM ADVANCE IN GAUL

The Moslems were not stopped by the Pyrenees. Crossing these mountains, they captured many of the old Roman cities in the south of Gaul and then advanced to the north, attracted, apparently, by the booty to be found in Christian monasteries and churches. In the vicinity of Tours they encountered the great army which Charles Martel, the chief minister of the Frankish king, [15] had collected to oppose their advance.

BATTLE OF TOURS, 732 A.D.

The battle of Tours seems to have continued for several days. Of its details we know nothing, though a Spanish chronicler tells us that the heavy infantry of the Franks stood "immovable as a wall, inflexible as a block of ice" against the desperate assaults of the Moslem horsemen. When the Franks, after the last day's fighting, wished to renew the struggle, they found that the enemy had fled, leaving a camp filled with the spoils of war. This engagement, though famous in history, was scarcely decisive. For

some time afterward the Moslems maintained themselves in southern Gaul. It was the Frankish ruler, Pepin the Short, who annexed their possessions there and drove them back across the Pyrenees to Spain. [16]

135. THE CALIPHATE AND ITS DISRUPTION, 632-1058 A.D.

THE FOUR "ORTHODOX" CALIPHS, 632-661 A.D.

Only eighteen years after the battle of Tours, the Arabian Empire was divided into two rival and more or less hostile parts, which came to be called the Eastern and Western caliphates. The title of caliph, meaning "successor" or "representative," had first been assumed by Mohammed's father-in-law, Abu Bekr, who was chosen to succeed the prophet as the civil and religious head of the Moslem world. After him followed Omar, who had been one of Mohammed's most faithful adherents, and then Othman and Ali, both sons-in-law of Mohammed. These four rulers are sometimes known as the "Orthodox" caliphs, because their right to the succession was universally acknowledged by Moslems.

OMMIAD CALIPHS AT DAMASCUS, 661-750 A.D.

After Ali's death the governor of Syria, Moawiya by name, succeeded in making himself caliph of the Moslem world. This usurper converted the caliphate into a hereditary, instead of an elective, office, and established the dynasty of the Ommiads. [17] Their capital was no longer Medina in Arabia, but the Syrian city of Damascus. The descendants of Mohammed's family refused, however, to recognize the Ommiads as legitimate caliphs. In 750 A.D. a sudden revolt, headed by the party of the Abbasids, [18] established a new dynasty. The Abbasids treacherously murdered nearly all the members of the Ommiad family, but one survivor escaped to Spain, where he founded at Cordova an independent Ommiad dynasty. [19] North

Africa, also, before long separated itself from Abbasid rule. Thus the once united caliphate, like the old Roman Empire, split in twain.

THE ABBASID CALIPHS, 750-1058 A.D.

The Abbasids continued to reign over the Moslems in Asia for more than three hundred years. The most celebrated of Abbasid caliphs was Harun-al-Rashid (Aaron the Just), a contemporary of Charlemagne, to whom the Arab ruler sent several presents, including an elephant and a water-clock which struck the hours. The tales of Harun-al-Rashid's magnificence, his gold and silver, his silks and gems, his rugs and tapestries, reflect the luxurious life of the Abbasid rulers. Gradually, however, their power declined, and in 1058 A.D. the Seljuk Turks, [20] recent converts to Islam, deprived them of their power. A Turkish chieftain, with the title of "King of the East and West," then took the place of the Arabian caliph, though the latter remained the religious head of Islam. He lost even this spiritual authority, just two centuries later, when the Mongols from central Asia overran the Turkish dominions. [21]

BAGDAD

The Abbasids removed their capital from Damascus to Bagdad on the banks of the middle Euphrates. The new city, under the fostering care of the caliphs, grew with great rapidity. Its population in the ninth century is said to have reached two millions. For a time it was the largest and richest city in the Moslem world. How its splendor impressed the imagination may be seen from the stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*. [22] After the extinction of the Abbasid caliphate, its importance as the religious and political center of Islam declined. But memories of the former grandeur of Bagdad still cling to it, and even to-day it is referred to in Turkish official documents as the "glorious city."

EXTINCTION OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE A MISFORTUNE

It was a very great misfortune for the eastern world when the Arabian Empire passed under the control of rude Asiatic peoples. The Turks accepted Islam, but they did little to preserve and extend Arabian civilization. The stagnant, non-progressive condition of the East at the present time is largely due to the misgovernment of its Turkish conquerors.

136. ARABIAN CIVILIZATION

THE ARABS AS ABSORBERS OF CIVILIZATION

The great Moslem cities of Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Cordova were not only seats of government for the different divisions of the Arabian Empire; they were also the centers of Arabian civilization. The conquests of the Arabs had brought them into contact with highly developed peoples whose culture they absorbed and to some extent improved. They owed most to Persia and, after Persia, to Greece, through the empire at Constantinople, In their hands there was somewhat the same fusion of East and West as Alexander the Great had sought to accomplish. [23] Greek science and philosophy mingled with the arts of Persia and other Oriental lands. Arabian civilization, for about four centuries under the Ommiad and Abbasid caliphs, far surpassed anything to be found in western Europe.

AGRICULTURE

Many improvements in agriculture were due to the Arabs. They had a good system of irrigation, practiced rotation of crops, employed fertilizers, and understood how to graft and produce new varieties of plants and fruits. From the Arabs we have received cotton, flax, hemp, buckwheat, rice, sugar cane, and coffee, various vegetables, including asparagus, artichokes, and beans, and such fruits as melons, oranges, lemons, apricots, and plums.

MANUFACTURING

The Arabs excelled in various manufactures. Damascus was famous for its brocades, tapestries, and blades of tempered steel. The Moorish cities in Spain had also their special productions: Cordova, leather; Toledo, armor; and Granada, rich silks. Arab craftsmen taught the Venetians to make crystal and plate glass. The work of Arab potters and weavers was at once the admiration and despair of its imitators in western Europe. The Arabs knew the secrets of dyeing and they made a kind of paper. Their textile fabrics and articles of metal were distinguished for beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. European peoples during the early Middle Ages received the greater part of their manufactured articles of luxury through the Arabs. [24]

COMMERCE

The products of Arab farms and workshops were carried far and wide throughout medieval lands. The Arabs were keen merchants, and Mohammed had expressly encouraged commerce by declaring it agreeable to God. The Arabs traded with India, China, the East Indies (Java and Sumatra), the interior of Africa, Russia, and even with the Baltic lands. Bagdad, which commanded both land and water routes, was the chief center of this commerce, but other cities of western Asia, North Africa, and Spain shared in its advantages. The bazaar, or merchants' quarter, was found in every Moslem city.

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

The trade of the Arabs, their wide conquests, and their religious pilgrimages to Mecca vastly increased their knowledge of the world. They were the best geographers of the Middle Ages. An Abbasid caliph, the son of Harun-al-Rashid, had the Greek *Geography* of Ptolemy [25] translated

into Arabic and enriched the work with illuminated maps. Arab scholars compiled encyclopedias describing foreign countries and peoples, constructed celestial spheres, and measured closely the arc of the meridian in order to calculate the size of the earth. There is some reason to believe that the mariner's compass was first introduced into Europe by the Arabs. The geographical knowledge of Christian peoples during the Middle Ages owed much, indeed, to their Moslem forerunners.

EDUCATION

Schools and universities flourished in Moslem lands when Christian Europe was still in the "Dark Ages." The largest institution of learning was at Cairo, where the lectures of the professors were attended by thousands of students. Famous universities also existed in Bagdad and Cordova. Moslem scholars especially delighted in the study of philosophy. Arabic translations of Aristotle's [26] writings made the ideas of that great thinker familiar to the students of western Europe, where the knowledge of Greek had all but died out. The Arabs also formed extensive libraries of many thousands of manuscripts, all carefully arranged and catalogued. Their libraries and universities, especially in Spain, were visited by many Christians, who thus became acquainted with Moslem learning and helped to introduce it into Europe.

CHEMISTRY AND MEDICINE

The Arabs have been considered to be the founders of modern experimental science. They were relatively skillful chemists, for they discovered a number of new compounds (such as alcohol, aqua regia, nitric acid, and corrosive sublimate) and understood the preparation of mercury and of various oxides of metals. In medicine the Arabs based their investigations on those of the Greeks, [27] but made many additional contributions to the art of healing. They studied physiology and hygiene,

dissected the human body, performed difficult surgical operations, used anaesthetics, and wrote treatises on such diseases as measles and smallpox. Arab medicine and surgery were studied by the Christian peoples of Europe throughout the later period of the Middle Ages.

[Illustration: INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF CORDOVA The great mosque of Cordova, begun in the eighth century, was gradually enlarged during the following centuries to its present dimensions, 570 by 425 feet. The building, one of the largest in the world, has now been turned into a cathedral. The most striking feature of the interior is the forest of porphyry, jasper, and marble pillars supporting open Moorish arches. Originally there were 1200 of these pillars, but many have been destroyed.]

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY

The Arabs had a strong taste for mathematics. Here again they carried further the old Greek investigations. In arithmetic they used the so- called "Arabic" figures, which were probably borrowed from India. The Arabic numerals gradually supplanted in western Europe the awkward Roman numerals. In geometry the Arabs added little to Euclid, but algebra is practically their creation. An Arabic treatise on algebra long formed the textbook of the subject in the universities of Christian Europe. Spherical trigonometry and conic sections are Arabic inventions. This mathematical knowledge enabled the Arabs to make considerable progress in astronomy. Observatories at Bagdad and Damascus were erected as early as the ninth century. Some of the astronomical instruments which they constructed, including the sextant and the gnomon, are still in use. [28]

ROMANCE AND POETRY

In prose and verse there are two Moslem productions which have attained wide popularity in European lands. The first work is the *Thousand and One*

Nights, a collection of tales written in Arabic and describing life and manners at the court of the Abbasids. The book, as we now have it, seems to have been composed as late as the fifteenth century, but it borrows much from earlier Arabic sources. Many of the tales are of Indian or Persian origin, but all have a thoroughly Moslem coloring. The second work is the *Rubáiyát* of the astronomer-poet of Persia, Omar Khayyam, who wrote about the beginning of the twelfth century. His *Rubáiyát* is a little volume of quatrains, about five hundred in all, distinguished for wit, satirical power, and a vein of melancholy, sometimes pensive, sometimes passionate. These characteristics of Omar's poetry have made it widely known in the western world. [29]

ARCHITECTURE

Painting and sculpture owe little to the Arabs, but their architecture, based in part on Byzantine and Persian models, reached a high level of excellence. Swelling domes, vaulted roofs, arched porches, tall and graceful minarets, and the exquisite decorative patterns known as "arabesques" make many Arab buildings miracles of beauty. Glazed tiles, mosaics, and jeweled glass were extensively used for ornamentation. From the first the Arab builders adopted the pointed arch; they introduced it into western Europe; and it became a characteristic feature of Gothic cathedrals. [30] Among the best-known of Arab buildings are the so-called "Mosque of Omar" at Jerusalem, [31] the Great Mosque of Cordova, and that architectural gem, the Alhambra at Granada. Many features of Moorish art were taken over by the Spaniards, who reproduced them in the cathedrals and missions of Mexico and California.

[Illustration: CAPITALS AND ARABESQUES FROM THE ALHAMBRA One of Mohammed's laws forbidding the use of idols was subsequently expanded by religious teachers into a prohibition of all

imitations of human or animal forms in art. Sculptors who observed this prohibition relied for ornamentation on intricate geometrical designs known as arabesques. These were carved in stone or molded in plaster.]

137. THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM

GROWTH OF ISLAM

The division of the Arabian Empire into rival caliphates did not check the spread of Islam. The Turks and Mongols during the Middle Ages carried it to the uttermost regions of Asia and throughout southeastern Europe. Some parts of the territory thus gained by it have since been lost. Spain and the Balkan peninsula are once more Christian lands. In other parts of the world, and notably in Africa and India, the religion of Mohammed is spreading faster than any other creed. Islam to-day claims about two hundred million adherents.

[Illustration: THE FOUNTAIN OF THE LIONS IN THE ALHAMBRA
The most remarkable feature of the Alhambra is the Court of the Lions. It measures 116 feet in length by 66 feet in breadth. A gallery supported on marble columns surrounds the court. In the center is the Fountain of Lions, an alabaster basin resting on the backs of 12 marble lions.]

THE BENEFITS OF ISLAM

The growth of Islam is evidence that it meets the needs of Asiatic and African peoples. Its simple creed—the unity of God, man's immortal soul, and material rewards and penalties in a future life—adapt it to the understanding of half-civilized peoples. As a religion it is immeasurably superior to the rude nature worship and idolatry which it has supplanted. The same is true of Islam as a system of morality. The practice of the

virtues recommended by the Koran and the avoidance of the vices which that book condemns tend to raise its adherents in the moral scale.

TREATMENT OF WOMEN

From the moral standpoint one of the least satisfactory features of Islam is its attitude toward women. The ancient Arabs, like many other peoples, seem to have set no limit to the number of wives a man might possess. Women were regarded by them as mere chattels, and female infants were frequently put to death. Mohammed recognized polygamy, but limited the number of legitimate wives to four. At the same time Mohammed sought to improve the condition of women by forbidding female infanticide, by restricting the facilities for divorce, and by insisting on kind treatment of wives by their husbands. "The best of you," he said, "is he who behaves best to his wives." According to eastern custom Moslem women are secluded in a separate part of the house, called the *harem*. [32] They never appear in public, except when closely veiled from the eyes of strangers. Their education is also much neglected.

SLAVERY

Slavery, like polygamy, was a custom which Mohammed found fully established among the Arabs. He disliked slavery and tried in several ways to lessen its evils. He declared that the emancipation of Moslem slaves was an act of special merit, and ordered that in a war between Moslems the prisoners were not to be enslaved. Mohammed also insisted on kind treatment of slaves by their masters. "Feed your slaves," he directed, "with food of that which you eat and clothe them with such clothing as you wear, and command them not to do that which they are unable to do." The condition of Moslem slaves does not appear to be intolerable, though the slave traffic which still exists in some parts of Africa is a disgrace to Islam.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the Arabian Empire at its widest extent. Locate the more important cities, including Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo, Alexandria, Granada, Cordova, and Seville.

2. Define the following: Kaaba; Islam; Koran; and caliph.

3. How did the geographical situation of Arabia preserve it from being conquered by Persians, Macedonians, or Romans?

4. Why had the Arabs, until the time of Mohammed, played so inconspicuous a part in the history of the world?

5. Mohammed "began as a mule driver and ended as both a pope and a king." Explain this statement.

6. How does Mohammed's career in Mecca illustrate the saying that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country"?

7. What resemblances may be traced between Islam on the one side and Judaism and Christianity on the other side?

8. Did religion have anything to do with the migrations of the Germans? How was it with the Arabs?

9. Contrast the methods of propagating Christianity in Europe with those of spreading Islam in Asia.

10. Why is the defeat of the Moslems before Constantinople regarded as more significant than their defeat at the battle of Tours?

11. Compare the eastern limits of the Arabian Empire with those of Alexander's empire (maps facing pages 124, 376).

12. Show that the Arabian Empire, because of its geographical position, was less easily defended than the Roman Empire.

13. Locate on the map facing page 376 the following commercial cities in the Arabian Empire: Samarkand; Cabul; Bokhara; Mosul; Kairwan; Fez; Seville; and Toledo.

14. Can you suggest any reason why the Arabs did little in painting and sculpture?

15. What are some of the best-known stories in the *Thousand and One Nights*?

16. Discuss the justice of this statement: "If our ideas and our arts go back to antiquity, all the inventions which make life easy and agreeable come to us from the Arabs."

17. "From the eighth to the twelfth century the world knew but two civilizations, that of Byzantium and that of the Arabs." Comment on this statement.

18. Show that Islam was an heir to the Graeco-Oriental civilization.

19. Can you suggest any reasons why Islam to-day spreads among the African negroes more rapidly than Christianity?

20. How does Islam, by sanctioning polygamy and slavery, hinder the rise of women and of the working classes?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter vi, "The Teachings of Mohammed."

[2] The earlier spelling was Mahomet.

[3] See page 352. [4] From the Arabic *muslim*, "one who surrenders himself" (to God's will). During the Middle Ages the Moslems to their Christian enemies were commonly known as Saracens, a term which is still in use.

[5] The year 622 A.D., in which the Hegira occurred, marks the beginning of the Mohammedan era. The Christian year 1917 A.D. nearly corresponds to the Mohammedan year 1336 A.H. (*Anno Hegirae*).

[6] Feasting during the nights of this month is allowable.

[7] See page 333.

[8] See page 219, 332.

[9] See page 54, note 1.

[10] See page 330.

[11] See page 245.

[12] Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis belong to France; Tripoli, to Italy.

[13] Gibraltar = *Gibal al Tarik*, "the mountain of Tarik."

[14] See pages 244-245.

[15] See page 306.

[16] For Charlemagne's Spanish conquests, see page 309.

[17] So called from a leading family of Mecca, to which Moawiya belonged.

[18] So called from Abbas, an uncle of Mohammed.

[19] This was at first known as the emirate of Cordova, but in 929 A.D. it became the caliphate of Cordova. See the map facing page 308.

[20] See page 333.

[21] See page 485. Descendants of the Abbasids subsequently took up their abode in Egypt. Through them the claim to the caliphate passed in 1538 A.D. to the Ottoman Turks. The Sultan at Constantinople still calls himself caliph of the Moslem world. However, in 1916 A.D. the Grand Sherif of Mecca, a descendant of Mohammed, led a revolt against the Turks, captured Mecca and Medina, and proclaimed Arab independence. Should the European war end in favor of the Allies, the caliphate will undoubtedly go back to the Arabs.

[22] Popularly called the *Arabian Nights*.

[23] See page 126.

[24] The European names of some common articles reveal the Arabic sources from which they were first derived. Thus, *damask* comes from Damascus, *muslin* from Mosul, *gauze* from Gaza, *cordovan* (a kind of leather) from Cordova, and *morocco* leather from North Africa.

[25] See page 133.

[26] See page 275.

[27] See page 131.

[28] Many words in European languages beginning with the prefix *al* (the definite article in Arabic) show how indebted was Europe to the Arabs for scientific knowledge. In English these words include *alchemy* (whence *chemistry*), *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *Aldebaran* (the star), etc.

[29] The translation of the *Rubáiyát* by Edward Fitzgerald is almost an English classic.

[30] See page 564.

[31] See the illustration, page 471.

[32] The Athenians had a similar practice. See page 257.

CHAPTER XVII

THE NORTHMEN AND THE NORMANS TO 1066 A.D. [1]

138. SCANDINAVIA AND THE NORTHMEN

A NEW SERIES OF MIGRATIONS

From the East we return once more to the West, from Asia to Europe, from Arabia to Scandinavia. We have now to deal with the raids and settlements of the Norsemen or Northmen. Like the Arabs the Northmen quitted a sterile peninsula and went forth to find better homes in distant lands. Their invasions, beginning toward the close of the eighth century, lasted about three hundred years.

A TEUTONIC MOVEMENT

The Northmen belonged to the Teutonic family of peoples. They were kinsmen of the Germans, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Dutch. Their migrations may be regarded, therefore, as the last wave of that great Teutonic movement which in earlier times had inundated western Europe and overwhelmed the Roman Empire.

SCANDINAVIA

The Northmen lived, as their descendants still live, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The name Scandinavia is sometimes applied to all three countries, but more commonly it is restricted to the peninsula comprising Sweden and Norway.

[Illustration: SWEDISH ROCK CARVING
Shows a man plowing.]

SWEDEN

Sweden, with the exception of the northern highlands, is mostly a level region, watered by copious streams, dotted with many lakes, and sinking down gradually to the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. The fact that Sweden faces these inland waters determined the course of her development as a nation. She never has had any aspirations to become a great oceanic power. Her whole historic life has centered about the Baltic.

[Illustration: A RUNIC STONE
A stone, twelve feet high and six feet wide, in the churchyard of Rok, Ostergotland, Sweden. The runic inscription, which contains more than 760 letters, is the longest known.]

NORWAY

Norway, in contrast to Sweden, faces the Atlantic. The country is little more than a strip of rugged seacoast reaching northward to well within the Arctic Circle. Were it not for the influence of the "Gulf Stream drift," much of Norway would be a frozen waste for the greater part of the year. Vast forests of fir, pine, and birch still cover the greater part of the country, and the land which can be used for farming and grazing does not exceed eleven per cent of the entire area. But Norway, like Greece, [2] has an extent of shore-line out of all proportion to its superficial area. So numerous are the

fiords, or inlets of the sea, that the total length of the coast approximates twelve thousand miles. Slight wonder that the Vikings, [3] as they called themselves, should feel the lure of the ocean and should put forth their frail barks upon the "pathway of the swans" in search of booty and adventure.

PREHISTORIC TIMES IN SCANDINAVIA

The Swedes and Norwegians, together with their kinsmen, the Danes, probably settled in Scandinavia long before the beginning of the Christian era. During the earlier part of the prehistoric period the inhabitants were still in the Stone Age, but the use of bronze, and then of iron, was gradually introduced. Excavations in ancient grave mounds have revealed implements of the finest polished stone, beautiful bronze swords, and coats of iron ring mail, besides gold and silver ornaments which may have been imported from southern Europe. The ancient Scandinavians have left to us curious records of the past in their picture writing chiseled on the flat surface of rocks. The objects represented include boats with as many as thirty men in them, horses drawing two-wheeled carts, spans of oxen, farmers engaged in ploughing, and warriors on horseback. By the close of the prehistoric period the northern peoples were also familiar with a form of the Greek alphabet (the "runes" [4]) and with the art of writing.

139. THE VIKING AGE

DAWN OF HISTORY IN SCANDINAVIA

The Viking Age, with which historic times begin in northern Europe, extends from about 800 A.D. to the introduction of Christianity in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This was the period when the Northmen, or Vikings, realizing that the sea offered the quickest road to wealth and conquest, began to make long voyages to foreign lands. In part they went as traders

and exchanged the furs, wool, and fish of Scandinavia for the clothing, ornaments, and other articles of luxury found in neighboring countries. But it was no far cry from merchant to freebooter, and, in fact, expeditions for the sake of plunder seem to have been even more popular with the Northmen than peaceful commerce.

THE NORTHMEN AS SAILORS

Whether the Northmen engaged in trade or in warfare, good ships and good seamanship were indispensable to them. They became the boldest sailors of the early Middle Ages. No longer hugging the coast, as timid mariners had always done before them, the Northmen pushed out into the uncharted main and steered their course only by observation of the sun and stars. In this way the Northmen were led to make those remarkable explorations in the Atlantic Ocean and the polar seas which added so greatly to geographical knowledge.

SHIPS OF THE NORTHMEN

It was not uncommon for a Viking chieftain, after his days of sea-roving had ended, to be buried in his ship, over which a grave chamber, covered with earth, would be erected. The discovery of several of these burial ships enables us to form a good idea of Viking vessels. The largest of them might reach a length of seventy feet and hold as many as one hundred and twenty men. A fleet of the Northmen, carrying several thousand warriors, mail-clad and armed with spears, swords, and battle-axes, was indeed formidable. During this period the Northmen were the masters of the sea, as far as western Europe was concerned. This fact largely explains their successful campaigns.

[Illustration: A VIKING SHIP The Gokstad vessel is of oak, twenty-eight feet long and sixteen feet broad in the center. It has seats for sixteen pairs of

rowers, a mast for a single sail, and a rudder on the right or starboard side. The gunwale was decorated with a series of shields, painted alternately black and gold. This ship, which probably dates from about 900 A.D., was found on the shore of Christiania Fiord. A still larger ship, of about the same date, was taken in 1904 A.D. from the grave of a Norwegian queen at Oseberg. With the queen had been buried a four-wheeled wagon, three sleighs, three beds, two chests, a chair, a large loom, and various kitchen utensils, in fact everything needed for her comfort in the other world.]

THE SAGAS

A very important source of information for the Viking Age consists of the writings called sagas. [5] These narratives are in prose, but they were based, in many instances, on the songs which the minstrels (*skalds*) sang to appreciative audiences assembled at the banqueting board of a Viking chieftain. It was not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the sagas were committed to writing. This was done chiefly in Iceland, and so it happens that we must look to that distant island for the beginnings of Scandinavian literature.

SUBJECT MATTER OF THE SAGAS

The sagas belong to different classes. The oldest of them relate the deeds of Viking heroes and their families. Others deal with the lives of Norwegian kings. Some of the most important sagas describe the explorations and settlements of the Northmen and hence possess considerable value as historical records.

THE NORTHMEN AS SEEN IN THE SAGAS

The sagas throw much light on the character of the Northmen. Love of adventure and contempt for the quiet joys of home comes out in the

description of Viking chiefs, who "never sought refuge under a roof nor emptied their drinking-horns by a hearth." An immense love of fighting breathes in the accounts of Viking warriors, "who are glad when they have hopes of a battle; they will leap up in hot haste and ply the oars, snapping the oar-thongs and cracking the tholes." The undaunted spirit of Viking sailors, braving the storms of the northern ocean, expresses itself in their sea songs: "The force of the tempest assists the arms of our oarsmen; the hurricane is our servant, it drives us whithersoever we wish to go." The sagas also reveal other characteristics of the Northmen: a cruelty and faithlessness which made them a terror to their foes; an almost barbaric love of gay clothing and ornament; a strong sense of public order, giving rise to an elaborate legal system; and even a feeling for the romantic beauty of their northern home, with its snow-clad mountains, dark forests of pine, sparkling waterfalls, and deep, blue fiords.

EDDAIC POEMS

It is to the Viking Age also that we owe the composition of the poems going by the name of the *Elder Edda*. These poems, as well as the prose sagas, were collected and arranged in Iceland during the later Middle Ages. The *Elder Edda* is a storehouse of old Norse mythology. It forms our chief source of knowledge concerning Scandinavian heathenism before the introduction of Christianity.

140. SCANDINAVIAN HEATHENISM

THE GOD ODIN

The religion of the Northmen bore a close resemblance to that of the other Teutonic peoples. The leading deity was Odin (German *Woden*), whose exploits are celebrated in many of the songs of the *Elder Edda*. Odin

was represented as a tall, gray-bearded chieftain, carrying a shield and a spear which never missed its mark. Though a god of battle, Odin was also a lover of wisdom. He discovered the runes which gave him secret knowledge of all things. Legend told how Odin killed a mighty giant, whose body was cut into pieces to form the world: the earth was his flesh, the water his blood, the rocks his bones, and the heavens his skull. Having created the world and peopled it with human beings, Odin retired to the sacred city of Asgard, where he reigned in company with his children.

THE GOD THOR

Enthroned beside Odin sat his oldest son, Thor (German *Thunor*), god of thunder and lightning. His weapon, the thunderbolt, was imagined as a hammer, and was especially used by him to protect gods and men against the giants. The hammer, when thrown, returned to his hand of its own accord. Thor also possessed a belt of strength, which, when girded about him, doubled his power.

THOR'S DEEDS OF STRENGTH

Many stories were told of Thor's adventures, when visiting Jötunheim, the abode of the giants. In a drinking-match he tried to drain a horn of liquor, not knowing that one end of the horn reached the sea, which was appreciably lowered by the god's huge draughts. He sought to lift from the ground a large, gray cat, but struggle as he might, could raise only one of the animal's feet. What Thor took for a cat, however, was really the Midgard serpent, which, with its tail in its mouth, encircled the earth. In the last trial of strength Thor wrestled with an old woman, and after a violent contest was thrown down upon one knee. But the hag was in truth relentless old age, who sooner or later lays low all men.

MYTH OF BALDER

Most beautiful and best beloved of the Scandinavian divinities was Odin's son, Balder. He was represented as a gentle deity of innocence and righteousness. As long as he lived, evil could gain no real control in the world and the power of the gods would remain unshaken. To preserve Balder from all danger his mother Frigga required everything on earth to swear never to harm her son. Only a single plant, the mistletoe, did not take the oath. Then the traitor Loki gathered the mistletoe and came to an assembly where the gods were hurling all kinds of missiles at Balder, to show that nothing could hurt him. Loki asked the blind Höder to throw the plant at Balder. Höder did so, and Balder fell dead. The gods tried to recover him from Hel, the gloomy underworld, but Hel demanded as his ransom a tear from every living creature. Gods, men, and even things inanimate wept for Balder, except one cruel giantess—Loki in disguise—who would not give a single tear. She said, "Neither living nor dead was Balder of any use to me. Let Hel keep what it has."

"TWILIGHT OF THE GODS"

Disasters followed Balder's death. An immense fire burned up the world and the human race. The giants invaded Asgard and slaughtered its inhabitants. Odin fell a victim to the mighty wolf Fenris. Thor, having killed the Midgard serpent, was suffocated with the venom which the dying monster cast over him. The end of all things arrived. This was the catastrophe which had been predicted of old—the "Twilight of the Gods."

VALHALLA

Besides the conception of Hel, the Northmen also framed the idea of Valhalla, [6] the abode to which Odin received the souls of those who had died, not ingloriously in their beds, but on the field of battle. A troop of divine maidens, the Valkyries, [7] rode through the air on Odin's service to determine the issue of battles and to select brave warriors for Valhalla.

There on the broad plains they fought with one another by day, but at evening the slayer and the slain returned to Odin's hall to feast mightily on boar's flesh and drink deep draughts of mead.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

As with most heathen religions that of the Northmen was full of terrors. Their lively imagination peopled the world with many strange figures. Fiends and monsters inhabited the marshes, giants lived in the dark forest, evil spirits haunted all solitary places, and ghosts stalked over the land by night. The use of charms and spells to guard against such creatures passed over into Christian times. Their memory also survives in folk tales, which are full of allusions to giants, dwarfs, goblins, and other supernatural beings.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE NORTHMEN

Christianity first gained a foothold in Denmark through the work of Roman
Catholic missionaries sent out by Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. [8] Two centuries elapsed before the Danes were completely converted. From Denmark the new faith spread to Sweden. Norway owed its conversion largely
to the crusading work of King Olaf (1016-1029 A.D.), whose zeal for Christianity won him the title of Olaf the Saint. The Norwegians carried Christianity to Iceland, where it supplanted the old heathenism in the year 1000 A.D. With the general adoption of the Christian religion in Scandinavian lands, the Viking Age drew to an end.

[Illustration: NORSE METAL WORK (Museum, Copenhagen) A door from a church in Iceland; date, tenth or eleventh century. The iron knob is

inlaid with silver. The slaying of a dragon is represented above and below is shown the Midgard serpent.]

141. THE NORTHMEN IN THE WEST

CAUSES OF THE VIKING MOVEMENT

The Northmen were still heathen when they set forth on their expeditions of plunder and conquest. Doubtless the principal cause of this Viking movement is to be sought in the same hunger for land which prompted the Germanic invasions and, in fact, has led to colonial expansion in all ages. By the ninth century Scandinavia could no longer support its rapidly growing population, and enforced emigration was the natural consequence. The political condition of Scandinavia at this time also helps to explain the Viking expansion. Denmark and Norway had now become strong kingdoms, whose rulers forced all who would not submit to their sway to leave the country. Thus it resulted that the numbers of the emigrants were swelled by exiles, outlaws, and other adventurers who turned to the sea in hope of gain.

RAIDS OF THE NORTHMEN

The Northmen started out as pirates and fell on the coasts of England, France, and Germany. In their shallow boats they also found it easy to ascend the rivers and reach places lying far inland. The Northmen directed their attacks especially against the churches and monasteries, which were full of treasure and less easily defended than fortified towns. Their raids inspired such great terror that a special prayer was inserted in the church services: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us."

THE NORTHMEN IN IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND THE ISLANDS

At first the incursions of the Northmen took place only in summer, but before long they began to winter in the lands which they visited. Year by year their fleets became larger, and their attacks changed from mere forays of pirates to well-organized expeditions of conquest and colonization. Early in the ninth century we find them making permanent settlements in Ireland, and for a time bringing a considerable part of that country under their control. The first cities on Irish soil, including Dublin and Limerick, were founded by the Northmen. Almost simultaneously with the attacks on Ireland came those on the western coast of Scotland. In the course of their westward expeditions the Northmen had already discovered the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Hebrides. These barren and inhospitable islands received large numbers of Norse immigrants and long remained under Scandinavian control.

[Illustration: Map, DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN IN THE WEST]

THE NORTHMEN IN ICELAND

The Northmen soon discovered Iceland, where Irish monks had previously settled. Colonization began in 874 A.D. [9] One of the most valuable of the sagas—the "Book of the Land-taking"—describes the emigration to the island and enumerates the Viking chiefs who took part in the movement. Iceland soon became almost a second Norway in language, literature, and customs. It remains to-day an outpost of Scandinavian civilization.

THE NORTHMEN IN GREENLAND

The first settlement of Greenland was the work of an Icelander, Eric the Red, who reached the island toward the end of the tenth century. He called the country Greenland, not because it was green, but because, as he said,

"there is nothing like a good name to attract settlers." Intercourse between Greenland and Iceland was often dangerous, and at times was entirely interrupted by ice. Leif Ericsson, the son of Eric the Red, established a new route of commerce and travel by sailing from Greenland to Norway by way of the Hebrides. This was the first voyage made directly across the Atlantic. Norway and Greenland continued to enjoy a flourishing trade for several centuries. After the connection with Norway had been severed, the Greenlanders joined the Eskimos and mingled with that primitive people.

THE NORTHMEN IN AMERICA

Two of the sagas give accounts of a voyage which Leif Ericsson about 1000 A.D. made to regions lying southward from Greenland. In the sagas they are called Helluland (stone-land), Markland (wood-land), and Vinland. Just what part of the coast of North America these countries occupied is an unsolved problem. Leif Ericsson and the Greenlanders who followed him seem to have reached at least the shores of Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. They may have gone even farther southward, for the sagas describe regions where the climate was mild enough for wild vines and wild wheat to grow. The Northmen, however, did not follow up their explorations by lasting settlements. Before long all memory of the far western lands faded from the minds of men. The curtain fell on the New World, not again to rise until the time of Columbus and Cabot.

142. THE NORTHMEN IN THE EAST

ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS OF THE NORTHMEN

In the Viking movement westward across the Atlantic the Norwegians took the leading part. They also sailed far northward, rounding the North Cape and reaching the mouth of the Dwina River in the White Sea. Viking

sailors, therefore, have the credit for undertaking the first voyages of exploration into the Arctic.

THE NORTHMEN IN FINLAND

The Swedes, on account of their geographical position, were naturally the most active in expeditions to eastern lands. At a very early date they crossed the Gulf of Bothnia and paid frequent visits to Finland. Its rude inhabitants, the Finns, were related in language, and doubtless in blood also, to the Huns, Magyars, and other Asiatic peoples. Sweden ruled Finland throughout the Middle Ages. Russia obtained control of the country during the eighteenth century, but Swedish influence has made it largely Scandinavian in civilization.

THE NORTHMEN IN RUSSIA

The activities of the Swedes also led them to establish settlements on the southern shore of the Baltic and far inland along the waterways leading into Russia. An old Russian chronicler declares that in 862 A.D. the Slavs sent an embassy to the Swedes, whom they called "Rus," saying, "Our country is large and rich, but there is no order in it; come and rule over us." The Swedes were not slow to accept the invitation. Their leader, Ruric, established a dynasty which reigned in Russia for more than seven hundred years. [10]

NOVGOROD AND KIEV

The first Russian state centered in the city of Novgorod, near Lake Ilmen, where Ruric built a strong fortress. [11] Novgorod during the Middle Ages was an important station on the trade route between Constantinople and the Baltic. Some of Ruric's followers, passing southward along the Dnieper

River, took possession of the small town of Kiev. It subsequently became the capital of the Scandinavian possessions in Russia.

SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE IN RUSSIA

The Northmen in Russia maintained close intercourse with their mother country for about two centuries. During this period they did much to open up northeastern Europe to the forces of civilization and progress. Colonies were founded, cities were built, commerce was fostered, and a stable government was established. Russia under the sway of the Northmen became for the first time a truly European state.

THE NORTHMEN AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

Having penetrated the wilds of Russia, it was comparatively easy for the Northmen to sail down the Russian rivers to the Black Sea and thence to Constantinople. Some of them went as raiders and several times devastated the neighborhood of Constantinople, until bought off by the payment of tribute. [12] Many Northmen also joined the bodyguard of the eastern emperor and saw service under his standard in different parts of the Mediterranean.

CHRISTIANITY IN RUSSIA, 988 A.D.

During the reign of Vladimir, a descendant of Ruric, the Christian religion gained its first foothold in Russia. We are told that Vladimir, having made up his mind to embrace a new faith, sent commissioners to Rome and Constantinople, and also to the adherents of Islam and Judaism. His envoys reported in favor of the Greek Church, for their barbarian imagination had been so impressed by the majesty of the ceremonies performed in Sancta Sophia that "they did not know whether they were on earth or in heaven." Vladimir accepted their report, ordered the idols of Kiev to be thrown into

the Dnieper, and had himself and his people baptized according to the rites of the Greek Church. At the same time he married a sister of the reigning emperor at Constantinople.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CONVERSION OF RUSSIA

Vladimir's decision to adopt the Greek form of Christianity is justly regarded as one of the formative influences in Russian history. It meant that the Slavs were to come under the religious influence of Constantinople, instead of under that of Rome. Furthermore, it meant that Byzantine civilization, then incomparably superior to the rude culture of the western peoples, would henceforth gain an entrance into Russia. The country profited by this rich civilization and during the early part of the Middle Ages took a foremost place in Europe.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE NORTHMEN

No part of western Europe suffered more severely from the Northmen than France. They first appeared on the French coast toward the end of Charlemagne's reign. A well-known legend relates that the emperor, from window of his palace once saw the dark sails of the Vikings and wept at the thought of the misery which these daring pirates would some day inflict upon his realm.

THE NORTHMEN IN FRANCE

After Charlemagne's death the wars of his grandsons left the empire defenseless, and the Northmen in consequence redoubled their attacks. They sailed far up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne to plunder and murder. Paris, then a small but important city, lay in the path of the invaders and more than once suffered at their hands. The destruction by the Northmen of many monasteries was a loss to civilization, for the monastic

establishments at this time were the chief centers of learning and culture. [13]

THE NORTHMEN IN GERMANY

The heavy hand of the Northmen also descended on Germany. The rivers Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine, and Elbe enabled them to proceed at will into the heart of the country. Liège, Cologne, Strassburg, Hamburg, and other great Frankish cities fell before them. Viking raiders even plundered Aachen and stabled their horses in the church which Charlemagne had built there. [14] Thus the ancient homeland of the Franks was laid completely waste.

ROLLO AND THE GRANT OF NORMANDY, 911 A.D.

The history of the Northmen in France began in 911 A.D., when the Carolingian king granted to a Viking chieftain, Rollo, dominion over the region about the lower Seine. Rollo on his part agreed to accept Christianity and to acknowledge the French ruler as his lord. It is said, however, that he would not kneel and kiss the king's foot as a mark of homage, and that the follower who performed the unwelcome duty did it so awkwardly as to overturn the king, to the great amusement of the assembled Northmen. The story illustrates the Viking sense of independence.

DUCHY OF NORMANDY

The district ceded to Rollo developed into what in later times was known as the duchy of Normandy. Its Scandinavian settlers, henceforth called Normans, [15] soon became French in language and culture. It was amazing to see how quickly the descendants of wild sea-rovers put off their heathen ways and made their new home a Christian land, noted for its churches, monasteries, and schools. Normandy remained practically independent till

the beginning of the thirteenth century, when a French king added it to his possessions. [16]

THE NORMANS AND HUGH CAPET, 987 A.D.

The Normans helped to found the medieval French monarchy. During the tenth century the old Carolingian line of rulers, which had already died out in Germany and Italy, [17] came also to an end in France. A new dynasty was then founded by a nobleman named Hugh Capet, who secured the aid of the powerful Norman dukes in his efforts to gain the throne. The accession of Hugh Capet took place in 987 A.D. His descendants reigned over France for almost exactly eight hundred years. [18]

* * * * *

144. CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY THE DANES; ALFRED THE GREAT

ENGLAND OVERRUN BY THE DANES

Even before Egbert of Wessex succeeded in uniting all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, [19] bands of Vikings, chiefly from Denmark, had made occasional forays on the English coast. Egbert kept the Danes at bay, but he died in 839 A.D., and from that time the real invasion of England began. The Danes came over in large numbers, made permanent settlements, and soon controlled all England north of the Thames.

[Illustration: ALFRED THE GREAT A lofty bronze statue by H. Thorneycraft set up at Winchester Alfred's ancient capital. It was dedicated in 1901 A.D. on the thousandth anniversary of his death. The inscription reads:

"Alfred found learning dead,
And he restored it,

Education neglected
And he revived it,
The laws powerless
And he gave them force,
The Church debased,
And he raised it,
The land ravaged by a fearful enemy
From which he delivered it."]

KING ALFRED AND THE DANES

Wessex before long experienced the full force of the Danish attack. The country at this time was ruled by Alfred, the grandson of Egbert. Alfred came to the throne in 871 A.D., when he was only about twenty-three years old. In spite of his youth, he showed himself the right sort of leader for the hard-pressed West Saxons. For several years fortune favored the Danes. Then the tide turned. Issuing from the marshes of Somersetshire, where he had rallied his dispirited troops, Alfred suddenly fell on the enemy and gained a signal success. The beaten Danes agreed to make peace and to accept the religion of their conquerors.

THE DANELAW

Alfred's victory did not end the war. Indeed, almost to the end of his reign, the heroic king had to face the Vikings, but he always drove them off and even recovered some of the territory north of the Thames. The English and Danes finally agreed to a treaty dividing the country between them. The eastern part of England, where the invaders were firmly established, came to be called the Danelaw, because here the Danish, and not the Anglo-Saxon, law prevailed. In the Danelaw the Danes have left memorials of themselves in local names [20] and in the bold, adventurous character of the inhabitants.

[Illustration: Map, ENGLAND UNDER ALFRED THE GREAT]

CIVILIZING ACTIVITIES OF ALFRED

It was a well-nigh ruined country which Alfred had now to rule over and build up again. His work of restoration invites comparison with that of Charlemagne. Alfred's first care was to organize a fighting force always ready at his call to repel invasion. He also created an efficient fleet, which patrolled the coast and engaged the Vikings on their own element. He had the laws of the Anglo-Saxons collected and reduced to writing, taking pains at the same time to see that justice was done between man and man. He did much to rebuild the ruined churches and monasteries. Alfred labored with especial diligence to revive education among the English folk. His court at Winchester became a literary center where learned men wrote and taught. The king himself mastered Latin, in order that he might translate Latin books into the English tongue. So great were Alfred's services in this direction that he has been called "the father of English prose."

[Illustration: ALFRED'S JEWEL (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) A jewel of blue enamel inclosed in a setting of gold, with the words around it "Alfred had me wrought." Found at Athelney in the seventeenth century.]

ALFRED'S CHARACTER

Alfred alone of English rulers bears the title of "the Great." He well deserves it, not only for what he did but for what he was. Through the mists of ten centuries his figure still looms large. It is the figure of a brave, patient, and modest man, who wore himself out in the service of his people. The oft-quoted words which he added to one of his translations form a fitting epitaph to this noble king: "My wish was to live worthily as long as I lived, and after my life to leave to them that should come after, my memory in good works." His wish has been fulfilled.

About seventy-five years after Alfred's death the Danes renewed their invasions. It then became necessary to buy them off with an annual tribute called the Danegeld. Early in the eleventh century Canute, the son of a Danish king, succeeded in establishing himself on the English throne (1016-1035 A.D.). His dynasty did not last long, however, and at length the old West-Saxon line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor (or "the Saint"). Edward had spent most of his early life in Normandy, and on coming to England brought with him a large following of Normans, whom he placed in high positions. During his reign (1042-1066 A.D.) Norman nobles and churchmen gained a foothold in England, thus preparing the way for the Norman conquest of the country.

145. NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND; WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

HAROLD AND WILLIAM

Edward the Confessor having left no direct heirs, the choice of his successor fell lawfully upon the Witenagemot, [21] as the national assembly of noblemen and higher clergy was called. This body chose as king, Harold, earl of Wessex, the leading man in England. Harold's right to the succession was disputed by William, duke of Normandy, who declared that the crown had been promised to him by his cousin, the Confessor. William also asserted that Harold had once sworn a solemn oath, over a chest of sacred relics, to support his claim to the throne on Edward's death. When word came of Harold's election, William wrathfully denounced him as a usurper and began to prepare a fleet and an army for the invasion of England.

WILLIAM'S PREPARATIONS

Normandy under Duke William had become a powerful, well-organized state. Norman knights, attracted by promises of wide lands and rich booty, if they should conquer, formed the core of William's forces. Adventurers from every part of France, and even from Spain and Italy, also entered his service. The pope blessed the enterprise and sent to William a ring containing a hair from St. Peter's head and a consecrated banner. When all was ready in the late fall of 1066 A.D., a large fleet, bearing five or six thousand archers, foot soldiers, and horsemen, crossed the Channel and landed in England.

[Illustration: A SCENE FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY (Museum of Bayeux,
Normandy)

The Bayeux Tapestry, which almost certainly belongs to the time of the Norman Conquest, is a strip of coarse linen cloth, about 230 feet long by 20 inches wide, embroidered in worsted thread of eight different colors. There are seventy-two scenes picturing various events in the history of the Norman Conquest. The illustration given above represents an attack of Norman cavalry on the English shield wall at the battle of Hastings.]

BATTLE OF HASTINGS, 1066 A.D.

William at first met no resistance. Harold was far away in the north fighting against the Norwegians, who had seized the opportunity to make another descent on the English coast. Harold defeated them decisively and then hurried southward to face his new foe. The two armies met near Hastings on the road to London. All day they fought. The stout English infantry, behind their wall of shields, threw back one charge after another of the Norman knights. Again and again the duke rallied his men and led them where the foe was thickest. A cry arose that he was slain. "I live," shouted William, tearing off his helmet that all might see his face, "and by God's

help will conquer yet." At last, with the approach of evening, Harold was killed by an arrow; his household guard died about him; and the rest of the English took to flight. William pitched his camp on the field of victory, and "sat down to eat and drink among the dead."

[Illustration: Map, DOMINIONS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR]

WILLIAM BECOMES KING

The battle of Hastings settled the fate of England. Following up his victory with relentless energy, William pressed on to London. That city, now practically the capital of the country, opened its gates to him. The Witenagemot, meeting in London offered the throne to William. On Christmas Day, 1066 A.D., in Westminster Abbey the duke of Normandy was crowned king of England.

WILLIAM'S PERSONALITY

What manner of man was William the Conqueror? Tall of stature, endowed with tremendous strength, and brave even to desperation, he seemed an embodiment of the old viking spirit. "No knight under heaven," men said truly, "was William's peer." A savage temper and a harsh, forbidding countenance made him a terror even to his closest followers. "So stern and wrathful was he," wrote an English chronicler, "that none durst do anything against his will." Though William never shrank from force or fraud, from bloodshed or oppression, to carry out his ends, he yet showed himself throughout his reign a patron of learning, a sincere supporter of the Church, and a statesman of remarkable insight. He has left a lasting impress on English history.

146. RESULTS OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

NORMAN ELEMENT IN THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

The coming of the Normans to England formed the third and last installment of the Teutonic invasion. Norman merchants and artisans followed Norman soldiers and settled particularly in the southern and eastern parts of the island. They seem to have emigrated in considerable numbers and doubtless added an important element to the English population. The Normans thus completed the work of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes in making England a Teutonic country.

NORMAN ELEMENT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

It must be remembered, however, that the Normans in Normandy had received a considerable intermixture of French blood and had learned to speak a form of the French language (Norman-French). In England Norman-French naturally was used by the upper and ruling classes—by the court, the nobility, and the clergy. The English held fast to their own homely language, but could not fail to pick up many French expressions, as they mingled with their conquerors in churches, markets, and other places of public resort. It took about three hundred years for French words and phrases to soak thoroughly into their speech. The result was a very large addition to the vocabulary of English. [22]

UNION OF ENGLAND AND NORMANDY

Until the Norman Conquest England, because of its insular position, had remained out of touch with Continental Europe. William the Conqueror and his immediate successors were, however, not only rulers of England, but also dukes of Normandy and subjects of the French kings. Hence, the union of England with Normandy brought it at once into the full current of European affairs. The country became for a time almost a part of France and profited by the more advanced civilization which had arisen on French

soil. The nobility, the higher clergy, and the officers of government were Normans. The architects of the castles and churches, the lawyers, and the men of letters came from Normandy. Even the commercial and industrial classes were largely recruited from across the Channel.

ENGLAND AND THE PAPACY

The Norman Conquest much increased the pope's authority over England. The English Church, as has been shown, [23] was the child of Rome, but during the Anglo-Saxon period it had become more independent of the Papacy than the churches on the Continent. William the Conqueror, whose invasion of England took place with the pope's approval, repaid his obligation by bringing the country into closer dependence on the Roman pontiff.

FUSION OF ENGLISH AND NORMAN

Although the Normans settled in England as conquerors, yet after all they were near kinsmen of the English and did not long keep separate from them. In Normandy a century and a half had been enough to turn the Northmen into Frenchmen. So in England, at the end of a like period, the Normans became Englishmen. Some of the qualities that have helped to make the modern English a great people—their love of the sea and fondness for adventure, their vigor, self-reliance, and unconquerable spirit—are doubtless derived in good part from the Normans.

147. NORMAN CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY

NORMAN EXPANSION SOUTHWARD

The conquest of England, judged by its results, proved to be the most important undertaking of the Normans. But during this same eleventh

century they found another field in which to display their energy and daring. They turned southward to the Mediterranean and created a Norman state in Italy and Sicily.

CONQUESTS OF ROBERT GUISCARD

The unsettled condition of Italy [24] gave the Normans an opportunity for interference in the affairs of the country. The founding of Norman power there was largely the work of a noble named Robert Guiscard ("the Crafty"), a man almost as celebrated as William the Conqueror. He had set out from his home in Normandy with only a single follower, but his valor and shrewdness soon brought him to the front. Robert united the scattered bands of Normans in Italy, who were fighting for pay or plunder, and wrested from the Roman Empire in the East its last territories in the peninsula. Before his death (1085 A.D.) most of southern Italy had passed under Norman rule.

ROGER GUISCARD'S CONQUESTS

Robert's brother, Roger, crossed the strait of Messina and began the subjugation of Sicily, then a Moslem possession. Its recovery from the hands of "infidels" was considered by the Normans a work both pleasing to God and profitable to themselves. By the close of the eleventh century they had finally established their rule in the island.

KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES

The conquests of the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily were united into a single state, which came to be known as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Normans governed it for only about one hundred and fifty years, but under other rulers it lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the present kingdom of Italy came into existence.

NORMAN CULTURE IN THE SOUTH

The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was well-governed, rich, and strong. Art and learning flourished in the cities of Naples, Salerno, and Palermo. Southern Italy and Sicily under the Normans became a meeting-point of Byzantine and Arabic civilization. The Norman kingdom formed an important channel through which the wisdom of the East flowed to the North and to the West.

148. THE NORMANS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

NORMAN FACULTY OF ADAPTATION

The conquests of the Normans in England, Italy, and Sicily were effected after they had become a Christian and a French-speaking people. In these lands they were the armed missionaries of a civilization not their own. The Normans, indeed, invented little and borrowed much. But, like the Arabs, they were more than simple imitators. In language, literature, art, religion, and law what they took from others they improved and then spread abroad throughout their settlements.

ASSIMILATION OF THE NORMANS

It seems at first sight remarkable that a people who occupied so much of western Europe should have passed away. Normans as Normans no longer exist. They lost themselves in the kingdoms which they founded and among the peoples whom they subdued. Their rapid assimilation was chiefly the consequence of their small numbers: outside of Normandy they were too few long to maintain their identity.

NORMAL INFLUENCE

If the Normans themselves soon disappeared, their influence was more lasting. Their mission, it has been well said, was to be leaders and energizers of society—"the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump." The peoples of medieval Europe owed much to the courage and martial spirit, the genius for government, and the reverence for law, of the Normans. In one of the most significant movements of the Middle Ages—the crusades—they took a prominent part. Hence we shall meet them again.

STUDIES

1. What events are associated with the following dates: 988 A.D.; 862 A.D.; 1066 A.D.; 1000 A.D.; and 987 A.D.?

2. What was the origin of the geographical names Russia, Greenland, Finland, and Normandy?

3. Mention some of the striking physical contrasts between the Arabian and Scandinavian peninsulas.

4. Why has the Baltic Sea been called a "secondary Mediterranean"?

5. How does it happen that the gulf of Finland is often frozen over in winter, while even the northernmost of the Norse fiords remain open?

6. Why is an acquaintance with Scandinavian mythology, literature, and history especially desirable for English-speaking peoples?

7. What is meant by the "berserker's rage"?

8. What names of our weekdays are derived from the names of Scandinavian deities?

9. Compare the Arab and Scandinavian conceptions of the future state of departed warriors.

10. What is meant by "sea-power"? What people possessed it during the ninth and tenth centuries?

11. Compare the invasions of the Northmen with those of the Germans as to (a) causes, (b) area covered, and (c) results.

12. What was the significance of the fact that the Northmen were not Christians at the time when they began their expeditions?

13. Show how the voyages of the Northmen vastly increased geographical knowledge.

14. Show that the Russian people have received from Constantinople their writing, religion, and art.

15. Mention three conquests of England by foreign peoples before 1066 A.D. Give for each conquest the results and the approximate date.

16. On the map, page 405, trace the boundary line between Alfred's possessions and those of the Danes.

17. Compare Alfred and Charlemagne as civilizing kings.

18. Compare Alfred's cession of the Danelaw with the cession of Normandy to Rollo.

19. Why is Hastings included among "decisive" battles?

20. "We English are not ourselves but somebody else." Comment on this statement.

21. What is meant by the "Norman graft upon the sturdy Saxon tree"?

22. What settlements of the Northmen most influenced European history?

23. Compare the Norman faculty of adaptation with that of the Arabs.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter vii, "The Saga of a Viking"; chapter viii, "Alfred the Great"; chapter ix, "William the Conqueror and the Normans in England."

[2] See page 67.

[3] The word perhaps comes from the old Norse *vik*, a bay, and means "one who dwells by a bay or fiord." Another meaning assigned to Viking is "warrior."

[4] See the illustration, page 240.

[5] The word is derived from old Norse *segya*, "to say"; compare German *sagen*.

[6] "Hall of the slain."

[7] "Choosers of the slain."

[8] See page 312.

[9] The Icelanders in 1874 A.D. celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the Scandinavian settlement of their island.

[10] Russia in 1862 A.D. celebrated the millenary of her foundation by Ruric.

[11] The Norse word for "fort" is preserved in the gorod of Novgorod.

[12] See page 335.

[13] See page 358.

[14] See the illustration, page 310.

[15] "Norman" is a softened form of "Northman."

[16] In 1911 A.D. Normandy celebrated in the ancient capital of Rouen the thousandth anniversary of its existence.

[17] See pages 315, 317.

[18] The abolition of the French monarchy dates from 1792 A.D., when Louis XVI was deposed from the throne.

[19] See page 320.

[20] The east of England contains more than six hundred names of towns ending in *by* (Danish "town"), compare *by-law*, originally a law for a special town.

[21] "Meeting of wise men." The word *gemot* or *moot* was used for any kind of formal meeting.

[22] See page 556.

[23] See page 325.

[24] See page 317.

CHAPTER XVIII

FEUDALISM

149. RISE OF FEUDALISM

A DARK AGE

The ninth century in western Europe was, as we have learned, [1] a period of violence, disorder, and even anarchy. Charlemagne for a time had arrested the disintegration of society which resulted from the invasions of the Germans, and had united their warring tribes under something like a centralized government. But his work, it has been well said, was only a desperate rally in the midst of confusion. After his death the Carolingian Empire, attacked by the Northmen and other invaders and weakened by civil conflicts, broke up into separate kingdoms.

DECLINE OF ROYAL AUTHORITY

Charlemagne's successors in France, Germany, and Italy enjoyed little real authority. They reigned, but did not rule. Under the conditions of the age, it was impossible for a king to govern with a strong hand. The absence of good roads or of other easy means of communication made it difficult for him to move troops quickly from one district to another, in order to quell revolts. Even had good roads existed, the lack of ready money would have

prevented him from maintaining a strong army devoted to his interests. Moreover, the king's subjects, as yet not welded into a nation, felt toward him no sentiments of loyalty and affection. They cared far less for their king, of whom they knew little, than for their own local lords who dwelt near them.

INCREASED POWER OF THE NOBLES

The decline of the royal authority, from the ninth century onward, meant that the chief functions of government would be more and more performed by the nobles, who were the great landowners of the kingdom. Under Charlemagne these men had been the king's officials, appointed by him and holding office at his pleasure. Under his successors they tended to become almost independent princes. In proportion as this change was accomplished during the Middle Ages, European society entered upon the stage of feudalism. [2]

PARALLELS TO EUROPEAN FEUDALISM

Feudalism in medieval Europe was not a unique development. Parallels to it may be found in other parts of the world. Whenever the state becomes incapable of protecting life and property, powerful men in each locality will themselves undertake this duty; they will assume the burden of their own defense and of those weaker men who seek their aid. Such was the situation in ancient Egypt for several hundred years, in medieval Persia, and in modern Japan until about two generations ago.

EXTENT OF EUROPEAN FEUDALISM

European feudalism arose and flourished in the three countries which had formed the Carolingian Empire, that is, in France, Germany, and northern Italy. It also spread to Bohemia, Hungary, and the Christian states of Spain.

Toward the close of the eleventh century the Normans transplanted it into England, southern Italy, and Sicily. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the crusaders introduced it into the kingdoms which they founded in the East. [3] Still later, in the fourteenth century, the Scandinavian countries became acquainted with feudalism. Throughout this wide area the institution, though varying endlessly in details, presented certain common features.

150. FEUDALISM AS A SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

FEUDAL SOVEREIGNTY

The basis of feudal society was usually the landed estate. Here lived the feudal noble, surrounded by dependents over whom he exercised the rights of a petty sovereign. He could tax them; he could require them to give him military assistance; he could try them in his courts. A great noble, the possessor of many estates, even enjoyed the privilege of declaring war, making treaties, and coining money. How, it will be asked, did these rights and privileges arise?

FEUDAL TENURE OF LAND

Owing to the decay of commerce and industry, land had become practically the only form of wealth in the early Middle Ages. The king, who in theory was absolute owner of the soil, would pay his officials for their services by giving them the use of a certain amount of land. In the same way one who had received large estates would parcel them out among his followers, in return for their support. Sometimes an unscrupulous noble might seize the lands of his neighbors and compel them to become his tenants. Sometimes, too, those who owned land in their own right might surrender the title to it in favor of a noble, who then became their protector.

THE FIEF

An estate in land which a person held of a superior lord, on condition of performing some "honorable" service, was called a fief. At first the tenant received the fief only for a specified term of years or for his lifetime; but in the end it became inheritable. On the death of the tenant his eldest son succeeded him in possession. This right of the first-born son to the whole of the father's estate was known as primogeniture. [4] If a man had no legal heir, the fief went back to its lord.

VASSALAGE

The tie which bound the tenant who accepted a fief to the lord who granted it was called vassalage. Every holder of land was the vassal of some lord. At the apex of the feudal pyramid stood the king, the supreme landlord, who was supposed to hold his land from God; below the king stood the greater lords (dukes, marquises, counts, and barons), with large estates; and below them stood the lesser lords, or knights, whose possessions were too small for further subdivision.

PERSONAL SERVICES OF THE VASSAL

The vassal, first of all, owed various services to the lord. In time of war he did garrison duty at the lord's castle and joined him in military expeditions. In time of peace the vassal attended the lord on ceremonial occasions, gave him the benefit of his advice, when required, and helped him as a judge in trying cases.

THE VASSAL'S MONEY PAYMENTS

Under certain circumstances the vassal was also compelled to make money payments. When a new heir succeeded to the fief, the lord received from him a sum usually money equivalent to one year's revenue of the

estate. This payment was called a "relief." Again, if a man sold his fief, the lord demanded another large sum from the purchaser, before giving his consent to the transaction. Vassals were also expected to raise money for the lord's ransom, in case he was made prisoner of war, to meet the expenses connected with the knighting of his eldest son, and to provide a dowry for his eldest daughter. Such exceptional payments went by the name of "aids."

THE LORD'S DUTY TO THE VASSAL

The vassal, in return for his services and payments, looked to the lord for the protection of life and property. The lord agreed to secure him in the enjoyment of his fief, to guard him against his enemies, and to see that in all matters he received just treatment. This was no slight undertaking.

HOMAGE

The ceremony of homage [5] symbolized the whole feudal relationship. One who proposed to become a vassal and hold a fief came into the lord's presence, bareheaded and unarmed, knelt down, placed his hands between those of the lord, and promised henceforth to become his "man." The lord then kissed him and raised him to his feet. After the ceremony the vassal placed his hand upon the Bible or upon sacred relics and swore to remain faithful to his lord. This was the oath of "fealty." The lord then gave the vassal some object—a stick, a clod of earth, a lance, or a glove—in token of the fief with the possession of which he was now "invested."

FEUDAL GOVERNMENT A SUBSTITUTE FOR ANARCHY

It is clear that the feudal method of land tenure, coupled with the custom of vassalage, made in some degree for security and order. Each noble was attached to the lord above him by the bond of personal service and the oath of fidelity. To his vassals beneath him he was at once protector, benefactor,

and friend. Unfortunately, feudal obligations were far less strictly observed in practice than in theory. Both lords and vassals often broke their engagements, when it seemed profitable to do so. Hence they had many quarrels and indulged in constant warfare. But feudalism, despite its defects, was better than anarchy. The feudal lords drove back the pirates and hanged the brigands and enforced the laws, as no feeble king could do. They provided a rude form of local government for a rude society.

151. FEUDAL JUSTICE

FEUDALISM AS A SYSTEM OF LOCAL JUSTICE

Feudalism was not only a system of local government; it was also a system of local justice. Knights, barons, counts, and dukes had their separate courts, and the king had his court above all. Cases arising on the lord's estate were tried before him and the vassals whom he called to his assistance in giving justice. Since most wrongs could be atoned for by the payment of a fine, the conduct of justice on a large fief produced a considerable income. The nobles, accordingly, regarded their judicial rights as a valuable property, which they were loath to surrender to the state.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The law followed in a feudal court was largely based on old Germanic customs. The court did not act in the public interest, as with us, but waited until the plaintiff requested service. Moreover, until the case had been decided, the accuser and the accused received the same treatment. Both were imprisoned; and the plaintiff who lost his case suffered the same penalty which the defendant, had he been found guilty, would have undergone.

THE OATH

Unlike a modern court, again, the feudal court did not require the accuser to prove his case by calling witnesses and having them give testimony. The burden of proof lay on the accused, who had to clear himself of the charge, if he could do so. In one form of trial it was enough for him to declare his innocence under oath, and then to bring in several "oath- helpers," sometimes relatives, but more often neighbors, who swore that they believed him to be telling the truth. The number of these "oath- helpers" varied according to the seriousness of the crime and the rank of the accused. This method was hardly as unsatisfactory as it seems to be, for a person of evil reputation might not be able to secure the required number of friends who would commit perjury on his behalf. To take an oath was a very solemn proceeding; it was an appeal to God, by which a man called down on himself divine punishment if he swore falsely.

ORDEALS

The consequences of a false oath were not apparent at once. Ordeals, however, formed a method of appealing to God, the results of which could be immediately observed. A common form of ordeal was by fire. The accused walked barefoot over live brands, or stuck his hand into a flame, or carried a piece of red-hot iron for a certain distance. In the ordeal by hot water he plunged his arm into boiling water. A man established his innocence through one of these tests, if the wound healed properly after three days. The ordeal by cold water rested on the belief that pure water would reject the criminal. Hence the accused was thrown bound into a stream: if he floated he was guilty; if he sank he was innocent and had to be rescued. Though a crude method of securing justice, ordeals were doubtless useful in many instances. The real culprit would often prefer to confess, rather than incur the anger of God by submitting to the test.

THE JUDICIAL DUEL

A form of trial which especially appealed to the warlike nobles was the judicial duel. [6] The accuser and the accused fought with each other; and the conqueror won the case. God, it was believed, would give victory to the innocent party, because he had right on his side. When one of the adversaries could not fight, he secured a champion to take his place. Though the judicial duel finally went out of use in the law courts, it still continued to be employed privately, as a means of settling disputes which involved a man's honor. The practice of dueling is only now dying out in civilized communities.

[Illustration: TRIAL BY COMBAT
From a manuscript of the fifteenth century.]

FEUDAL AND ROMAN LAW

Oaths, ordeals, and duels formed an inheritance from Germanic antiquity. [7] They offered a sharp contrast to Roman law, which acted in the public interest, balanced evidence, and sought only to get at the truth. After the middle of the twelfth century the revival of the study of Roman law, as embodied in Justinian's code, [8] led gradually to the abandonment of most forms of appeal to the judgment of God. At the same time the kings grew powerful enough to take into their own hands the administration of justice.

152. FEUDAL WARFARE

FEUDALISM AS A SYSTEM OF LOCAL DEFENSE

Feudalism, once more, was a system of local defense. The knight must guard his small estate, the baron his barony, the count his county, the duke his duchy. At the lord's bidding the vassal had to follow him to war, either alone or with a certain number of men, according to the size of the fief. But this assistance was limited. A vassal served only for a definite period

(varying from one month to three in the year), and then only within a reasonable distance from the lands for which he did homage. These restrictions made it difficult to conduct a lengthy campaign, or one far removed from the vassal's fief, unless mercenary soldiers were employed.

THE FEUDAL ARMY

The feudal army, as a rule, consisted entirely of cavalry. Such swiftly moving assailants as the Northmen and the Magyars could best be dealt with by mounted men who could bring them to bay, compel them to fight, and overwhelm them by the shock of the charge. In this way the foot soldiers of Charlemagne's time came to be replaced by the mailed horsemen who for four centuries or more dominated European battlefields.

[Illustration: MOUNTED KNIGHT Seal of Robert Fitzwalter, showing a mounted knight in complete mail armor; date about 1265 A.D.]

ARMS AND ARMOR

The armor used in the Middle Ages was gradually perfected, until at length the knight became a living fortress. [9] In the early feudal period he wore a cloth or leather tunic covered with iron rings or scales, and an iron cap with a nose guard. About the beginning of the twelfth century he adopted chain mail, with a hood of the same material for the head. During the fourteenth century the knight began to wear heavy plate armor, weighing fifty pounds or more, and a helmet with a visor which could be raised or lowered. Thus completely incased in metal, provided with shield, lance, straight sword or battle-ax, and mounted on a powerful horse, the knight could ride down almost any number of poorly armed peasants. Not till the development of missile weapons—the longbow, and later the musket—did the foot soldier resume his importance in warfare. The feudal age by this time was drawing to a close.

PREVALENCE OF PRIVATE WAR

The nobles regarded the right of waging war on one another as their most cherished privilege. Fighting became almost a form of business enterprise, which enriched the lords and their retainers through the sack of castles, the plunder of villages, and the ransom of prisoners. Every hill became a stronghold and every plain a battlefield. Such neighborhood warfare, though rarely very bloody, spread terrible havoc throughout the land.

THE PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD

The Church, to its great honor, lifted a protesting voice against this evil. It proclaimed a "Peace of God" and forbade attacks on all defenseless people, including priests, monks, pilgrims, merchants, peasants, and women. But it was found impossible to prevent the feudal lords from warring with each other, even though they were threatened with the eternal torments of Hell; and so the Church tried to restrict what it could not altogether abolish. A "Truce of God" was established. All men were to cease fighting from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week, during Lent, and on various holy days. The truce would have given Christendom peace for about two hundred and forty days each year; but it seems never to have been strictly observed except in limited areas.

ABOLITION OF PRIVATE WARFARE

As the power of the kings increased in western Europe, they naturally sought to put an end to the constant fighting between their subjects. The Norman rulers of Normandy, England, and Sicily restrained their turbulent nobles with a strong hand. Peace came later in most parts of the Continent; in Germany, "fist right" (the rule of the strongest) prevailed until the end of the fifteenth century. The abolition of private war was the first step in

Europe toward universal peace. The second step—the abolition of public war between nations—is yet to be taken.

153. THE CASTLE AND LIFE OF THE NOBLES

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTLE

The outward mark of feudalism was the castle, [10] where the lord resided and from which he ruled his fief. In its earliest form the castle was simply a wooden blockhouse placed on a mound and surrounded by a stockade. About the beginning of the twelfth century the nobles began to build in stone, which would better resist fire and the assaults of besiegers. A stone castle consisted at first of a single tower, square or round, with thick walls, few windows, and often with only one room to each story. [11] As engineering skill increased, several towers were built and were then connected by outer and inner walls. The castle thus became a group of fortifications, which might cover a wide area.

[Illustration: PLAN OF CHÂTEAU GAILLARD
The plan is intended to represent that of a typical castle, as the plan of Kirkstall Abbey represents that of a typical monastery.]

[Illustration: PIERREFONDS A castle near Paris built about 1400 A.D. by a brother of the king of France. It was dismantled in 1632 A.D., but was carefully restored in the nineteenth century by order of Napoleon III. The exterior faithfully reproduces the appearance of a medieval fortress.]

THE CASTLE AS A FORTRESS

Defense formed the primary purpose of the castle. Until the introduction of gunpowder and cannon, the only siege engines employed were those known in ancient times. They included machines for hurling heavy stones

and iron bolts, battering rams, and movable towers, from which the besiegers crossed over to the walls. Such engines could best be used on firm, level ground. Consequently, a castle would often be erected on a high cliff or hill, or on an island, or in the center of a swamp. A castle without such natural defenses would be surrounded by a deep ditch (the "moat"), usually filled with water. If the besiegers could not batter down or undermine the massive walls, they adopted the slower method of a blockade and tried to starve the garrison into surrendering. But ordinarily a well-built, well- provisioned castle was impregnable. Behind its frowning battlements even a petty lord could defy a royal army.

[Illustration: CHÂTEAU GAILLARD (RESTORED) The finest of all medieval castles. Located on a high hill overlooking the Seine about twenty miles from Rouen. Built by Richard the Lion hearted within a twelvemonth (1197-1198 AD) and by him called Saucy Castle. It was captured a few years later by the French king Philip Augustus and was dismantled early in the seventeenth century. The castle consisted of three distinct series of fortifications, besides the keep which in this case was merely a strong tower.]

A CASTLE DESCRIBED

A visitor to a medieval castle crossed the drawbridge over the moat and approached the narrow doorway, which was protected by a tower on each side. If he was admitted, the iron grating ("portcullis") rose slowly on its creaking pulleys, the heavy, wooden doors swung open, and he found himself in the courtyard commanded by the great central tower ("keep"), where the lord and his family lived, especially in time of war. At the summit of the keep rose a platform whence the sentinel surveyed the country far and wide; below, two stories underground, lay the prison, dark, damp, and dirty. As the visitor walked about the court-yard, he came upon the hall,

used as the lord's residence in time of peace, the armory, the chapel, the kitchens, and the stables. A spacious castle might contain, in fact, all the buildings necessary for the support of the lord's servants and soldiers.

[Illustration: KING AND JESTER
From a manuscript of the early fifteenth century.]

THE CASTLE AS A RESIDENCE

The medieval castle formed a good fortress, but a poor home. Its small rooms, lighted only by narrow windows, heated only by fireplaces, badly ventilated, and provided with little furniture, must have been indeed cheerless. Toward the close of the feudal period, when life became more luxurious, the castle began to look less like a dungeon. Windows were widened and provided with panes of painted glass, walls were hung with costly tapestries, and floors were covered with thick Oriental rugs. The nobles became attached to their castle homes and often took their names from those of their estates.

AMUSEMENTS OF THE NOBLES

Life within the castle was very dull. There were some games, especially chess, which the nobles learned from the Moslems. Banqueting, however, formed the chief indoor amusement. The lord and his retainers sat down to a gluttonous feast and, as they ate and drank, watched the pranks of a professional jester or listened to the songs and music of ministrels or, it may be, heard with wonder the tales of far-off countries brought by some returning traveler. Outside castle walls a common sport was hunting in the forests and game preserves attached to every estate. Deer, bears, and wild boars were hunted with hounds; for smaller animals trained hawks, or falcons, were employed. But the nobles, as we have just seen, found in

fighting their chief outdoor occupation and pastime. "To play a great game" was their description of a battle.

[Illustration: FALCONRY
From a manuscript of the thirteenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.]

154. KNIGHTHOOD AND CHIVALRY

APPRENTICESHIP OF THE KNIGHT

The prevalence of warfare in feudal times made the use of arms a profession requiring special training. A nobleman's son served for a number of years, first as a page, then as a squire, in his father's castle or in that of some other lord. He learned to manage a horse, to climb a scaling ladder, to wield sword, battle-ax, and lance. He also waited on the lord's table, assisted him at his toilet, followed him in the chase, and attended him in battle. This apprenticeship usually lasted from five to seven years.

CONFERRING OF KNIGHTHOOD

When the young noble became of age, he might be made a knight, if he deserved the honor and could afford the expense. The ceremony of conferring knighthood was often most elaborate. The candidate fasted, took a bath—the symbol of purification—and passed the eve of his admission in prayer. Next morning he confessed his sins, went to Mass, and listened to a sermon on the duties of knighthood. This ended, his father, or the noble who had brought him up, girded him with a sword and gave him the "accolade," that is, a blow on the neck or shoulder, at the same time saying, "Be thou a good knight." Then the youth, clad in shining armor and wearing golden spurs, mounted his horse and exhibited his skill in warlike exercises.

If a squire for valorous conduct received knighthood on the battlefield, the accolade by stroke of the sword formed the only ceremony.

CHIVALRY

In course of time, as manners softened and Christian teachings began to affect feudal society, knighthood developed into chivalry. The Church, which opposed the warlike excesses of feudalism, took the knight under her wing and bade him be always a true soldier of Christ. To the rude virtues of fidelity to one's lord and bravery in battle, the Church added others. The "good knight" was he who respected his sworn word, who never took an unfair advantage of another, who defended women, widows, and orphans against their oppressors, and who sought to make justice and right prevail in the world. Chivalry thus marked the union of pagan and Christian virtues, of Christianity and the profession of arms.

THE CHIVALRIC CODE

Needless to say, the "good knight" appears rather in romance than in sober history. Such a one was Sir Lancelot, in the stories of King Arthur and the Round Table. [12] As Sir Lancelot lies in death, a former companion addresses him in words which sum up the best in the chivalric code: "'Thou wert the courtliest knight that ever bare shield; and thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrode horse; and thou wert the truest lover among sinful men that ever loved woman; and thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword; and thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights; and thou wert the meekest man, and the gentlest, that ever ate in hall among ladies; and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest.'" [13]

JOUSTS AND TOURNAMENTS

The all-absorbing passion for fighting led to the invention of mimic warfare in the shape of jousts and tournaments. [14] These exercises formed the medieval equivalent of the Greek athletic games and the Roman gladiatorial shows. The joust was a contest between two knights; the tournament, between two bands of knights. The contests took place in a railed-off space, called the "lists," about which the spectators gathered. Each knight wore upon his helmet the scarf or color of his lady and fought with her eyes upon him. Victory went to the one who unhorsed his opponent or broke in the proper manner the greatest number of lances. The beaten knight forfeited horse and armor and had to pay a ransom to the conqueror. Sometimes he lost his life, especially when the participants fought with real weapons and not with blunted lances and pointless swords. The Church now and then tried to stop these performances, but they remained universally popular until the close of the Middle Ages.

INFLUENCE OF CHIVALRY

Chivalry arose with feudalism, formed, in fact, the religion of feudalism, and passed away only when the changed conditions of society made feudalism an anachronism. [15] While chivalry lasted, it produced some improvement in manners, particularly by insisting on the notion of personal honor and by fostering greater regard for women (though only for those of the upper class). Our modern notion of the conduct befitting a "gentleman" goes back to the old chivalric code. Chivalry expressed, however, simply the sentiments of the warlike nobles. It was an aristocratic ideal. The knight despised and did his best to keep in subjection the toiling peasantry, upon whose backs rested the real burden of feudal society.

155. FEUDALISM AS A SYSTEM OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

DECLINE OF URBAN LIFE

Under the Roman Empire western Europe had been filled with flourishing cities. [16] The Germanic invasions led to a gradual decay of trade and manufacturing, and hence of the cities in which these activities centered. As urban life declined, the mass of the population came to live more and more in isolated rural communities. This was the great economic feature of the early Middle Ages.

FEUDALISM AND RURAL LIFE

The introduction of feudalism fostered the movement from town to country, for feudalism, as has been shown, rested on the soil as its basis. The lord, his family, his servants, and his retainers were supported by the income from landed property. The country estate of a lord was known as a manor.

THE MANOR

A manor naturally varied in size, according to the wealth of its lord. In England perhaps six hundred acres represented the extent of an average estate. Every noble had at least one manor; great nobles might have several manors, usually scattered throughout the country; and even the king depended on his many manors for the food supply of the court. England, during the period following the Norman Conquest, contained more than nine thousand of these manorial estates. [17]

COMMON CULTIVATION OF THE ARABLE LAND

Of the arable land of the manor the lord reserved as much as needful for his own use. The lord's land was called his "demesne," or domain. The rest of the land he allotted to the peasants who were his tenants, They cultivated their holdings in common. A farmer, instead of having his land in one compact mass, had it split up into a large number of small strips (usually

about half an acre each) scattered over the manor, and separated, not by fences or hedges, but by banks of unplowed turf. The appearance of a manor, when under cultivation, has been likened to a vast checkerboard or a patchwork quilt. [18] The reason for the intermixture of strips seems to have been to make sure that each farmer had a portion both of the good land and of the bad. It is obvious that this arrangement compelled all the peasants to labor according to a common plan. A man had to sow the same kinds of crops as his neighbors, and to till and reap them at the same time. Agriculture, under such circumstances, could not fail to be unprogressive.

[Illustration: FARM WORK IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
Plowing, Harrowing, Cutting Weeds, Reaping.]

FARMING METHODS

In other ways, too, agriculture was very backward. Farmers did not know how to enrich the soil by the use of fertilizers or how to provide for a proper rotation of crops. Hence each year they cultivated only two-thirds of the land, letting the other third lie "fallow" (uncultivated), that it might recover its fertility. It is said that eight or nine bushels of grain represented the average yield of an acre. Farm animals were small, for scientific breeding had not yet begun. A full-grown ox reached a size scarcely larger than a calf of to-day, and the fleece of a sheep often weighed less than two ounces. Farm implements were few and clumsy. The wooden ploughs only scratched the ground. Harrowing was done with a hand implement little better than a large rake. Grain was cut with a sickle, and grass was mown with a scythe. It took five men a day to reap and bind the harvest of two acres.

COMMON USE OF THE NON-ARABLE LAND

Besides his holding of farm land, which in England averaged about thirty acres, each peasant had certain rights over the non-arable land of the manor. He could cut a limited amount of hay from the meadow. He could turn so many farm animals—cattle, geese, swine—on the waste. He also enjoyed the privilege of taking so much wood from the forest for fuel and building purposes. A peasant's holding, which also included a house in the village, thus formed a complete outfit.

156. THE VILLAGE AND LIFE OF THE PEASANTS

A VILLAGE DESCRIBED

The peasants on a manor lived close together in one or more villages. Their small, thatch-roofed, and one-roomed houses would be grouped about an open space (the "green"), or on both sides of a single, narrow street. The only important buildings were the parish church, the parsonage, a mill, if a stream ran through the manor, and possibly a blacksmith's shop. The population of one of these villages often did not exceed one hundred souls.

A VILLAGE AS SELF-SUFFICING

Perhaps the most striking feature of a medieval village was its self-sufficiency. The inhabitants tried to produce at home everything they required, in order to avoid the uncertainty and expense of trade. The land gave them their food; the forest provided them with wood for houses and furniture. They made their own clothes of flax, wool, and leather. Their meal and flour were ground at the village mill, and at the village smithy their farm implements were manufactured. The chief articles which needed to be brought from some distant market were salt, used to salt down farm animals killed in autumn, iron for various tools, and millstones. Cattle,

horses, and surplus grain also formed common objects of exchange between manors.

HARD LOT OF THE PEASANTRY

Life in a medieval village was rude and rough. The peasants labored from sunrise to sunset, ate coarse fare, lived in huts, and suffered from frequent pestilences. They were often the helpless prey of the feudal nobles. If their lord happened to be a quarrelsome man, given to fighting with his neighbors, they might see their lands ravaged, their cattle driven off, their village burned, and might themselves be slain. Even under peaceful conditions the narrow, shut-in life of the manor could not be otherwise than degrading.

ALLEVIATIONS OF THE PEASANT'S LOT

Yet there is another side to the picture. If the peasants had a just and generous lord, they probably led a fairly comfortable existence. Except when crops failed, they had an abundance of food, and possibly wine or cider drink. They shared a common life in the work of the fields, in the sports of the village green, and in the services of the parish church. They enjoyed many holidays; it has been estimated that, besides Sundays, about eight weeks in every year were free from work. Festivities at Christmas, Easter, and May Day, at the end of ploughing and the completion of harvest, relieved the monotony of the daily round of labor. [19] Perhaps these medieval peasants were not much worse off than the agricultural laborers in most countries of modern Europe.

[Illustration: PLAN OF HITCHIN MANOR, HERTFORDSHIRE
Lord's demesne, diagonal lines. Meadow and pasture lands, dotted areas.
Normal holding of a peasant, black strips.]

157. SERFDOM

FREEMEN, SLAVES, AND SERFS

A medieval village usually contained several classes of laborers. There might be a number of freemen, who paid a fixed rent, either in money or produce, for the use of their land. Then there might also be a few slaves in the lord's household or at work on his domain. By this time, however, slavery had about died out in western Europe. Most of the peasants were serfs.

NATURE OF SERFDOM

Serfdom represented a stage between slavery and freedom. A slave belonged to his master; he was bought and sold like other chattels. A serf had a higher position, for he could not be sold apart from the land nor could his holding be taken from him. He was fixed to the soil. On the other hand a serf ranked lower than a freeman, because he could not change his abode, nor marry outside the manor, nor bequeath his goods, without the permission of his lord.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE SERF

The serf did not receive his land as a free gift; for the use of it he owed certain duties to his master. These took chiefly the form of personal services. He must labor on the lord's domain for two or three days each week, and at specially busy seasons, such as ploughing and harvesting, he must do extra work. At least half his time was usually demanded by the lord. The serf had also to make certain payments, either in money or more often in grain, honey, eggs, or other produce. When he ground the wheat or pressed the grapes which grew on his land, he must use the lord's mill, the lord's wine-press, and pay the customary charge. In theory the lord could

tax his serfs as heavily and make them work as hard as he pleased, but the fear of losing his tenants doubtless in most cases prevented him from imposing too great burdens on them.

ORIGIN OF SERFDOM

Serfdom developed during the later centuries of the Roman Empire and in the early Middle Ages. It was well established by the time of Charlemagne. Most serfs seem to have been the descendants, or at least the successors, of Roman slaves, whose condition had gradually improved. The serf class was also recruited from the ranks of freemen, who by conquest or because of the desire to gain the protection of a lord, became subject to him. Serfdom, however, was destined to be merely a transitory condition. By the close of medieval times, the serfs in most parts of western Europe had secured their freedom. [20]

158. DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

DURATION OF FEUDALISM

Feudalism had a vigorous life for about five hundred years. Taking definite form early in the ninth century, it flourished throughout the later Middle Ages, but became decadent by the opening of the fourteenth century.

FORCES OPPOSED TO FEUDALISM: THE KINGS

As a system of local government, feudalism tended to pass away when the rulers in England, France, and Spain, and later in Germany and Italy, became powerful enough to put down private warfare, execute justice, and maintain order everywhere in their dominions. The kings were always anti-

feudal. We shall study in a later chapter (Chapter XXII) the rise of strong governments and centralized states in western Europe.

FORCES OPPOSED TO FEUDALISM: THE CITIES

As a system of local industry, feudalism could not survive the great changes of the later Middle Ages, when reviving trade, commerce, and manufactures had begun to lead to the increase of wealth, the growth of markets, and the substitution of money payments for those in produce or services. Flourishing cities arose, as in the days of the Roman Empire, freed themselves from the control of the nobles, and became the homes of liberty and democracy. The cities, like the kings, were always anti- feudal. We shall deal with their development in a subsequent chapter (Chapter XXIII).

THE CHURCH AND FEUDALISM

There was still another anti-feudal force, namely, the Roman Church. It is true that many of the higher clergy were feudal lords, and that even the monasteries owned vast estates which were parceled out among tenants. Nevertheless, the Roman Church as a universal organization, including men of all ranks and classes, was necessarily opposed to feudalism, a local and an aristocratic system. The work and influence of this Church will now engage our attention.

STUDIES

1. Write a brief essay on feudal society, using the following words: lord; vassal; castle; keep; dungeon; chivalry; tournament; manor; and serf.

2. Explain the following terms: vassal; fief; serf; "aid"; homage; squire; investiture; and "relief."

3. Look up the origin of the words homage, castle, dungeon, and chivalry.

4. "The real heirs of Charlemagne were from the first neither the kings of France nor those of Italy or Germany; but the feudal lords." Comment on this statement.

5. Why was the feudal system not found in the Roman Empire in the East during the Middle Ages?

6. Why has feudalism been called "confusion roughly organized"?

7. Contrast feudalism as a political system with (a) the classical city-states, (b) the Roman Empire, and (c) modern national states.

8. What was the effect of feudalism on the sentiment of patriotism?

9. What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of primogeniture as the rule of inheritance?

10. Explain these phrases: "to be in hot water;" "to go through fire and water;" and "to haul over the coals."

11. Compare the oaths administered to witnesses in modern courts with medieval oaths.

12. Why was war the usual condition of feudal society?

13. Compare the "Peace of God" with the earlier "Roman Peace" (*Pax Romana*).

14. Mention some modern comforts and luxuries which were unknown in feudal castles.

15. What is the present meaning of the word "chivalrous"? How did it get that meaning?

16. Why has chivalry been called "the blossom of feudalism"?

17. Contrast the ideal of a chivalry with that of monasticism.

18. Show that the serf was not a slave or a "hired man" or a tenant-farmer paying rent.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See page 312.

[2] The word has nothing to do with "feuds," though these were common enough in feudal times. It comes from the medieval Latin *feudum*, from which are desired the French *fief* and the English *fee*.

[3] See pages 472, 478.

[4] The practice of primogeniture has now been abolished by the laws of the various European countries and is not recognized in the United States. It still prevails, however, in England.

[5] Latin *homo*, "man."

[6] Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Ivanhoe* (chapter xliii), contains an account of a judicial duel.

[7] See page 326.

[8] See page 331.

[9] See the illustrations, pages 408, 421, 422, 473.

[10] The French form of the word is *château*.

[11] A good example is the "White Tower," which forms a part of the Tower of London. It was built by William the Conqueror. See the illustration, page 498.

[12] See page 560.

[13] Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, xxi, 13. See also Tennyson's poem, *Sir Galahad*, for a beautiful presentation of the ideal knight.

[14] Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Ivanhoe* (chapter xii), contains a description of a tournament.

[15] *Don Quixote*, by the Spanish writer, Cervantes (1547-1616 A.D.), is a famous satire on chivalry. Our American "Mark Twain" also stripped off the gilt and tinsel of chivalry in his amusing story entitled *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*.

[16] See page 208.

[17] According to Domesday Book (see page 499) there were 9250 manors, of which William the Conqueror possessed 1422. His manors lay in about thirty counties.

[18] This "open field" system of agriculture, as it is usually called, still survives in some parts of Europe. See the plan of Hitchin Manor, page 435.

[19] See page 581-582.

[20] See page 612.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 962-1273 A.D. [1]

159. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

THE ROMAN CHURCH

A preceding chapter dealt with the Christian Church in the East and West during the early Middle Ages. We learned something about its organization, belief, and worship, about the rise and growth of the Papacy, about monasticism, and about that missionary campaign which won all Europe to Christianity. Our narrative extended to the middle of the eleventh century, when the quarrel between pope and patriarch led at length to the disruption of Christendom. We have now to consider the work and influence of the Roman Church during later centuries of the Middle Ages.

TERRITORIAL EXTENT OF THE CHURCH

The Church at the height of its power held spiritual sway over all western Europe. Italy and Sicily, the larger part of Spain, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, British Isles, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland yielded obedience to the pope of Rome.

THE CHURCH AS UNIVERSAL

Membership in the Church was not a matter of free choice. All people, except Jews, were required to belong to it. A person joined the Church by baptism, a rite usually performed in infancy, and remained in it as long as he lived. Every one was expected to conform, at least outwardly, to the doctrines and practices of the Church, and anyone attacking its authority was liable to punishment by the state.

THE CHURCH AS INTERNATIONAL

The presence of one Church throughout the western world furnished a bond of union between European peoples during the age of feudalism. The Church took no heed of political boundaries, for men of all nationalities entered the ranks of the priesthood and joined the monastic orders. Priests and monks were subjects of no country, but were "citizens of heaven," as they sometimes called themselves. Even difference of language counted for little in the Church, since Latin was the universal speech of the educated classes. One must think, then, of the Church as a great international state, in form a monarchy, presided over by the pope, and with its capital at Rome.

TWOFOLD DUTIES OF THE CHURCH

The Church in the Middle Ages performed a double task. On the one hand it gave the people religious instruction and watched over their morals; on the other hand it played an important part in European politics and provided a means of government. Because the Church thus combined ecclesiastical and civil functions, it was quite unlike all modern churches, whether Greek, Roman, or Protestant. Both sides of its activities deserve, therefore, to be considered.

160. CHURCH DOCTRINE AND WORSHIP

"THE GATE OF HEAVEN."

In medieval times every loyal member of the Church accepted without question its authority in religious matters. The Church taught a belief in a personal God, all-wise, all-good, all-powerful, to know whom was the highest goal of life. The avenue to this knowledge lay through faith in the revelation of God, as found in the Scriptures. Since the unaided human reason could not properly interpret the Scriptures, it was necessary for the Church, through her officers, to declare their meaning and set forth what doctrines were essential to salvation. The Church thus appeared as the sole repository of religious knowledge, as "the gate of heaven."

THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM

Salvation did not depend only on the acceptance of certain beliefs. There were also certain acts, called "sacraments," in which the faithful Christian must participate, if he was not to be cut off eternally from God. These acts formed channels of heavenly grace; they saved man from the consequences of his sinful nature and filled him with "the fullness of divine life." Since priests alone could administer the sacraments, [2] the Church presented itself as the necessary mediator between God and man.

BAPTISM, CONFIRMATION, MATRIMONY, AND EXTREME UNCTION

By the thirteenth century seven sacraments were generally recognized. Four of these marked critical stages in human life, from the cradle to the grave. Baptism cleansed the child from the taint of original sin and admitted him into the Christian community. Confirmation gave him full Church fellowship. Matrimony united husband and wife in holy bonds which might never be broken. Extreme Unction, the anointing with oil of one mortally ill, purified the soul and endowed it with strength to meet death.

PENANCE

Penance held an especially important place in the sacramental system. At least once a year the Christian must confess his sins to a priest. If he seemed to be truly repentant, the priest pronounced the solemn words of absolution and then required him to accept some punishment, which varied according to the nature of the offense. There was a regular code of penalties for such sins as drunkenness, avarice, perjury, murder, and heresy. Penances often consisted in fasting, reciting prayers, abstaining from one's ordinary amusements, or beating oneself with bundles of rods. A man who had sinned grievously might be ordered to engage in charitable work, to make a contribution in money for the support of the Church, or to go on a pilgrimage to a sacred shrine. The more distant and difficult a pilgrimage, the more meritorious it was, especially if it led to some very holy place, such as Rome or Jerusalem. People might also become monks in order to atone for evil-doing. This system of penitential punishment referred only to the earthly life; it was not supposed to cleanse the soul for eternity.

HOLY EUCHARIST

The sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, generally known as the Mass, formed the central feature of worship. It was more than a common meal in commemoration of the Last Supper of Christ with the Apostles. It was a solemn ceremony, by which the Christian believed himself to receive the body and blood of Christ, under the form of bread and wine. [3] The right of the priest to withhold the Eucharist from any person, for good cause, gave the Church great power, because the failure to partake of this sacrament imperiled one's chances of future salvation. It was also supposed that the benefits of the ceremony in purifying from sin might be enjoyed by the dead in Purgatory; hence masses were often said for the repose of their souls.

ORDINATION

The seventh and last sacrament, that of Ordination, or "Holy Orders," admitted persons to the priesthood. According to the view of the Church the rite had been instituted by Christ, when He chose the Apostles and sent them forth to preach the Gospel. From the Apostles, who ordained their successors, the clergy in all later times received their exalted authority. [4] Ordination conferred spiritual power and set such an indelible mark on the character that one who had been ordained could never become a simple layman again.

[Illustration: PILGRIMS TO CANTERBURY From a medieval manuscript. Canterbury with its cathedral appears in the background. The shrine of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, formed a celebrated resort for medieval pilgrims. The archbishop had been murdered in the church (1180 A.D.), if not at the instigation, at any rate without the opposition of King Henry II, whose policies he opposed. Becket, who was regarded as a martyr, soon received canonization. Miracles were said to be worked at his grave and at the well in which his bloody garments had been washed. He remained the most popular saint in England until the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, when his shrine was destroyed.]

REVERENCE FOR SAINTS

The Church did not rely solely on the sacramental system as a means to salvation. It was believed that holy persons, called saints, [5] who had died and gone to Heaven, offered to God their prayers for men. Hence the practice arose of invoking the aid of the saints in all the concerns of life. The earliest saints were Christian martyrs, [6] who had sealed their faith with their blood. In course of time many other persons, renowned for pious deeds, were exalted to sainthood. The making of a new saint, after a rigid inquiry into the merits of the person whom it is proposed to honor, is now a privilege reserved to the pope.

DEVOTION TO THE VIRGIN

High above all the saints stood the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. Devotion to her as the "Queen of Heaven" increased rapidly in the Church after the time of Gregory the Great. The popularity of her cult owed not a little to the influence of chivalry, [7] for the knight, who vowed to cherish womanhood, saw in the Virgin the ideal woman. Everywhere churches arose in her honor, and no cathedral or abbey lacked a chapel dedicated to Our Lady.

RELICS

The growing reverence for saints led to an increased interest in relics. These included the bones of a saint and shreds of his garments, besides such objects as the wood or nails of the cross on which Christ suffered. Relics were not simply mementos; they were supposed to possess miraculous power which passed into them through contact with holy persons. This belief explains the use of relics to heal diseases, to ward off danger, and, in general, to bring good fortune. An oath taken upon relics was especially sacred. [8] Every church building contained a collection of relics, sometimes amounting to thousands in number, and even private persons often owned them.

PURGATORY

The Church also taught a belief in Purgatory as a state or place of probation. [9] Here dwelt the souls of those who were guilty of no mortal sins which would condemn them to Hell, but yet were burdened with imperfections which prevented them from entering Heaven. Such imperfections, it was held, might be removed by the prayers of the living, and hence the practice arose of praying for the dead.

161. CHURCH JURISDICTION

CHURCH COURTS

The Church had regular courts and a special system of law [10] for the trial of offenders against its regulations. Many cases, which to-day would be decided according to the civil or criminal law of the state, in the Middle Ages came before the ecclesiastical courts. Since marriage was considered a sacrament, the Church took upon itself to decide what marriages were lawful. It forbade the union of first cousins, of second cousins, and of godparents and godchildren. It refused to sanction divorce, for whatever cause, if both parties at the time of marriage had been baptized Christians. The Church dealt with inheritance under wills, for a man could not make a legal will until he had confessed, and confession formed part of the sacrament of Penance. All contracts made binding by oaths came under Church jurisdiction, because an oath was an appeal to God. [11] The Church tried those who were charged with any sin against religion, including heresy, blasphemy, the taking of interest (usury), and the practice of witchcraft. Widows, orphans, and the families of pilgrims or crusaders also enjoyed the special protection of Church courts.

"BENEFIT OF CLERGY"

The Church claimed the privilege of judging all cases which involved clergymen. No layman, it was declared, ought to interfere with one who, by the sacrament of Ordination, had been dedicated to God. This demand of the Church to try its own officers, according to its own mild and intelligent laws, seems not unreasonable, when we remember how rude were the methods of feudal justice. But "benefit of clergy," as the privilege was called, might be abused. Many persons who had no intention of acting as priests or monks became clergymen, in order to shield themselves behind the Church in case their misdeeds were exposed.

RIGHT OF "SANCTUARY."

An interesting illustration of the power of the Church is afforded by the right of "sanctuary." Any lawbreaker who fled to a church building enjoyed, for a limited time, the privilege of safe refuge. It was considered a sin against God to drag even the most wicked criminal from the altar. The most that could be done was to deny the refugee food, so that he might come forth voluntarily. This privilege of seeking sanctuary was not without social usefulness, for it gave time for angry passions to cool, thus permitting an investigation of the charges against an offender.

EXCOMMUNICATION

Disobedience to the regulations of the Church might be followed by excommunication. It was a punishment which cut off the offender from all Christian fellowship. He could not attend religious services nor enjoy the sacraments so necessary to salvation. If he died excommunicate, his body could not be buried in consecrated ground. By the law of the state he lost all civil rights and forfeited all his property. No one might speak to him, feed him, or shelter him. This terrible penalty, it is well to point out, was usually imposed only after the sinner had received a fair trial and had spurned all entreaties to repent. [12]

INTERDICT

The interdict, another form of punishment, was directed against a particular locality, for the fault of some of the inhabitants who could not be reached directly. In time of interdict the priests closed the churches and neither married the living nor buried the dead. Of the sacraments only Baptism, Confirmation, and Penance were permitted. All the inhabitants of the afflicted district were ordered to fast, as in Lent, and to let their hair grow long in sign of mourning. The interdict also stopped the wheels of

government, for courts of justice were shut, wills could not be made, and public officials were forbidden to perform their duties. In some cases the Church went so far as to lay an interdict upon an entire kingdom, whose ruler had refused to obey her mandate. [13] The interdict has now passed out of use, but excommunication still retains its place among the spiritual weapons of the Church.

162. THE SECULAR CLERGY

THE SECULAR AND REGULAR CLERGY

Some one has said that in the Middle Ages there were just three classes of society: the nobles who fought; the peasants who worked; and the clergy who prayed. The latter class was divided into the secular [14] clergy, including deacons, priests, and bishops, who lived active lives in the world, and the regular [15] clergy, or monks, who passed their days in seclusion behind monastery walls.

POSITION OF THE CLERGY

It has been already pointed out how early both secular and regular clergy came to be distinguished from the laity by abstention from money-making activities, differences in dress, and the obligation of celibacy. [16] Being unmarried, the clergy had no family cares; being free from the necessity of earning their own living, they could devote all their time and energy to the service of the Church. The sacrament of Ordination, which was believed to endow the clergy with divine power, also helped to strengthen their influence. They appeared as a distinct order, in whose charge was the care of souls and in whose hands were the keys of heaven.

PARISH PRIESTS

An account of the secular clergy naturally begins with the parish priest, who had charge of a parish, the smallest division of Christendom. No one could act as a priest without the approval of the bishop, but the nobleman who supported the parish had the privilege of nominating candidates for the position. The priest derived his income from lands belonging to the parish, from tithes, [17] and from voluntary contributions, but as a rule he received little more than a bare living. The parish priest was the only Church officer who came continually into touch with the common people. He baptized, married, and buried his parishioners. For them he celebrated Mass at least once a week, heard confessions, and granted absolution. He watched over all their deeds on earth and prepared them for the life to come. And if he preached little, he seldom failed to set in his own person an example of right living.

THE PARISH CHURCH

The church, with its spire which could be seen afar off and its bells which called the faithful to worship, formed the social center of the parish. Here on Sundays and holy days the people assembled for the morning and evening services. During the interval between religious exercises they often enjoyed games and other amusements in the adjoining churchyard. As a place of public gathering the parish church held an important place in the life of the Middle Ages.

BISHOPS

A group of parishes formed a diocese, over which a bishop presided. It was his business to look after the property belonging to the diocese, to hold the ecclesiastical courts, to visit the clergy, and to see that they did their duty. The bishop alone could administer the sacraments of Confirmation and Ordination. He also performed the ceremonies at the consecration of a new church edifice or shrine. Since the Church held vast estates on feudal

tenure, the bishop was usually a territorial lord, owing a vassal's obligations to the king or to some powerful noble for his land and himself ruling over vassals in different parts of the country. As symbols of his power and dignity the bishop wore on his head the miter and carried the pastoral staff, or crosier. [18]

[Illustration: A BISHOP ORDAINING A PRIEST From an English manuscript of the twelfth century. The bishop wears a miter and holds in his left hand the pastoral staff, or crosier. His right hand is extended in blessing over the priest's head.]

ARCHBISHOPS

Above the bishop in rank stood the archbishop. In England, for example, there were two archbishops, one residing at York and the other at Canterbury. The latter, as "primate of all England," was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the land. An archbishop's distinctive vestment consisted of the *pallium*, a narrow band of white wool, worn around the neck. The pope alone could confer the right to wear the *pallium*.

THE CATHEDRAL

The church which contained the official seat or throne [19] of a bishop or archbishop was called a cathedral. It was ordinarily the largest and most magnificent church in the diocese. [20]

163. THE REGULAR CLERGY

DECLINE OF MONASTICISM

The regular clergy, or monks, during the early Middle Ages belonged to the Benedictine order. By the tenth century, however, St. Benedict's Rule

had lost much of its force. As the monasteries increased in wealth through gifts of land and goods, they sometimes became centers of idleness, luxury, and corruption. The monks forgot their vows of poverty; and, instead of themselves laboring as farmers, craftsmen, and students, they employed laymen to work for them. At the same time powerful feudal lords frequently obtained control of the monastic estates by appointing as abbots their children or their retainers. Grave danger existed that the monasteries would pass out of Church control and decline into mere fiefs ruled by worldly men.

THE CLUNIAC REVIVAL

A great revival of monasticism began in 910 A.D., with the foundation of the monastery of Cluny in eastern France. The monks of Cluny led lives of the utmost self-denial and followed the Benedictine Rule in all its strictness. Their enthusiasm and devotion were contagious; before long Cluny became a center from which a reformatory movement spread over France and then over all western Europe. By the middle of the twelfth century more than three hundred monasteries looked to Cluny for inspiration and guidance.

THE "CONGREGATION OF CLUNY"

Each of the earlier Benedictine monasteries had been an isolated community, independent and self-governing. Consequently, when discipline grew lax or when the abbot proved to be an incapable ruler, it was difficult to correct the evils which arose. In the Cluniac system, however, all the monasteries formed parts of one organization, the "Congregation of Cluny." The abbot of Cluny appointed their "priors," or heads, and required every monk to pass several years of his monastic life at Cluny itself. This monarchical arrangement helps to explain why for two hundred years the abbot of Cluny was, next to the pope, the most important churchman in western Europe.

THE CISTERCIAN ORDER

Other monastic orders arose in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of these, the most important was the Cistercian, founded in 1098 A.D. at Citeaux, not far from Cluny. The keynote of Cistercian life was the return to a literal obedience of St. Benedict's Rule. Hence the members of the order lived in the utmost simplicity, cooking their own meager repasts and wearing coarse woolen garments woven from the fleeces of their own sheep. The Cistercians especially emphasized the need for manual labor. They were the best farmers and cattle breeders of the Middle Ages. Western Europe owes even more to them than to the Benedictines for their work as pioneers in the wilderness. "The Cistercians," declared a medieval writer, "are a model to all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the indolent."

ST. BERNARD, 1090-1153 A.D.

The whole spirit of medieval monasticism found expression in St. Bernard, a Burgundian of noble birth. While still a young man he resolved to leave the world and seek the repose of the monastic life. He entered Citeaux, carrying with him thirty companions. Mothers are said to have hid their sons from him, and wives their husbands, lest they should be converted to monasticism by his persuasive words. After a few years at Citeaux St. Bernard established the monastery of Clairvaux, over which he ruled as abbot till his death. His ascetic life, piety, eloquence, and ability as an executive soon brought him into prominence. People visited Clairvaux from far and near to listen to his preaching and to receive his counsels. The monastery flourished under his direction and became the parent of no less than sixty-five Cistercian houses which were planted in the wilderness. St. Bernard's activities widened, till he came to be the most influential man in western Christendom. It was St. Bernard who acted as an adviser of the popes, at one time deciding between two rival candidates for the Papacy,

who combated most vigorously the heresies of the day, and who by his fiery appeals set in motion one of the crusades. [21] The charm of his character is revealed to us in his sermons and letters, while some of the Latin hymns commonly attributed to him are still sung in many churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

164. THE FRIARS

COMING OF THE FRIARS

The history of Christian monasticism exhibits an ever-widening social outlook. The early hermits [22] had devoted themselves, as they believed, to the service of God by retiring desert for prayer, meditation, and bodily mortification. St. Benedict's wise Rule, as followed by the medieval monastic orders, marked a change for the better. It did away with extreme forms of self-denial, brought the monks together in a common house, and required them to engage in daily manual labor. Yet even the Benedictine system had its limitations. The monks lived apart from the world and sought chiefly the salvation of their own souls. A new conception of the monastic life arose early in the thirteenth century, with the coming of the friars. [23] The aim of the friars was social service. They lived active lives in the world and devoted themselves entirely to the salvation of others. The foundation of the orders of friars was the work of two men, St. Francis in Italy and St. Dominic in Spain.

ST. FRANCIS, 1181(?)-1226 A.D.

Twenty-eight years after the death of St. Bernard, St. Francis was born at Assisi. As the son of a rich and prominent merchant St. Francis had before him the prospect of a fine career in the world. But he put away all thoughts of fame and wealth, deserted his gay companions, and, choosing "Lady

Poverty" as his bride, started out to minister to lepers and social outcasts. One day, while attending Mass, the call came to him to preach the Gospel, as Christ had preached it, among the poor and lowly. The man's earnestness and charm of manner soon drew about him devoted followers. After some years St. Francis went to Rome and obtained Pope Innocent III's sanction of his work. The Franciscan order spread so rapidly that even in the founder's lifetime there were several thousand members in Italy and other European countries.

[Illustration: ST. FRANCIS BLESSING THE BIRDS
From a painting by the Italian artist Giotto.]

ST. FRANCIS, THE MAN

St. Francis is one of the most attractive figures in all history. Perhaps no other man has ever tried so seriously to imitate in his own life the life of Christ. St. Francis went about doing good. He resembled, in some respects, the social workers and revivalist preachers of to-day. In other respects he was a true child of the Middle Ages. An ascetic, he fasted, wore a hair-cloth shirt, mixed ashes with his food to make it disagreeable, wept daily, so that his eyesight was nearly destroyed, and every night flogged himself with iron chains. A mystic, he lived so close to God and nature that he could include within the bonds of his love not only men and women, but also animals, trees, and flowers. He preached a sermon to the birds and once wrote a hymn to praise God for his "brothers," sun, wind, and fire, and for his "sisters," moon, water, and earth. When told that he had but a short time to live, he exclaimed, "Welcome, Sister Death!" He died at the age of forty-five, worn out by his exertions and self-denial. Two years later the pope made him a saint.

ST. DOMINIC, 1170-1221 A.D.

St. Dominic, unlike St. Francis, was a clergyman and a student of theology. After being ordained he went to southern France and labored there for ten years among a heretical sect known as the Albigenses. The order of Dominicans grew out of the little band of volunteers who assisted him in the mission. St. Dominic sent his followers—at first only sixteen in number—out into the world to combat heresy. They met with great success, and at the founder's death the Dominicans had as many as sixty friaries in various European cities.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FRIARS

The Franciscans and Dominicans resembled each other in many ways. They were "itinerant," going on foot from place to place, and wearing coarse robes tied round the waist with a rope. They were "mendicants," [24] who possessed no property but lived on the alms of the charitable. They were also preachers, who spoke to the people, not in Latin, but in the common language of each country which they visited. The Franciscans worked especially in the "slums" of the cities; the Dominicans addressed themselves rather to educated people and the upper classes. As time went on, both orders relaxed the rule of poverty and became very wealthy. They still survive, scattered all over the world and employed in teaching and missionary activity. [25]

THE FRIARS AND THE PAPACY

The friars by their preaching and ministrations did a great deal to call forth a religious revival in Europe during the thirteenth century. In particular they helped to strengthen the papal authority. Both orders received the sanction of the pope; both enjoyed many privileges at his hands; and both looked to him for direction. The pope employed them to raise money, to preach crusades, and to impose excommunications and

interdicts. The Franciscans and Dominicans formed, in fact, the agents of the Papacy.

165. POWER OF THE PAPACY

THE POPE'S EXALTED POSITION

The name "pope" [26] seems at first to have been applied to all priests as a title of respect and affection. The Greek Church still continues this use of the word. In the West it gradually came to be reserved to the bishop of Rome as his official title. The pope was addressed in speaking as "Your Holiness." His exalted position was further indicated by the tiara, or headdress with triple crowns, worn by him in processions. [27] He went to solemn ceremonies sitting in a chair supported on the shoulders of his guard. He gave audience from an elevated throne, and all who approached him kissed his feet in reverence. As "Christ's Vicar" he claimed to be the representative on earth of the Almighty.

THE POPE AS THE HEAD OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM

The pope was the supreme lawgiver of the Church. His decrees might not be set aside by any other person. He made new laws in the form of "bulls" [28] and by his "dispensations" could in particular cases set aside old laws, such as those forbidding cousins to marry or monks to obtain release from their vows. The pope was also the supreme judge of the Church, for all appeals from the lower ecclesiastical courts came before him for decision. Finally, the pope was the supreme administrator of the Church. He confirmed the election of bishops, deposed them, when necessary, or transferred them from one diocese to another. No archbishop might perform the functions of his office until he had received the *pallium* from the pope's

hands. The pope also exercised control over the monastic orders and called general councils of the Church.

THE PAPAL LEGATES

The authority of the pope was commonly exercised by the "legates," [29] whom he sent out as his representatives at the various European courts. These officers kept the pope in close touch with the condition of the Church in every part of western Europe. A similar function is performed in modern times by the papal ambassadors known as "nuncios."

THE CARDINALS

For assistance in government the pope made use of the cardinals, [30] who formed a board, or "college." At first they were chosen only from the clergy of Rome and the vicinity, but in course of time the pope opened the cardinalate to prominent churchmen in all countries. The number of cardinals is now fixed at seventy, but the college is never full, and there are always ten or more "vacant hats," as the saying goes. The cardinals, in the eleventh century, received the right of choosing a new pope. A cardinal ranks above all other church officers. His dignity is indicated by the red hat and scarlet robe which he wears and by the title of "Eminence" applied to him.

INCOME OF THE PAPACY

To support the business of the Papacy and to maintain the splendor of the papal court required a large annual income. This came partly from the States of the Church in Italy, partly from the gifts of the faithful, and partly from the payments made by abbots, bishops, and archbishops when the pope confirmed their election to office. Still another source of revenue consisted of "Peter's Pence," a tax of a penny on each hearth. It was

collected every year in England and in some Continental countries until the Reformation. The modern "Peter's Pence" is a voluntary contribution made by Roman Catholics in all countries.

THE CAPITAL OF THE PAPACY

The Eternal City, from which in ancient times the known world had been ruled, formed in the Middle Ages the capital of the Papacy. Hither every year came tens of thousands of pilgrims to worship at the shrine of the Prince of the Apostles. Few traces now remain of the medieval city. Old St. Peter's Church, where Charlemagne was crowned emperor, [31] gave way in the sixteenth century to the world-famous structure that now occupies its site. [32] The Lateran Palace, which for more than a thousand years served as the residence of the popes, has also disappeared, its place being taken by a new and smaller building. The popes now live in the splendid palace of the Vatican, adjoining St. Peter's.

THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

The powers exercised by the popes during the later Middle Ages were not secured without a struggle. As a matter of fact the concentration of authority in papal hands was a gradual development covering several hundred years. The pope reached his exalted position only after a long contest with the Holy Roman Emperor. This contest forms one of the most noteworthy episodes in medieval history.

166. POPES AND EMPERORS, 962-1122 A.D.

RELATIONS BETWEEN POPE AND EMPEROR IN THEORY

One might suppose that there could be no interference between pope and emperor, since they seemed to have separate spheres of action. It was said

that God had made the pope, as the successor of St. Peter, supreme in spiritual matters and the emperor, as heir of the Roman Caesars, supreme in temporal matters. The former ruled men's souls, the latter, men's bodies. The two sovereigns thus divided on equal terms the government of the world.

THEIR RELATIONS IN PRACTICE

The difficulty with this theory was that it did not work. No one could decide in advance where the authority the pope ended and where that of the emperor began. When the pope claimed certain powers which were also claimed by the emperor, a conflict between the two rulers became inevitable.

[Illustration: THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL POWER
A tenth-century mosaic in the church of St. John, Rome. It represents Christ giving to St. Peter the keys of heaven, and to Constantine the banner symbolic of earthly dominion.]

OTTO THE GREAT AND THE PAPACY

In 962 A.D. Otto the Great, as we have learned, [33] restored imperial rule in the West, thus founding what in later centuries the came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire. Otto as emperor possessed the rights of making the city of Rome the imperial capital, of approving the election of the pope, and, in general, of exerting much influence in papal affairs. All these rights had been exercised by Charlemagne. But Otto did what Charlemagne had never done when he deposed a pope who proved disobedient to his wishes and on his own authority appointed a successor. At the same time Otto exacted from the people of Rome an oath that they would never recognize any pope to whose election the emperor had not consented.

THE PAPACY AND OTTO'S SUCCESSORS

The emperors who followed Otto repeatedly interfered in elections to the Papacy. One strong ruler, Henry III (1039-1056 A.D.), has been called the "pope-maker." Early in his reign he set aside three rival claimants to the Papacy, creating a German bishop pope, and on three subsequent occasions filled the papal throne by fresh appointments. It was clear that if this situation continued much longer the Papacy would become simply an imperial office; it would be merged in the Empire.

PAPAL ELECTION BY THE CARDINALS

The death of Henry III, which left the Empire in weak hands, gave the Papacy a chance to escape the control of the secular power. In 1059 A.D. a church council held at the Lateran Palace decreed that henceforth the right of choosing the supreme pontiff should belong exclusively to the cardinals, who represented the clergy of Rome. This arrangement has tended to prevent any interference with the election of popes, either by the Roman people or by foreign sovereigns.

FEUDALIZING OF THE CHURCH

Now that the Papacy had become independent, it began to deal with a grave problem which affected the Church at large. According to ecclesiastical rule bishops ought to be chosen by the clergy of their diocese and abbots of by their monks. With the growth of feudalism, however, many of these high dignitaries had become vassals, holding their lands as fiefs of princes, kings, and emperors, and owing the usual feudal dues. Their lords expected them to perform the ceremony of homage, [34] before "investing" them with the lands attached to the bishopric or monastery. One can readily see that in practice the lords really chose the bishops and abbots, since they could always refuse to "invest" those who were displeasing to them.

LAY INVESTITURE FROM THE CHURCH STANDPOINT

To the reformers in the Church lay investiture appeared intolerable. How could the Church keep itself unspotted from the world when its highest officers were chosen by laymen and were compelled to perform unpriestly duties? In the act of investiture the reformers also saw the sin of simony [35]—the sale of sacred powers—because there was such a temptation before the candidate for a bishopric or abbacy to buy the position with promises or with money.

LAY INVESTITURE AS VIEWED BY THE SECULAR AUTHORITY

The lords, on the other hand, believed that as long as bishops and abbots held vast estates on feudal tenure they should continue to perform the obligations of vassalage. To forbid lay investiture was to deprive the lords of all control over Church dignitaries. The real difficulty of the situation existed, of course, in the fact that the bishops and abbots were both spiritual officers and temporal rulers, were servants of both the Church and the State. They found it very difficult to serve two masters.

PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY VII, 1073-1085 A.D.

In 1073 A.D. there came to the throne of St. Peter one of the most remarkable of the popes. This was Hildebrand, who, on becoming pope, took the name of Gregory VII. Of obscure Italian birth, he received his education in a Benedictine monastery at Rome and rose rapidly to a position of great influence in papal affairs. He is described as a small man, ungainly in appearance and with a weak voice, but energetic, forceful, and of imperious will.

GREGORY'S AIMS

Gregory devoted all his talents to the advancement of the Papacy. A contemporary document, [36] which may have been of Gregory's own composition and at any rate expresses his ideas, contains the following statements: "The Roman pontiff alone is properly called universal. He alone may depose bishops and restore them to office. He is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes. He may depose emperors. He may be judged by no one. He may absolve from their allegiance the subjects of the wicked. The Roman Church never has erred, and never can err, as the Scriptures testify." Gregory did not originate these doctrines, but he was the first pope who ventured to make a practical application of them.

DECREE AGAINST LAY INVESTITURE, 1075 A.D.

Two years after Gregory became pope he issued a decree against lay investiture. It declared that no emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, or any other lay person should presume to grant investiture, under pain of excommunication. This decree was a general one, applying to all states of western Europe, but circumstances were such that it mainly affected Germany.

HENRY IV AND GREGORY VII

Henry IV, the ruler of Germany at this time, did not refuse the papal challenge. He wrote a famous letter to Gregory, calling him "no pope but false monk," telling him Christ had never called him to the priesthood, and bidding him "come down;" "come down" from St. Peter's throne. Gregory, in reply, deposed Henry as emperor, excommunicated him, and freed his subjects from their allegiance.

CANOSSA, 1077 A.D.

This severe sentence made a profound impression in Germany. Henry's adherents fell away, and it seemed probable that the German nobles would elect another ruler in his stead. Henry then decided on abject submission. He hastened across the Alps and found the pope at the castle of Canossa, on the northern slopes of the Apennines. It was January, and the snow lay deep on the ground. For three days the emperor stood shivering outside the castle gate, barefoot and clad in a coarse woolen shirt, the garb of a penitent. At last, upon the entreaties of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, Gregory admitted Henry and granted absolution. It was a strange and moving spectacle, one which well expressed the tremendous power which the Church in the Middle Ages exercised over the minds of men.

[Illustration: HENRY IV, COUNTESS MATILDA, AND GREGORY VII
From a manuscript of the twelfth century now in the Vatican Library at Rome.]

CONCORDAT OF WORMS, 1122 A.D.

The dramatic scene at Canossa did not end the investiture conflict. It dragged on for half a century, being continued after Gregory's death by the popes who succeeded him. At last in 1122 A.D. the opposing parties agreed to what is known as the Concordat of Worms, from the old German city where it was signed.

TERMS OF THE CONCORDAT

The concordat drew a distinction between spiritual and lay investiture. The emperor renounced investiture by the ring and crosier—the emblems of spiritual authority—and permitted bishops and abbots to be elected by the clergy and confirmed in office by the pope. On the other hand the pope recognized the emperor's right to be present at all elections and to invest bishops and abbots by the scepter for whatever lands they held within his

domains. This reasonable compromise worked well for a time. But it was a truce, not a peace. It did not settle the more fundamental issue, whether the Papacy or the Holy Roman Empire should be supreme.

167. POPES AND EMPERORS, 1122-1273 A.D.

FREDERICK I, EMPEROR, 1152-1190

Thirty years after the signing of the Concordat of Worms the emperor Frederick I, called Barbarossa from his red beard, succeeded to the throne. Frederick, the second emperor, of the Hohenstaufen dynasty [37] was capable, imaginative, and ambitious. He took Charlemagne and Otto the Great as his models and aspired like them to rule Christian Europe and the Church. His reign is the story of many attempts, ending at length in failure, to unite all Italy into a single state under German sway.

FREDERICK AND THE PAPACY

Frederick's Italian policy brought him at once into conflict with two powerful enemies. The popes, who feared that his success would imperil the independence of the Papacy, opposed him at every step. The great cities of northern Italy, which were also threatened by Frederick's soaring schemes, united in the Lombard League to defend their freedom. The popes gave the league their support, and in 1176 A.D. Frederick was badly beaten at the battle of Legnano. The haughty emperor confessed himself conquered, and sought reconciliation with the pope, Alexander III. In the presence of a vast throng assembled before St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, Frederick knelt before the pope and humbly kissed his feet. Just a century had passed since the humiliation of Henry IV at Canossa.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III, 1198-1216 A.D.

The Papacy reached the height of its power under Innocent III. The eighteen years of his pontificate were one long effort, for the most part successful, to make the pope the arbiter of Europe. Innocent announced the claims of the Papacy in the most uncompromising manner. "As the moon," he declared, "receives its light from the sun, and is inferior to the sun, so do kings receive all their glory and dignity from the Holy See." This meant, according to Innocent, that the pope has the right to interfere in all secular matters and in the quarrels of rulers. "God," he continued, "has set the Prince of the Apostles over kings and kingdoms, with a mission to tear up, plant, destroy, scatter, and rebuild."

INNOCENT AND KING PHILIP OF FRANCE

That Innocent's claims were not idle boasts is shown by what he accomplished. When Philip Augustus, king of France, divorced his wife and made another marriage, Innocent declared the divorce void and ordered him to take back his discarded queen. Philip refused, and Innocent, through his legate, put France under an interdict. From that hour all religious rites ceased. The church doors were barred; the church bells were silent, the sick died unshriven, the dead lay unburied. Philip, deserted by his retainers, was compelled to submit.

INNOCENT AND KING JOHN OF ENGLAND

On another occasion Innocent ordered John, the English king, to accept as archbishop of Canterbury a man of his own choosing. When John declared that he would never allow the pope's appointee to set foot on English soil, Innocent replied by excommunicating him and laying his kingdom under an interdict. John also had to yield and went so far as to surrender England and Ireland to the pope, receiving them back again as fiefs, for which he promised to pay a yearly rent. This tribute money was actually paid, though irregularly, for about a century and a half.

FREDERICK II, EMPEROR, 1212-1250 A.D.

Innocent further exhibited his power by elevating to the imperial throne Frederick II, grandson of Frederick Barbarossa. The young man, after Innocent's death, proved to be a most determined opponent of the Papacy. He passed much of his long reign in Italy, warring vainly against the popes and the Lombard cities. Frederick died in 1250 A.D., and with him the Holy Roman Empire really ceased to exist. [38] None of the succeeding holders of the imperial title exercised any authority outside of Germany.

INTERREGNUM, 1254-1273 A.D.

The death of Frederick II's son in 1254 A.D. ended the Hohenstaufen dynasty. There now ensued what is called the Interregnum, a period of nineteen years, during which Germany was without a ruler. At length the pope sent word to the German electors that if they did not choose an emperor, he would himself do so. The electors then chose Rudolf of Hapsburg [39] (1273 A.D.). Rudolf gained papal support by resigning all claims on Italy, but recompensed himself through the conquest of Austria. [40] Ever since this time the Hapsburg dynasty has filled the Austrian throne.

OUTCOME OF THE CONFLICT

The conflict between popes and emperors was now ended. Its results were momentous. Germany, so long neglected by its rightful rulers, who pursued the will-o'-the-wisp in Italy, broke up into a mass of duchies, counties, archbishoprics, and free cities. The map of the country at this time shows how numerous were these small feudal states. They did not combine into a strong government till the nineteenth century. [41] Italy likewise remained disunited and lacked even a common monarch. The real victor

was the Papacy, which had crushed the Empire and had prevented the union of Italy and Germany.

[Illustration: Map, GERMANY AND ITALY During the Interregnum 1254-1273
A.D.]

168. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

THE CHURCH AND WARFARE

Medieval society, we have now learned, owed much to the Church, both as a teacher of religion and morals and as an agency of government. It remains to ask what was the attitude of the Church toward the great social problems of the Middle Ages. In regard to warfare, the prevalence of which formed one of the worst evils of the time, the Church, in general, cast its influence on the side of peace. It deserves credit for establishing the Peace and the Truce of God and for many efforts to heal strife between princes and nobles. Yet, as will be shown, the Church did not carry the advocacy of peace so far as to condemn warfare against heretics and infidels. Christians believed that it was a religious duty to exterminate these enemies of God.

THE CHURCH AND CHARITY

The Church was distinguished for charitable work. The clergy received large sums for distribution to the needy. From the doors of the monasteries, the poor, the sick, and the infirm of every sort were never turned away. Medieval charity, however, was very often injudicious. The problem of removing the causes of poverty seems never to have been raised; and the indiscriminate giving multiplied, rather than reduced, the number of beggars.

THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY AND SERFDOM

Neither slavery nor serfdom, into which slavery gradually passed, [42] was ever pronounced unlawful by pope or Church council. The Church condemned slavery only when it was the servitude of a Christian in bondage to a Jew or an infidel. Abbots, bishops, and popes possessed slaves and serfs. The serfs of some wealthy monasteries were counted by thousands. The Church, however, encouraged the freeing of bondmen as a meritorious act and always preached the duty of kindness and forbearance toward them.

DEMOCRACY OF THE CHURCH

The Church also helped to promote the cause of human freedom by insisting on the natural equality of all men in the sight of God. "The Creator," wrote one of the popes, "distributes his gifts without regard to social classes. In his eyes there are neither nobles nor serfs." It was not necessary to be of noble birth to become a bishop, a cardinal, or a pope. Even serfs succeeded to the chair of St. Peter. Naturally enough, the Church attracted the keenest minds of the age, a fact which largely explains the influence exerted by the clergy.

THE CLERGY AS THE ONLY EDUCATED CLASS

The influence of the clergy in medieval Europe was also due to the fact that they were almost the only persons of education. Few except churchmen were able to read or write. So generally was this the case that an offender could prove himself a clergyman, thus securing "benefit of clergy," [43] if he showed his ability to read a single line. It is interesting, also, to note that the word "clerk," which comes from the Latin *clericus*, was originally limited to churchmen, since they alone could keep accounts, write letters, and perform other secretarial duties.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CLERGY

It is clear that priests and monks had much importance quite aside from their religious duties. They controlled the schools, wrote the books, framed the laws, and, in general, acted as leaders and molders of public opinion. A most conspicuous instance of the authority wielded by them is seen in the crusades. These holy wars of Christendom against Islam must now be considered.

STUDIES

1. Explain the following terms: abbot; prior; archbishop; parish; diocese; regular clergy; secular clergy; friar; excommunication; simony; interdict; sacrament; "benefit of clergy"; right of "sanctuary"; crosier; miter; tiara; papal indulgence; bull; dispensation; tithes; and "Peter's Pence."

2. Mention some respects in which the Roman Church in the Middle Ages differed from any religious society of the present day.

3. "Medieval Europe was a camp with a church in the background." Comment on this statement.

4. Explain the statement that "the Church, throughout the Middle Ages, was a government as well as an ecclesiastical organization."

5. Distinguish between the *faith* of the Church, the *organization* of the Church, and the Church as a *force* in history.

6. How did the belief in Purgatory strengthen the hold of the Church upon men's minds?

7. Name several historic characters who have been made saints.

8. Why has the Roman Church always refused to sanction divorce?

9. Compare the social effects of excommunication with those of a modern "boycott."

10. What reasons have led the Church to insist upon celibacy of the clergy?

11. Name four famous monks and four famous monasteries.

12. Could monks enter the secular clergy and thus become parish priests and bishops?

13. Mention two famous popes who had been monks.

14. What justification was found in the New Testament (*Matthew*, x 8-10) for the organization of the orders of friars?

15. How did the Franciscans and Dominicans supplement each other's work?

16. "The monks and the friars were the militia of the Church." Comment on this statement.

17. Who is the present Pope? When and by whom was he elected? In what city does he reside? What is his residence called?

18. Why has the medieval Papacy been called the "ghost" of the Roman Empire?

19. In what sense is it true that the Holy Roman Empire was "neither holy nor Roman, nor an empire"?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter x, "Monastic Life in the Twelfth Century"; chapter xi, "St. Francis and the Franciscans."

[2] In case of necessity baptism might be performed by any lay person of adult years and sound mind.

[3] This doctrine is known as transubstantiation. In the Roman Church, as has been noted (page 363), wine is not administered to the laity.

[4] Hence the term "Apostolical Succession."

[5] Latin sanctus, "holy."

[6] See page 234.

[7] See page 431.

[8] See pages 407, 418.

[9] The belief in Purgatory is not held by Protestants or by members of the Greek Church.

[10] The so-called "canon law." See page 568.

[11] See page 420.

[12] For two instances of the use of excommunication see pages 459 and 461.

[13] For two instances of this sort see page 461.

[14] Latin *saeculum*, used in the sense of "the world."

[15] Latin *regula*, a "rule", referring to the rule or constitution of a monastic order.

[16] See page 343.

[17] The tithe was a tenth part of the yearly income from land, stock, and personal industry.

[18] See illustration, page 447.

[19] Latin *cathedra*.

[20] For the architecture of a medieval cathedral see pages 562-565.

[21] See page 474.

[22] See page 352.

[23] Latin *frater*, "brother."

[24] Latin *mendicare*, "to beg."

[25] In England the Franciscans, from the color of their robes, were called Gray Friars, the Dominicans, Black Friars.

[26] Latin *papa*, "father."

[27] See the illustration, page 348.

[28] So called from the lead seal (Latin *bulla*) attached to papal documents.

[29] Latin *legatus*, "deputy."

[30] Latin *cardinalus*, "principal."

[31] See page 311.

[32] See the plate facing page 591.

[33] See page 317.

[34] See page 418.

[35] A name derived from Simon Magus, who offered money to the Apostle Peter for the power to confer the Holy Spirit. See *Acts*, viii, 18-20.

[36] The so-called *Dictatus papae*.

[37] The name of this German family comes from that of their castle in southwestern Swabia.

[38] It survived in name until 1806 A.D., when the Austrian ruler, Francis II, laid down the imperial crown and the venerable title of "Holy Roman Emperor."

[39] Hapsburg as the name of a castle in northern Switzerland.

[40] See page 522.

[41] The modern German Empire dates from 1871 A.D.

[42] See pages 436-437.

[43] See page 444.

CHAPTER XX

THE OCCIDENT AGAINST THE ORIENT; THE CRUSADES, 1095-1291 A.D. [1]

169. CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES

PLACE OF THE CRUSADES IN HISTORY

The series of military expeditions, undertaken by the Christians of Europe for the purpose of recovering the Holy Land from the Moslems, have received the name of crusades. In their widest aspect the crusades may be regarded as a renewal of the age-long contest between East and West, in which the struggle of Greeks and Persians and of Romans and Carthaginians formed the earlier episodes. The contest assumed a new character when Europe had become Christian and Asia Mohammedan. It was not only two contrasting types of civilization but also two rival world religions which in the eighth century faced each other under the walls of Constantinople and on the battlefield of Tours. Now, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were to meet again.

NUMBER OF THE CRUSADES

Seven or eight chief crusades are usually enumerated. To number them, however, obscures the fact that for nearly two hundred years Europe and Asia were engaged in almost constant warfare. Throughout this period there

was a continuous movement of crusaders to and from the Moslem possessions in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

PILGRIMAGES TO THE HOLY LAND

The crusades were first and foremost a spiritual enterprise. They sprang from the pilgrimages which Christians had long been accustomed to make to the scenes of Christ's life on earth. Men considered it a wonderful privilege to see the cave in which He was born, to kiss the spot where He died, and to kneel in prayer at His tomb. The eleventh century saw an increased zeal for pilgrimages, and from this time travelers to the Holy Land were very numerous. For greater security they often joined themselves in companies and marched under arms. It needed little to transform such pilgrims into crusaders.

[Illustration: COMBAT BETWEEN CRUSADERS AND MOSLEMS
A picture in an eleventh-century window, formerly in the church of St. Denis, near Paris.]

ABUSE OF PILGRIMS BY THE TURKS

The Arab conquest of the Holy Land had not interrupted the stream of pilgrims, for the early caliphs were more tolerant of unbelievers than Christian emperors of heretics. But after the coming of the Seljuk Turks into the East, pilgrimages became more difficult and dangerous. The Turks were a ruder people than the Arabs whom they displaced, and in their fanatic zeal for Islam were not inclined to treat the Christians with consideration. Many tales floated back to Europe of the outrages committed on the pilgrims and on the sacred shrines venerated by all Christendom. Such stories, which lost nothing in the telling, aroused a storm of indignation throughout Europe and awakened the desire to rescue the Holy Land from the grasp of the "infidel."

THE CRUSADES AND THE UPPER CLASSES

But the crusades were not simply an expression of the simple faith of the Middle Ages. Something more than religious enthusiasm sent an unending procession of crusaders along the highways of Europe and over the trackless wastes of Asia Minor to Jerusalem. The crusades, in fact, appealed strongly to the warlike instincts of the feudal nobles. They saw in an expedition against the East an unequaled opportunity for acquiring fame, riches, lands, and power. The Normans were especially stirred by the prospect of adventure and plunder which the crusading movement opened up. By the end of the eleventh century they had established themselves in southern Italy and Sicily, from which they now looked across the Mediterranean for further lands to conquer. [2] Norman knights formed a very large element in several of the crusaders' armies.

THE LOWER CLASSES AND THE CRUSADES

The crusades also attracted the lower classes. So great was the misery of the common people in medieval Europe that for them it seemed not a hardship, but rather a relief, to leave their homes in order to better themselves abroad. Famine and pestilence, poverty and oppression, drove them to emigrate hopefully to the golden East.

PRIVILEGES OF CRUSADERS

The Church, in order to foster the crusades, promised both religious and secular benefits to those who took part in them. A warrior of the Cross was to enjoy forgiveness of all his past sins. If he died fighting for the faith, he was assured of an immediate entrance to the joys of Paradise. The Church also freed him from paying interest on his debts and threatened with excommunication anyone who molested his wife, his children, or his property.

170. FIRST CRUSADE, 1095-1099 A.D.

OCCASION OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

The signal for the First Crusade was given by the conquests of the Seljuk Turks. [3] These barbarians, at first the mercenaries and then the masters of the Abbasid caliphs, infused fresh energy into Islam. They began a new era of Mohammedan expansion by winning almost the whole of Asia Minor from the Roman Empire in the East. One of their leaders established himself at Nicaea, the scene of the first Church Council, [4] and founded the sultanate of Rum (Rome).

APPEAL OF EMPEROR TO POPE

The presence of the Turks so close to Constantinople was a standing menace to all Europe. The able emperor, Alexius I, on succeeding to the throne toward the close of the eleventh century, took steps to expel the invaders. He could not draw on the hardy tribes of Asia Minor for the soldiers he needed, but with reinforcements from the West he hoped to recover the lost provinces of the empire. Accordingly, in 1095 A.D., Alexius sent an embassy to Pope Urban II, the successor of Gregory VII, requesting aid. The fact that the emperor appealed to the pope, rather than to any king, shows what a high place the Papacy then held in the affairs of Europe.

COUNCIL OF CLERMONT, 1095 A.D.

To the appeal of Alexius, Urban lent a willing ear. He summoned a great council of clergy and nobles to meet at Clermont in France. Here, in an address which, measured by its results, was the most momentous recorded in history, Pope Urban preached the First Crusade. He said little about the dangers which threatened the Roman Empire in the East from the Turks, but dwelt chiefly on the wretched condition of the Holy Land, with its churches

polluted by unbelievers and its Christian inhabitants tortured and enslaved. Then, turning to the proud knights who stood by, Urban called upon them to abandon their wicked practice of private warfare and take up arms, instead, against the infidel. "Christ Himself," he cried, "will be your leader, when, like the Israelites of old, you fight for Jerusalem…. Start upon the way to the Holy Sepulcher; wrench the land from the accursed race, and subdue it yourselves. Thus shall you spoil your foes of their wealth and return home victorious, or, purpled with your own blood, receive an everlasting reward."

"GOD WILLS IT!"

Urban's trumpet call to action met an instant response. From the assembled host there went up, as it were, a single shout: "God wills it! God wills it!" "It is, in truth, His will," answered Urban, "and let these words be your war cry when you unsheath your swords against the enemy." Then man after man pressed forward to receive the badge of a crusader, a cross of red cloth. [5] It was to be worn on the breast, when the crusader went forth, and on the back, when he returned.

PRELUDE TO THE FIRST CRUSADE

The months which followed the Council of Clermont were marked by an epidemic of religious excitement in western Europe. Popular preachers everywhere took up the cry "God wills it!" and urged their hearers to start for Jerusalem. A monk named Peter the Hermit aroused large parts of France with his passionate eloquence, as he rode from town to town, carrying a huge cross before him and preaching to vast crowds. Without waiting for the main body of nobles, which was to assemble at Constantinople in the summer of 1096 A.D., a horde of poor men, women, and children set out, unorganized and almost unarmed, on the road to the Holy Land. One of these crusading bands, led by Peter the Hermit, managed to reach Constantinople, after suffering terrible hardships. The emperor

Alexius sent his ragged allies as quickly as possible to Asia Minor, where most of them were slaughtered by the Turks.

THE MAIN CRUSADE

Meanwhile real armies were gathering in the West. Recruits came in greater numbers from France than from any other country, a circumstance which resulted in the crusaders being generally called "Franks" by their Moslem foes. They had no single commander, but each contingent set out for Constantinople by its own route and at its own time. [6]

LEADERS OF THE CRUSADE

The crusaders included among their leaders some of the most distinguished representatives of European knighthood. Count Raymond of Toulouse headed a band of volunteers from Provence in southern France. Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin commanded a force of French and Germans from the Rhinelands. Normandy sent Robert, William the Conqueror's eldest son. The Normans from Italy and Sicily were led by Bohemond, a son of Robert Guiscard, [7] and his nephew Tancred.

THE CRUSADERS IN ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA

Though the crusaders probably did not number more than fifty thousand fighting men, the disunion which prevailed among the Turks favored the success of their enterprise. With some assistance from the eastern emperor they captured Nicaea, overran Asia Minor, and at length reached Antioch, the key to northern Syria. The city fell after a siege of seven months, but the crusaders were scarcely within the walls before they found themselves besieged by a large Turkish army. The crusaders were now in a desperate plight: famine wasted their ranks; many soldiers deserted; and Alexius disappointed all hope of rescue. But the news of the discovery in an Antioch

church of the Holy Lance which had pierced the Savior's side restored their drooping spirits. The whole army issued forth from the city, bearing the relic as a standard, and drove the Turks in headlong flight. This victory opened the road to Jerusalem.

[Illustration: "MOSQUE OF OMAR," JERUSALEM More correctly called the Dome of the Rock. It was erected in 691 A.D., but many restorations have taken place since that date. The walls enclosing the entire structure were built in the ninth century, and the dome is attributed to Saladin (1189 A.D.). This building, with its brilliant tiles covering the walls and its beautiful stained glass, is a fine example of Mohammedan architecture.]

CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM, 1099 A.D.

Reduced now to perhaps one-fourth of their original numbers, the crusaders advanced slowly to the city which formed the goal of all their efforts. Before attacking it they marched barefoot in religious procession around the walls, with Peter the Hermit at their head. Then came the grand assault. Godfrey of Bouillon and Tancred were among the first to mount the ramparts. Once inside the city, the crusaders massacred their enemies without mercy. Afterwards, we are told, they went "rejoicing, nay for excess of joy weeping, to the tomb of our Savior to adore and give thanks."

171. CRUSADERS' STATES IN SYRIA

LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

After the capture of Jerusalem the crusaders met to elect a king. Their choice fell upon Godfrey of Bouillon. He refused to wear a crown of gold in the city where Christ had worn a crown of thorns and accepted, instead, the modest title of "Protector of the Holy Sepulcher." [8] Godfrey died the next

year and his brother Baldwin, who succeeded him, being less scrupulous, was crowned king at Bethlehem. The new kingdom contained nearly a score of fiefs, whose lords made war, administered justice, and coined money, like independent rulers. The main features of European feudalism were thus transplanted to Asiatic soil.

OTHER CRUSADERS' STATES

The winning of Jerusalem and the district about it formed hardly more than a preliminary stage in the conquest of Syria. Much fighting was still necessary before the crusaders could establish themselves firmly in the country. Instead of founding one strong power in Syria, they split up their possessions into the three principalities of Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa. These small states owed allegiance to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

MILITARY-RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The ability of the crusaders' states to maintain themselves for many years in Syria was largely due to the foundation of two military-religious orders. The members were both monks and knights; that is, to the monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience they added a fourth vow, which bound them to protect pilgrims and fight the infidels. Such a combination of religion and warfare made a strong appeal to the medieval mind.

HOSPITALERS AND TEMPLARS

The Hospitalers, the first of these orders, grew out of a brotherhood for the care of sick pilgrims in a hospital at Jerusalem. Many knights joined the organization, which soon proved to be very useful in defending the Holy Land. Even more important were the Templars, so called because their headquarters in Jerusalem lay near the site of Solomon's Temple. Both orders built many castles in Syria, the remains of which still impress the

beholder. They established numerous branches in Europe and, by presents and legacies, acquired vast wealth. The Templars were disbanded in the fourteenth century, but the Hospitalers continued to fight valiantly against the Turks long after the close of the crusading movement. [9]

[Illustration: EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT TEMPLAR
Temple Church, London. Shows the kind of armor worn between 1190 and 1225
A.D.]

CHRISTIAN AND INFIDEL IN THE HOLY LAND

The depleted ranks of the crusaders were constantly filled by fresh bands of pilgrim knights who visited Palestine to pray at the Holy Sepulcher and cross swords with the infidel. In spite of constant border warfare much trade and friendly intercourse prevailed between Christians and Moslems. They learned to respect one another both as foes and neighbors. The crusaders' states in Syria became, like Spain [10] and Sicily, [11] a meeting-place of East and West.

172. SECOND CRUSADE, 1147-1149 A.D., AND THIRD CRUSADE, 1189-1192 A.D.

ORIGIN OF THE SECOND CRUSADE

The success of the Christians in the First Crusade had been largely due to the disunion among their enemies. But the Moslems learned in time the value of united action, and in 1144 A.D. succeeded in capturing Edessa, one of the principal Christian outposts in the East. The fall of the city, followed by the loss of the entire county of Edessa, aroused western Europe to the danger which threatened the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and led to another crusading enterprise.

PREACHING OF ST. BERNARD

The apostle of the Second Crusade was the great abbot of Clairvaux, St. Bernard. [12] Scenes of the wildest enthusiasm marked his preaching. When the churches were not large enough to hold the crowds which flocked to hear him, he spoke from platforms erected in the fields. St. Bernard's eloquence induced two monarchs, Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, to take the blood-red cross of a crusader.

FAILURE OF THE SECOND CRUSADE

The Second Crusade, though begun under the most favorable auspices, had an unhappy ending. Of the great host that set out from Europe, only a few thousands escaped annihilation in Asia Minor at the hands of the Turks. Louis and Conrad, with the remnants of their armies, made a joint attack on Damascus, but had to raise the siege after a few days. This closed the crusade. As a chronicler of the expedition remarked, "having practically accomplished nothing, the inglorious ones returned home."

SALADIN

Not many years after the Second Crusade, the Moslem world found in the famous Saladin a leader for a holy war against the Christians. Saladin in character was a typical Mohammedan, very devout in prayers and fasting, fiercely hostile toward unbelievers, and full of the pride of race. To these qualities he added a kindliness and humanity not surpassed, if equaled, by any of his Christian foes. He lives in eastern history and legend as the hero who stemmed once for all the tide of European conquest in Asia.

CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM BY SALADIN, 1187 A.D.

Having made himself sultan of Egypt, Saladin united the Moslems of Syria under his sway and then advanced against the Latin Kingdom of

Jerusalem. The Christians met him in a great battle near the lake of Galilee. It ended in the rout of their army and the capture of their king. Even the Holy Cross, which they had carried in the midst of the fight, became the spoil of the conqueror. Saladin quickly reaped the fruits of victory. The Christian cities of Syria opened their gates to him, and at last Jerusalem itself surrendered after a short siege. Little now remained of the possessions which the crusaders had won in the East.

THIRD CRUSADE ORGANIZED, 1189 A.D.

The news of the taking of Jerusalem spread consternation throughout western Christendom. The cry for another crusade arose on all sides. Once more thousands of men sewed the cross in gold, or silk, or cloth upon their garments and set out for the Holy Land. When the three greatest rulers of Europe—Philip Augustus, [13] king of France, Richard I, king of England, and the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa [14]—assumed the cross, it seemed that nothing could prevent the restoration of Christian supremacy in Syria.

DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, 1190 A.D.

The Germans under Frederick Barbarossa were the first to start. This great emperor was now nearly seventy years old, yet age had not lessened his crusading zeal. He took the overland route and after much hard fighting reached southern Asia Minor. Here, however, he was drowned, while trying to cross a swollen stream. Many of his discouraged followers at once returned to Germany; a few of them, however, pressed on and joined the other crusaders before the walls of Acre.

[Illustration: RICHARD I IN PRISON From an illuminated manuscript of the thirteenth century. King Richard on his return from the Holy Land was shipwrecked off the coast of the Adriatic. Attempting to travel through

Austria in disguise, he was captured by the duke of Austria, whom he had offended at the siege of Acre. The king regained his liberty only by paying a ransom equivalent to more than twice the annual revenues of England.]

ACRE CAPTURED BY PHILIP AND RICHARD, 1191 A.D.

The expedition of the French and English achieved little. Philip and Richard, who came by sea, captured Acre after a hard siege, but their quarrels prevented them from following up this initial success. Philip soon went home, leaving the further conduct of the crusade in Richard's hands.

RICHARD IN THE HOLY LAND, 1191-1192 A.D.

The English king remained for fourteen months longer in the Holy Land. His campaigns during this time gained for him the title of "Lion-hearted," [15] by which he is always known. He had many adventures and performed knightly exploits without number, but could not capture Jerusalem. Tradition declares that when, during a truce, some crusaders went up to Jerusalem, Richard refused to accompany them, saying that he would not enter as a pilgrim the city which he could not rescue as a conqueror. He and Saladin finally concluded a treaty by the terms of which Christians were permitted to visit Jerusalem without paying tribute. Richard then set sail for England, and with his departure from the Holy Land the Third Crusade came to an end.

173. FOURTH CRUSADE AND THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1202-1261 A.D.

INNOCENT III AND THE FOURTH CRUSADE

The real author of the Fourth Crusade was the famous pope, Innocent III. [16] Young, enthusiastic, and ambitious for the glory of the Papacy, he

revived the plans of Urban II and sought once more to unite the forces of Christendom against Islam. No emperor or king answered his summons, but a number of knights (chiefly French) took the crusader's vow.

THE CRUSADERS AND THE VENETIANS

The leaders of the crusade decided to make Egypt their objective point, since this country was then the center of the Moslem power. Accordingly, the crusaders proceeded to Venice, for the purpose of securing transportation across the Mediterranean. The Venetians agreed to furnish the necessary ships only on condition that the crusaders first seized Zara on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Zara was a Christian city, but it was also a naval and commercial rival of Venice. In spite of the pope's protests the crusaders besieged and captured the city. Even then they did not proceed against the Moslems. The Venetians persuaded them to turn their arms against Constantinople. The possession of that great capital would greatly increase Venetian trade and influence in the East; for the crusading nobles it held out endless opportunities of acquiring wealth and power. Thus it happened that these soldiers of the Cross, pledged to war with the Moslems, attacked a Christian city, which for centuries had formed the chief bulwark of Europe against the Arab and the Turk.

SACK OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204 A.D.

The crusaders—now better styled the invaders—took Constantinople by storm. No "infidels" could have treated in worse fashion this home of ancient civilization. They burned down a great part of it; they slaughtered the inhabitants; they wantonly destroyed monuments, statues, paintings, and manuscripts—the accumulation of a thousand years. Much of the movable wealth they carried away. Never, declared an eye-witness of the scene, had there been such plunder since the world began.

THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1204-1261 A.D.

The victors hastened to divide between them the lands of the Roman Empire in the East. Venice gained some districts in Greece, together with nearly all the Aegean islands. The chief crusaders formed part of the remaining territory into the Latin Empire of Constantinople. It was organized in fiefs, after the feudal manner. There was a prince of Achaia, a duke of Athens, a marquis of Corinth, and a count of Thebes. Large districts, both in Europe and Asia, did not acknowledge, however, these "Latin" rulers. The new empire lived less than sixty years. At the end of this time the Greeks returned to power.

DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE

Constantinople, after the Fourth Crusade, declined in strength and could no longer cope with the barbarians menacing it. Two centuries later the city fell an easy victim to the Turks. [17] The responsibility for the disaster which gave the Turks a foothold in Europe rests on the heads of the Venetians and the French nobles. Their greed and lust for power turned the Fourth Crusade into a political adventure.

THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE, 1213 A.D.

The so-called Children's Crusade illustrates at once the religious enthusiasm and misdirected zeal which marked the whole crusading movement. During the year 1212 A.D. thousands of French children assembled in bands and marched through the towns and villages, carrying banners, candles, and crosses and singing, "Lord God, exalt Christianity. Lord God, restore to us the true cross." The children could not be restrained at first, but finally hunger compelled them to return home. In Germany, during the same year, a lad named Nicholas really did succeed in launching a crusade. He led a mixed multitude of men and women, boys and girls over

the Alps into Italy, where they expected to take ship for Palestine. But many perished of hardships, many were sold into slavery, and only a few ever saw their homes again. "These children," Pope Innocent III declared, "put us to shame; while we sleep they rush to recover the Holy Land."

END OF THE CRUSADES

The crusading movement came to an end by the close of the thirteenth century. The emperor Frederick II [18] for a short time recovered Jerusalem by a treaty, but in 1244 A.D. the Holy City became again a possession of the Moslems. They have never since relinquished it. Acre, the last Christian post in Syria, fell in 1291 A.D., and with this event the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem ceased to exist. The Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, still kept possession of the important islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, which long served as a barrier to Moslem expansion over the Mediterranean.

174. RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES

FAILURE OF THE CRUSADES

The crusades, judged by what they set out to accomplish, must be accounted an inglorious failure. After two hundred years of conflict, after a vast expenditure of wealth and human lives, the Holy Land remained in Moslem hands. It is true that the First Crusade did help, by the conquest of Syria, to check the advance of the Turks toward Constantinople. But even this benefit was more than undone by the weakening of the Roman Empire in the East as a result of the Fourth Crusade.

WHY THE CRUSADES FAILED

Of the many reasons for the failure of the crusades, three require special consideration. In the first place, there was the inability of eastern and

western Europe to cooperate in supporting the holy wars. A united Christendom might well have been invincible. But the bitter antagonism between the Greek and Roman churches [19] effectually prevented all unity of action. The emperors at Constantinople, after the First Crusade, rarely assisted the crusaders and often secretly hindered them. In the second place, the lack of sea-power, as seen in the earlier crusades, worked against their success. Instead of being able to go by water directly to Syria, it was necessary to follow the long, overland route from France or Germany through Hungary, Bulgaria, the territory of the Roman Empire in the East, and the deserts and mountains of Asia Minor. The armies that reached their destination after this toilsome march were in no condition for effective campaigning. In the third place, the crusaders were never numerous enough to colonize so large a country as Syria and absorb its Moslem population. They conquered part of Syria in the First Crusade, but could not hold it permanently in the face of determined resistance.

WHY THE CRUSADES CEASED

In spite of these and other reasons the Christians of Europe might have continued much longer their efforts to recover the Holy Land, had they not lost faith in the movement. But after two centuries the old crusading enthusiasm died out, the old ideal of the crusade as "the way of God" lost its spell. Men had begun to think less of winning future salvation by visits to distant shrines and to think more of their present duties to the world about them. They came to believe that Jerusalem could best be won as Christ and the Apostles had won it—"by love, by prayers, and by the shedding of tears."

INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES ON FEUDALISM

The crusades could not fail to affect in many ways the life of western Europe. For instance, they helped to undermine feudalism. Thousands of

barons and knights mortgaged or sold their lands in order to raise money for a crusading expedition. Thousands more perished in Syria and their estates, through failure of heirs, reverted to the crown. Moreover, private warfare, that curse of the Middle Ages, [20] also tended to die out with the departure for the Holy Land of so many turbulent feudal lords. Their decline in both numbers and influence, and the corresponding growth of the royal authority, may best be traced in the changes that came about in France, the original home of the crusading movement.

THE CRUSADES AND COMMERCE

One of the most important effects of the crusades was on commerce. They created a constant demand for the transportation of men and supplies, encouraged ship-building, and extended the market for eastern wares in Europe. The products of Damascus, Mosul, Alexandria, Cairo, and other great cities were carried across the Mediterranean to the Italian seaports, whence they found their way into all European lands. The elegance of the Orient, with its silks, tapestries, precious stones, perfumes, spices, pearls, and ivory, was so enchanting that an enthusiastic crusader called it "the vestibule of Paradise."

THE CRUSADES AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

Finally, it must be noted how much the crusades contributed to intellectual and social progress. They brought the inhabitants of western Europe into close relations with one another, with their fellow Christians of the Roman Empire in the East, and with the natives of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The intercourse between Christians and Moslems was particularly stimulating, because the East at this time surpassed the West in civilization. The crusaders enjoyed the advantages which come from travel in strange lands and among unfamiliar peoples. They went out from their castles or villages to see great cities, marble palaces, superb dresses, and

elegant manners; they returned with finer tastes, broader ideas, and wider sympathies. Like the conquests of Alexander the Great, the crusades opened up a new world.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CRUSADES

When all is said, the crusades remain one of the most remarkable movements in history. They exhibited the nations of western Europe for the first time making a united effort for a common end. The crusaders were not hired soldiers, but volunteers, who, while the religious fervor lasted, gladly abandoned their homes and faced hardship and death in pursuit of a spiritual ideal. They failed to accomplish their purpose, yet humanity is the richer for the memory of their heroism and chivalry.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate Europe and the Mediterranean lands by religions, about 1095 A.D.

2. On an outline map indicate the routes of the First and the Third Crusades.

3. Locate on the map the following places: Clermont; Acre; Antioch; Zara; Edessa; and Damascus.

4. Identify the following dates: 1204 A.D.; 1095 A.D.; 1096 A.D.; 1291 A.D.

5. Write a short essay describing the imaginary experiences of a crusader to the Holy Land.

6. Mention some instances which illustrate the religious enthusiasm of the crusaders.

7. Compare the Mohammedan pilgrimage to Mecca with the pilgrimages of Christians to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages.

8. Compare the Christian crusade with the Mohammedan *jihad*, or holy war.

9. How did the expression, a "red-cross knight," arise?

10. Why is the Second Crusade often called "St. Bernard's Crusade"?

11. Why has the Third Crusade been called "the most interesting international expedition of the Middle Ages"?

12. Would the crusaders in 1204 A.D. have attacked Constantinople, if the schism of 1054 A.D. had not occurred?

13. "Mixture, or at least contact of races, is essential to progress." How do the crusades illustrate the truth of this statement?

14. Were the crusades the only means by which western Europe was brought in contact with Moslem civilization?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xii, "Richard the Lion-hearted and the Third Crusade"; chapter xiii, "The Fourth Crusade and the Capture of Constantinople."

[2] See page 412.

[3] See pages 333, 380.

[4] See page 235.

[5] Hence the name "crusades," from Latin *crux*, old French *crois*, a "cross".

[6] For the routes followed by the crusaders see the map between pages 478-479.

[7] See page 412.

[8] The emperor Constantine caused a stately church to be erected on the supposed site of Christ's tomb. This church of the Holy Sepulcher was practically destroyed by the Moslems, early in the eleventh century. The crusaders restored and enlarged the structure, which still stands.

[9] The order of Hospitalers, now known as the "Knights of Malta," still survives in several European countries.

[10] See page 383.

[11] See page 413.

[12] See pages 449-450.

[13] See page 513.

[14] See page 460.

[15] In French *Coeur-de-Lion*.

[16] See page 461.

[17] See page 492.

[18] See page 462.

[19] See pages 362-363.

[20] See page 423.

CHAPTER XXI

THE MONGOLS AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS TO 1463 A.D.

175. THE MONGOLS

THE ASIATIC COUNTER-ATTACK

The extensive steppes in the middle and north of Asia have formed, for thousands of years, the abode of nomadic peoples belonging to the Yellow race. In prehistoric times they spread over northern Europe, but they were gradually supplanted by white-skinned Indo-Europeans, until now only remnants of them exist, such as the Finns and Lapps. In later ages history records how the Huns, the Bulgarians, and the Magyars have poured into Europe, spreading terror and destruction in their path. [1] These invaders were followed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the even more terrible Mongols and Ottoman Turks. Their inroads might well be described as Asia's reply to the crusades, as an Asiatic counter-attack upon Europe.

MONGOLIA

The Mongols, who have given their name to the entire race of yellow-skinned peoples, now chiefly occupy the high plateau bounded on the north by Siberia, on the south by China, on the east by Manchuria, and on the west by Turkestan. [2] Although the greater part of this area consists of the

Gobi desert, there are many oases and pastures available at different seasons of the year to the inhabitants. Hence the principal occupation of the Mongols has always been cattle breeding, and their horses, oxen, sheep, and camels have always furnished them with food and clothing.

MONGOL LIFE AND CHARACTER

Like most nomads the Mongols dwell in tents, each family often by itself. Severe simplicity is the rule of life, for property consists of little more than one's flocks and herds, clothes, and weapons. The modern Mongols are a peaceable, kindly folk, who have adopted from Tibet a debased form of Buddhism, but the Mongols of the thirteenth century in religion and morals were scarcely above the level of American Indians. To ruthless cruelty and passion for plunder they added an efficiency in warfare which enabled them, within fifty years, to overrun much of Asia and the eastern part of Europe.

[Illustration: HUT-WAGON OF THE MONGOLS (RECONSTRUCTION) On the wagon was placed a sort of hut or pavilion made of wands bound together with narrow thongs. The structure was then covered with felt or cloth and provided with latticed windows. Hut-wagons, being very light, were sometimes of enormous size.]

MILITARY PROWESS OF THE MONGOLS

The daily life of the Mongols was a training school for war. Constant practice in riding, scouting, and the use of arms made every man a soldier. The words with which an ancient Greek historian described the savage Scythians applied perfectly to the Mongols: "Having neither cities nor forts, and carrying their dwellings with them wherever they go; accustomed, moreover, one and all, to shoot from horseback; and living not by

husbandry but on their cattle, their wagons the only houses that they possess, how can they fail of being irresistible?" [3]

176. CONQUESTS OF THE MONGOLS, 1206-1405 A.D.

JENGHIZ KHAN

For ages the Mongols had dwelt in scattered tribes throughout their Asiatic wilderness, engaged in petty struggles with one another for cattle and pasture lands. It was the celebrated Jenghiz Khan, [4] chief of one of the tribes, who brought them all under his authority and then led them to the conquest of the world. Of him it may be said with truth that he had the most victorious of military careers, and that he constructed the most extensive empire known to history. If Jenghiz had possessed the ability of a statesman, he would have taken a place by the side of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.

MONGOL EMPIRE UNDER JENGHIZ, 1206-1227 A.D.

Jenghiz first sent the Mongol armies, which contained many Turkish allies, over the Great Wall [5] and into the fertile plains of China. All the northern half of the country was quickly overrun. Then Jenghiz turned westward and invaded Turkestan and Persia. Seven centuries have not sufficed to repair the damage which the Mongols wrought in this once-prosperous land. The great cities of Bokhara, Samarkand, Merv, and Herat, [6] long centers of Moslem culture, were pillaged and burned, and their inhabitants were put to the sword. Like the Huns the Mongols seemed a scourge sent by God. Still further conquests enlarged the empire, which at the death of Jenghiz in 1227 A.D. stretched from the Dnieper River to the China Sea.

MONGOL EMPIRE UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF JENGHIZ

The Mongol dominions in the thirteenth century were increased by the addition of Korea, southern China, and Mesopotamia, as well as the greater part of Asia Minor and Russia. Japan, indeed, repulsed the Mongol hordes, but at the other extremity of Asia they captured Bagdad, sacked the city, and brought the caliphate to an end. [7] The Mongol realm was very loosely organized, however, and during the fourteenth century it fell apart into a number of independent states, or khanates.

[Illustration: Map, THE MONGOL EMPIRE]

TIMUR THE LAME, DIED 1405 A.D.

It was reserved for another renowned Oriental monarch, Timur the Lame, [8] to restore the empire of Jenghiz Khan. His biographers traced his descent from that famous Mongol, but Timur was a Turk and an adherent of Islam. He has come down to us as perhaps the most terrible personification in history of the evil spirit of conquest. Such distant regions as India, Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Russia were traversed by Timur's soldiers, who left behind them only the smoking ruins of a thousand cities and abominable trophies in the shape of columns or pyramids of human heads. Timur died in his seventieth year, while leading his troops against China, and the extensive empire which he had built up in Asia soon crumbled to pieces.

[Illustration: TOMB OF TIMUR AT SAMARKAND Samarkand in Russian Central Asia became Timur's capital in 1369 AD. The city was once a center of Mohammedan wealth and culture, famous for its beautiful mosques, palaces, and colleges. The Gur-Amir, or tomb of Timur, consists of a chapel, crowned by a dome and enclosed by a wall. Time and earthquakes have greatly injured this fine building. The remains of Timur lie here under a huge block of jade.]

177. THE MONGOLS IN CHINA AND INDIA

MONGOL SWAY IN CHINA

The Mongols ruled over China for about one hundred and fifty years. During this period they became thoroughly imbued with Chinese culture. "China," said an old writer, "is a sea that salts all the rivers flowing into it." The most eminent of the Mongol emperors was Jenghiz Khan's grandson, Kublai (1259-1294 A.D.). He built a new capital, which in medieval times was known as Cambaluc and is now called Peking. While Kublai was on the throne, the Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, [9] visited China, and he describes in glowing colors the virtues and glories of the "Great Khan." There appears to have been considerable trade between Europe and China at this time, and Franciscan missionaries and papal legates penetrated to the remote East. After the downfall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368 A.D. China again shut her doors to foreign peoples. All intercourse with Europe ceased until the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. [10]

TIMUR AND BABER IN INDIA

Northern India, which in earlier ages had witnessed the coming of Persian, Macedonian, and Arabian conquerors, did not escape visitations by fresh Asiatic hordes. Timur the Lame, at the head of an innumerable host, rushed down upon the banks of the Indus and the Ganges and sacked Delhi, making there a full display of his unrivaled ferocity. Timur's invasion left no permanent impress on the history of India, but its memory fired the imagination of another Turkish chieftain, Baber, a remote descendant of Timur. In 1525 A.D. he invaded India and speedily made himself master of the northern part of the country.

EMPIRE OF THE MOGULS

The empire which Baber established in India is known as that of the Moguls, an Arabic form of the word Mongol. The Moguls, however, were Turkish in blood and Mohammedans in religion. The Mogul emperors reigned in great splendor from their capitals at Delhi and Agra, until the decline of their power in the eighteenth century opened the way for the British conquest of India.

178. THE MONGOLS IN EASTERN EUROPE

MONGOL CONQUEST OF RUSSIA, 1237-1240 A.D.

The location of Russia [11] on the border of Asia exposed that country to the full force of the Mongol attack. Jenghiz Khan's successors, entering Europe north of the Caspian, swept resistlessly over the Russian plain. Moscow and Kiev fell in quick succession, and before long the greater part of Russia was in the hands of the Mongols. Wholesale massacres marked their progress. "No eye remained open to weep for the dead."

[Illustration: THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA Erected by the Mogul emperor, Shah Jehan, as a tomb for his favorite wife, Muntaz Mahal. It was begun in 1632 A.D. and was completed in twenty-two years. The material is pure white marble, inlaid with jasper, agate and other precious stones. The building rests on a marble terrace, at each corner of which rises a tall graceful minaret. The extreme delicacy of the Taj Mahal and the richness of its ornamentation make it a masterpiece of architecture.]

INVASION OF POLAND AND HUNGARY BY THE MONGOLS, 1241 A.D.

Still the invaders pressed on. They devastated Hungary, driving the Magyar king in panic flight from his realm. They overran Poland. At a great battle in Silesia they destroyed the knighthood of Germany and filled nine sacks with the right ears of slaughtered enemies. The European peoples,

taken completely by surprise, could offer no effective resistance to these Asiatics, who combined superiority in numbers with surpassing generalship. Since the Arab attack in the eighth century Christendom had never been in graver peril. But the wave of Mongol invasion, which threatened to engulf Europe in barbarism, receded as quickly as it came. The Mongols soon abandoned Poland and Hungary and retired to their possessions in Russia.

[Illustration: Map, RUSSIA AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES]

THE "GOLDEN HORDE"

The ruler of the "Golden Horde," as the western section of the Mongol Empire was called, continued to be the lord of Russia for about two hundred and fifty years. Russia, throughout this period, was little more than a dependency of Asia. The conquered people were obliged to pay a heavy tribute and to furnish soldiers for the Mongol armies. Their princes, also, became vassals of the Great Khan.

MONGOL INFLUENCE ON RUSSIA

The Mongols, or "Tartars" [12] are usually said to have Orientalized Russia. It seems clear, however, that they did not interfere with the language, religion, and laws of their subjects. The chief result of the Mongol supremacy was to cut off Russia from western Europe, just at the time when England, France, Germany, and Italy were emerging from the darkness of the early Middle Ages.

RISE OF MUSCOVY

The invasion of the Mongols proved to be, indirectly, the making of the Russian state. Before they came the country was a patchwork of rival, and

often warring, principalities. The need of union against the common enemy welded them together. The principality of Muscovy, so named from the capital city of Moscow, conquered its neighbors, annexed the important city of Novgorod, whose vast possessions stretched from Lapland to the Urals, and finally became powerful enough to shake off the Mongol yoke.

REIGN OF IVAN III, THE GREAT, 1462-1505 A.D.

The final deliverance of Russia from the Mongols was accomplished by Ivan III, surnamed the Great. This ruler is also regarded as the founder of Russian autocracy, that is, of a personal, absolute, and arbitrary government. With a view to strengthening his claim to be the political heir of the eastern emperors, Ivan married a niece of the last ruler at Constantinople, who in 1453 A.D. had fallen in the defense of his capital against the Ottoman Turks. Henceforth the Russian ruler described himself as "the new Tsar [13] Constantine in the new city of Constantine, Moscow."

179. THE OTTOMAN TURKS AND THEIR CONQUESTS, 1227-1453 A.D.

RISE OF THE OTTOMANS

The first appearance of the Ottoman Turks in history dates from 1227 A.D., the year of Jenghiz Khan's death. In that year a small Turkish horde, driven westward from their central Asian homes by the Mongol advance, settled in Asia Minor. There they enjoyed the protection of their kinsmen, the Seljuk Turks, and from them accepted Islam. As the Seljuk power declined, that of the Ottomans rose in its stead. About 1300 A.D. their chieftain, Othman, [14] declared his independence and became the founder of the Ottoman Empire.

OTTOMAN EXPANSION

The growth of the Ottoman power was almost as rapid as that of the Arabs or of the Mongols. During the first half of the fourteenth century they firmly established themselves in northwestern Asia Minor, along the beautiful shores washed by the Bosporus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. The second half of the same century found them in Europe, wresting province after province from the feeble hands of the eastern emperors. First came the seizure of Gallipoli on the Dardanelles, which long remained the principal Turkish naval station. Then followed the capture of Adrianople, where in earlier centuries the Visigoths had destroyed a Roman army. [15] By 1400 A.D. all that remained of the Roman Empire in the East was Constantinople and a small district in the vicinity of that city.

THE JANIZARIES

The Turks owed much of their success to the famous body of troops known as Janizaries. [16] These were recruited for the most part from Christian children surrendered by their parents as tribute. The Janizaries received an education in the Moslem faith and careful instruction in the use of arms. Their discipline and fanatic zeal made them irresistible on the field of battle.

[Illustration: MOHAMMED II
A medal showing the strong face of the conqueror of Constantinople]

CONSTANTINOPLE BESIEGED

Constantinople had never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by the freebooters of the Fourth Crusade. [17] It was isolated from western Europe by the advance of the Turks. Frantic appeals for help brought only a few ships and men from Genoa and Venice. When in 1453 A.D. the sultan

Mohammed II, commanding a large army amply supplied with artillery, appeared before the walls, all men knew that Constantinople was doomed.

CAPTURE OF THE CITY

The defense of the city forms one of the most stirring episodes in history. The Christians, not more than eight thousand in number, were a mere handful compared to the Ottoman hordes. Yet they held out for nearly two months against every assault. When at length the end drew near, the Roman emperor, Constantine Palaeologus, a hero worthy of the name he bore, went with his followers at midnight to Sancta Sophia and there in that solemn fane received a last communion. Before sunrise on the following day the Turks were within the walls. The emperor, refusing to survive the city which he could not save, fell in the onrush of the Janizaries. Constantinople endured a sack of three days, during which many works of art, previously spared by the crusaders, were destroyed. Mohammed II then made a triumphal entry into the city and in Sancta Sophia, now stripped of its crosses, images, and other Christian emblems, proclaimed the faith of the prophet. And so the "Turkish night," as Slavic poets named it, descended on this ancient home of civilization.

AN EPOCH-MAKING EVENT

The capture of Constantinople is rightly regarded as an epoch-making event. It meant the end, once for all, of the empire which had served so long as the rearguard of Christian civilization, as the bulwark of the West against the East. Europe stood aghast at a calamity which she had done so little to prevent. The Christian powers of the West have been paying dearly, even to our own time, for their failure to save New Rome from infidel hands.

180. THE OTTOMAN TURKS IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

CONTINUED OTTOMAN EXPANSION

Turkey was now a European state. After the occupation of Constantinople the Ottoman territories continued to expand, and at the death of Mohammed II they included what are now Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, Albania, and Greece. Of all the Balkan states only tiny Montenegro, protected by mountain ramparts, preserved its independence.

NATURE OF TURKISH RULE

The Turks form a small minority among the inhabitants of the Balkans. At the present time there are said to be less than one million Turks in southeastern Europe. Even about Constantinople the Greeks far outnumber them. The Turks from the outset have been, not a nation in the proper sense of the word, but rather an army of occupation, holding down by force their far more numerous Christian subjects.

THE TURKS A MIXED PEOPLE

The people who thus acquired dominion over all southeastern Europe had become, even at the middle of the fifteenth century, greatly mixed in blood. Their ancestors were natives of central Asia, but in Europe they intermarried freely with their Christian captives and with converts from Christianity to Islam. So far has this admixture proceeded that the modern Turks are almost entirely European in physique.

[Illustration: Map, EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS AT THE FALL OF
CONSTANTINOPLE, 1453 A.D.]

ISOLATION OF THE TURKS

The Bulgarians, who came out of Asia to devastate Europe, at length turned Christian, adopted a Slavic speech, and entered the family of European nations. The Magyars, who followed them, also made their way into the fellowship of Christendom. Quite the opposite has been the case with the Turks. Preserving their Asiatic language and Moslem faith, they have remained in southeastern Europe, not a transitory scourge, but an abiding oppressor of Christian lands. Every century since 1453 A.D. has widened the gulf between them and their subjects.

TURKISH INFLUENCE IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The isolation of the Turks has prevented them from assimilating the higher culture of the peoples whom they conquered. They have never created anything in science, art, literature, commerce, or industry. Conquest has been the Turks' one business in the world, and when they ceased conquering their decline set in. But it was not till the end of the seventeenth century that the Turkish Empire entered on that downward road which is now fast leading to its extinction as a European power.

STUDIES

1. Locate these cities: Bokhara; Samarkand; Merv; Herat; Bagdad; Peking; Delhi; Kiev; Moscow; and Adrianople.

2. Who were Baber, Kublai Khan, Othman, Mohammed II, Constantine Palaeologus, and Ivan the Great?

3. Why should the steppes of central and northern Asia have been a nursery of warlike peoples?

4. What parts of Asia were not included in the Mongol Empire at its greatest extent?

5. Trace on the map on page 486 the further expansion of the Mongol Empire after the death of Jenghiz Khan.

6. "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar." What does this mean?

7. Why did the Mongol conquest of Russia tend to strengthen the sentiment of nationality in the Russian people?

8. How did the tsars come to regard themselves as the successors of the Eastern emperors?

9. Compare the Janizaries with the Christian military-religious orders.

10. How was "the victory of the Crescent secured by the children of the Cross"?

11. Why were the invasions of the Mongols and Ottoman Turks more destructive to civilization than those of the Germans, the Arabs, and the Northmen?

12. Enumerate the more important services of the Roman Empire in the East to civilization.

13. On an outline map indicate the extent of the Ottoman Empire in 1453 A.D.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See pages 241, 247, 314, 316, 334.

[2] Mongolia has long been a part of the Chinese Empire, but in 1912 A.D., when China because a republic, Mongolia declared its independence.

[3] Herodotus, iv, 46.

[4] "The Very Mighty King."

[5] See page 20.

[6] For the location of these cities see the map on page 486.

[7] See page 381.

[8] Commonly known as Tamerlane.

[9] See page 616.

[10] See page 622.

[11] For the early history of Russia see page 400.

[12] The name Tartar (more correctly, Tatar) was originally applied to both Mongol and Turkish tribes that entered Russia. There are still over three millions of these "Tartars" in the Russian Empire.

[13] The title Tsar, or Czar, is supposed to be a contraction of the word Caesar.

[14] Whence the name Ottoman applied to this branch of the Turks.

[15] See page 242.

[16] A name derived from the Turkish *yeni cheri*, "new troops."

[17] See page 478.

CHAPTER XXII

EUROPEAN NATIONS DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES [1]

181. GROWTH OF THE NATIONS

THE NEW NATIONALISM

The map of western Europe, that is, of Europe west of the great Russian plain and the Balkan peninsula, shows this part of the continent at present divided into no less than thirteen separate and independent nations. Most of them arose during the latter part of the Middle Ages. They have existed so long that we now think of the national state as the highest type of human association, forgetting that it has been preceded by other forms of political organization, such as the Greek republic, the Roman Empire, and the feudal state, and that it may be followed some day by an international or universal state composed of all civilized peoples.

THE NATIONAL STATE AND FEUDALISM

These national states were the successors of feudalism. The establishment of the feudal system in any country meant, as has been seen, its division into numerous small communities, each with a law court, treasury, and army. This system of local government helped to keep order in an age of confusion, but it did not meet the needs of a progressive society. In most

parts of Europe the feudal states gradually gave way to centralized governments ruled by despotic kings.

THE NEW MONARCHIES

A feudal king was often little more than a figurehead, equaled, or perhaps surpassed, in power by some of his own vassals. But in England, France, Spain, and other countries a series of astute and energetic sovereigns were able to strengthen their authority at the expense of the nobles. They formed permanent armies by insisting that all military service should be rendered to themselves and not to the feudal lords. They got into their own hands the administration of justice. They developed a revenue system, with the taxes collected by royal officers and deposited in the royal treasury. The kings thus succeeded in creating in each country one power which all the inhabitants feared, respected, and obeyed.

THE SENTIMENT OF NATIONALITY

A national state in modern times is keenly conscious of its separate existence. All its people usually speak the same language and have for their "fatherland" the warmest feelings of patriotic devotion. In the Middle Ages, however, patriotism was commonly confounded with loyalty to the sovereign, while the differences between nations were obscured by the existence of an international Church and by the use of Latin as the common language of all cultivated persons. The sentiment of nationality arose earlier in England than on the Continent, partly owing to the insular position of that country, but nowhere did it become a very strong influence before the end of the fifteenth century.

182. ENGLAND UNDER WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 1066-1087 A.D.; THE NORMAN KINGSHIP

THE LAST INVASION OF ENGLAND

The Normans were the last invaders of England. Since 1066 A.D. the English Channel, not more than twenty-one miles wide between Dover and Calais, has formed a watery barrier against Continental domination. The English people, for eight and a half centuries, have been free to develop their ideals, customs, and methods of government in their own way. We shall now learn how they established a strong monarchy and at the same time laid deep and firm the foundations of constitutional liberty.

WILLIAM'S DESPOTIC RULE

William the Conqueror had won England by force of arms. He ruled it as a despot. Those who resisted him he treated as rebels, confiscating their land and giving it to Norman followers. To prevent uprisings he built a castle in every important town and garrisoned it with his own soldiers. The Tower of London still stands as an impressive memorial of the days of the Conquest. But William did not rely on force alone. He sought with success to attach the English to himself by retaining most of their old customs and by giving them an enlightened administration of the law. "Good peace he made in this land," said the old Anglo-Saxon chronicler, "so that a man might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation, and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him."

WILLIAM AND FEUDALISM

The feudal system on the Continent permitted a powerful noble to gather his vassals and make war on the king, whenever he chose to do so. William had been familiar with this evil side of feudalism, both in France and in his own duchy of Normandy, and he determined to prevent its introduction into England. William established the principle that a vassal owed his first duty

to the king and not to his immediate lord. If a noble rebelled and his men followed him, they were to be treated as traitors. Rebellion proved to be an especially difficult matter in England, since the estates which a great lord possessed were not all in any one place but were scattered about the kingdom. A noble who planned to revolt could be put down before he was able to collect his retainers from the most distant parts of the country.

[Illustration: THE "WHITE TOWER"
Forms part of the Tower of London. Built by William the Conqueror]

DOMESDAY BOOK, 1085 A.D.

The extent of William's authority is illustrated by the survey which he caused to have made of the taxable property of the kingdom. Royal commissioners went throughout the length and breadth of England to find out how much farm land there was in every county, how many landowners there were, and what each man possessed, to the last ox or cow or pig. The reports were set down in the famous Domesday Book, perhaps so called because one could no more appeal from it than from the Last Judgment. A similar census of population and property had never before been taken in the Middle Ages.

[Illustration: A PASSAGE FROM DOMESDAY BOOK
Beginning of the entry for Oxford. The handwriting is the beautiful Carolingian minuscule which the Norman Conquest introduced into England.
The two volumes of this compilation and the chest in which they were formerly preserved may be seen in the Public Record Office, London.]

THE SALISBURY OATH, 1086 A.D.

Almost at the close of his reign William is said to have summoned all the landowning men in England to a great meeting on Salisbury Plain. They assembled there to the number, as it is reported, of sixty thousand and promised "that they would be faithful to him against all other men." The Salisbury Oath was a national act of homage and allegiance to the king.

183. ENGLAND UNDER HENRY II, 1154-1189 A.D.; ROYAL JUSTICE AND THE COMMON LAW

HENRY II, PLANTAGENET Henry II, who ascended the English throne in 1154 A.D., was a grandson of William the Conqueror and the first of the famous Plantagenet [2] family, Henry spent more than half of his reign abroad, looking after his extensive possessions in France but this fact did not prevent him from giving England good government. Three things in which all Englishmen take special pride—the courts, the jury system, and the Common law—began to take shape during Henry's reign.

THE KING'S COURT

Henry, first of all, developed the royal court of justice. This had been, at first, simply the court of the king's chief vassals, corresponding to the local feudal courts. [3] Henry transformed it from an occasional assembly of warlike nobles into a regular body of trained lawyers, and at the same time opened its doors to all except serfs. In the king's court any freeman could find a justice that was cheaper and speedier than that dispensed by the feudal lords. The higher courts of England have sprung from this institution.

CIRCUIT JUDGES

Henry also took measures to bring the king's justice directly to the people. He sent members of the royal court on circuit throughout the kingdom. At least once a year a judge was to hold an assembly in each

county and try such cases as were brought before him. This system of circuit judges helped to make the law uniform in all parts of England.

TRIAL BY "PETTY JURY"

The king's court owed much of its popularity to the fact that it employed a better form of trying cases than the old ordeal, oath-swearing, or judicial duel. Henry introduced a method of jury trial which had long been in use in Normandy. When a case came before the king's judges on circuit, they were to select twelve knights, usually neighbors of the parties engaged in the dispute, to make an investigation and give a "verdict" [4] as to which side was in the right. These selected men bore the name of "jurors," [5] because they swore to tell the truth. In Henry's time this method of securing justice applied only to civil cases, that is, to cases affecting land and other forms of property, but later it was extended to persons charged with criminal offenses. Thus arose the "petty jury," an institution which nearly all European peoples have borrowed from England.

[Illustration: WINDSOR CASTLE The town of Windsor lies on the west bank of the Thames about twenty-one miles from London. Its famous castle has been the chief residence of English sovereigns from the time of William the Conqueror. The massive round tower which forms the most conspicuous feature of the castle was built by Henry III about 1272 A.D. but Edward III wholly reconstructed it about 1344 A.D. The state apartments of the castle include the throne room, a guard room with medieval armor a reception room adorned with tapestries picture galleries and the royal library.]

ACCUSATION BY THE "GRAND JURY"

Another of Henry's innovations developed into the "grand jury." Before his time many offenders went unpunished, especially if they were so powerful that no private individual dared accuse them. Henry provided that

when the king's justices came to a county court a number of selected men should be put upon their oath and required to give the names of any persons whom they knew or believed to be guilty of crimes. Such persons were then to be arrested and tried. This "grand jury," as it came to be called, thus had the public duty of making accusations, whether its members felt any personal interest in the matter or not.

THE COMMON LAW

The decisions handed down by the legal experts who composed the royal court formed the basis of the English system of jurisprudence. It received the name Common law because it grew out of such customs as were common to the realm, as distinguished from those which were merely local. This law, from Henry's II's time, became so widespread and so firmly established that it could not be supplanted by the Roman law followed on the Continent. Carried by English colonists across the seas, it has now come to prevail throughout a great part of the world.

184. THE GREAT CHARTER, 1215 A.D.

RICHARD I AND JOHN, 1189-1216 A.D.

The great Henry, from whose legal reforms English-speaking peoples receive benefit even to-day, was followed by his son, Richard, the Lion-hearted crusader. [6] After a short reign Richard was succeeded by his brother, John, a man so cruel, tyrannical, and wicked that he is usually regarded as the worst of English kings. In a war with the French ruler, Philip Augustus, John lost Normandy and some of the other English possessions on the Continent. [7] In a dispute with Innocent III he ended by making an abject submission to the Papacy. [8] Finally, John's oppressive

government provoked a revolt, and he was forced to grant the charter of privileges known as Magna Carta.

[Illustration: Map, DOMINIONS OF THE PLANTAGENETS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE]

WINNING OF MAGNA CARTA, 1215 A.D.

The Norman Conquest had made the king so strong that his authority could be resisted only by a union of all classes of the people. The feudal lords were obliged to unite with the clergy and the commons, [9] in order to save their honor, their estates, and their heads. Matters came to a crisis in 1215 A.D., when the nobles, supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, placed their demands for reform in writing before the king. John swore furiously that they were "idle dreams without a shadow of reason" and refused to make any concessions. Thereupon the nobles formed the "army of God and the Holy Church," as it was called, and occupied London, thus ranging the townspeople on their side. Deserted by all except the hired troops which he had brought from the Continent, John was compelled to yield. At Runnimede on the Thames, not far from Windsor, he set his seal to the Great Charter.

[Illustration: EXTRACT FROM THE GREAT CHARTER Facsimile of the opening lines. Four copies of Magna Carta, sealed with the great seal of King John, as well as several unsealed copies, are in existence. The British Museum possesses two of the sealed copies; the other two belong to the cathedrals of Lincoln and Salisbury, respectively.]

CHARACTER OF MAGNA CARTA

Magna Carta does not profess to be a charter of liberties for all Englishmen. Most of its sixty-three clauses merely guarantee to each

member of the coalition against John—nobles, clergy, and commons—those special privileges which the Norman rulers had tried to take away. Very little is said in this long document about the serfs, who composed probably five-sixths of the population of England in the thirteenth century.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MAGNA CARTA

But there are three clauses of Magna Carta which came to have a most important part in the history of English freedom. The first declared that no taxes were to be levied on the nobles—besides the three recognized feudal aids [10]—except by consent of the Great Council of the realm. [11] By this clause the nobles compelled the king to secure their consent before imposing any taxation. The second set forth that no one was to be arrested, imprisoned, or punished in any way, except after a trial by his equals and in accordance with the law of the land. The third said simply that to no one should justice be sold, denied, or delayed. These last two clauses contained the germ of great legal principles on which the English people relied for protection against despotic kings. They form a part of our American inheritance from England and have passed into the laws of all our states.

185. PARLIAMENT DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

HENRY III, 1216-1272 A.D.

The thirteenth century, which opened so auspiciously with the winning of the Great Charter, is also memorable as the time when England developed her Parliament [12] into something like its present form. The first steps in parliamentary government were taken during the reign of John's son, Henry III.

THE WITENAGEMOT AND THE GREAT COUNCIL

It had long been the custom in England that in all important matters a ruler ought not to act without the advice and consent of his leading men. The Anglo-Saxon kings sought the advice and consent of their Witenagemot, [13] a body of nobles, royal officers, bishops, and abbots. It approved laws, served as a court of final appeal, elected a new monarch, and at times deposed him. The Witenagemot did not disappear after the Norman Conquest. Under the name of the Great Council it continued to meet from time to time for consultation with the king. This assembly was now to be transformed from a feudal body into a parliament representing the entire nation.

SIMON DE MONTFORT'S PARLIAMENT, 1265 A.D.

The Great Council, which by one of the provisions of Magna Carta had been required to give its consent to the levying of feudal dues, met quite frequently during Henry III's reign. On one occasion, when Henry was in urgent need of money and the bishops and lords refused to grant it, the king took the significant step of calling to the council two knights from each county to declare what aid they would give him. These knights, so ran Henry's summons, were to come "in the stead of each and all," in other words, they were to act as representatives of the counties. Then in 1265 A.D., when the nobles were at war with the king, a second and even more significant step was taken. Their leader, Simon de Montfort, summoned to the council not only two knights from each county, but also two citizens from each of the more important towns.

THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM

The custom of selecting certain men to act in the name and on the behalf of the community had existed during Anglo-Saxon times in local government. Representatives of the counties had been employed by the Norman kings to act as assessors in levying taxes. As we have just learned,

the "juries" of Henry II also consisted of such representatives. The English people, in fact, were quite familiar with the idea of representation long before it was applied on a larger scale to Parliament.

"MODEL PARLIAMENT" OF EDWARD I, 1295 A.D.

Simon de Montfort's Parliament included only his own supporters, and hence was not a truly national body. But it made a precedent for the future. Thirty years later Edward I called together at Westminster, now a part of London, a Parliament which included all classes of the people. Here were present archbishops, bishops, and abbots, earls and barons, two knights from every county, and two townsmen to represent each town in that county. After this time all these classes were regularly summoned to meet in assembly at Westminster.

HOUSE OF LORDS AND HOUSE OF COMMONS

The separation of Parliament into two chambers came in the fourteenth century. The House of Lords included the nobles and higher clergy, the House of Commons, the representatives from counties and cities. This bicameral arrangement, as it is called, has been followed in the parliaments of most modern countries.

POWERS OF PARLIAMENT

The early English Parliament was not a law-making but a tax-voting body. The king would call the two houses in session only when he needed their sanction for raising money. Parliament in its turn would refuse to grant supplies until the king had corrected abuses in the administration or had removed unpopular officials. This control of the public purse in time enabled Parliament to grasp other powers. It became an accepted principle that royal officials were responsible to Parliament for their actions, that the

king himself might be deposed for good cause, and that bills, when passed by Parliament and signed by the king, were the law of the land. England thus worked out in the Middle Ages a system of parliamentary government which nearly all civilized nations have held worthy of imitation.

186. EXPANSION OF ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD I, 1272-1307 A.D.

THE BRITISH ISLES

Our narrative has been confined until now to England, which forms, together with Wales and Scotland, the island known as Great Britain. Ireland is the only other important division of the United Kingdom. It was almost inevitable that in process of time the British Isles should have come under a single government, but political unity has not yet fused English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish into a single people.

WALES

The conquest of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons drove many of the Welsh, [14] as the invaders called the Britons, into the western part of the island. This district, henceforth known as Wales, was one of the last strongholds of the Celts. Even to-day a variety of the old Celtic language, called Cymric, is still spoken by the Welsh people.

CONQUEST OF WALES

In their wild and mountainous country the Welsh long resisted all attempts to subjugate them. Harold exerted some authority over Wales, William the Conqueror entered part of it, and Henry II induced the local rulers to acknowledge him as overlord, but it was Edward I who first brought all Wales under English sway. Edward fostered the building of

towns in his new possession, divided it into counties or shires, after the system that prevailed in England, and introduced the Common law. He called his son, Edward II, who was born in the country, the "Prince of Wales," and this title has ever since been borne by the heir apparent to the English throne. The work of uniting Wales to England went on slowly, and two centuries elapsed before Wales was granted representation in the House of Commons.

[Illustration: CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY Every English ruler since Edward I has been crowned in this oak chair. Under the seat is the "Stone of Scone," said to have been once used by the patriarch Jacob. Edward I brought it to London in 1291 A.D., as a token of the subjection of Scotland.]

SCOTLAND

Scotland derives its name from the Scots, who came over from Ireland early in the fifth century. [15] The northern Highlands, a nest of rugged mountains washed by cold and stormy seas, have always been occupied in historic times by a Celtic-speaking people, whose language, called Gaelic, is not yet extinct there. This part of Scotland, like Wales, was a home of freedom. The Romans did not attempt to annex the Highlands, and the Anglo- Saxons and Danes never penetrated their fastnesses. On the other hand the southern Lowlands, which include only about one-third of Scotland, were subdued by the Teutonic invaders, and so this district became thoroughly English in language and culture. [16]

[Illustration: Map, SCOTLAND in the 13th Century]

THE SCOTTOSH KINGDOM

One might suppose that the Lowlands, geographically only an extension of northern England and inhabited by an English-speaking people, would have early united with the southern kingdom. But matters turned out otherwise. The Lowlands and the Highlands came together under a line of Celtic kings, who fixed their residence at Edinburgh and long maintained their independence.

SCOTLAND ANNEXED BY EDWARD I

Edward I, having conquered Wales, took advantage of the disturbed conditions which prevailed in Scotland to interfere in the affairs of that country. The Scotch offered a brave but futile resistance under William Wallace. This heroic leader, who held out after most of his countrymen submitted, was finally captured and executed. His head, according to the barbarous practice of the time, was set upon a pole on London Bridge. The English king now annexed Scotland without further opposition.

[Illustration: A QUEEN ELEANOR CROSS After the death of his wife Eleanor, Edward I caused a memorial cross to be set up at each place where her funeral procession had stopped on its way to London. There were originally seven crosses. Of the three that still exist, the Geddington cross is the best preserved. It consists of three stories and stands on a platform of eight steps.]

ROBERT BRUCE AND BANNOCKBURN, 1314 A.D.

But William Wallace by his life and still more by his death had lit a fire which might never be quenched. Soon the Scotch found another champion in the person of Robert Bruce. Edward I, now old and broken, marched against him, but died before reaching the border. The weakness of his son, Edward II, permitted the Scotch, ably led by Bruce, to win the signal victory of Bannockburn, near Stirling Castle. Here the Scottish spearmen

drove the English knighthood into ignominious flight and freed their country from its foreign overlords.

SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

The battle of Bannockburn made a nation. A few years afterwards the English formally recognized the independence of the northern kingdom. So the great design of Edward I to unite all the peoples of Britain under one government had to be postponed for centuries. [17]

IRELAND

No one kingdom ever arose in Ireland out of the numerous tribes into which the Celtic-speaking inhabitants were divided. The island was not troubled, however, by foreign invaders till the coming of the Northmen in the ninth century. [18] The English, who first entered Ireland during the reign of Henry II, did not complete its conquest till the seventeenth century. Ireland by its situation could scarcely fail to become an appanage of Great Britain, but the dividing sea has combined with differences in race, language, and religion, and with English misgovernment, to prevent anything like a genuine union of the conquerors and the conquered.

187. UNIFICATION OF FRANCE, 987-1328 A.D.

PHYSICAL FRANCE

Nature seems to have intended that France should play a leading part in European affairs. The geographical unity of the country is obvious. Mountains and seas form its permanent boundaries, except on the north-east where the frontier is not well defined. The western coast of France opens on the Atlantic, now the greatest highway of the world's commerce, while on the southeast France touches the Mediterranean, the home of classical

civilization. This intermediate position between two seas helps us to understand why French history should form, as it were, a connecting link between ancient and modern times.

RACIAL FRANCE

But the greatness of France has been due, also, to the qualities of the French people. Many racial elements have contributed to the population. The blood of prehistoric tribes, whose monuments and grave mounds are scattered over the land, still flows in the veins of Frenchmen. At the opening of historic times France was chiefly occupied by the Celts, whom Julius Caesar found there and subdued. The Celts, or Gauls, have formed in later ages the main stock of the French nation, but their language gave place to Latin after the Roman conquest. In the course of five hundred years the Gauls were so thoroughly Romanized that they may best be described as Gallo-Romans. The Burgundians, Franks, and Northmen afterwards added a Teutonic element to the population, as well as some infusion of Teutonic laws and customs.

THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY

France, again, became a great nation because of the greatness of its rulers. Hugh Capet, who became the French king in 987 A.D., [19] was fortunate in his descendants. The Capetian dynasty was long lived, and for more than three centuries son followed father on the throne without a break in the succession. [20] During this time the French sovereigns worked steadily to exalt the royal power and to unite the feudal states of medieval France into a real nation under a common government. Their success in this task made them, at the close of the Middle Ages, the strongest monarchs in Europe.

FRANCE AND ITS FIEFS

Hugh Capet's duchy—the original France—included only a small stretch of inland country centering about Paris on the Seine and Orléans on the Loire. His election to the kingship did not increase his power over the great lords who ruled in Normandy, Brittany, Aquitaine, Burgundy, and other parts of the country. They did homage to the king for their fiefs and performed the usual feudal services, but otherwise regarded themselves as independent in their own territories.

[Illustration: Map, UNIFICATION OF FRANCE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES]

PHILIP II, AUGUSTUS, 1180-1223 A.D.

The most considerable additions to the royal domains were made by Philip II, called Augustus. We have already referred to his contest with Pope Innocent III and to his participation in the Third Crusade. [21] The English king, John, was Philip's vassal for Normandy and other provinces in France. A quarrel between the two rulers gave Philip an opportunity to declare John's fiefs forfeited by feudal law. Philip then seized all the English possessions north of the river Loire. The loss of these possessions abroad had the result of separating England almost completely from Continental interests; for France it meant a great increase in territory and population. Philip made Paris his chief residence, and that city henceforth became the capital of France.

LOUIS IX, THE SAINT, 1226-1276 A.D.

During the long reign of Philip's grandson, Louis IX, rich districts to the west of the Rhone were added to the royal domains. This king, whose Christian virtues led to his canonization, distinguished himself as an administrator. His work in unifying France may be compared with that of Henry II in England. He decreed that only the king's money was to circulate

in the provinces owned directly by himself, thus limiting the right of coinage enjoyed by feudal lords. He restricted very greatly the right of private war and forbade the use of judicial duels. Louis also provided that important cases could be appealed from feudal courts to the king's judges, who sat in Paris and followed in their decisions the principles of Roman law. In these and other ways he laid the foundations of absolute monarchy in France.

PHILIP IV, THE FAIR, 1265-1314 A.D.

The grandson of St. Louis, Philip IV, did much to organize a financial system for France. Now that the kingdom had become so large and powerful, the old feudal dues were insufficient to pay the salaries of the royal officials and support a standing army. Philip resorted to new methods of raising revenue by imposing various taxes and by requiring the feudal lords to substitute payments in money for the military service due from them.

THE ESTATES-GENERAL

Philip also called into existence the Estates-General, an assembly in which the clergy, the nobles, and representatives from the commons (the "third estate") met as separate bodies and voted grants of money. The Estates-General arose almost at the same time as the English Parliament, to which it corresponded, but it never secured the extensive authority of that body. After a time the kings of France became so powerful that they managed to reign without once summoning the nation in council. The French did not succeed, as the English had done, in founding political liberty upon the vote and control of taxation.

188. THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, 1337-1453 A.D.

PRETEXT FOR THE WAR

The task of unifying France was interrupted by a deplorable war between that country and England. It continued, including periods of truce, for over a century. The pretext for the war was found in a disputed succession. In 1328 A.D. the last of the three sons of Philip IV passed away, and the direct line of the house of Capet, which had reigned over France for more than three hundred years, came to an end. The English ruler, Edward III, whose mother was the daughter of Philip IV, considered himself the next lineal heir. The French nobles were naturally unwilling to receive a foreigner as king, and gave the throne, instead, to a nephew of Philip IV. This decision was afterwards justified on the ground that, by the old law of the Salian Franks, women could neither inherit estates nor transmit them to a son. [22]

[Illustration: ROYAL ARMS OF EDWARD III Edward III, having in 1340 A.D. set up a claim to the throne of France, proceeded to add the French lilies (*fleurs-de-lis*) to his coat of arms. He also took as his motto *Dieu et mon Droit* ("God and my Right"). The lilies of France remained in the royal arms till 1801 A.D.; the motto is still retained.]

REASONS FOR THE WAR

Edward III at first accepted the situation. Philip VI, however, irritated Edward by constant encroachments on the territories which the English still kept in France. Philip also allied himself with the Scotch and interfered with English trade interests in the county of Flanders. [23] This attitude of hostility provoked retaliation. Edward now reasserted his claim to the crown of France and prepared by force of arms to make it good.

[Illustration: ENGLISH ARCHER
From an old manuscript.]

BATTLES OF CRÉCY, 1346 A.D., AND POITIERS, 1356 A.D.

In 1346 A.D. Edward led his troops across the Channel and at Crécy gained a complete victory over the knighthood of France. Ten years later the English at Poitiers almost annihilated another French force much superior in numbers. These two battles were mainly won by foot soldiers armed with the long bow, in the use of which the English excelled. Ordinary iron mail could not resist the heavy, yard-long arrows, which fell with murderous effect upon the bodies of men and horses alike. Henceforth infantry, when properly armed and led, were to prove themselves on many a bloody field more than a match for feudal cavalry. The long bow, followed later by the musket, struck a deadly blow at feudalism.

THE "BLACK PRINCE"

Edward's son, the Prince of Wales, when only sixteen years of age, won his spurs by distinguished conduct at Crécy. It was the "Black Prince," [24] also, who gained the day at Poitiers, where he took prisoner the French king, John. Toward his royal captive he behaved in chivalrous fashion. At supper, on the evening of the battle, he stood behind John's chair and waited on him, praising the king's brave deeds. But this "flower of knighthood," who regarded warfare as only a tournament on a larger scale, could be ruthless in his treatment of the common people. On one occasion he caused three thousand inhabitants of a captured town—men, women and children—to be butchered before his eyes. The incident shows how far apart in the Middle Ages were chivalry and humanity.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR

The English, in spite of their victories, could not conquer France. The French refused to fight more pitched battles and retired to their castles and fortified towns. The war almost ceased for many years after the death of Edward III. It began again early in the fifteenth century, and the English this time met with more success. They gained possession of almost all France north of the Loire, except the important city of Orléans. Had the English taken it, French resistance must have collapsed. That they did not take it was due to one of the most remarkable women in history—Joan of Arc. [25]

THE "MAID OF ORLÉANS," 1429 A.D.

Joan was a peasant girl, a native of the little village of Domremy. Always a devout and imaginative child, she early began to see visions of saints and angels and to hear mysterious voices. At the time of the siege of Orléans the archangel Michael appeared to her, so she declared, and bade her go forth and save France. Joan obeyed, and though barely seventeen years of age made her way to the court of the French king. There her piety, simplicity, and evident faith in her mission overcame all doubts. Clad in armor, girt with an ancient sword, and with a white banner borne before her, Joan was allowed to accompany an army for the relief of Orléans. She inspired the French with such enthusiasm that they quickly compelled the English to raise the siege. Then Joan led her king to Reims and stood beside him at his coronation in the cathedral.

END OF THE WAR

Though Joan was soon afterwards captured by the English, who, to their lasting dishonor, burned her as a witch, her example nerved the French to further resistance. The English gradually lost ground and in 1453 A.D., the year of the fall of Constantinople, abandoned the effort to conquer a land much larger than their own. They retained of the French territories only the port of Calais and the Channel Islands. [26]

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

Few wars have had less to justify them, either in their causes or in their consequences, than this long struggle between England and France. It was a calamity to both lands. For England it meant the dissipation abroad of the energies which would have been better employed at home. For France it resulted in widespread destruction of property, untold suffering, famines, and terrible loss of life. From this time dates that traditional hostility between the two countries which was to involve them in future conflicts. One beneficial effect the war did have. It helped to make the two nations conscious of their separate existence. The growth of a national feeling, the awakening of a sentiment of patriotism, was especially marked in France, which had fought so long for independence.

ENGLAND AFTER THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Shortly after the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War the two branches of the English royal family became involved in desperate struggle for the crown. It was known as the War of the Roses, because the house of York took as its badge a white rose and the house of Lancaster, a red rose. The contest lasted 1485 A.D., when the Lancastrians conquered, and their leader, Henry Tudor, ascended the throne as Henry VII. He married a Yorkist wife, thus uniting the two factions, and founded the Tudor dynasty. The War of the Roses arrested the progress of English freedom. It created a demand for a strong monarchy which could keep order and prevent civil strife between the nobles. The Tudors met that demand and ruled as absolute sovereigns. It was more than a century before Parliament, representing the people, could begin to win back free government. It did this only at the cost of a revolution.

FRANCE AFTER THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

France also issued from the Hundred Years' War with an absolute government. Strengthened by victory over the English, the French kings were able to reduce both the nobility and the commons to impotence. During the reign of Louis XI (1461-1483 A.D.) the royal domains were enlarged by the addition of Anjou, Provence, and the duchy of Burgundy. His son, Charles VIII (1483-1498 A.D.), made Brittany a possession of the French crown. The unification of France was now almost complete.

189. UNIFICATION OF SPAIN (TO 1492 A.D.)

THE SPANISH PENINSULA

The Spanish peninsula, known to the Romans as Hispania, is sharply separated from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees Mountains. At the same time the nearness of the peninsula to Africa has always brought it into intimate relations with that continent. Just as Russia has formed a link between Asia and Europe, so Spain has served as a natural highway from Africa to Europe.

THE SPANISH PEOPLE

The first settlers in Spain, of whom we know anything, were the Iberians. They may have emigrated from northern Africa. After them came the Celts, who overran a large part of the peninsula and appear to have mingled with the Iberians, thus forming the mixed people known as Celtiberians. In historic times Spain was conquered by the Carthaginians, who left few traces of their occupation, by the Romans, who thoroughly Romanized the country, by the Visigoths, who founded a Germanic kingdom, and lastly by the Moors, who introduced Arabian culture and the faith of Islam. [27] These invaders were not numerous enough greatly to affect the population, in which the Celtiberian strain is still predominant.

CHRISTIAN STATES OF SPAIN

The Moors never wholly conquered a fringe of mountain territory in the extreme north of Spain. Here a number of small Christian states, including León, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, came into being. In the west there also arose the Christian state of Portugal. Geographically, Portugal belongs to Spain, from which it is separated only by artificial frontiers, but the country has usually managed to maintain its independence.

RECOVERY OF SPAIN FROM THE MOORS

Acting sometimes singly and sometimes in concert, the Christian states fought steadily to enlarge their boundaries at the expense of their Moslem neighbors. The contest had the nature of a crusade, for it was blessed by the pope and supported by the chivalry of Europe. Periods of victory alternated with periods of defeat, but by the close of the thirteenth century Mohammedan Spain had been reduced to the kingdom of Granada at the southern extremity of the peninsula.

THE CID

The long struggle with the Moors made the Spanish a patriotic people, keenly conscious of their national unity. The achievements of Christian warriors were recited in countless ballads, and especially in the fine *Poem of the Cid*. It deals with the exploits of Rodrigo Diaz, better known by the title of the Cid (lord) given to him by the Moors. The Cid of romance was the embodiment of every knightly virtue; the real Cid was a bandit, who fought sometimes for the Christians, sometimes against them, but always in his own interest. The Cid's evil deeds were forgotten, however, and after his death in 1099 A.D. he became the national hero of Spain.

UNION OF CASTILE AND ARAGON, 1479 A.D.

Meanwhile the separate Spanish kingdoms were coming together to form a nation. León and Castile in 1230 A.D. combined into the one kingdom of Castile, so named because its frontiers bristled with castles against the Moors. But the most important step in the making of Spain was the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile, leading in 1479 A.D. to the union of these two kingdoms. About the same time the Castilian language began to crowd out the other Spanish dialects and to become the national speech.

[Illustration: Map, UNIFICATION OF SPAIN DURING THE MIDDLE AGES]

CONQUEST OF GRANADA, 1492 A.D.

The new sovereigns of Spain aimed to continue the unification of the peninsula by the conquest of Granada. No effort was made by the Turks, who shortly before had captured Constantinople, to defend this last stronghold of Islam in the West. The Moors, though thrown upon their own resources, made a gallant resistance. At least once Ferdinand wearied of the struggle, but Isabella's determination never wavered. In 1492 A.D. Granada surrendered, and the silver cross of the crusading army was raised on the highest tower of the city. Moslem rule in Spain, after an existence of almost eight centuries, now came to an end.

RULE OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

Ferdinand and Isabella belong in the front rank of European sovereigns. Like their contemporaries, Henry VII and Louis XI, they labored with success to build up an absolute monarchy. Spain had found, as England and France had found, that feudalism spelled disorder, and that only a strong central government could keep the peace, repress crime, and foster trade and commerce. Ferdinand and Isabella firmly established the supremacy of

the crown. By the end of the fifteenth century Spain had become a leading European power. Its importance in the councils of Europe was soon to be increased by the marriage of a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella to the heir of the Austrian house of Hapsburg.

190. AUSTRIA AND THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, 1273-1499 A.D.

RISE OF AUSTRIA

The name Austria—in German Oesterreich—means simply the eastern part of any kingdom. It came to be applied particularly to the territory on the Danube east of Bavaria, which Otto the Great had formed into a mark or border province for defense against the Magyars. [28] This mark, soon to be known as Austria, gained an important place among German states. The frontiers were pushed down the Danube valley and the capital was finally located at Vienna, once a Roman city. Frederick Barbarossa raised Austria to the rank of a duchy. Rudolf of Hapsburg, who became emperor in 1273 A.D., first brought the country into the hands of the Hapsburg family. [29]

GROWTH OF AUSTRIA UNDER THE HAPSBURGS

The Hapsburgs founded the power of the present Austrian monarchy. At the end of the fourteenth century their dominions included a large part of eastern Germany, [30] reaching from beyond the Danube southward to the Adriatic. Early in the sixteenth century they secured Bohemia, a Slavic land thrust like a wedge into German territory, as well as part of the Magyar land of Hungary. The possession of these two kingdoms gave Austria its special character of a state formed by the union under one ruler of several wholly distinct nations. Meanwhile the right of election as Holy Roman Emperor became hereditary in the Hapsburg family.

[Illustration: Map, GROWTH OF THE HAPSBURG POSSESSIONS]

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland, during the earlier period of the Middle Ages, formed a part of the German duchy of Swabia and belonged to the Holy Roman Empire. [31] About two-thirds of the population of Switzerland remain German in speech and feeling, though now the country includes districts in which French or Italian are spoken. All Swiss laws are still proclaimed in the three languages.

SWITZERLAND AND AUSTRIA

Swiss history is closely bound up with that of Austria. The little mountain communities of Schwyz, [32] Uri, and Unterwalden, on the shores of beautiful Lake Lucerne, were possessions of the counts of Hapsburg. In 1291 A.D., the year when Rudolf of Hapsburg died, these three "Forest Cantons" formed a confederation for resistance to their Hapsburg overlords. Additional cantons joined the league, which now entered upon a long struggle, dear to all lovers of liberty, against Austrian rule. Nowhere did the old methods of feudal warfare break down more conspicuously than in the battles gained by Swiss pikemen over the haughty knights of Austria. The struggle closed in 1499 A.D., when Switzerland became practically a free state. [33]

[Illustration: Map, THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, 1291-1513 A.D.]

WILLIAM TELL AND ARNOLD VON WINKELRIED

Switzerland has two heroes of her war for independence. William Tell is a wholly mythical character, for the story of a skillful marksman who succeeds in striking off some small object placed on a child's head is found in England, Norway, Denmark, and other countries. The Swiss have localized it in Uri. Another popular hero has a better claim to historical

existence. It is said that at a critical moment in the battle of Sempach, when the Swiss with their short weapons failed to break the Austrian ranks, Arnold von Winkelried, a man of Unterwalden, came to the rescue. Rushing single-handed upon the enemy, he seized all the spears within reach and turned them into his own body. He thus opened a gap in the line, through which the Swiss pressed on to victory. Winkelried's deed might well have been performed, though the evidence for it is very scanty.

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

Little Switzerland, lying in the heart of the Alps and surrounded by powerful neighbors, is one of the most interesting states in Europe. The twenty-two communities, or cantons, which make up the Swiss Confederation, differ among themselves in language, religion (Roman Catholic or Protestant), and customs, according to their nearness to Germany, France, or Italy. Nevertheless the Swiss form a patriotic and united nation. It is remarkable that a people whose chief bond of union was common hostility to the Austrian Hapsburgs, should have established a federal government so strong and enduring.

191. EXPANSION OF GERMANY

LINES OF GERMAN EXPANSION

An examination of the map shows how deficient Germany is in good natural boundaries. The valley of the Danube affords an easy road to the southeast, a road which the early rulers of Austria followed as far as Vienna and the Hungarian frontier. Eastward along the Baltic no break occurs in the great plain stretching from the North Sea to the Ural Mountains. It was in this direction that German conquests and colonization during the Middle Ages laid the foundation of modern Prussia.

THE GERMAN AND THE SLAV

The Germans, in descending upon the Roman Empire, had abandoned much of their former territories to the Slavs. In the reign of Charlemagne all the region between the Elbe and the Vistula belonged to Slavic tribes. To win it back for Germany required several centuries of hard fighting. The Slavs were heathen and barbarous, so that warfare with them seemed to be a kind of crusade. In the main, however, German expansion eastward was a business venture, due to the need for free land. It was the same need which in the nineteenth century carried the frontiers of the United States from the Alleghanies to the Pacific.

BRANDENBURG AND POMERANIA

German expansion began early in the tenth century, when Henry the Fowler annexed Brandenburg between the Elbe and the Oder. [34] Subsequently much of the territory between the Oder and the Vistula, including Pomerania on the southern coast of the Baltic, came under German control. The Slavic inhabitants were exterminated or reduced to slavery. Their place was taken by thousands of German colonists, who introduced Christianity, built churches and monasteries, cleared the woods, drained the marshes, and founded many cities destined to become centers of German trade and culture.

PRUSSIA

Between the Vistula and the Niemen lay the lands of the Prussians, a non-Teutonic people closely related to the Slavs. The Prussian language and religion have disappeared, the Prussians themselves have been completely absorbed by the Germans who settled in their country, but the Prussian name is borne to-day by one of the great states of modern Europe.

THE TEUTONIC ORDER

The conquest and conversion of the Prussians was accomplished by the famous order of Teutonic Knights. It had been founded in Palestine as a military-religious order, at the time of the Third Crusade. [35] The decline of the crusading movement left the knights with no duties to perform, and so they transferred their activities to the Prussian frontier, where there was still a chance to engage in a holy war. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Teutonic Order flourished, until its grand master ruled over the entire Baltic coast from the Vistula to the gulf of Finland. The knights later had to relinquish much of this region to the Slavs, but they sowed there the seeds of civilization. Russia's Baltic provinces [36] are to-day the richest and most advanced in the empire.

POLITICAL GERMANY

Germany at the close of the Middle Ages was not a united, intensely national state, such as had been established in England, France, and Spain. It had split into hundreds of principalities, none large, some extremely small, and all practically independent of the feeble German kings. [37] This weakness of the central power condemned Germany to a minor part in the affairs of Europe, as late as the nineteenth century. Yet Germany found some compensation for political backwardness in the splendid city life which it developed during the later Middle Ages. The German cities, together with those of Italy and other European lands, now call for our attention.

[Illustration: Map, GERMAN EXPANSION EASTWARD DURING THE MIDDLE AGES]

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate (a) William the Conqueror's French dominions and (b) additional dominions of the Plantagenet kings in France.

2. Prepare a chart showing the leading rulers mentioned in this chapter. Arrange your material in parallel columns with dates, one column for England, one for France, and one for the other European countries.

3. Locate the following places: Crécy; Calais; Poitiers; Salisbury; Stirling; Edinburgh; Orléans; and Granada.

4. What happened in 987 A.D.? in 1066 A.D.? in 1215 A.D.? in 1295 A.D.? in 1346 A.D.? in 1453 A.D.? in 1485 A.D.?

5. Distinguish between a nation, a government, and a state.

6. Are unity of race, a common language, a common religion, and geographical unity of themselves sufficient to make a nation? May a nation arise where these bonds are lacking?

7. "The thirteenth century gave Europe the nations as we now know them." Comment on this statement.

8. Account for the rise of national feeling in France, Spain, Scotland, and Switzerland.

9. "Good government in the Middle Ages was only another name for a public- spirited and powerful monarchy." Comment on this statement.

10. What advantages has trial by jury over the older forms of trial, such as oaths, ordeals, and the judicial duel?

11. Explain the difference between a grand jury and a trial, or petty jury.

12. Compare the extent of territory in which Roman law now prevails with that which follows the Common law.

13. Why was the Parliament of 1295 A.D. named the "Model Parliament"?

14. Why has England been called "the mother of parliaments"?

15. Distinguish between England and Great Britain. Between Great Britain and the United Kingdom.

16. What were the Roman names of England, Scotland, and Ireland?

17. "Islands seem dedicated by nature to freedom." How does the history of Ireland illustrate this statement?

18. Trace on the map the main water routes in France between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

19. Show that Paris occupies an exceptionally good location for a capital city.

20. What French kings did most to form the French nation?

21. Why have queens never ruled in France?

22. Compare the Hundred Years' War and the Peloponnesian War as needless conflicts.

23. Compare Joan of Arc's visions with those of Mohammed.

24. "Beyond the Pyrenees begins Africa." What does this statement mean?

25. Why was Spain inconspicuous in European politics before the opening of the sixteenth century?

26. Look up in an encyclopedia the story of William Tell and prepare an oral report upon it.

27. Why was the German system of elective rulers politically less advantageous than the settled hereditary succession which prevailed in England and France?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History,* chapter xiv, "St. Louis"; chapter xv, "Episodes of the Hundred Years' War"; chapter xvi, "Memoirs of a French Courtier."

[2] The name comes from that of the broom plant (Latin *planta genesta*), a sprig of which Henry's father used to wear in his hat. The family is also called Angevin, because Henry on his father's side descended from the counts of Anjou in France.

[3] See page 419.

[4] Latin *verum dictum*, "a true statement."

[5] Latin *juro*, "I take an oath."

[6] See pages 475-476.

[7] See page 514.

[8] See page 461.

[9] A term which refers to all freemen in town and country below the rank of nobles.

[10] See page 418.

[11] Made up of the chief lords and bishops.

[12] The word "parliament," from French *parler,* "to speak," originally meant a talk or conference. Later, the word came to be applied to the body of persons assembled for conference.

[13] See page 407 and note 1.

[14] See page 319.

[15] See page 246.

[16] See the map, page 321.

[17] In 1603 A.D. James VI of Scotland ascended the throne of England as James I. In 1707 A.D. the two countries adopted a plan of union which gave them a common Parliament and one flag.

[18] See page 397.

[19] See page 403.

[20] From 987 A.D. to 1328 A.D. France had only fourteen kings. The average length of their reigns was, therefore, something more than twenty-four years.

[21] See pages 461, 475.

[22] Hence the name "Salic law" applied to the rule excluding women from succession to the French throne.

[23] See page 550.

[24] Probably so called from the black armor which he wore. It may still be seen above his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.

[25] In French, Jeanne d'Arc.

[26] Calais went back to the French in 1558 A.D. The Channel Islands are still English possessions.

[27] See pages 164, 169, 244, 378. The Arabs and Berbers who settled in Spain are generally called Moors.

[28] See page 316.

[29] See page 462.

[30] The duchies of Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and the county of Tyrol.

[31] See the map facing page 462.

[32] From Schwyz comes the name Switzerland.

[33] The independence of the country was not formally recognized till 1648 A.D.

[34] See page 315.

[35] See page 473.

[36] Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.

[37] See pages 319, 462.

CHAPTER XXIII

EUROPEAN CITIES DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

192. GROWTH OF THE CITIES

THE CIVIC REVIVAL

Civilization has always had its home in the city. [1] The statement applies as well to medieval times as to the present day. Nothing marks more strongly the backwardness of the early Middle Ages than the absence of large and flourishing cities throughout western Europe. The growth of trade in the later Middle Ages led, however, to a civic revival beginning in the eleventh century. This change from rural to urban life was scarcely less significant for European history than the change from the feudal to the national state.

CITIES OF ROMAN ORIGIN

A number of medieval cities stood on the sites, and even within the walls, of Roman municipalities. Particularly in Italy, southern France, and Spain, and also in the Rhine and Danube regions, it seems that some ancient *municipia* had never been entirely destroyed during the Germanic invasions. They preserved their Roman names, their streets, aqueducts, amphitheaters, and churches, and possibly vestiges of their Roman

institutions. Among them were such important centers as Milan, Florence, Venice, Lyons, Marseilles, Paris, Vienna, Cologne, London, and York.

ORIGIN OF THE OTHER CITIES

Many medieval cities were new foundations. Some rose to importance because of advantages of situation. A place where a river could be forded, where two roads met, or where a good harbor existed, would naturally become the resort of traders. Some, again, started as fortresses, behind whose ramparts the peasants took refuge when danger threatened. A third group of cities developed from villages on the manors. A thriving settlement was pretty sure to arise near a monastery or castle, which offered both protection and employment to the common people.

THE CITY AND FEUDALISM

The city at first formed part of the feudal system. It grew upon the territory of a feudal lord and naturally owed obedience to him. The citizens ranked not much higher than serfs, though they were traders and artisans instead of farmers. They enjoyed no political rights, for their lord collected the taxes, appointed officials, kept order, and punished offenders. In short, the city was not free.

[Illustration: WALLS OF CARCASSONNE The fortifications of Carcassonne an ancient city of southwestern France are probably unique in Europe for completeness and strength. They consist of a double line of ramparts protected by towers and pierced by only two gates. A part of the fortifications is attributed to the Visigoths in the sixth century, the remainder, including the castle, was raised during the Middle Ages (eleventh to thirteenth centuries)]

REVOLT OF THE CITIES

But the city from the first was the decided enemy of feudalism. [2] As its inhabitants increased in number and wealth, they became Revolt of conscious of their strength and refused to submit the cities to oppression. Sometimes they won their freedom by hard fighting, more often they purchased it, perhaps from some noble who needed money to go on a crusade. In France, England, and Spain, where the royal power was strong, the cities obtained exemption from their feudal burdens, but did not become entirely self-governing. In Germany and Italy, on the other hand, the weakness of the central government permitted many cities to secure complete independence. They became true republics, like the old Greek city-states. [3]

CHARTERS

The contract which the citizens extorted from their lord was known as a charter. It specified what taxes they should be required to pay and usually granted to them various privileges, such as those of holding assemblies, electing magistrates, and raising militia for local defense. The revolt of the cities gradually extended over all western Europe, so that at the end of the fourteenth century hardly any of them lacked a charter.

CIVIC FREEDOM

The free city had no room for either slaves or serfs. All servile conditions ceased inside its walls. The rule prevailed that anyone who had lived in a city for the term of a year and a day could no longer be claimed by a lord as his serf. This rule found expression in the famous saying: "Town air renders free."

RISE OF THE "THIRD ESTATE"

The freedom of the cities naturally attracted many immigrants to them. There came into existence a middle class of city people, between the nobles and clergy on the one side and the peasants on the other side—what the French call the *bourgeoisie.* [4] As we have [5] learned, the kings of England and France soon began to summon representatives of this middle class to sit in assemblies as the "third estate," by the side of the nobles and the clergy, who formed the first two estates. Henceforth the middle class, the *bourgeoisie,* the "third estate," distinguished as it was for wealth, intelligence, and enterprise, exerted an ever-greater influence on European affairs.

* * * * *

193. CITY LIFE

A CITY FROM WITHOUT

The visitor approaching a medieval city through miles of open fields saw it clear in the sunlight, unobscured by coal smoke. From without it looked like a fortress, with walls, towers, gateways, drawbridges, and moat. Beyond the fortifications he would see, huddled together against the sky, the spires of the churches and the cathedral, the roofs of the larger houses, and the dark, frowning mass of the castle. The general impression would be one of wealth and strength and beauty.

A CITY FROM WITHIN

Once within the walls the visitor would not find things so attractive. The streets were narrow, crooked, and ill-paved, dark during the day because of the overhanging houses, and without illumination at night. There were no open spaces or parks except a small market place. The whole city was cramped by its walls, which shut out light, air, and view, and prevented

expansion into the neighboring country. Medieval London, for instance, covered an area of less than one square mile. [6]

[Illustration: A SCENE IN ROTHENBURG]

UNSANITARY CONDITIONS

A city in the Middle Ages lacked all sanitary arrangements. The only water supply came from polluted streams and wells. There were no sewers and no sidewalks. People piled up their refuse in the backyard or flung it into the street, to be devoured by the dogs and pigs which served as scavengers. The holes in the pavement collected all manner of filth, and the unpaved lanes, in wet weather, became deep pits of mud. We can understand why the townspeople wore overshoes when they went out, and why even the saints in the pictures were represented with them on. The living were crowded together in many-storied houses, airless and gloomy; the dead were buried close at hand in crowded churchyards. Such unsanitary conditions must have been responsible for much of the sickness that was prevalent. The high death rate could only be offset by a birth rate correspondingly high, and by the constant influx of country people.

CIVIC REGULATIONS

Numerous petty regulations restricted the private life of the townspeople. The municipal authorities sometimes decided how many guests might be invited to weddings, how much might be spent on wedding presents, what different garments might be owned and worn by a citizen, and even the number of trees that might be planted in his garden. Each citizen had to serve his turn as watchman on the walls or in the streets at night. When the great bell in the belfry rang the "curfew," [7] at eight or nine o'clock, this was the signal for every one to extinguish lights and fires and go to bed. It was a useful precaution, since conflagrations were common enough in the

densely packed wooden houses. After curfew the streets became deserted, except for the night watch making their rounds and the presence of occasional pedestrians carrying lanterns. The municipal government spent little or nothing on police protection, so that street brawls, and even robbery and murder, were not infrequent.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

The inhabitants of the city took a just pride in their public buildings. The market place, where traders assembled, often contained a beautiful cross and sometimes a market hall to shelter goods from the weather. Not far away rose the city hall, [8] for the transaction of public business and the holding of civic feasts. The hall might be crowned by a high belfry with an alarm bell to summon citizens to mass meeting. Then there would be a number of churches and abbeys and, if the city was the capital of a bishop's diocese, an imposing cathedral.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The small size of medieval cities—few included as many as ten thousand inhabitants—simplified the problem of governing them. The leading merchants usually formed a council presided over by a head magistrate, the burgomaster [9] or mayor, [10] who was assisted by aldermen. [11] In some places the guilds chose the officials and managed civic affairs. These associations had many functions and held a most important place in city life.

194. CIVIC INDUSTRY: THE GUILDS

FORMATION OF GUILDS

The Anglo-Saxon word "guild," which means "to pay," came to be applied to a club or society whose members made contributions for some common purpose. This form Of association is very old. Some of the guilds in imperial Rome had been established in the age of the kings, while not a few of those which flourish to-day in China and India were founded before the Christian era. Guilds existed in Continental Europe as early as the time of Charlemagne, but they did not become prominent till after the crusades.

MERCHANT GUILDS

A guild of merchants grew up when those who bought and sold goods in any place united to protect their own interests. The membership included many artisans, as well as professional traders, for in medieval times a man often sold in the front room of his shop the goods which he made in the back rooms. He was often both shopkeeper and workman in one.

COMMERCIAL MONOPOLY

The chief duty of a merchant guild was to preserve to its own members the monopoly of trade within a town. Strangers and non-guildsmen could not buy or sell there except under the conditions imposed by the guild. They must pay the town tolls, confine their dealings to guildsmen, and as a rule sell only at wholesale. They were forbidden to purchase wares which the townspeople wanted for themselves or to set up shops for retail trade. They enjoyed more freedom at fairs, which were intended to attract outsiders.

[Illustration: HOUSE OF THE BUTCHERS' GUILD, HILDESHEIM, GERMANY Hildesheim, near Hanover, is perhaps the richest of all German towns in fine wooden-framed houses. The house of the Butchers' Guild has recently been restored, with all its original coloring carefully reproduced.]

CRAFT GUILDS

After a time the traders and artisans engaged in a particular occupation began to form an association of their own. Thus arose the craft guilds, composed of weavers, shoemakers, bakers, tailors, carpenters, and so on, until almost every form of industry had its separate organization. The names of the various occupations came to be used as the surnames of those engaged in them, so that to-day we have such common family names as Smith, Cooper, Fuller, Potter, Chandler, and many others. The number of craft guilds in an important city might be very large. London and Paris at one time each had more than one hundred, and Cologne in Germany had as many as eighty. The members of a particular guild usually lived in the same street or quarter of the city, not only for companionship but also for better supervision of their labor. [12]

INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLY

Just as the merchant guild regulated town trade, so the craft guilds had charge of town industry. No one could engage in any craft without becoming a member of the guild which controlled it and submitting to the guild regulations. A man's hours of labor and the prices at which he sold his goods were fixed for him by the guild. He might not work elsewhere than in his shop, because of the difficulty of supervising him, nor might he work by artificial light, lest he turn out badly finished goods. Everything made by him was carefully inspected to see if it contained shoddy materials or showed poor workmanship. Failure to meet the test meant a heavy fine or perhaps expulsion from the guild. Thus the industrial monopoly possessed by the craft guild gave some protection to both producer and consumer.

ORGANIZATION OF CRAFT GUILDS

Full membership in a guild was reached only by degrees. A boy started as an apprentice, that is, a learner. He paid a sum of money to his master and agreed to serve him for a fixed period, usually seven years. The master, in

turn, promised to provide the apprentice with food, lodging, and clothing, and to teach him all the secrets of the craft. At the end of the seven years the apprentice had to pass an examination by the guild. If he was found fit, he then became a journeyman and worked for daily wages. As soon as he had saved enough money, he might set up as a master in his own shop. A master was at once workman and employer, laborer and capitalist.

ACTIVITIES OF CRAFT GUILDS

Like the old Roman guilds, those of the Middle Ages had their charitable and religious aspects. Each guild raised large benefit funds for the relief of members or their widows and orphans. Each guild had its private altar in the cathedral, or often its own chapel, where masses were said for the repose of the souls of deceased members, and where on the day of its patron saint religious services were held. The guild was also a social organization, with frequent meetings for a feast in its hall or in some inn. The guilds in some cities entertained the people with an annual play or procession. [13] It is clear that the members of a medieval craft guild had common interests and shared a common life.

DISSOLUTION OF CRAFT GUILDS As the craft guilds prospered and increased in wealth, they tended to become exclusive organizations. Membership fees were raised so high that few could afford to pay them, while the number of apprentices that a master might take was strictly limited. It also became increasingly difficult for journeymen to rise to the station of masters; they often remained wage-earners for life. The mass of workmen could no longer participate in the benefits of the guild system. In the eighteenth century most of the guilds lost their monopoly of industry, and in the nineteenth century they gave way to trade unions.

195. TRADE AND COMMERCE

MARKETS

Nearly every town of any consequence had a weekly or semiweekly market, which was held in the market place or in the churchyard. Marketing often occurred on Sunday, in spite of many laws against this desecration of the day. Outsiders who brought cattle and farm produce for sale in the market were required to pay tolls, either to the town authorities or sometimes to a neighboring nobleman. These market dues still survive in the "octroi" collected at the gates of some European cities.

"JUST PRICE"

People in the Middle Ages did not believe in unrestricted competition. It was thought wrong for anyone to purchase goods outside of the regular market ("forestalling") or to purchase them in larger quantities than necessary ("engrossing"). A man ought not to charge for a thing more than it was worth, or to buy a thing cheap and sell it dear. The idea prevailed that goods should be sold at their "just price" which was not determined by supply and demand but by an estimate of the cost of the materials and the labor that went into their manufacture. Laws were often passed fixing this "just price," but it was as difficult then as now to prevent the "cornering of the market" by shrewd and unscrupulous traders.

FAIRS

Besides markets at frequent intervals, many towns held fairs once or twice a year. The fairs often lasted for a month or more. They were especially necessary in medieval Europe, because merchants did not keep large quantities or many kinds of goods on their shelves, nor could intending purchasers afford to travel far in search of what they wanted. The more important English fairs included those at Stourbridge near Cambridge, Winchester, St. Ives, and Boston. On the Continent fairs were numerous and

in some places, such as Leipzig in Germany and Nijni-Novgorod in Russia, they are still kept up.

FAIRS AND COMMERCE

A fair gave opportunity for the sale of commodities brought from the most distant regions. Stourbridge Fair, for instance, attracted Venetians and Genoese with silk, pepper, and spices of the East, Flemings with fine cloths and linens, Spaniards with iron and wine, Norwegians with tar and pitch from their forests, and Baltic merchants with furs, amber, and salted fish. The fairs, by fostering commerce, helped to make the various European peoples better acquainted with one another.

[Illustration: Map, TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE IN
THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES]

DECLINE OF COMMERCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Commerce in western Europe had almost disappeared as a result of the Germanic invasions and the establishment of feudalism. What little commercial intercourse there was encountered many obstacles. A merchant who went by land from country to country might expect to find bad roads, few bridges, and poor inns. Goods were transported on pack-horses instead of in wagons. Highway robbery was so common that travelers always carried arms and often united in bands for better protection. The feudal lords, often themselves not much more than highwaymen, demanded tolls at every bridge and ford and on every road. If the merchant proceeded by water, he must face, in addition to the ordinary hazards of wind and wave, the danger from the ill-lighted coasts and from attacks by pirates. No wonder commerce languished in the early Middle Ages and for a long time lay chiefly in the hands of Byzantines [14] and Arabs. [15]

COMMERCIAL REVIVAL AFTER THE CRUSADES

Even during the dark centuries that followed the end of the Roman Empire, some trade with the Orient had been carried on by the cities of Italy and southern France. The crusades, which brought East and West face to face, greatly increased this trade. The Mediterranean lands first felt the stimulating effects of intercourse with the Orient, but before long the commercial revival extended to the rest of Europe.

ASIATIC TRADE ROUTES

Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope the spices, drugs, incense, carpets, tapestries, porcelains, and gems of India, China, and the East Indies reached the West by three main routes. All had been used in ancient times. [16] The central and most important route led up the Persian Gulf and Tigris River to Bagdad, from which city goods went by caravan to Antioch or Damascus. The southern route reached Cairo and Alexandria by way of the Red Sea and the Nile. By taking advantage of the monsoons, a merchant ship could make the voyage from India to Egypt in about three months. The northern route, entirely overland, led to ports on the Black Sea and thence to Constantinople. It traversed high mountain passes and long stretches of desert, and could profitably be used only for the transport of valuable articles small in bulk. The conquests of the Ottoman Turks greatly interfered with the use of this route by Christians after the middle of the fifteenth century.

EUROPEAN TRADE ROUTES

Oriental goods, upon reaching the Mediterranean, could be transported by water to northern Europe. Every year the Venetians sent a fleet loaded with eastern products to Bruges in Flanders, a city which was the most important depot of trade with Germany, England, and Scandinavia. Bruges

also formed the terminus of the main overland route leading from Venice over the Alps and down the Rhine. But as the map indicates, many other commercial highways linked the Mediterranean with the North Sea and the Baltic.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

It is important to note that until late in the Middle Ages trade existed, not between nations, but between cities. A merchant of London was almost as much a foreigner in any other English city as he would have been in Bruges, Paris, or Cologne. Consequently, each city needed to make commercial treaties with its neighbors, stipulating what were the privileges and obligations of its merchants, wherever they went. It was not until the kings grew strong in western Europe that merchants could rely on the central government, rather than on local authorities, for protection.

[Illustration: Map, MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES
Land Routes
Water Routes
Marco Polo's Route]

196. MONEY AND BANKING

SMALL SCALE OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

We have seen that business in the Middle Ages was chiefly of a retail character and was conducted in markets and fairs. The artisan who manufactured the goods he sold and the peddler who carried his goods about from place to place were the leading types of medieval traders. Little wholesale business existed, and the merchant prince who owned warehouses and large stocks of goods was an exceptional figure.

LACK OF MONEY

One reason for the small scale of business enterprise is found in the inadequate supply of money. From the beginning of the Christian era to the twelfth century there seems to have been a steady decrease in the amount of specie in circulation, partly because so much moved to the Orient in payment for luxuries, and partly because the few mines in western Europe went out of use during the period of the invasions. The scarcity of money, as has been shown, [17] helped directly to build up the feudal system, since salaries, wages, and rents could be paid only in personal services or in produce. The money supply increased during the latter part of the Middle Ages, but it did not become sufficient for the needs of business till the discovery of the New World enabled the Spaniards to tap the wealth of the silver mines in Mexico and Peru. [18]

FAULTS OF MEDIEVAL CURRENCY

Medieval currency was not only small in amount but also faulty in character. Many great nobles enjoyed the privilege of keeping a mint and issuing coins. Since this feudal money passed at its full value only in the locality where it was minted, a merchant had to be constantly changing his money, as he went from one fief to another, and always at a loss. Kings and nobles for their own profit would often debase the currency by putting silver into the gold coins and copper into the silver coins. Every debasement, as it left the coins with less pure metal, lowered their purchasing power and so raised prices unexpectedly. Even in countries like England, where debasement was exceptional, much counterfeit money circulated, to the constant impediment of trade.

"USURY" LAWS

The prejudice against "usury," as any lending of money at interest was called, made another hindrance to business enterprise. It seemed wrong for a person to receive interest, since he lost nothing by the loan of his money. Numerous Church laws condemned the receipt of interest as unchristian. If, however, the lender could show that he had suffered any loss, or had been prevented from making any gain, through not having his money, he might charge something for its use. In time people began to distinguish between interest moderate in amount and an excessive charge for the use of money. The latter alone was henceforth prohibited as usurious. Most modern states still have usury laws which fix the legal rate of interest.

THE JEWS AS MONEY LENDERS

The business of money lending, denied to Christians, fell into the hands of the Jews. In nearly all European countries popular prejudice forbade the Jews to engage in agriculture, while the guild regulations barred them from industry. They turned to trade and finance for a livelihood and became the chief capitalists of medieval times. But the law gave the Jews no protection, and kings and nobles constantly extorted large sums from them. The persecutions of the Jews date from the era of the crusades, when it was as easy to excite fanatical hatred against them as against the Moslems. Edward I drove the Jews from England and Ferdinand and Isabella expelled them from Spain. They are still excluded from the Spanish peninsula, and in Russia and Austria they are not granted all the privileges which Christians enjoy.

ITALIAN BANKING

The Jews were least persecuted in the commercial cities of northern Italy. Florence, Genoa, and Venice in the thirteenth century were the money centers of Europe. The banking companies in these cities received deposits and then loaned the money to foreign governments and great nobles. It was

the Florentine bankers, for instance, who provided the English king, Edward III, with the funds to carry on his wars against France. The Italian banking houses had branches in the principal cities of Europe. [19] It became possible, therefore, to introduce the use of bills of exchange as a means of balancing debts between countries, without the necessity of sending the actual money. This system of international credit was doubly important at a time when so many risks attended the transportation of the precious metals. Another Florentine invention was bookkeeping by double-entry. [20]

197. ITALIAN CITIES

THE CITY REPUBLICS

The cities of northern Italy owed their prosperity, as we have learned, to the commerce with the Orient. It was this which gave them the means and the strength to keep up a long struggle for freedom against the German emperors.[21] The end of the struggle, at the middle of the thirteenth century, saw all North Italy divided into the dominions of various independent cities. Among them were Milan, Pisa, Florence, Genoa, and Venice.

MILAN

Milan, a city of Roman origin, lay in the fertile valley of the Po, at a point where the trade routes through several Alpine passes converged. Milan early rose to importance, and it still remains the commercial metropolis of Italy. Manufacturing also flourished there. Milanese armor was once celebrated throughout Europe. The city is rich in works of art, the best known being the cathedral, which, after St. Peter's at Rome and the cathedral of Seville, is the largest church in Europe. Though the Milanese

were able to throw off the imperial authority, their government fell into the hands of the local nobles, who ruled as despots. Almost all the Italian cities, except Venice, lost their freedom in this manner.

PISA

Pisa, like Milan, was an old Roman city which profited by the disorders of the barbarian invasions to assert its independence. The situation of Pisa on the Arno River, seven miles from the sea, made it a maritime state, and the Pisan navy gained distinction in warfare against the Moslems in the Mediterranean. The Pisans joined in the First Crusade and showed their valor at the capture of Jerusalem. They profited greatly by the crusading movement and soon possessed banks, warehouses, and trading privileges in every eastern port. But Pisa had bitter rivals in Florence and Genoa, and the conflicts with these two cities finally brought about the destruction of its power.

[Illustration: BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND "LEANING TOWER" OF PISA These three buildings in the piazza of Pisa form one of the most interesting architectural groups in Italy. The baptistery, completed in 1278 A.D., is a circular structure, 100 feet in diameter and covered with a high dome. The cathedral was consecrated in 1118 A.D. The finest part of the building is the west front with its four open arcades. The campanile, or bell tower, reaches a height of 179 feet. Owing to the sinking of the foundations, it leans from the perpendicular to a striking extent (now about 161/2 feet).]

FLORENCE

Florence, Pisa's neighbor on the Arno, was renowned for manufactures. The fine wool, silk cloths, golden brocades, jewelry, and metal work of Florence were imported into all European countries. The craft guilds were very strong there, and even the neighboring nobles, who wished to become

citizens, had first to enroll themselves in some guild. It was from banking, however, that Florence gained most wealth. In the fifteenth century the city contained eighty great banking houses, in addition to numerous branches outside of Italy. With their commercial spirit the Florentines combined a remarkable taste for art and literature. Their city, whose population never exceeded seventy thousand, gave birth to some of the most illustrious poets, prose writers, architects, sculptors, and painters of medieval times. It was the Athens of Italy. [22]

GENOA

Genoa, located on the gulf of the same name, possessed a safe and spacious harbor. During the era of the crusades the city carried on a flourishing trade in both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. After the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople [23] the Genoese almost monopolized Oriental commerce along the Black Sea route. The closing of this route by the Ottoman Turks was a heavy blow to their prosperity, which also suffered from the active competition of Venice.

SITUATION OF VENICE

Almost alone among Italian cities Venice was not of Roman origin. Its beginning is traced back to the period of barbarian inroads, when fugitives from the mainland sought a new home on the islands at the head of the Adriatic. [24] These islands, which lie about five miles from the coast, are protected from the outer sea by a long sand bar. They are little more than mud-banks, barely rising above the shallow water of the lagoons. The oozy soil afforded no support for buildings, except when strengthened by piles; there was scarcely any land fit for farming or cattle-raising; and the only drinking water had to be stored from the rainfall. Yet on this unpromising site arose one of the most splendid of European cities.

VENETIAN COMMERCE

The early inhabitants of Venice got their living from the sale of sea salt and fish, two commodities for which a constant demand existed in the Middle Ages. Large quantities of salt were needed for preserving meat in the winter months, while fish was eaten by all Christians on the numerous fast days and in Lent. The Venetians exchanged these commodities for the productions of the mainland and so built up a thriving trade. From fishermen they became merchants, with commercial relations which gradually extended to the Orient. The crusades vastly increased the wealth of Venice, for she provided the ships in which troops and supplies went to the Holy Land and she secured the largest share of the new eastern trade. Venice became the great emporium of the Mediterranean. As a commercial center the city was the successor of ancient Tyre, Carthage, Athens, and Alexandria.

[Illustration: VENICE AND THE GRAND CANAL]

[Illustration: THE CAMPANILE AND DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE The famous Campanile or bell tower of St. Mark's Cathedral collapsed in 1902 A.D. A new tower, faithfully copying the old monument, was completed nine years later. The Doge's Palace, a magnificent structure of brick and marble, is especially remarkable for the graceful arched colonnades forming the two lower stories. The blank walls of the upper story are broken by a few large and richly ornamented windows.]

VENETIAN POSSESSIONS

Venice also used the crusading movement for her political advantage. The capture of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade extended Venetian control over the Peloponnesus, [25] Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and many smaller islands in the eastern Mediterranean. Even before this time Venice

had begun to gain possessions upon the Italian mainland and along the Adriatic coast. At the height of her power about 1400 A.D. she ruled a real empire. [26]

VENETIAN SEA POWER

The commerce and possessions of Venice made it necessary for her to maintain a powerful fleet. She is said to have had at one time over three thousand merchant vessels, besides forty-five war galleys. Her ships went out in squadrons, with men-of-war acting as a convoy against pirates. One fleet traded with the ports of western Europe, another proceeded to the Black Sea, while others visited Syria and Egypt to meet the caravans from the Far East. Venetian sea power humbled Genoa and for a long time held the Mediterranean against the Ottoman Turks.

THE "QUEEN OF THE ADRIATIC"

The greatness of Venice was celebrated by the annual ceremony of "the wedding of the sea." The doge, (that is, "duke.") or chief magistrate, standing in the bows of the state barge, cast a ring of gold into the Adriatic with the proud words, "We have wedded thee, O sea, in token of our rightful and perpetual dominion."

VENICE DESCRIBED

The visitor to modern Venice can still gain a good impression of what the city must have looked like in the fourteenth century, when ships of every nation crowded its quays and strangers of every country thronged its squares or sped in light gondolas over the canals which take the place of streets. The main highway is still the Grand Canal, nearly two miles long and lined with palaces and churches. The Grand Canal leads to St. Mark's Cathedral, brilliant with mosaic pictures, the Campanile, or bell tower, and

the Doge's Palace. The "Bridge of Sighs" connects the ducal palace with the state prisons. The Rialto in the business heart of Venice is another famous bridge. But these are only a few of the historic and beautiful buildings of the island city.

198. GERMAN CITIES: THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

CITIES OF SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL GERMANY

The important trade routes from Venice and Genoa through the Alpine passes into the valleys of the Rhine and Danube were responsible for the prosperity of many fine cities in southern and central Germany. Among them were Augsburg, which rivaled Florence as a financial center, Nuremberg, famous for artistic metal work, Ulm, Strassburg, and Cologne. The feeble rule of the German kings compelled the cities to form several confederacies for the purpose of resisting the extortionate tolls and downright robberies of feudal lords.

CITIES OF NORTHERN GERMANY

It was the Baltic commerce which brought the cities of northern Germany into a firm union. From the Baltic region came large quantities of dried and salted fish, especially herring, wax candles for church services, skins, tallow, and lumber. Furs were also in great demand. Every one wore them during the winter, on account of the poorly heated houses. The German cities which shared in this commerce early formed the celebrated Hanseatic [27] League for protection against pirates and feudal lords.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

The league seems to have begun with an alliance of Hamburg and Lübeck to safeguard the traffic on the Elbe. The growth of the league was

rapid. At the period of its greatest power, about 1400 A.D., there were upwards of eighty Hanseatic cities along the Baltic coast and in the inland districts of northern Germany.

HANSEATIC "FACTORIES"

The commercial importance of the league extended far beyond the borders of Germany. Its trading posts, or "factories," at Bergen in Norway and Novgorod in Russia controlled the export trade of those two countries. Similar establishments existed at London, on the Thames just above London Bridge, and at Bruges in Flanders. Each factory served as a fortress where merchants could be safe from attack, as a storehouse for goods, and as a general market.

INFLUENCE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

The Hanseatic League ruled over the Baltic Sea very much as Venice ruled over the Adriatic. In spite of its monopolistic tendencies, so opposed to the spirit of free intercourse between nations, the league did much useful work by suppressing piracy and by encouraging the art of navigation. Modern Germans look back to it as proof that their country can play a great part on the seas. The Hanseatic merchants were also pioneers in the half-barbarous lands of northern and eastern Europe, where they founded towns, fostered industry, and introduced comforts and luxuries previously unknown. Such services in advancing civilization were comparable to those performed by the Teutonic Knights. [28]

DECLINE OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

After several centuries of usefulness the league lost its monopoly of the Baltic trade and began to decline. Moreover the Baltic, like the Mediterranean, sank to minor importance as a commercial center, after the

Portuguese had discovered the sea route to India and the Spaniards had opened up the New World. [29] City after city gradually withdrew from the league, till only Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen remained. They are still called free and independent cities, though now they form a part of the German Empire.

199. THE CITIES OF FLANDERS

COUNTY OF FLANDERS

In the Middle Ages the Netherlands, or "Low Countries," now divided between Holland and Belgium, consisted of a number of feudal states, nominally under the control of German and French kings, but really quite independent. Among them was the county of Flanders. It included the coast region from Calais to the mouth of the Scheldt, as well as a considerable district in what is now northwestern France. The inhabitants of Flanders were partly of Teutonic extraction (the Flemings) and partly akin to the French (the Walloons).

FLANDERS AS A COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CENTER

Flanders enjoyed a good situation for commerce. The country formed a convenient stopping place for merchants who went by sea between the Mediterranean and the Baltic, while important land routes led thither from all parts of western Europe. Flanders was also an industrial center. Its middle classes early discovered the fact that by devotion to manufacturing even a small and sterile region may become rich and populous.

FLEMISH WOOL TRADE

The leading industry of Flanders was weaving. England in the Middle Ages raised great flocks of sheep, but lacking skilled workmen to

manufacture the wool into fine cloth, sent it across the Channel to Flanders. A medieval writer declared that the whole world was clothed in English wool manufactured by the Flemings. The taxes that were laid on the export of wool helped to pay the expenses of English kings in their wars with the Welsh, the Scotch, and the Irish. The wool trade also made Flanders the ally of England in the Hundred Years' War, thus beginning that historic friendship between the two countries which still endures.

[Illustration: BELFRY OF BRUGES Bruges, the capital of West Flanders, contains many fine monuments of the Middle Ages Among these is the belfry, which rises in the center of the façade of the market hall. It dates from the end of the thirteenth century. Its height is 352 feet. The belfry consists of three stories, the two lower ones square, and the upper one, octagonal.]

[Illustration: TOWN HALL OF LOUVAIN, BELGIUM One of the richest and most ornate examples of Gothic architecture Erected in the fifteenth century The building consists of three stories above which rises the lofty roof crowned with graceful towers. The interior decoration and arrangements are commonplace.]

BRUGES, GHENT AND YPRES

Among the thriving communities of Flanders three held an exceptional position. Bruges was the mart where the trade of southern Europe, in the hands of the Venetians, and the trade of northern Europe, in the hands of the Hanseatic merchants, came together. Ghent, with forty thousand workshops, and Ypres, which counted two hundred thousand workmen within its walls and suburbs, were scarcely less prosperous. When these cities declined in wealth, Antwerp became the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands.

FLANDERS AND FRANCE

During the fourteenth century Flanders was annexed by France. The Flemish cities resisted bravely, and on more than one occasion their citizen levies, who could handle sword and ax, as well as the loom, defeated the French armies, thus demonstrating again that foot soldiers were a match for mailed cavalry. Had the cities been able to form a lasting league, they might have established an independent Flanders, but the bitter rivalry of Ghent and Bruges led to foreign domination, lasting into the nineteenth century. [30]

THE CITIES AND CIVILIZATION

The great cities of Flanders, Germany, and Italy, not to speak of those in France, Spain, and England, were much more than centers of trade, industry, and finance. Within their walls learning and art flourished to an extent which had never been possible in earlier times, when rural life prevailed throughout western Europe. We shall now see what the cities of the Middle Ages contributed to civilization.

STUDIES

1. Indicate on the map some great commercial cities of the Middle Ages as follows: four in Italy; three in the Netherlands; and six in Germany.

2. Why does an American city have a charter? Where is it obtained? What privileges does it confer?

3. Who comprised the "third estate" in the Middle Ages? What class corresponds to it at the present time?

4. Why has the medieval city been called the "birthplace of modern democracy"?

5. Compare the merchant guild with the modern chamber of commerce, and craft guilds with modern trade unions.

6. Look up the origin of the words "apprentice," "journeyman," and "master."

7. Why was there no antagonism between labor and capital under the guild system?

8. Compare the medieval abhorrence of "engrossing" with the modern idea that "combinations in restraint of trade" are wrong.

9. Why were fairs a necessity in the Middle Ages? Why are they not so useful now? Where are they still found?

10. Compare a medieval fair with a modern exposition.

11. What would be the effect on trade within an American state if tolls were levied on the border of every county?

12. What is meant by a "robber baron"?

13. How did the names "damask" linen, "chinaware," "japanned" ware, and "cashmere" shawls originate?

14. Why was the purchasing power of money much greater in the Middle Ages than it is now?

15. Why are modern coins always made perfectly round and with "milled" edges?

16. Are modern coins "debased" to any considerable extent? What is the use of alloys?

17. Why was the money-changer so necessary a figure in medieval business?

18. How is it easy to evade laws forbidding usury?

19. Look up in an encyclopedia the legend of the "Wandering Jew." How does it illustrate the medieval attitude toward Jews?

20. Write out the English equivalents of the Italian words mentioned in footnote 20.

21. Compare the Italian despots with the Greek tyrants.

22. Show that Venice in medieval times was the seaport nearest the heart of commercial Europe.

23. Compare the Venetian and Athenian sea-empires in respect to (a) extent, (b) duration, and (c) commercial policy.

24. Why was Venice called the "bride of the sea"?

FOOTNOTES

[1] The word "city" comes through the French from the Latin *civilitas*, meaning citizenship, state. The word "town" (from Anglo-Saxon *tun*), which is now often used as a synonym of city, originally meant a village (French *ville*, Latin *villa*).

[2] See page 437.

[3] See page 81.

[4] From French *bourg,* "town."

[5] See pages 506, 515.

[6] The visitor to Chester in England or Rothenburg in Germany finds the old ramparts still standing and gains an excellent idea of the cramped quarters of a medieval city. Nuremburg in southern Germany is another city which has preserved its medieval monuments.

[7] French *couvre feu*, "cover fire."

[8] In French *hôtel de ville*; in German *Rathhaus*.

[9] German *bürgermeister*, from *burg*, "castle."

[10] French *maire*, from Latin *major*, "greater."

[11] Anglo-Saxon *ealdorman* (*eald* means "old").

[12] A map of London still shows such names as Shoe Lane, Distaff Lane, Cornhill, and many other similar designations of streets.

[13] The civic procession in London on Lord Mayor's Day is the last survival in England of these yearly shows.

[14] See page 336.

[15] See page 382.

[16] See pages 47-48.

[17] See page 417.

[18] See page 640.

[19] Lombard Street in London, the financial center of England, received its name from the Italian bankers who established themselves in this part of the city.

[20] Among the Italian words having to do with commerce and banking which have come into general use are *conto, disconto, risico, netto, deposito, folio*, and *bilanza*.

[21] See page 460.

[22] See page 590.

[23] See page 478.

[24] See page 248.

[25] Known in the Middle Ages as the Morea.

[26] For the Venetian possessions in 1453 A.D. see the map, page 494.

[27] From the old German *hansa*, a "confederacy."

[28] See page 526.

[29] See page 640.

[30] In 1831 A.D. the two provinces of East Flanders and West Flanders became part of the modern kingdom of Belgium.

CHAPTER XXIV

MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION [1]

200. FORMATION OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES

THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which in western Europe saw the rise of national states out of the chaos of feudalism and the development of cities, may be regarded as the central period of the Middle Ages. During this time there flourished a civilization which is properly described as "medieval," to distinguish it from classical civilization on the one side and modern civilization on the other side. The various European languages then began to assume something like their present form. A large body of literature, in both poetry and prose, appeared. Architecture revived, and flowered in majestic cathedrals. Education also revived, especially in the universities with their thousands of students. These and other aspects of medieval life will now engage our attention.

LATIN AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

Throughout the Middle Ages Latin continued to be an international language. The Roman Church used it for papal bulls and other documents. Prayers were recited, hymns were sung, and sometimes sermons were

preached in Latin. It was also the language of men of culture everywhere in western Christendom. University professors lectured in Latin, students spoke Latin, lawyers addressed judges in Latin, and the merchants in different countries wrote Latin letters to one another. All learned books were composed in Latin until the close of the sixteenth century. This practice has not yet been entirely abandoned by European scholars.

THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Each European country during the Middle Ages had also its own national tongue. The so-called Romance languages, [2] including modern French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian, were derived from the Latin spoken by the Romanized inhabitants of the lands now known as France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania. Their colloquial Latin naturally lacked the elegance of the literary Latin used by Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, and other classical authors. The difference between the written and spoken forms of the language became more marked from the fifth century onward, in consequence of the barbarian invasions, which brought about the decline of learning. Gradually in each country new and vigorous tongues arose, related to, yet different from, the old classical Latin in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.

FRENCH

The indebtedness of the Romance languages to Latin is well illustrated by the case of French. It contains less than a thousand words introduced by the German invaders of Gaul. Even fewer in number are the words of Celtic origin. Nearly all the rest are derived from Latin.

DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH

The popular Latin of the Gallo-Romans gave rise to two quite independent languages in medieval France. The first was used in the southern part of the country; it was called Provençal (from Provence). The second was spoken in the north, particularly in the region about Paris. The unification of the French kingdom under Hugh Capet and his successors gradually extended the speech of northern France over the entire country. Even to-day, however, one may hear in the south of France the soft and harmonious Provençal.

THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES

The barbarians who poured from the wilds of central Europe into the Roman world brought their languages with them. But the speech of the Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards disappeared, while that of the Franks in Gaul, after their conversion to Christianity, gradually gave way to the popular Latin of their subjects. The Teutonic peoples who remained outside what had been the limits of the Roman world continued to use their native tongues during the Middle Ages. From them have come modern German, Dutch, Flemish, [3] and the various Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic [4]). In their earliest known forms all these languages show unmistakable traces of a common origin.

ANGLO-SAXON

Britain was the only Roman province in the west of Europe where a Teutonic language took root and maintained itself. Here the rough, guttural speech of the Anglo-Saxons so completely drove out the popular Latin that only six words were left behind by the Romans, when they abandoned the island early in the fifth century. More Celtic words remained, words like *cradle, crock, mop*, and *pillow*, which were names of household objects, and the names of rivers, mountains, and lakes, which were not easily

changed by the invaders. [5] But with such slight exceptions Anglo-Saxon was thoroughly Teutonic in vocabulary, as well as in grammar.

CHANGES IN ANGLO-SAXON

In course of time Anglo-Saxon underwent various changes. Christian missionaries, from the seventh century onward, introduced many new Latin terms for church offices, services, and observances. The Danes, besides contributing some place-names, gave us that most useful word *are*, and also the habit of using *to* before an infinitive. The coming of the Normans deeply affected Anglo-Saxon. Norman-French influence helped to make the language simpler, by ridding it of the cumbersome declensions and conjugations which it had in common with all Teutonic tongues. Many new Norman-French words also crept in, as the hostility of the English people toward their conquerors disappeared.

DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH

By the middle of the thirteenth century Anglo-Saxon, or English, as it may now be called, had taken on a somewhat familiar appearance, as in these opening words of the Lord's Prayer: "Fadir ur, that es in heven, Halud thi nam to nevene, Thou do as thi rich rike, Thi will on erd be wrought, eek as it is wrought in heven ay." In the poems of Geoffrey Chaucer (about 1340-1400 A.D.), especially in his *Canterbury Tales*, English wears quite a modern aspect, though the reader is often troubled by the old spelling and by certain words not now in use. The changes in the grammar of English have been so extremely small since 1485 A..D.—the beginning of the reign of Henry VII [6]—that any Englishman of ordinary education can read without difficulty a book written more than four hundred years ago.

[Illustration: GEOFFREY CHAUCER From an old manuscript in the British Museum, London. The only existing portrait of Chaucer.]

[Illustration: ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT From an old manuscript now in the possession of the British Museum. The shrine of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was a celebrated resort for (Proofer's Note: Remainder of text unavailable)]

ENGLISH AS A WORLD-LANGUAGE

What in medieval times was the speech of a few millions of Englishmen on a single small island is now spoken by at least one hundred and fifty millions of people all over the world. English is well fitted for the role of a universal language, because of its absence of inflections and its simple sentence-order. The great number of one-syllabled words in the language also makes for ease in understanding it. Furthermore, English has been, and still is, extremely hospitable to new words, so that its vocabulary has grown very fast by the adoption of terms from Latin, French, and other languages. These have immensely increased the expressiveness of English, while giving it a position midway between the very different Romance and Teutonic languages.

201. DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LITERATURES

LATIN HYMNS

Medieval literature, though inferior in quality to that of Greece and Rome, nevertheless includes many notable productions. In the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries Latin hymns reached their perfection. The sublime *Dies Irae* ("Day of Wrath") presents a picture of the final judgment of the wicked. The pathetic *Stabat Mater*, which describes the sorrows of Mary at the foot of the Cross, has been often translated and set to music. These two works were written by a companion and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi. St. Bernard's *Jesu Dulcis Memoria* ("Jesus, the Very Thought of Thee")

forms part of a beautiful hymn nearly two hundred lines in length. Part of another hymn, composed by a monk of Cluny, has been rendered into English as "Jerusalem the Golden." Latin hymns made use of rhyme, then something of a novelty, and thus helped to popularize this poetic device.

LATIN STUDENTS' SONGS

Very unlike the hymns in character were the Latin songs composed by students who went from one university to another in search of knowledge and adventure. Far from home, careless and pleasure-seeking, light of purse and light of heart the wandering scholars of the Middle Ages frequented taverns, as well as lecture rooms, and knew the wine-bowl even better than books. Their songs of love, of dancing, drinking, and gaming, reflect the jovial side of medieval life.

SONGS OF THE TROUBADOURS

Still another glimpse of gay society is afforded by the songs of the troubadours. These professional poets flourished in the south of France, but many of them traveled from court to court in other countries. Their verses, composed in the Provençal language, were always sung to the accompaniment of some musical instrument, generally the lute. Romantic love and deeds of chivalry were the two themes which most inspired the troubadours. They, too, took up the use of rhyme, using it so skillfully as to become the teachers of Europe in lyric poetry.

THE FRENCH EPIC

If southern France was the native home of the lyric, northern France gave birth to epic or narrative verse. Here arose many poems, describing the exploits of mythical heroes or historic kings. For a long time the poems remained unwritten and were recited by minstrels, who did not hesitate to

modify and enlarge them at will. It was not until late in the eleventh century that any epics were written down. They enjoyed high esteem in aristocratic circles and penetrated all countries where feudalism prevailed.

THE CHARLEMAGNE LEGEND

Many of the French epics centered about the commanding personality of Charlemagne. After his death he became a figure of legend. He was said to have reigned one hundred and twenty-five years, to have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and to have risen from the dead to lead the First Crusade. Angels inspired his actions. His sword contained the point of the lance which pierced the Savior's side. His standard was the banner of St. Peter. Though history shows that Charlemagne had little contact with the Moslems, in the popular mind he stood forth as the great champion of Christianity against Islam.

SONG OF ROLAND

The oldest, and at the same time the finest, epic connected with Charlemagne is the Song of Roland. [7] The poem centers around Roland, one of the twelve peers of France. When leading the rearguard of Charlemagne's army out of Spain, Roland is suddenly attacked by the treacherous Moors. He slays the enemy in heaps with his good sword, Durendal, and only after nearly all the Franks have perished sounds his magic horn to summon aid. Charlemagne, fifteen leagues distant, hears its notes and returns quickly. But before help arrives, Roland has fallen. He dies on the field of battle, with his face to the foe, and a prayer on his lips that "sweet France" may never be dishonored. This stirring poem appealed strongly to the martial Normans. A medieval chronicler relates that just before the battle of Hastings a Norman minstrel rode out between the lines, tossing his sword in air and catching it again, as he chanted the song "of

Roland and of Charlemagne, of Oliver and many a brave vassal who lost his life at Roncesvalles."

[Illustration: ROLAND AT RONCESVALLES
From a thirteenth-century window of stained glass in Chartres Cathedral. At the right, Roland sounding his horn; at the left Roland endeavoring to break his sword Durendal.]

THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES

King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table were also important figures in medieval legend. Arthur was said to have reigned in Britain early in the sixth century and to have fought against the Anglo-Saxons. Whether he ever lived or not we do not know. In the Arthurian romances this Celtic king stands forth as the model knight, the ideal of noble chivalry. The Norman conquerors of England carried the romances to France, and here, where feudalism was so deeply rooted, they found a hearty welcome. Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d' Arthur*, one of the first books to be printed in England, contains many of the narratives from which Tennyson, in his *Idylls of the King*, and other modern poets have drawn their inspiration.

THE NIBELINGENLIED

The greatest epic composed in Germany during the Middle Ages is the *Nibelungenlied*. The poem begins in Burgundy, where three kings hold court at Worms, on the Rhine. Thither comes the hero, Siegfried, ruler of the Netherlands. He had slain the mysterious Nibelungs and seized their treasure, together with the magic cloud-cloak which rendered its wearer invisible to human eyes. He had also killed a dragon and by bathing in its blood had become invulnerable, except in one place where a linden leaf touched his body. Siegfried marries Kriemhild, a beautiful Burgundian princess, and with her lives most happily. But a curse attached to the

Nibelung treasure, and Siegfried's enemy, the "grim Hagen," treacherously slays him by a spear thrust in the one spot where he could be hurt. Many years afterwards Kriemhild marries Attila, king of the Huns, on condition that he help her to vengeance. Hagen and his Burgundians are invited to Hunland, where Kriemhild causes them all to be put to death. The name of the poet who compiled and probably wrote much of the *Nibelungenlied* remains unknown, but his work has a place among the classics of German literature.

REYNARD THE FOX

No account of medieval literature ought to omit a reference to *Reynard the Fox*. This is a long poem, first written in Latin, and then turned into the chief languages of Europe. The characters are animals: Reynard, cunning and audacious, who outwits all his foes; Chanticleer the cock; Bruin the Bear; Isengrim the Wolf; and many others. But they are animals in name only. We see them worship like Christians, go to Mass, ride on horseback, debate in councils, and amuse themselves with hawking and hunting. Satire often creeps in, as when the villainous Fox confesses his sins to the Badger or vows that he will go to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage. The special interest of this work lies in the fact that it expressed the feelings of the common people, groaning under the oppression of feudal lords.

THE ROBIN HOOD BALLADS

The same democratic spirit breathes in the old English ballads of the outlaw Robin Hood. According to some accounts he flourished in the second half of the twelfth century, when Henry II and Richard the Lion-hearted reigned over England. Robin Hood, with his merry men, leads an adventurous life in Sherwood Forest, engaging in feats of strength and hunting the king's tall deer. Bishops, sheriffs, and gamekeepers are his only enemies. For the common people he has the greatest pity, and robs the rich

to endow the poor. Courtesy, generosity, and love of fair play are some of the characteristics which made him a popular hero. If King Arthur was the ideal knight, Robin Hood was the ideal yeoman. The ballads about him were sung by country folk for hundreds of years.

202. ROMANESQUE AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE; THE CATHEDRALS

TWO ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

The genius of the Middle Ages found its highest expression, not in books, but in buildings. For several hundred years after the barbarian invasions architecture had made little progress in western Europe, outside of Italy, which was subject to Byzantine influence, [8] and Spain, which was a center of Mohammedan culture. [9] Beginning about 800 A.D. came a revival, and the adoption of an architectural style called Romanesque, because it went back to Roman principles of construction. Romanesque architecture arose in northern Italy and southern France and gradually spread to other European countries. It was followed about 1100 A D. by the Gothic style of architecture, which prevailed during the next four centuries.

[Illustration: PLAN OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, ENGLAND
Note the double transepts.]

THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH

The church of the early Christians seems to have been modeled upon the Roman basilica, with its arrangement of nave and aisles, its circular arched recess (apse) at one end, and its flat, wooden ceiling supported by columns. [10] The Romanesque church departed from the basilican plan by the introduction of transepts, thus giving the building the form of a Latin cross. A dome, which might be covered by a pointed roof, was generally raised

over the junction of the nave and transepts. At the same time the apse was enlarged so as to form the choir, a place reserved for the clergy.

[Illustration: REIMS CATHEDRAL The cathedral of Notre Dame at Reims in northwestern France stands on the site where Clovis was baptized by St Remi. Here most of the French kings were consecrated with holy oil by the archbishops of Reims. Except the west front, which was built in the fourteenth century, the cathedral was completed by the end of the thirteenth century. The towers, 267 feet high, were originally designed to reach 394 feet. The facade, with its three arched portals exquisite rose window, and "gallery of the kings," is justly celebrated. The cathedral—walls, roof, statues, and windows—has been terribly damaged by the German bombardment during the late war.]

[Illustration: COLOGNE CATHEDRAL The Cathedral, or Dom, one of the finest monuments of Gothic architecture in Europe, was begun in the thirteenth century. The work of building proceeded slowly and at the time of the Reformation it ceased altogether. The structure was finally completed during the nineteenth century, and in 1880 AD it was opened in the presence of the emperor, William I. The Cathedral, which is in the form of a cross, measures 480 feet in length and 282 feet in breadth. Each of the towers reaches the height of 511 feet. The very numerous and richly-colored windows add greatly to the imposing effect of the interior.]

VAULTING AND THE ROUND ARCH

The Romanesque church also differed from a basilica in the use of vaulting to take the place of a flat ceiling. The old Romans had constructed their vaulted roofs and domes in concrete, which forms a rigid mass and rests securely upon the walls like the lid of a box. [11] Medieval architects, however, built in stone, which exerts an outward thrust and tends to force the walls apart. Consequently they found it necessary to make the walls

very thick and to strengthen them by piers, or buttresses, on the outside of the edifice. It was also necessary to reduce the width of the vaulted spaces. The vaulting, windows, and doorways had the form of the round arch, that is, a semicircle, as in the ancient Roman monuments. [12]

THE GOTHIC STYLE

Gothic architecture arose in France in the country around Paris, at a time when the French kingdom was taking the lead in European affairs. Later it spread to England, Germany, the Netherlands, and even to southern Europe. As an old chronicler wrote, "It was as if the whole world had thrown off the rags of its ancient time, and had arrayed itself in the white robes of the churches." The term Gothic was applied contemptuously to this architectural style by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who regarded everything non-classical as barbarous. They believed it to be an invention of the barbarian Goths, and so they called it Gothic. The name has stuck, as bad names have a habit of doing, but nowadays every one recognizes the greatness of this medieval art. The most beautiful buildings of the Middle Ages are of Gothic architecture.

RIBBED VAULTING AND THE FLYING BUTTRESS

The Gothic style formed a natural development of the Romanesque style. The architects of a Gothic church wished to retain the vaulted ceiling but at the same time to do away with thick, solid walls, which had so little window space as to leave the interior of the building dark gloomy. They solved this problem, in the first place, by using a great number of stone ribs, which gathered up the weight of the ceiling and rested on pillars. Ribbed vaulting made possible higher ceilings, spanning wider areas, than in Romanesque churches. [13] In the second place, the pillars supporting the ribs were themselves connected by means of flying buttresses with stout piers of masonry outside the walls of the church. [14] These walls, relieved

from the pressure of the ceiling, now became a mere screen to keep out the weather. They could be built of light materials and opened up with high, wide windows.

THE POINTED ARCH

Ribbed vaulting and the flying buttress are the distinctive features of Gothic architecture. A third feature, noteworthy but not so important, is the use of the pointed arch. It was not Christian in origin, for it had long been known to the Arabs in the East and the Moslem conquerors of Sicily. [15] The semicircular or round arch can be only half as high as it is wide, but the pointed arch may vary greatly in its proportions. The use of this device enabled the Gothic builder to bridge over different widths at any required height. It is also lighter and more graceful than the round arch. [16]

[Illustration: CROSS SECTION OF AMIENS CATHEDRAL
A, vaulting; B, ribs; C, flying buttresses; D, buttresses; E, low windows; F, clerestory.]

GOTHIC ORNAMENT

The labors of the Gothic architect were admirably seconded by those of other artists. The sculptor cut figures of men, animals, and plants in the utmost profusion. The painter covered vacant wall spaces with brilliant mosaics and frescoes. The wood-carver made exquisite choir stalls, pulpits, altars, and screens. Master workmen filled the stone tracery of the windows with stained glass unequaled in coloring by the finest modern work. Some rigorous churchmen like St. Bernard condemned the expense of these magnificent cathedrals, but most men found in their beauty an additional reason to praise God.

[Illustration: GARGOYLES ON THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS Strange grotesque figures and faces of stone used as ornaments of Gothic buildings and as spouts to carry off rain water. They represent beasts, demons, and other creations of medieval fancy.]

THE CATHEDRAL AS A RELIGIOUS EDIFICE

The Gothic cathedral, in fact, perfectly expressed the religious spirit of the Middle Ages. For its erection kings and nobles offered costly gifts. The common people, when they had no money to give, contributed their labor, each man doing what he could to carry upward the walls and towers and to perfect every part of God's dwelling. The interior of such a cathedral, with its vast nave rising in swelling arches to the vaulted roof, its clustered columns, its glowing windows, and infinite variety of ornamentation, forms the most awe-inspiring sanctuary ever raised by man. It is a prayer, a hymn, a sermon in stone.

THE SECULAR GOTHIC

Gothic architecture, though at first confined to churches, came to be used for other buildings. Among the monuments of the secular Gothic are beautiful town halls, guild halls, markets, and charming private houses. [17] But the cathedral remained the best expression of the Gothic style.

203. EDUCATION; THE UNIVERSITIES

COMMON SCHOOLS

Not less important than the Gothic cathedrals for the understanding of medieval civilization were the universities. They grew out of the monastic and cathedral schools where boys were trained to become monks or priests. Such schools had been created or restored by Charlemagne. [18] The

teaching, which lay entirely in the hands of the clergy, was elementary in character. Pupils learned enough Latin grammar to read religious books, if not always to understand them, and enough music to follow the services of the Church. They also studied arithmetic by means of the awkward Roman notation, received a smattering of astronomy, and sometimes gained a little knowledge of such subjects as geography, law, and philosophy. Besides these monastic and cathedral schools, others were maintained by the guilds. Boys who had no regular schooling often received instruction from the parish priest of the village or town. Illiteracy was common enough in medieval times, but the mass of the people were by no means entirely uneducated.

RISE OF UNIVERSITIES

Between 1150 and 1500 A.D. at least eighty universities were established in western Europe. Some speedily became extinct, but there are still about fifty European institutions of learning which started in the Middle Ages. The earliest universities did not look to the state or to some princely benefactor for their foundation. They arose, as it were, spontaneously. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Europe felt the thrill of a great intellectual revival. It was stimulated by intercourse with the highly cultivated Arabs in Spain, Sicily, and the East, and with the Greek scholars of Constantinople during the crusades. The desire for instruction became so general that the common schools could not satisfy it. Other schools were then opened in the cities and to them flocked eager learners from every quarter.

PETER ABELARD 1079-1142 A.D.

How easily a university might grow up about the personality of some eminent teacher is shown by the career of Abelard. The eldest son of a noble family in Brittany, Abelard would naturally have entered upon a military career, but he chose instead the life of a scholar and the contests of

debate. When still a young man he came to Paris and attended the lectures given by a master of the cathedral school of Notre Dame. Before long he had overcome his instructor in discussion, thus establishing his own reputation. At the early age of twenty-two Abelard himself set up as a lecturer. Few teachers have ever attracted so large and so devoted a following. His lecture room under the shadow of the great cathedral was filled with a crowd of youths and men drawn from all countries.

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

The fame of Abelard led to an increase of masters and students at Paris and so paved the way for the establishment of the university there, later in the twelfth century. Paris soon became such a center of learning, particularly in theology and philosophy, that a medieval writer referred to it as "the mill where the world's corn is ground, and the hearth where its bread is baked." The university of Paris, in the time of its greatest prosperity, had over five thousand students. It furnished the model for the English university of Oxford, as well as for the learned institutions of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA

The institutions of learning in southern Europe were modeled, more or less, upon the university of Bologna. At this Italian city, in the middle of the twelfth century, a celebrated teacher named Irnerius gathered about him thousands of pupils for the study of the Justinian code. [19] The university developed out of his law school. Bologna was the center from which the Roman system of jurisprudence made its way into France, Germany, and other Continental countries. From Bologna, also, came the monk Gratian, who drew up the accepted text-book of canon law, as followed in all Church courts. [20] What Roman law was to the Empire canon law was to the Papacy.

UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATION

The word "university" [21] meant at first simply a union or association. In the Middle Ages all artisans were organized in guilds, [22] and when masters and pupils associated themselves for teaching and study they naturally copied the guild form. This was the more necessary since the student body included so many foreigners, who found protection against annoyances only as members of a guild.

DEGREES

Like a craft guild a university consisted of masters (the professors), who had the right to teach, and students, both elementary and advanced, who corresponded to apprentices and journeymen. After several years of study a student who had passed part of his examination became a "bachelor of arts" and might teach certain elementary subjects to those beneath him. Upon the completion of the full course—usually six years in length—the bachelor took his final examinations and, if he passed them, received the coveted degree of "master of arts." But as is the case to-day, many who attended the universities never took a degree at all.

THE TEACHERS

A university of the Middle Ages did not need an expensive collection of libraries, laboratories, and museums. Its only necessary equipment consisted in lecture rooms for the professors. Not even benches or chairs were required. Students often sat on the straw-strewn floors. The high price of manuscripts compelled professors to give all instruction by lectures. This method of teaching has been retained in modern universities, since even the printed book is a poor substitute for a scholar's inspiring words.

THE STUDENTS

The universities being under the protection of the Church, it was natural that those who attended them should possess some of the privileges of clergymen. Students were not required to pay taxes or to serve in the army. They also enjoyed the right of trial in their own courts. This was an especially valuable privilege, for medieval students were constantly getting into trouble with the city authorities. The sober annals of many a university are relieved by tales of truly Homeric conflicts between Town and Gown. When the students were dissatisfied with their treatment in one place, it was always easy for them to go to another university. Sometimes masters and scholars made off in a body. Oxford appears to have owed its existence to a large migration of English students from Paris, Cambridge arose as the result of a migration from Oxford, and the German university of Leipzig sprang from that of Prague in Bohemia.

[Illustration: VIEW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD New College, despite its name, is one of the oldest of the Oxford collegiate foundations. It was established in 1379 A.D. by William of Wykeham. The illustration shows the chapel, the cloisters consecrated in 1400 A.D., and the detached tower, a tall, massive structure on the line of the city wall.]

COLLEGES

The members of a university usually lived in a number of colleges. These seem to have been at first little more than lodging-houses, where poor students were cared for at the expense of some benefactor. In time, however, as the colleges increased in wealth, through the gifts made to them, they became centers of instruction under the direction of masters. At Oxford and Cambridge, where the collegiate system has been retained to the present time, each college has its separate buildings and enjoys the privilege of self-government.

FACULTIES

The studies in a medieval university were grouped under the four faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine. The first-named faculty taught the "seven liberal arts," that is, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. They formed a legacy from old Roman education. Theology, law, and medicine then, as now, were professional studies, taken up after the completion of the Arts course. Owing to the constant movement of students from one university to another, each institution tended to specialize in one or more subjects. Thus, Paris came to be noted for theology, Montpellier, Padua, and Salerno for medicine, and Orléans, Bologna, and Salamanca for law.

[Illustration: TOWER OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD
Magdalen (pronounced Maudlin) is perhaps the most beautiful college in Oxford. The bell tower stands on High Street, the principal thoroughfare of Oxford, and adjoins Magdalen Bridge, built across the Cherwell. Begun in 1492 A.D.; completed in 1505 A.D. From its summit a Latin hymn is sung every year on the morning of May Day. This graceful tower has been several times imitated in American collegiate structures.]

204. SCHOLASTICISM

THEOLOGICAL STUDY

Theology formed the chief subject of instruction in most medieval universities. Nearly all the celebrated scholars of the age were theologians. They sought to arrange the doctrines of the Church in systematic and reasonable form, in order to answer those great questions concerning the nature of God and of the soul which have always occupied the human mind. For this purpose it was necessary to call in the aid of philosophy. The union of theology and philosophy produced what is known as scholasticism. [23]

[Illustration: INTERIOR OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE. The chief architectural ornament of King's College, founded by King Henry VI, is the chapel in the Gothic perpendicular style.* This building was begun in 1446 A.D., but was not completed until nearly seventy years later. The finest features of the interior are the fan vaulting which extends throughout the chapel, the stained-glass windows, and the wooden organ screen.]

ABELARD AND FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

The scholastics were loyal children of the Church and did not presume to question her teaching in matters of religion. They held that faith precedes reason. "The Christian," it was said, "ought to advance to knowledge through faith, not come to faith through knowledge." The brilliant Abelard, with his keenly critical mind, found what he considered a flaw in this position: on many subjects the authorities themselves disagreed. To show this he wrote a little book called *Sic et Non* ("Yes and No"), setting forth the conflicting opinions of the Church Fathers on one hundred and fifty-eight points of theology. In such cases how could truth be reached unless one reasoned it out for oneself? "Constant questioning," he declared, "is the key to wisdom…. Through doubting we come to inquiry and through inquiry we perceive the truth." But this reliance on the unaided human reason as a means of obtaining knowledge did not meet with approval, and Abelard's views were condemned as unsound. Abelard, indeed, was a man in advance of his age. Freedom of thought had to wait many centuries before its rights should be acknowledged.

STUDY OF ARISTOTLE

The philosophy on which the scholastics relied was chiefly that of Aristotle. [24] Christian Europe read him at first in Latin translations from the Arabic, but versions were later made from Greek copies found in

Constantinople and elsewhere in the East. This revival of Aristotle, though it broadened men's minds by acquainting them with the ideas of the greatest of Greek thinkers, had serious drawbacks. It discouraged rather than favored the search for fresh truth. Many scholastics were satisfied to appeal to Aristotle's authority, rather than take the trouble of finding out things for themselves. The story is told of a medieval student who, having detected spots in the sun, announced his discovery to a learned man. "My son," said the latter, "I have read Aristotle many times, and I assure you there is nothing of the kind mentioned by him. Be certain that the spots which you have seen are in your eyes and not in the sun."

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, 1227-1274 A.D.

There were many famous scholastics, or "schoolmen," but easily the foremost among them was the Italian monk, Thomas Aquinas. He taught at Paris, Cologne, Rome, and Bologna, and became so celebrated for learning as to be known as the "Angelic Doctor." Though Aquinas died at an early age, he left behind him no less than eighteen folio volumes. His *Summa Theologiae* ("Compendium of Theology"), as the name indicates, gathered up all that the Middle Ages believed of the relations between God and man. The Roman Church has placed him among her saints and still recommends the study of his writings as the foundation of all sound theology.

THE SCHOLASTIC METHOD

Enough has been said to show that the method of study in medieval universities was not that which generally obtains to-day. There was almost no original research. Law students memorized the Justinian code. Medical students learned anatomy and physiology from old Greek books, instead of in the dissecting room. Theologians and philosophers went to the Bible, the Church Fathers, or Aristotle for the solution of all problems. They often debated the most subtle questions, for instance, "Can God ever know more

than He knows that He knows?" Mental gymnastics of this sort furnished a good training in logic, but added nothing to the sum of human knowledge. Scholasticism, accordingly, fell into disrepute, in proportion as men began to substitute scientific observation and experiment for speculation.

205. SCIENCE AND MAGIC

SCIENTIFIC INVENTIONS

Not all medieval learning took the form of scholasticism. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were marked by a healthy interest in science. Long encyclopedias, written in Latin, collected all available information about the natural world. The study of physics made conspicuous progress, partly as a result of Arab influence. Various scientific inventions, including magnifying glasses and clocks, were worked out. The mariner's compass, perhaps derived from the Arabs, also came into general use. [25]

ROGER BACON, ABOUT 1214-1294 A.D.

As representative of this scientific interest we may take the Englishman, Roger Bacon. He studied at Paris, where his attainments secured for him the title of the "Wonderful Doctor," and lectured at Oxford. At a period when Aristotle's influence was unbounded, Bacon turned away from scholastic philosophy to mathematics and the sciences. No great discoveries were made by him, but it is interesting to read a passage in one of his works where some modern inventions are distinctly foreseen. In time, he wrote, ships will be moved without rowers, and carriages will be propelled without animals to draw them. Machines for flying will also be constructed, "wherein a man sits revolving some engine by which artificial wings are made to beat the air like a flying bird." Even in Bacon's day it would appear that men were trying to make steamboats, automobiles, and aëroplanes.

[Illustration: ROGER BACON]

GUNPOWDER

The discovery of gunpowder, a compound of saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur, has often been attributed to Bacon, probably incorrectly. Bacon and other men of his time seem to have been familiar with the composition of gunpowder, but they regarded it as merely a sort of firework, producing a sudden and brilliant flame. They little suspected that in a confined space the expansive power of its gases could be used to hurl projectiles. Gunpowder was occasionally manufactured during the fourteenth century, but for a long time it made more noise than it did harm. Small brass cannon, throwing stone balls, began at length to displace the medieval siege weapons, and still later muskets took the place of the bow, the cross-bow, and the pike. The revolution in the art of warfare introduced by gunpowder had vast importance. It destroyed the usefulness of the castle and enabled the peasant to fight the mailed knight on equal terms. Gunpowder, accordingly, must be included among the forces which brought about the downfall of feudalism.

CHEMISTRY AND ALCHEMY

The study of chemistry also engaged the attention of medieval investigators. It was, however, much mixed up with alchemy, a false science which the Middle Ages had received from the Greeks, and they, in turn, from the Egyptians. The alchemists believed that minerals possessed a real life of their own and that they were continually developing in the ground toward the state of gold, the perfect metal. It was necessary, therefore, to discover the "philosopher's stone," which would turn all metals into gold. The alchemists never found it, but they learned a good deal about the various metals and discovered a number of compounds and colors. In this way alchemy contributed to the advance of chemistry.

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

Astronomy in the Middle Ages was the most advanced of any natural science, though the telescope and the Copernican theory [26] were as yet in the future. Astronomy, the wise mother, had a foolish daughter, astrology, the origin of which can be traced back to Babylonia. [27] Medieval students no longer regarded the stars as divine, but they believed that the natural world and the life of men were controlled by celestial influences. Hence astrologers professed to predict the fate of a person from the position of the planets at the time of his birth. Astrological rules were also drawn from the signs of the zodiac. A child born under the sign of the Lion will be courageous; one born under the Crab will not go forward well in life; one born under the Waterman will probably be drowned, and so forth. Such fancies seem absurd enough, but in the Middle Ages educated people entertained them.

MEDIEVAL CREDULITY

Alchemy and astrology were not the only instances of medieval credulity. The most improbable stories found ready acceptance. Roger Bacon, for instance, thought that "flying dragons" still existed in Europe and that eating their flesh lengthened human life. Works on natural history soberly described the lizard-like salamander, which dwelt in fire, and the phoenix, a bird which, after living for five hundred years, burned itself to death and then rose again full grown from the ashes. Another fabulous creature was the unicorn, with the head and body of a horse, the hind legs of an antelope, the beard of a goat, and a long, sharp horn set in the middle of the forehead. Various plants and minerals were also credited with marvelous powers. Thus, the nasturtium, used as a liniment, would keep one's hair from falling out, and the sapphire, when powdered and mixed with milk, would heal

ulcers and cure headache. Such quaint beliefs linger to-day among uneducated people, even in civilized lands.

[Illustration: MAGICIAN RESCUED FROM THE DEVIL
Miniature in a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The Devil, attempting to seize a magician who had formed a pact with him, is prevented by a lay brother.]

MAGICIANS

Magicians of every sort flourished in the Middle Ages. Oneiromancers [28] took omens from dreams. Palmists read fortunes in the lines and irregularities of the hand. Necromancers [29] professed to reveal the future by pretended communications with departed spirits. Other magicians made talismans or lucky objects to be worn on the person, mirrors in which the images of the dead or the absent were reflected, and various powders which, when mixed with food or drink, would inspire hatred or affection in the one consuming them. Indeed, it would be easy to draw up a long list of the devices by which practitioners of magic made a living at the expense of the ignorant and the superstitious.

206. POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS

FOLK TALES

Many medieval superstitions are preserved in folk tales, or "fairy stories." Every child now reads these tales in books, but until the nineteenth century very few of them had been collected and written down. [30] They lived on the lips of the people, being told by mothers and nurses to children and by young and old about the firesides during the long winter evenings. Story-telling formed one of the chief amusements of the Middle Ages.

FAIRIES

The fairies who appear so commonly in folk tales are known by different names. They are bogies, brownies, goblins, pixies, kobolds (in Germany), trolls (in Denmark), and so on. The Celts, especially, had a lively faith in fairies, and it was from Wales, Scotland, and Ireland that many stories about them became current in Europe after the tenth century. Some students have explained the belief in fairies as due to memories of an ancient pygmy people dwelling in underground homes. But most of these supernatural beings seem to be the descendants of the spirits and demons which in savage fancy haunt the world.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FAIRIES

A comparison of European folk tales shows that fairies have certain characteristics in common. They live in palaces underneath the ground, from which they emerge at twilight to dance in mystic circles. They are ruled by kings and queens and are possessed of great wealth. Though usually invisible, they may sometimes be seen, especially by people who have the faculty of perceiving spirits. To mortals the fairies are generally hostile, leading wanderers astray, often blighting crops and cattle, and shooting arrows which carry disease and death. They are constantly on the watch to carry off human beings to their realm. A prisoner must be released at the end of a certain time, unless he tastes fairy food, in which event he can never return. Children in cradles are frequently snatched away by the fairies, who leave, instead, imps of their own called "changelings." A changeling may always be recognized by its peevishness and backwardness in learning to walk and speak. If well treated, the fairies will sometimes show their gratitude by bestowing on their favorites health, wealth, and long life. Lucky the child who can count on a "fairy god-mother."

GIANTS AND OGRES

Stories of giants are common in folk tales. Giants are often represented as not only big but also stupid, and as easily overcome by keen-witted human foes like "Jack the Giant-killer." It may be that traditions of pre- historic peoples have sometimes given birth to legends of giants. Another source of stories concerning them has been the discovery of huge fossil bones, such as those of the mammoth or mastodon, which were formerly supposed to be bones of gigantic men. The ogres, who sometimes figure in folk tales, are giants with a taste for human flesh. They recall the cannibals of the savage world.

WEREWOLVES

Werewolves were persons who, by natural gift or magic art, were thought to have the power of turning themselves for a time into wild beasts (generally wolves or bears). In this animal shape they ravaged flocks and devoured young children. A werewolf was said to sleep only two nights in the month and to spend the rest of the time roaming the woods and fields. Trials of persons accused of being werewolves were held in France as late as the end of the sixteenth century. Even now the belief is found in out- of-the-way parts of Europe.

THE EVIL EYE

Another medieval superstition was that of the evil eye. According to this belief, certain persons could bewitch, injure, and kill by a glance. Children and domestic animals were thought to be particularly susceptible to the effects of "fascination." In order to guard against it charms of various sorts, including texts from the Bible, were carried about. The belief in the evil eye came into Europe from pagan antiquity. It survived the Middle Ages and lingers yet among uneducated people.

WITCHCRAFT

The superstitions relating to werewolves and the evil eye are particular forms of the belief in witchcraft, or "black magic." The Middle Ages could not escape this delusion, which was firmly held by the Greeks and Romans and other ancient peoples. Witchcraft had, indeed, a prehistoric origin and the belief in it still prevails in savage society.

[Illustration: THE WITCHES' SABBATH.]

FEATURES OF EUROPEAN WITCHCRAFT

Witches and wizards were supposed to have sold themselves to the Devil, receiving in return the power to work magic. They could change themselves or others into animals, they had charms against the hurt of weapons, they could raise storms and destroy crops, and they could convey thorns, pins, and other objects into their victims' bodies, thus causing sickness and death. At night they rode on broomsticks through the air and assembled in some lonely place for feasts, dances, and wild revels. At these "Witches' Sabbaths," as they were called, the Devil himself attended and taught his followers their diabolic arts. There were various tests for the discovery of witches and wizards, the most usual being the ordeal by water. [31]

WITCHCRAFT PERSECUTIONS

The numerous trials and executions for witchcraft form a dark page in history. Thousands of harmless old men and women were put to death on the charge of being leagued with the Devil. Even the most intelligent and humane people believed in the reality of witchcraft and found a justification for its punishment in the Scriptural command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." [32] The witch epidemic which broke out in America during the seventeenth century, reaching its height at Salem, Massachusetts, was simply a reflection of the European fear and hatred of witches.

UNLUCKY DAYS

The Middle Ages inherited from antiquity the observance of unlucky days. They went under the name of "Egyptian days," so called because it was held that on one of them the plagues had been sent to devastate the land of Egypt and on another Pharaoh and his host had been swallowed up in the Red Sea. At least twenty-four days in the year were regarded as very unlucky. At such times one ought not to buy and sell, to build a house, to plant a field, to travel or, in fact, to undertake anything at all important. After the sixteenth century the belief in unlucky days declined, but there

still exists a prejudice against fishermen starting out to fish, or seamen to take a voyage, or landsmen a journey, or domestic servants to enter a new place, on a Friday.

207. POPULAR AMUSEMENTS AND FESTIVALS

INDOOR GAMES

It is pleasant to turn from the superstitions of the Middle Ages to the games, sports, and festivals which helped to make life agreeable alike for rich and poor, for nobles and peasants. Some indoor games are of eastern origin. Thus chess, with which European peoples seem to have become acquainted as early as the tenth century [33] arose in India as a war game. On each side a king and his general, with chariots, cavalry, elephants, and infantry, met in battle array. These survive in the rooks, knights, bishops, and pawns of the modern game. Checkers is a sort of simplified chess, in which the pieces are all pawns, till they get across the board and become kings. Playing cards are another Oriental invention. They were introduced into Europe in the fourteenth century, either by the Arabs or the gypsies. Their first use seems to have been for telling fortunes.

[Illustration: CHESS PIECES OF CHARLEMAGNE
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The figures are carved in ivory.]

OUTDOOR GAMES

Many outdoor games are derived from those played in medieval times. How one kind of game may become the parent of many others is seen in the case of the ball-play. The ancients tossed and caught balls as children do now. They also had a game in which each side tried to secure the ball and throw it over the adversary's goal line. This game lasted on into the Middle Ages, and from it football has descended. The ancients seem never to have

used a stick or bat in their ball-play. The Persians, however, began to play ball on horseback, using a long mallet for the purpose, and introduced their new sport throughout Asia. Under the Tibetan name of *pulu* ("ball") it found its way into Europe. When once the mallet had been invented for use on horseback, it could be easily used on foot, and so polo gave rise to the various games in which balls are hit with bats, including tennis, hockey, golf, cricket, and croquet.

BAITING

The difference between our ideas of what constitutes "sport" and those of our ancestors is shown by the popularity of baiting. In the twelfth century bulls, bears, and even horses were baited. Cock-fighting formed another common amusement. It was not till the nineteenth century that an English society for the prevention of cruelty to animals succeeded in getting a law passed which forbade these cruel sports. Most other European countries have now followed England's example.

FESTIVALS

No account of life in the Middle Ages can well omit some reference to the celebration of festivals. For the peasant and artisan they provided relief from physical exertion, and for all classes of society the pageants, processions, sports, feasts, and merry-makings which accompanied them furnished welcome diversion. Medieval festivals included not only those of the Christian Year, [34] but also others which had come down from pre-Christian times.

[Illustration: BEAR BAITING.
From the Luttrell Psalter.]

SEASONAL FESTIVALS

Many festivals not of Christian origin were derived from the ceremonies with which the heathen peoples of Europe had been accustomed to mark the changes of the seasons. Thus, April Fool's Day formed a relic of festivities held at the vernal equinox. May Day, another festival of spring, honored the spirits of trees and of all budding vegetation. The persons who acted as May kings and May queens represented these spirits. According to the original custom a new May tree was cut down in the forest every year, but later a permanent May pole was set up on the village common. On Midsummer Eve (June 23), which marked the summer solstice, came the fire festival, when people built bonfires and leaped over them, walked in procession with torches round the fields, and rolled burning wheels down the hillsides. These curious rites may have been once connected with sun worship. Hallow Eve, so called from being the eve of All Saints' Day (November 1), also seems to have been a survival of a heathen celebration. On this night witches and fairies were supposed to assemble. Hallow Eve does not appear to have been a season for pranks and jokes, as is its present degenerate form. Even the festival of Christmas, coming at the winter solstice, kept some heathen features, such as the use of mistletoe with which Celtic priests once decked the altars of their gods. The Christmas tree, however, is not a relic of heathenism. It seems to have come into use as late as the seventeenth century.

THE MORRIS DANCE

Young and old took part in the dances which accompanied village festivals. Very popular in medieval England was the Morris dance. The name, a corruption of Moorish, refers to its origin in Spain. The Morris dance was especially associated with May Day and was danced round a May pole to a lively and capering step. The performers represented Robin Hood, Maid Marian, his wife, Tom the Piper, and other traditional

characters. On their garments they wore bells tuned to different notes, so as to sound in harmony.

MUMMING

Mumming had a particular association with Christmas. Mummers were bands of men and women who disguised themselves in masks and skins of animals and then serenaded people outside their houses. Oftentimes the mummers acted out little plays in which Father Christmas, Old King Cole, and St. George were familiar figures.

[Illustration: MUMMERS From a manuscript now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It was written and illuminated in the reign of Edward III.]

MIRACLE PLAYS

Besides these village amusements, many plays of a religious character came into vogue during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The earliest were the miracle plays. They presented in dramatic form scenes from the Bible and stories of the saints or martyrs. The actors at first were priests, and the stage was the church itself or the churchyard. This religious setting did not prevent the introduction of clowns and buffoons. After a time the miracle play passed from the clergy to the guilds. All the guilds of a town usually gave an exhibition once a year. Each guild presented a single scene in the story. An exhibition might last for several days and have as many as fifty scenes, beginning at Creation and ending with Doomsday. [35]

[Illustration: A MIRACLE PLAY AT COVENTRY, ENGLAND The rude platform on wheels which served as a stage, was drawn by apprentices to the market place. Each guild had its own stage.]

MORALITY PLAYS

The miracle plays were followed by the "moralities." They dealt with the struggle between good and evil, rather than with theology. Characters such as Charity, Faith, Prudence, Riches, Confession, and Death appeared and enacted a story intended to teach moral lessons. [36] Out of the rude "morality" and its predecessor, the miracle play, has grown the drama of modern times.

208. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

DWELLINGS

A previous chapter (Chapter XVIII.) described some features of domestic life in castle and village during the age of feudalism. In England, where the Norman kings discouraged castle building, the manor house formed the ordinary residence of the nobility. Even in Continental Europe many castles were gradually made over into manor houses after the cessation of feudal warfare. A manor house, however, was only less bare and inconvenient than a castle. It was still poorly lighted, ill-ventilated, and in winter scarcely warmed by the open wood fires. Among the improvements of the fourteenth century were the building of a fireplace at one or both ends of the manor hall, instead of in the center, and the substitution of glass windows for wooden shutters or oiled paper.

[Illustration: MANOR HOUSE IN SHROPSHIRE, ENGLAND
Built in the twelfth century.]

FURNITURE

People in the Middle Ages, even the well-to-do, got along with little furniture. The great hall of a manor house contained a long dining table, with benches used at meals, and a few stools. The family beds often occupied curtained recesses in the walls, but guests might have to sleep on

the floor of the manor hall. Servants often slept in the stables. Few persons could afford rugs to cover the floor; the poor had to put up with rushes. Utensils were not numerous, and articles of glass and silver were practically unknown, except in the houses of the rich. Entries in wills show the high value set upon a single spoon.

[Illustration: INTERIOR OF AN ENGLISH MANOR HOUSE Shows the great hall of a manor house at Penshurst, Kent. The screen with the minstrels' gallery over it is seen at the end of the hall, and in the center, the brazier for fire. Built about 1340 A.D.]

COSTUME

The pictures in old manuscripts give us a good idea of medieval dress. Naturally it varied with time and place, and according to the social position of the wearer. Sometimes laws were passed, without much result, to regulate the quality, shape, and cost of the costumes to be worn by different orders of society. The moralists of the age were shocked, then as now, when tightly fitting garments, which showed the outlines of the body, became fashionable. The inconvenience of putting them on led to the use of buttons and buttonholes. Women's headdresses were often of extraordinary height and shape. Not less remarkable were the pointed shoes worn by men. The points finally got so long that they hindered walking, unless tied by a ribbon to the knees.

[Illustration: COSTUMES OF LADIES DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES]

BEARDS

The medieval noble of the twelfth century as a rule went clean shaven. To wear a beard was regarded as a sign of effeminacy in a man. The Bayeux

Tapestry, [37] for instance, shows the Normans mostly clean-shaven, while the English wear only moustaches. The introduction of long beards seems to have been due to contact with the East during the crusading period.

BATHS AND BATHING

Regular bathing was not by any means neglected during the later Middle Ages. In the country districts river, lake, or pool met the needs of people used to outdoor life. The hot air and vapor baths of the Byzantines were adopted by the Moslems and later, through the Moors and crusaders, were made known to western Europe. After the beginning of the thirteenth century few large cities lacked public bathing places.

FOOD

Medieval cookbooks show that people of means had all sorts of elaborate and expensive dishes. Dinner at a nobleman's house might include as many as ten or twelve courses, mostly meats and game. Such things as hedgehogs, peacocks, sparrows, and porpoises, which would hardly tempt the modern palate, were relished. Much use was made of spices in preparing meats and gravies, and also for flavoring wines. Over-eating was a common vice in the Middle Ages, but the open-air life and constant exercise enabled men and women to digest the huge quantities of food they consumed.

TABLE ETIQUETTE

People in medieval times had no knives or forks and consequently ate with their fingers. Daggers also were employed to convey food to the mouth. Forks date from the end of the thirteenth century, but were adopted only slowly. As late as the sixteenth century German preachers condemned their use, for, said they, the Lord would not have given us fingers if he had

wanted us to rely on forks. Napkins were another table convenience unknown in the Middle Ages.

DRINKING

In the absence of tea and coffee, ale and beer formed the drink of the common people. The upper classes regaled themselves on costly wines. Drunkenness was as common and as little reprobated as gluttony. The monotony of life in medieval Europe, when the nobles had little to do but hunt and fight, may partly account for the prevailing inebriety. But doubtless in large measure it was a Teutonic characteristic. The Northmen were hard drinkers, and of the ancient Germans a Roman writer states that "to pass an entire day and night in drinking disgraces no one." [38] This habit of intoxication survived in medieval Germany, and the Anglo-Saxons and Danes introduced it into England.

CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Our survey of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has now shown us that these two hundred years deserve to be called the central period of the Middle Ages. When the Arabs had brought the culture of the Orient to Spain and Sicily, when the Northmen after their wonderful expansion had settled down in Normandy, England, and other countries, and when the peoples of western Europe, whether as peaceful pilgrims or as warlike crusaders, had visited Constantinople and the Holy Land, men's minds received a wonderful stimulus. The intellectual life of Europe was "speeded up," and the way was prepared for the even more rapid advance of knowledge in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the Middle Ages passed into modern times.

STUDIES

1. Look up on the map between pages 358-359 the following places where Gothic cathedrals are found: Canterbury, York, Salisbury, Reims, Amiens, Chartres, Cologne, Strassburg, Burgos, Toledo, and Milan.

2. Look up on the map facing page 654 the location of the following medieval universities: Oxford, Montpellier, Paris, Orléans, Cologne, Leipzig, Prague, Naples, and Salamanca.

3. Explain the following terms: scholasticism; canon law; alchemy; troubadours; Provençal language; transept; choir; flying buttress; werewolf; and mumming.

4. Who were St. Thomas Aquinas, Abelard, Gratian, Irnerius, and Roger Bacon?

5. Show how Latin served as an international language in the Middle Ages. Name two artificial languages which have been invented as a substitute for Latin.

6. What is meant by saying that "French is a mere *patois* of Latin"?

7. In what parts of the world is English now the prevailing speech?

8. Why has Siegfried, the hero of the *Nibelungenlied*, been called the "Achilles of Teutonic legend"?

9. What productions of medieval literature reflect aristocratic and democratic ideals, respectively?

10. Distinguish between the Romanesque and Gothic styles of architecture. What is the origin of each term?

11. Compare the ground plans of a Greek temple (page 291), a Roman basilica (page 284), and a Gothic cathedral (page 562).

12. Contrast a Gothic cathedral with a Greek temple, particularly in regard to size, height, support of the roof, windows, and decorative features.

13. Why is there some excuse for describing a Gothic building as "a wall of glass with a roof of stone"?

14. Do you see any resemblance in structural features between a Gothic cathedral and a modern "sky-scraper"?

15. Mention some likenesses between medieval and modern universities.

16. Mention some important subjects of instruction in modern universities which were not treated in those of the Middle Ages.

17. Why has scholasticism been called "a sort of Aristotelian Christianity"?

18. Look up the original meaning of the words "jovial," "saturnine," "mercurial," "disastrous," "contemplate," and "consider."

19. Show the indebtedness of chemistry to alchemy and of astronomy to astrology.

20. Mention some common folk tales which illustrate medieval superstitions.

21. Why was Friday regarded as a specially unlucky day?

22. Enumerate the most important contributions to civilization made during the Middle Ages.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xvii, "Medieval Tales"; chapter xviii, "Three Medieval Epics."

[2] See pages 203, 322.

[3] The language spoken by the natives of Flanders. The country is now divided between France, Belgium, and Holland. See page 549.

[4] Icelandic is the oldest and purest form of Scandinavian. Danish and Norwegian are practically the same, in fact, their literary or book- language is one.

[5] Two names for rivers—*Avon* and *Ex*—which in one form or another are found in every part of England, are Celtic words meaning "water."

[6] See page 518.

[7] See page 309, note 1.

[8] See page 336.

[9] See page 386.

[10] See pages 284, 344.

[11] See page 283.

[12] The cathedral, baptistery, and campanile of Pisa form an interesting example of Romanesque architecture. See the illustration, page 544.

[13] The interior of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, shows the ribs and the beautiful tracery of the ceiling of a Gothic building. See the plate

facin page 570.

[14] The flying buttress is well shown in the view of Canterbury Cathedral (page 324).

[15] See page 386.

[16] For the pointed arch see the view of Melrose Abbey (page 660).

[17] See the illustrations, pages 550, 551.

[18] See page 310.

[19] See pages 207, 331.

[20] See page 444.

[21] Latin *universitas*.

[22] See page 536.

[23] The method of the school (Latin *schola*).

[24] See pages 275 and 383.

[25] See page 618.

[26] See pages 133 and 608.

[27] See page 53.

[28] Greek *oneiros*, "dream."

[29] Greek *nekros*, "corpse."

[30] Charles Perrault's *Tales of Passed Times* appeared at Paris in 1697 A.D. It included the now-familiar stories of "Bluebeard," "Cinderella," "Sleeping Beauty," and "Little Red Riding Hood." In 1812 A.D. the brothers Grimm published their *Household Tales*, a collection of stories current in Germany.

[31] See page 420.

[32] *Exodus*, xxii, 18.

[33] See page 428.

[34] See page 346.

[35] The great Passion Play at Ober Ammergau in Germany is the modern survival and representative of this medieval religious drama.

[36] *Everyman*, one of the best of the morality plays, has recently been revived before large audiences.

[37] See the illustration, page 408.

[38] Tacitus, *Germania*, 22.

CHAPTER XXV

THE RENAISSANCE [1]

209. MEANING OF THE RENAISSANCE

LATER PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, covering the later period of the Middle Ages, are commonly known as those of the Renaissance. This French word means Rebirth or Revival. It is a convenient term for all the changes in society, law, and government, in science, philosophy, and religion, in literature and art which gradually transformed medieval civilization into that of modern times.

LIMITS OF THE RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance, just because of its transitional character, cannot be exactly dated. Some Renaissance movements started before 1300 A.D. For instance, the study of Roman law, as a substitute for Germanic customs, began toward the close of the eleventh century. The rise of European cities, with all that they meant for industry and commerce, belonged to about the same time. Other Renaissance movements, again, extended beyond 1500 A.D. Among these were the expansion of geographical knowledge, resulting from the discovery of the New World, and the revolt against the

Papacy, known as the Protestant Reformation. The Middle Ages, in fact, came to an end at different times in different fields of human activity.

ORIGINAL HOME OF THE RENAISSANCE

The name Renaissance applied, at first, only to the rebirth or revival of men's interest in the literature and art of classical antiquity. Italy was the original home of this Renaissance. There it first appeared, there it found widest acceptance, and there it reached its highest development. From Italy the Renaissance gradually spread beyond the Alps, until it had made the round of western Europe.

ITALIAN CITIES OF THE RENAISSANCE

Italy, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was a land particularly favorable to the growth of learning and the arts. In northern Italy the great cities of Milan, Pisa, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and many others had early succeeded in throwing off their feudal burdens and had become independent, self-governing communities. Democracy flourished in them, as in the old Greek city-states. Noble birth counted for little; a man of ability and ambition might rise to any place. The fierce party conflicts within their walls stimulated mental activity and helped to make life full, varied, and intense. Their widespread trade and thriving manufactures made them prosperous. Wealth brought leisure, bred a taste for luxury and the refinements of life, and gave means for the gratification of that taste. People wanted to have about them beautiful pictures, statuary, furniture, palaces, and churches; and they rewarded richly the artists who could produce such things. It is not without significance that the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance was democratic, industrial, and wealthy Florence. [2]

INFLUENCE OF THE CLASSIC TRADITION

Italy enjoyed another advantage over the other European countries in its nearness to Rome. Admiration for the ancient Roman civilization, as expressed in literature, art, and law, was felt by all Italians. Wherever they looked, they were reminded of the great past which once had been theirs. Nor was the inheritance of Greece wholly lost. Greek traders and the descendants of Greek colonists in Italy still used their ancient language; all through the medieval centuries there were Italians who studied Greek. The classic tradition thus survived in Italy and defied oblivion.

BYZANTINE, ARABIC, AND NORMAN INFLUENCE

In the Middle Ages Italy formed a meeting place of several civilizations. Byzantine influence was felt both in the north and in the south. The conquest of Sicily by the Arabs made the Italians familiar with the science, art, and poetry of this cultivated people. After the Normans had established themselves in southern Italy and Sicily, they in turn developed a brilliant civilization. [3] From all these sources flowed streams of cultural influence which united in the Renaissance.

[Illustration: GHIBERTI'S BRONZE DOORS AT FLORENCE The second or northern pair of bronze doors of the baptistery at Florence. Completed by Lorenzo Ghiberti in 1452 A.D. after twenty seven years of labor The ten panels represent scenes from Old Testament history. Michelangelo pronounced these magnificent creations worthy to be the gates of paradise.]

[Illustration: ST. PETER'S, ROME St Peter's, begun in 1506 A.D., was completed in 1667, according to the designs of Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, and other celebrated architects. It is the largest church in the world. The central aisle, nave, and choir measure about 600 feet in length, the great dome, 140 feet in diameter, rises to a height of more than 400 feet.

A double colonnade encircles the piazza in front of the church. The Vatican is seen to the right of St Peter's.]

210. REVIVAL OF LEARNING IN ITALY

THE CLASSICS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The literature of Greece and Rome did not entirely disappear in western Europe after the Germanic invasions. The monastery and cathedral schools of the Middle Ages had nourished devoted students of ancient books. The Benedictine monks labored zealously in copying the works of pagan as well as Christian authors. The rise of universities made it possible for the student to pursue a fairly extended course in Latin literature at more than one institution of learning. Greek literature, however, was little known in the West. The poems of Homer were read only in a brief Latin summary, and even Aristotle's writings were studied in Latin translations.

DANTE ALIGHIERI 1265-1321 A.D.

Reverence for the classics finds constant expression in the writings of the Italian poet Dante. He was a native of Florence, but passed much of his life in exile. Dante's most famous work, the *Divine Comedy*, describes an imaginary visit to the other world. Vergil guides him through the realms of Hell and Purgatory until he meets his lady Beatrice, the personification of love and purity, who conducts him through Paradise. The *Divine Comedy* gives in artistic verse an epitome of all that medieval men knew and hoped and felt: it is a mirror of the Middle Ages. At the same time it drew much of its inspiration from Graeco-Roman sources. Athens, for Dante, is the "hearth from which all knowledge glows"; Homer is the "loftiest of poets", and Aristotle is the "master of those who know." This feeling for classical antiquity entitles Dante to rank as a prophet of the Renaissance.

[Illustration: DANTE ALIGHIERI
From a fresco, somewhat restored, ascribed to the contemporary artist, Giotto. In the National Museum, Florence.]

DANTE AND THE ITALIAN LEAGUE

Dante exerted a noteworthy influence on the Italian language. He wrote the *Divine Comedy*, not in Latin, but in the vernacular Italian as spoken in Florence. The popularity of this work helped to give currency to the Florentine dialect, and in time it became the literary language of Italy. Italian was the first of the Romance tongues to assume a national character.

PETRARCH, 1304-1374 A.D.

Petrarch, a younger contemporary of Dante, and like him a native of Florence, has been called the first modern scholar and man of letters. He devoted himself with tireless energy to classical studies. Writing to a friend, Petrarch declares that he has read Vergil, Horace, Livy, and Cicero, "not once, but a thousand times, not cursorily but studiously and intently, bringing to them the best powers of my mind. I tasted in the morning and digested at night. I quaffed as a boy, to ruminate as an old man. These works have become so familiar to me that they cling not to my memory merely, but to the very marrow of my bones."

[Illustration: PETRARCH
From a miniature in the Laurentian Library, Florence]

PETRARCH AS A LATIN REVIVALIST

Petrarch himself composed many Latin works and did much to spread a knowledge of Latin authors. He traveled widely in Italy, France, and other countries, searching everywhere for ancient manuscripts. When he found in

one place two lost orations of Cicero and in another place a collection of Cicero's letters, he was transported with delight. He kept copyists in his house, at times as many as four, busily making transcripts of the manuscripts that he had discovered or borrowed. Petrarch knew almost no Greek. His copy of Homer, it is said, he often kissed, though he could not read it.

BOCCACCIO, 1313-1375 A.D.

Petrarch's friend and disciple, Boccaccio, was the first to bring to Italy manuscripts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Having learned some Greek, he wrote out a translation of those epic poems. But Boccaccio's fame to- day rests on the *Decameron*. It is a collection of one hundred stories written in Italian. They are supposed to be told by a merry company of men and women, who, during a plague at Florence, have retired to a villa in the country. The *Decameron* is the first important work in Italian prose. Many English writers, notably Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales* [4] have gone to it for ideas and plots. The modern short story may be said to date from Boccaccio.

STUDY OF GREEK IN ITALY

The renewed interest in Latin literature, due to Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others, was followed in the fifteenth century by the revival of Greek literature. In 1396 A.D. Chrysoloras, a scholar from Constantinople, began to lecture on Greek in the university of Florence. He afterwards taught in other Italian cities and further aided the growth of Hellenic studies by preparing a Greek grammar—the first book of its kind. From this time, and especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A.D., many learned Greeks came to Italy, thus transplanting in the West the culture of the East. "Greece had not perished, but had emigrated to Italy."

HUMANISM

To the scholars of the fifteenth century the classics opened up a new world of thought and fancy. They were delighted by the fresh, original, and human ideas which they discovered in the pages of Homer, Plato, Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus. Their new enthusiasm for the classics came to be known as humanism, [5] or culture. The Greek and Latin languages and literatures were henceforth the "humanities," as distinguished from the old scholastic philosophy and theology.

SPREAD OF HUMANISM IN ITALY

From Florence, as from a second Athens, humanism spread throughout Italy. At Milan and Venice, at Rome and Naples, men fell to poring over the classics. A special feature of the age was the recovery of ancient manuscripts from monasteries and cathedrals, where they had often lain neglected and blackened with the dust of ages. Nearly all the Latin works now extant were brought to light by the middle of the fifteenth century. But it was not enough to recover the manuscripts: they had to be safely stored and made accessible to students. So libraries were established, professorships of the ancient languages were endowed, and scholars were given opportunities to pursue their researches. Even the popes shared in this zeal for humanism. One of them founded the Vatican Library at Rome, which has the most valuable collection of manuscripts in the world. At Florence the wealthy family of the Medici vied with the popes in the patronage of the new learning.

211. PAPER AND PRINTING

PRINTED BOOKS

The revival of learning was greatly hastened when printed books took the place of manuscripts laboriously copied by hand. Printing is a complicated process, and many centuries were required to bring it to perfection. Both paper and movable type had to be invented.

INTRODUCTION OF PAPER

The Chinese at a remote period made paper from some fibrous material. The Arabs seem to have been the first to make linen paper out of flax and rags. The manufacture of paper in Europe was first established by the Moors in Spain. The Arab occupation of Sicily introduced the art into Italy. Paper found a ready sale in Europe, because papyrus and parchment, which the ancients had used as writing materials, were both expensive and heavy. Men now had a material moderate in price, durable, and one that would easily receive the impression of movable type.

DEVELOPMENT OF MOVABLE TYPE

The first step in the development of printing was the use of engraved blocks. Single letters, separate words, and sometimes entire pages of text were cut in hard wood or copper. When inked and applied to writing material, they left a clear impression. The second step was to cast the letters in separate pieces of metal, all of the same height and thickness. These could then be arranged in any desired way for printing.

GUTENBERG

Movable type had been used for centuries by the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans in the East, and in Europe several printers have been credited with their invention. A German, Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, set up the first printing press with movable type about 1450 A.D., and from it issued the first printed book. This was a Latin translation of the Bible.

[Illustration: AN EARLY PRINTING PRESS Enlarged from the printer's mark of I. B. Ascensius. Used on the title pages of books printed by him, 1507-1535 A.D.]

ALDUS AND CAXTON

The new art quickly spread throughout Christian Europe. It met an especially warm welcome in Italy, where people felt so keen a desire for reading and instruction. By the end of the fifteenth century Venice alone had more than two hundred printing presses. Here Aldus Manutius maintained a famous establishment for printing Greek and Latin classics. In 1476 A.D. the English printer, William Caxton, set up his wooden presses within the precincts of Westminster Abbey. To him we owe editions of Chaucer's poems, Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, [6] *Aesop's Fables*, and many other works.

INCUNABULA

The books printed in the fifteenth century go by the name of *incunabula*. [7] Of the seven or eight million volumes which appeared before 1500 A.D., about thirty thousand are believed to be still in existence. Many of these earliest books were printed in heavy, "black letter" type, an imitation of the characters used in monkish manuscripts. It is still retained for most books printed in Germany. The clearer and neater "Roman" characters, resembling the letters employed for ancient Roman inscriptions, came into use in southern Europe and England. The Aldine press at Venice also devised "italic" type, said to be modeled after Petrarch's handwriting, to enable the publisher to crowd more words on a page.

[Illustration: FACSIMILE OF PART OF CAXTON'S "AENEID" (REDUCED) With the same passage in modern type: Thenne beganne agayne the bataylle of the one parte/And of the other Eneas ascryed to

theym and sayd. Lordes why doo ye fyghte/ Ye knowe well that the couuenante ys deuysed and made/That Turnus and I shall fyghte for you alle/]

IMPORTANCE OF PRINTING

The invention of printing has been called the greatest event in history. The statement is hardly too strong. It is easy to see that printing immensely increased the supply of books. A hardworking copyist might produce, at the most, only a few volumes a year; a printing press could strike them off by the thousands. Not only more books, but also more accurate books, could be produced by printing. The old-time copyist, however skilful, was sure to make mistakes, sometimes of a serious character. No two copies of any manuscript were exactly alike. When, however, an entire edition was printed from the same type, mistakes in the different copies might be entirely eliminated. Furthermore, the invention of printing destroyed the monopoly of learning possessed by the universities and people of wealth. Books were now the possession of the many, not the luxury of the few. Anyone who could read had opened to him the gateway of knowledge; he became a citizen, henceforth, of the republic of letters. Printing, which made possible popular education, public libraries, and ultimately cheap newspapers, ranks with gunpowder [8] as an emancipating force.

212. REVIVAL OF ART IN ITALY

ARCHITECTURE

Gothic architecture, with its pointed arches, flying buttresses, and traceried windows, never struck deep roots in Italy. The architects of the Renaissance went back to Greek temples and Roman domed buildings for their models, just as the humanists went back to Greek and Latin literature.

Long rows of Ionic or Corinthian columns, spanned by round arches, became again the prevailing architectural style. Perhaps the most important accomplishment of Renaissance builders was the adoption of the dome, instead of the vault, for the roofs of churches. The majestic cupola of St. Peter's at Rome, [9] which is modeled after the Pantheon, [10] has become the parent of many domed structures in the Old and New World. [11] Architects, however, did not limit themselves to churches. The magnificent palaces of Florence, as well as some of those in Venice, are among the monuments of the Renaissance era. Henceforth architecture became more and more a secular art.

SCULPTURE

The development of architecture naturally stimulated the other arts. Italian sculptors began to copy the ancient bas-reliefs and statues preserved in Rome and other cities. At this time glazed terra cotta came to be used by sculptors. Another Renaissance art was the casting of bronze doors, with panels which represented scenes from the Bible. The beautiful doors of the baptistery of Florence were described as "worthy of being placed at the entrance of Paradise."

MICHELANGELO, 1475-1564 A.D.

The greatest of Renaissance sculptors was Michelangelo. Though a Florentine by birth, he lived in Rome and made that city a center of Italian art. A colossal statue of David, who looks like a Greek athlete, and another of Moses, seated and holding the table of the law, are among his best-known works. Michelangelo also won fame in architecture and painting. The dome of St. Peter's was finished after his designs. Having been commissioned by one of the popes to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine chapel [12] in the Vatican, he painted a series of scenes which presented the Biblical story from the Creation to the Flood. These frescoes are unequaled

for sublimity and power. On the end wall of the same chapel Michelangelo produced his fresco of the "Last Judgment," one of the most famous paintings in the world.

RISE OF ITALIAN PAINTING

The early Italian painters contented themselves, at first, with imitating Byzantine mosaics and enamels. [13] Their work exhibited little knowledge of human anatomy: faces might be lifelike, but bodies were too slender and out of proportion. The figures of men and women were posed in stiff and conventional attitudes. The perspective also was false: objects which the painter wished to represent in the background were as near as those which he wished to represent in the foreground. In the fourteenth century, however, Italian painting abandoned the Byzantine style; achieved beauty of form, design, and color to an extent hitherto unknown; and became at length the supreme art of the Renaissance.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ITALIAN PAINTING

Italian painting began in the service of the Church and always remained religious in character. Artists usually chose subjects from the Bible or the lives of the saints. They did not trouble themselves to secure correctness of costume, but represented ancient Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the garb of Italian gentlemen. Many of their pictures were frescoes, that is, the colors were mixed with water and applied to the plaster walls of churches and palaces. After the process of mixing oils with the colors was discovered, pictures on wood or canvas (easel paintings) became common. Renaissance painters excelled in portraiture. They were less successful with landscapes.

THE "OLD MASTERS"

Among the "old masters" of Italian painting four, besides Michelangelo, stand out with special prominence. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519 A.D.) was architect, sculptor, musician, and engineer, as well as painter. His finest work, the "Last Supper," a fresco painting at Milan, is much damaged, but fortunately good copies of it exist. Paris has the best of his easel pictures—the "Monna Lisa." Leonardo spent four years on it and then declared that he could not finish it to his satisfaction. Leonardo's contemporary, Raphael (1483-1520 A.D.), died before he was forty, but not before he had produced the "Sistine Madonna," now at Dresden, the "Transfiguration," in the Vatican Gallery at Rome, and many other famous compositions. In Raphael Italian painting reached its zenith. All his works are masterpieces. Another artist, the Venetian Titian (1477?-1576 A.D.), painted portraits unsurpassed for glowing color. His "Assumption of the Virgin" ranks among the greatest pictures in the world. Lastly must be noted the exquisite paintings of Correggio (1494-1534 A.D.), among them the "Holy Night" and the "Marriage of St. Catherine."

[Illustration: ITALIAN PAINTINGS OF THE RENAISSANCE
ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN—TITIAN
SISTINE MADONNA—RAPHAEL
THE LAST SUPPER—LEONARDO DA VINCI
MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE—CORREGGIO
MONNA LISA GIOCONDA—LEONARDO DA VINCI]

[Illustration: FLEMISH, DUTCH AND SPANISH PAINTINGS OF THE RENAISSANCE
THE NIGHTWATCH—REMBRANDT
DESCENT FROM THE CROSS—RUBENS
THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—MURILLO]

MUSIC

Another modern art, that of music, arose in Italy during the Renaissance. In the sixteenth century the three-stringed rebeck received a fourth string and became the violin, the most expressive of all musical instruments. A forerunner of the pianoforte also appeared in the harpsichord. A papal organist and choir-master, Palestrina (1526-1594 A.D.), was the first of the great composers. He gave music its fitting place in worship by composing melodious hymns and masses still sung in Roman Catholic churches. The oratorio, a religious drama set to music but without action, scenery, or costume, had its beginning at this time. The opera, however, was little developed until the eighteenth century.

213. REVIVAL OF LEARNING AND ART BEYOND ITALY

SPREAD OF HUMANISM IN EUROPE

About the middle of the fifteenth century fire from the Italian altar was carried across the Alps, and a revival of learning began in northern lands. Italy had led the way by recovering the long-buried treasures of the classics and by providing means for their study. Scholars in Germany, France, and England, who now had the aid of the printing press, continued the intellectual movement and gave it widespread currency.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS 1466(?)-1536 A.D.

The foremost humanist of the age was Desiderius Erasmus. Though a native of Rotterdam in Holland, he lived for a time in Germany, France, England, and Italy, and died at Basel in Switzerland. His travels and extensive correspondence brought him in contact with most of the leading scholars of the day. Erasmus wrote in Latin many works which were read and enjoyed by educated men. He might be called the first really popular author in Europe. Like Petrarch, he did much to encourage the humanistic

movement by his precepts and his example. "When I have money," said this devotee of the classics, "I will first buy Greek books and then clothes."

GREEK TESTAMENT OF ERASMUS

Erasmus performed his most important service as a Biblical critic. In 1516 A.D. he published the New Testament in the original Greek, with a Latin translation and a dedication to the pope. Up to this time the only accessible edition of the New Testament was the old Latin version known as the Vulgate, which St. Jerome had made near the close of the fourth century. By preparing a new and more accurate translation, Erasmus revealed the fact that the Vulgate contained many errors. By printing the Greek text, together with notes which helped to make the meaning clear, Erasmus enabled scholars to discover for themselves just what the New Testament writers had actually said. [14]

HUMANISM AND THE REFORMATION

Erasmus as a student of the New Testament carried humanism over into the religious field. His friends and associates, especially in Germany, continued his work. "We are all learning Greek now," said Luther, "in order to understand the Bible." Humanism, by becoming the handmaid of religion, thus passed insensibly into the Reformation.

[Illustration: DESIDERIUS ERASMUS (Louvre, Paris)
A portrait by the German artist, Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543 A.D.). Probably an excellent likeness of Erasmus.]

THE ARTISTIC REVIVAL IN EUROPE

Italian architects found a cordial reception in France, Spain, the Netherlands, and other countries, where they introduced Renaissance styles

of building and ornamentation. The celebrated palace of the Louvre in Paris, which is used to-day as an art gallery and museum, dates from the sixteenth century. At this time the French nobles began to replace their somber feudal dwellings by elegant country houses. Renaissance sculpture also spread beyond Italy throughout Europe. Painters in northern countries at first followed Italian models, but afterwards produced masterpieces of their own. [15]

214. THE RENAISSANCE IN LITERATURE

HUMANISM AND THE VERNACULAR

The renewed interest in classical studies for a time retarded the development of national languages and literatures in Europe. To the humanists only Latin and Greek seemed worthy of notice. Petrarch, for instance, composed in Italian beautiful sonnets which are still much admired, but he himself expected to gain literary immortality through his Latin works. Another Italian humanist went so far as to call Dante "a poet for bakers and cobblers," and the *Divine Comedy* was indeed translated into Latin a few years after the author's death.

THE VERNACULAR REVIVAL

But a return to the vernacular was bound to come. The common people understood little Latin, and Greek not at all. Yet they had learned to read and they now had the printing press. Before long many books composed in Italian, Spanish, French, English, and other national languages made their appearance. This revival of the vernacular meant that henceforth European literature would be more creative and original than was possible when writers merely imitated or translated the classics. The models provided by

Greece and Rome still continued, however, to furnish inspiration to men of letters.

MACHIAVELLI, 1469-1527 A.D.

The Florentine historian and diplomat, Machiavelli, by his book, *The Prince*, did much to found the modern science of politics. Machiavelli, as a patriotic Italian, felt infinite distress at the divided condition of Italy, where numerous petty states were constantly at war. In *The Prince* he tried to show how a strong, despotic ruler might set up a national state in the peninsula. He thought that such a ruler ought not to be bound by the ordinary rules of morality. He must often act "against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion." The end would justify the means. Success was everything; morality, nothing. This dangerous doctrine has received the name of "Machiavellism"; it is not yet dead in European statecraft.

CERVANTES, 1547-1616 A.D.

Spain during the sixteenth century gave to the world in Cervantes the only Spanish writer who has achieved a great reputation outside his own country. Cervantes's masterpiece, *Don Quixote*, seems to have been intended as a burlesque upon the romances of chivalry once so popular in Europe. The hero, Don Quixote, attended by his shrewd and faithful squire, Sancho Panza, rides forth to perform deeds of knight-errantry, but meets, instead, the most absurd adventures. The work is a vivid picture of Spanish life. Nobles, priests, monks, traders, farmers, innkeepers, muleteers, barbers, beggars—all these pass before our eyes as in a panorama. *Don Quixote* immediately became popular, and it is even more read to-day than it was three centuries ago.

[Illustration: CERVANTES]

FROISSART, 1397(?)-1410 A.D.

The Flemish writer, Froissart, deserves notice as a historian and as one of the founders of French prose. His *Chronicles* present an account of the fourteenth century, when the age of feudalism was fast drawing to an end. He admired chivalry and painted it in glowing colors. He liked to describe tournaments, battles, sieges, and feats of arms. Kings and nobles, knights and squires, are the actors on his stage. Froissart traveled in many countries and got much of his information at first hand from those who had made history. Out of what he learned he composed a picturesque and romantic story, which still captivates the imagination.

MONTAIGNE, 1533-1593 A.D.

A very different sort of writer was the Frenchman, Montaigne. He lives to- day as the author of one hundred and seven essays, very delightful in style and full of wit and wisdom. Montaigne really invented the essay, a form of literature in which he has had many imitators.

CHAUCER, 1340(?)-1400 A.D.

Geoffrey Chaucer, who has been called the "morning star" of the English Renaissance, was a story-teller in verse. His *Canterbury Tales* are supposed to be told by a company of pilgrims, as they journey from London to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. [16] Chaucer describes freshly and with unfailing good spirits the life of the middle and upper classes. He does not reveal, any more than his contemporary Froissart, the labor and sorrows of the down-trodden peasantry. But Chaucer was a true poet, and his name stands high in England's long roll of men of letters.

SHAKESPEARE, 1564-1616 A.D.

This survey of the national authors of the Renaissance may fitly close with William Shakespeare, whose genius transcended national boundaries and made him a citizen of all the world. His life is known to us only in barest outline. Born at Stratford-on-Avon, of humble parentage, he attended the village grammar school, where he learned "small Latin and less Greek", went to London as a youth, and became an actor and a playwright. He prospered, made money both from his acting and the sale of his plays, and at the age of forty-four retired to Stratford for the rest of his life. Here he died eight years later, and here his grave may still be seen in the village church. [17] During his residence in London he wrote, in whole or in part, thirty-six or thirty-seven dramas, both tragedies and comedies. They were not collected and published until several years after his death. Shakespeare's plays were read and praised by his contemporaries, but it has remained for modern men to see in him one who ranks with Homer, Vergil, Dante, and Goethe among the great poets of the world.

[Illustration: WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE From the copper plate engraved by Martin Droeshout as frontispiece to the First Folio edition of Shakespeare's works in 1623 A.D. In this engraving the head is far too large for the body and the dress is out of perspective. The only other authentic likeness of Shakespeare is the bust over his grave in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford on Avon]

[Illustration: SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTHPLACE, STRATFORD-ON-AVON The house in which Shakespeare was born has been much altered in exterior appearance since the poet's day. The timber framework, the floors, most of the interior walls, and the cellars remain, however, substantially unchanged. The illustration shows the appearance of the house before the restoration made in 1857 A.D.]

PERSONALITY IN RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

Renaissance poets and prose writers revealed themselves in their books. In the same way the sculptors and painters of the Renaissance worked out their own ideas and emotions in their masterpieces. This personal note affords a sharp contrast to the anonymity of the Middle Ages. We do not know the authors of the *Song of Roland*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and *Reynard the Fox*, any more than we know the builders of the Gothic cathedrals. Medieval literature subordinated the individual; that of the Renaissance expressed the sense of individuality and man's interest in himself. It was truly "humanistic."

215. THE RENAISSANCE IN EDUCATION

HUMANISM AND EDUCATION

The universities of the Middle Ages emphasized scholastic philosophy, though in some institutions law and medicine also received much attention. Greek, of course, was not taught, the vernacular languages of Europe were not studied, and neither science nor history enjoyed the esteem of the learned. The Renaissance brought about a partial change in this curriculum. The classical languages and literatures, after some opposition, gained an entrance into university courses and displaced scholastic philosophy as the chief subject of instruction. From the universities the study of the "humanities" descended to the lower schools, where they still hold a leading place.

VITTORINO DA FELTRE, 1378-1446 A.D.

An Italian humanist, Vittorino da Feltre, was the pioneer of Renaissance education. In his private school at Mantua, the "House of Delight," as it was called, Vittorino aimed to develop at the same time the body, mind, and character of his pupils, so as to fit them to "serve God in Church and State."

Accordingly, he gave much attention to religious instruction and also set a high value on athletics. The sixty or seventy young men under his care were taught to hunt and fish, to run and jump, to wrestle and fence, to walk gracefully, and above all things to be temperate. For intellectual training he depended on the Latin classics as the best means of introducing students to the literature, art, and philosophy of ancient times. Vittorino's name is not widely known to-day; he left no writings, preferring, as he said, to live in the lives of his pupils; but there is scarcely a modern teacher who does not consciously or unconsciously follow his methods. More than anyone else, he is responsible for the educational system which has prevailed in Europe almost to the present day.

A "CLASSICAL EDUCATION"

It cannot be said that the influence of humanism on education was wholly good. Henceforth the Greek and Latin languages and literatures became the chief instruments of culture. Educators neglected the great world of nature and of human life which lay outside the writings of the ancients. This "bookishness" formed a real defect of Renaissance systems of training.

COMENIUS, 1592-1671 A.D.

A Moravian bishop named Comenius, who gave his long life almost wholly to teaching, stands for a reaction against humanistic education. He proposed that the vernacular tongues, as well as the classics, should be made subjects of study. For this purpose he prepared a reading book, which was translated into a dozen European languages, and even into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Comenius also believed that the curriculum should include the study of geography, world history, and government, and the practice of the manual arts. He was one of the first to advocate the teaching of science. Perhaps his most notable idea was that of a national system of education, reaching from primary grades to the university. "Not only," he

writes, "are the children of the rich and noble to be drawn to school, but all alike, rich and poor, boys and girls, in great towns and small, down to the country villages." The influence of this Slavic teacher is more and more felt in modern systems of education.

216. THE SCIENTIFIC RENAISSANCE

HUMANISM AND SCIENCE

The Middle Ages were not by any means ignorant of science, [18] but its study naturally received a great impetus when the Renaissance brought before educated men all that the Greeks and Romans had done in mathematics, physics, astronomy, medicine, and other subjects. The invention of printing also fostered the scientific revival by making it easy to spread knowledge abroad in every land. The pioneers of Renaissance science were Italians, but students in France, England, Germany, and other countries soon took up the work of enlightenment.

COPERNICUS 1473-1543 A.D.

The names of some Renaissance scientists stand as landmarks in the history of thought. The first place must be given to Copernicus, the founder of modern astronomy. He was a Pole, but lived many years in Italy. Patient study and calculation led him to the conclusion that the earth turns upon its own axis, and, together with the planets, revolves around the sun. The book in which he announced this conclusion did not appear until the very end of his life. A copy of it reached him on his deathbed.

THE COPERNICAN THEORY

Medieval astronomers had generally accepted the Ptolemaic system. [19] Some students before Copernicus had indeed suggested that the earth and

planets might rotate about a central sun, but he first gave reasons for such a belief. The new theory met much opposition, not only in the universities, which clung to the time-honored Ptolemaic system, but also among theologians, who thought that it contradicted many statements in the Bible. Moreover, people could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea that the earth, instead of being the center of the universe, is only one member of the solar system, that it is, in fact, only a mere speck of cosmic dust.

GALILEO, 1564-1642 A.D.

An Italian scientist, Galileo, made one of the first telescopes—it was about as powerful as an opera glass—and turned it on the heavenly bodies with wonderful results. He found the sun moving unmistakably on its axis, Venus showing phases according to her position in relation to the sun, Jupiter accompanied by revolving moons, or satellites, and the Milky Way composed of a multitude of separate stars. Galileo rightly believed that these discoveries confirmed the theory of Copernicus.

KEPLER, 1571-1630 A.D.

Another man of genius, the German Kepler, worked out the mathematical laws which govern the movements of the planets. He made it clear that the planets revolve around sun in elliptical instead of circular orbits. Kepler's investigations afterwards led to the discovery of the principle of gravitation.

VESALIUS, 1514-1564 A.D., AND HARVEY, 1578-1657 A.D.

Two other scientists did epochal work in a field far removed from astronomy. Vesalius, a Fleming, who studied in Italian medical schools, gave to the world the first careful description of the human body based on actual dissection. He was thus the founder of human anatomy. Harvey, an

Englishman, after observing living animals, announced the discovery of the circulation of the blood. He thereby founded human physiology.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Vesalius, Harvey, and their fellow workers built up the scientific method. In the Middle Ages students had mostly been satisfied to accept what Aristotle and other philosophers had said, without trying to prove their statements. [20] Kepler, for instance, was the first to disprove the Aristotelian idea that, as all perfect motion is circular, therefore the heavenly bodies must move in circular orbits. Similarly, the world had to wait many centuries before Harvey showed Aristotle's error in supposing that the blood arose in the liver, went thence to the heart, and by the veins was conducted over the body. The new scientific method rested on observation and experiment. Students learned at length to take nothing for granted, to set aside all authority, and to go straight to nature for their facts. As Lord Bacon, [21] one of Shakespeare's contemporaries and a severe critic of the old scholasticism, declared, "All depends on keeping the eye steadily fixed upon the facts of nature, and so receiving their images simply as they are, for God forbid that we should give out a dream of our own imagination for a pattern of the world." Modern science, to which we owe so much, is a product of the Renaissance.

217. THE ECONOMIC RENAISSANCE

AN ECONOMIC CHANGE

Thus far the Renaissance has been studied as an intellectual and artistic movement, which did much to liberate the human mind and brought the Middle Ages to an end in literature, in art, and in science. It is necessary, however, to consider the Renaissance era from another point of view.

During this time an economic change of vast significance was taking place in rural life all over western Europe. We refer to the decline and ultimate extinction of medieval serfdom.

DECLINE OF SERFDOM

Serfdom imposed a burden only less heavy than the slavery which it had displaced. The serf, as has been shown, [22] might not leave the manor in which he was born, he might not sell his holdings of land, and, finally, he had to give up a large part of his time to work without pay for the lord of the manor. This system of forced labor was at once unprofitable to the lord and irksome to his serfs. After the revival of trade and industry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had brought more money into circulation, [23] the lord discovered how much better it was to hire men to work for him, as he needed them, instead of depending on serfs who shirked their tasks as far as possible. The latter, in turn, were glad to pay the lord a fixed sum for the use of land, since now they could devote themselves entirely to its cultivation. Both parties gained by an arrangement which converted the manorial lord into a landlord and the serf into a free tenant-farmer paying rent.

THE "BLACK DEATH"

The emancipation of the peasantry was hastened, strangely enough, as the result of perhaps the most terrible calamity that has ever afflicted mankind. About the middle of the fourteenth century a pestilence of Asiatic origin, now known to have been the bubonic plague, reached the West. [24] The "Black Death" so called because among its symptoms were dark patches all over the body, moved steadily across Europe. The way for its ravages had been prepared by the unhealthful conditions of ventilation and drainage in towns and cities. After attacking Greece, Sicily, Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, the plague entered England in 1349 A.D. and within

less than two years swept away probably half the population of that country. The mortality elsewhere was enormous, one estimate setting it as high as twenty-five millions for all Europe.

EFFECTS OF THE "BLACK DEATH"

The pestilence in England, as in other countries, caused a great scarcity of labor. For want of hands to bring in the harvest, crops rotted on the ground, while sheep and cattle, with no one to care for them, strayed through the deserted fields. The free peasants who survived demanded and received higher wages. Even the serfs, whose labor was now more valued, found themselves in a better position. The lord of a manor, in order to keep his laborers, would often allow them to substitute money payments for personal services. When the serfs got no concessions, they frequently took to flight and hired themselves to the highest bidder.

FIRST STATUTE OF LABORERS, 1351 A.D.

The governing classes of England, who at this time were mainly landowners, believed that the workers were taking an unfair advantage of the situation. So in 1351 A.D. Parliament passed a law fixing the maximum wage in different occupations and punishing with imprisonment those who refused to accept work when it was offered to them. The fact that Parliament had to reenact this law thirteen times within the next century shows that it did not succeed in preventing a general rise of wages. It only exasperated the working classes.

THE PEASANTS' REBELLION, 1381 A.D.

A few years after the first Statute of Laborers the restlessness and discontent among the masses led to a serious outbreak. It was one of the few attempts at violent revolution which the English working people have

made. One of the inspirers of the rebellion was a wandering priest named John Ball. He went about preaching that all goods should be held in common and the distinction between lords and serfs wiped away. "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" asked John Ball. Uprisings occurred in nearly every part of England, but the one in Kent had most importance. The rioters marched on London and presented their demands to the youthful king, Richard II. He promised to abolish serfdom and to give them a free pardon. As soon, however, as Richard had gathered an army, he put down the revolt by force and hanged John Ball and about a hundred of his followers.

THE JACQUERIE, 1358 A.D.

The rebellion in England may be compared with the far more terrible Jacquerie [25] in France, a few years earlier. The French peasants, who suffered from feudal oppression and the effects of the Hundred Years' War, raged through the land, burning the castles and murdering their feudal lords. The movement had scarcely any reasonable purpose; it was an outburst of blind passion. The nobles avenged themselves by slaughtering the peasants in great numbers.

[Illustration: RICHARD II After an engraving based on the original in Westminster Abbey. Probably the oldest authentic portrait in England.]

EXTINCTION OF SERFDOM

Though these first great struggles of labor against capital were failures, the emancipation of the peasantry went steadily on throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By 1500 A.D. serfdom had virtually disappeared in Italy, in most parts of France, and in England. Some less-favored countries retained serfdom much longer. Prussian, Austrian, and Russian serfs did not receive their freedom until the nineteenth century.

CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY

The extinction of serfdom was, of course, a forward step in human freedom, but the lot of the English and Continental peasantry long remained wretched. The poem of *Piers Plowman*, written in the time of Chaucer, shows the misery of the age and reveals a very different picture than that of the gay, holiday-making, merry England seen in the *Canterbury Tales*. One hundred and fifty years later, the English humanist, Sir Thomas More, a friend of Erasmus, published his *Utopia* as a protest against social abuses. *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," is an imaginary country whose inhabitants choose their own rulers, hold all property in common, and work only nine hours a day. In Utopia a public system of education prevails, cruel punishments are unknown, and every one enjoys complete freedom to worship God. This remarkable book, though it pictures an ideal commonwealth, really anticipates many social reforms of the present time.

STUDIES

1. Prepare a chronological chart showing the leading men of letters, artists, scientists, and educators mentioned in this chapter.

2. For what were the following persons noted: Chrysoloras; Vittorino da Feltre; Gutenberg; Boccaccio; Machiavelli; Harvey; and Galileo?

3. How did the words "machiavellism" and "utopian" get their present meanings?

4. Distinguish and define the three terms, "Renaissance," "Revival of Learning," and "Humanism."

5. "Next to the discovery of the New World, the recovery of the ancient world is the second landmark that divides us from the Middle Ages and

marks the transition to modern life." Comment on this statement.

6. Why did the Renaissance begin as "an Italian event"?

7. "City-states have always proved favorable to culture." Illustrate this remark.

8. Why was the revival of Greek more important in the history of civilization than the revival of Latin?

9. Show that printing was an "emancipating force."

10. With what paintings by the "old masters" are you familiar?

11. How does the opera differ from the oratorio?

12. Why has Froissart been styled the "French Herodotus"?

13. How many of Shakespeare's plays can you name? How many have you read?

14. Can you mention any of Shakespeare's plays which are founded on Italian stories or whose scenes are laid in Italy?

15. Why did the classical scholar come to be regarded as the only educated man?

16. In what respects is the American system of education a realization of the ideals of Comenius?

17. Did the medieval interest in astrology retard or further astronomical research?

18. How did the discoveries of Galileo and Kepler confirm the Copernican theory?

19. What is meant by the "emancipation of the peasantry"?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xix, "A Scholar of the Renaissance"; chapter xx, "Renaissance Artists."

[2] See page 545.

[3] See page 413.

[4] See page 604.

[5] Latin *humanitas,* from *homo*, "man."

[6] See page 560.

[7] A Latin word meaning "cradle" or "birthplace," and so the beginning of anything.

[8] See page 574.

[9] See the plate facing page 591.

[10] See the illustration, page 202.

[11] For instance, the Invalides in Paris, St. Paul's in London, and the Capitol at Washington.

[12] In this chapel the election of a new pope takes place.

[13] See page 336.

[14] The so-called *Complutensian Polyglott*, issued at Alcalá in Spain by Cardinal Jimenes, did even more for the advance of Biblical scholarship. This was the first printed text of the Greek New Testament, but it was not actually published till 1522 A.D., six years after the appearance of the edition by Erasmus.

[15] A list of the great European painters would include at least the following names: Durer (1471-1582 A.D.) and Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543 A.D.) in Germany; Rubens (1577-1640 A.D.) and Van Dyck (1599- 1641 A.D.) in Flanders; Rembrandt (1606-1669 A.D.) in Holland; Claude Lorraine (1600-1682 A.D.) in France; and Velásquez (1599-1660 A.D.) and Murillo (1617-1682 A.D.) in Spain.

[16] See the illustration, page 442.

[17] The three-hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's death was appropriately observed in 1916 A.D. throughout the world.

[18] See page 572.

[19] See page 133.

[20] See page 571.

[21] Not to be confused with his countryman, Roger Bacon, who lived in the thirteenth century. See page 573.

[22] See page 436.

[23] See page 541.

[24] A similar plague devastated the Roman world during the reign of Justinian.

[25] From *Jacques*, a common French name for a peasant.

CHAPTER XXVI

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION [1]

218. MEDIEVAL GEOGRAPHY

THE GEOGRAPHICAL RENAISSANCE

There was also a geographical Renaissance. The revival of the exploring spirit led to the discovery of ocean routes to the Far East and the Americas. In consequence, commerce was vastly stimulated, and two continents, hitherto unknown, were opened up to civilization. The geographical Renaissance, which gave man a New World, thus cooperated with the other movements of the age in bringing about the transition from medieval to modern times.

MEDIEVAL IGNORANCE OF GEOGRAPHY

The Greeks and Romans had become familiar with a large part of Europe and Asia, but much of their learning was either forgotten or perverted during the early Middle Ages. Even the wonderful discoveries of the Northmen in the North Atlantic gradually faded from memory. The Arabs, whose conquests and commerce extended over so much of the Orient, far surpassed the Christian peoples of Europe in knowledge of the world.

GEOGRAPHICAL MYTHS

The alliance of medieval geography with theology led to curious results. Map makers, relying on a passage in the Old Testament, [2] usually placed Jerusalem in the center of the world. A Scriptural reference to the "four corners of the earth" [3] was sometimes thought to imply the existence of a rectangular world. From classical sources came stories of monstrous men, one-eyed, headless, or dog-headed, who were supposed to inhabit remote regions. Equally monstrous animals, such as the unicorn and dragon, [4] kept them company. Sailors' "yarns" must have been responsible for the belief that the ocean boiled at the equator and that in the Atlantic—the "Sea of Darkness"—lurked serpents huge enough to sink ships. To the real danger of travel by land and water people thus added imaginary terrors.

THE COSMAS MAP

Many maps prepared in the Middle Ages sum up the prevailing knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the world. One of the earliest specimens that has come down to us was made in the sixth century, by Cosmas, an Alexandrian monk. It exhibits the earth as a rectangle surrounded by an ocean with four deep gulfs. Beyond this ocean lies another world, the seat of Paradise and the place "where men dwelt before the Flood." The rivers which flow from the lakes of Paradise are also shown. Figures holding trumpets represent the four winds.

[Illustration: GEOGRAPHICAL MONSTERS
From an early edition of Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*. Shakespeare (*Othello*, I, iii, 144-145) refers to:
"The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders."]

THE HEREFORD MAP

A map made about seven hundred years later, and now preserved in Hereford Cathedral, shows the earth as a circular disk with the ocean surrounding it. In the extreme east—that is, at the top—lies Paradise, Jerusalem occupies the center, and below it comes the Mediterranean, liberally supplied with islands. The Black Sea appears as a narrow body of water, and even the British Isles are strangely distorted to fit the circle. Such a map could have been of little use to travelers; it simply satisfied a natural curiosity about the wonders of the world.

OPENING UP OF ASIA

The crusades, more than anything else, first extended geographical knowledge. As a religious movement they led to pilgrimages and missions in Oriental lands. With the pilgrims and missionaries went hard-headed traders, who brought back to Europe the wealth of the East. The result, by 1300 A.D., was to open up countries beyond the Euphrates which had remained sealed to Europe for centuries. This discovery of the interior of Asia had only less importance than that of the New World two centuries later.

LEGEND OF PRESTER JOHN

What specially drew explorers eastward was the belief that somewhere in the center of Asia existed a great Christian kingdom which, if allied to European Christendom, might attack the Moslems from the rear. According to one form of the story the kingdom consisted of the Ten Tribes of Israel, [5] who had been converted to Christianity by Nestorian missionaries. [6] Over them reigned a priest-king named Prester (or Presbyter) John. The popes made several attempts to communicate with this mythical ruler. In the thirteenth century, however, Franciscan friars did penetrate to the heart of Asia. They returned to Europe with marvelous tales of the wealth and splendor of the East under the Mongol emperors.

THE POLOS IN THE EAST, 1271-1295 A.D.

The most famous of all medieval travelers were Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, and Nicolo's son, Marco. These Venetian merchants set out for Asia in 1271 A.D., and after an adventurous journey reached the court of Kublai Khan at Peking. [7] The Mongol ruler, who seems to have been anxious to introduce Christianity and European culture among his people, received them in a friendly manner, and they amassed much wealth by trade. Marco entered the khan's service and went on several expeditions to distant parts of the Mongol realm. Many years passed before Kublai would allow his useful guests to return to Europe. They sailed at length from Zaitun, a Chinese seaport, skirted the coast of southeastern Asia and India, and then made their way overland to the Mediterranean. When the travelers reached Venice after an absence of twenty-four years, their relatives were slow to recognize in them the long-lost Polos.

[Illustration: GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES
THE WORLD ACCORDING TO COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, 535 A.D.
THE HEREFORD MAP, 1280 A.D.]

MARCO POLO'S BOOK

The story of the Polos, as written down at Marco's dictation, became one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages. In this book Europe read of far Cathay (China), with its wealth, its huge cities, and swarming population, of mysterious and secluded Tibet, of Burma, Siam, and Cochin-China, with their palaces and pagodas, of the East Indies, famed for spices, of Ceylon, abounding in pearls, and of India, little known since the days of Alexander the Great. Even Cipango (Japan) Marco described from hearsay as an island whose people were white, civilized, and so rich in gold that the

royal palace was roofed and paved with that metal. The accounts of these countries naturally made Europeans more eager than ever to reach the East.

219. AIDS TO EXPLORATION

THE COMPASS

The new knowledge gained by European peoples about the land routes of Asia was accompanied by much progress in the art of ocean navigation. First in importance came the compass to guide explorers across the waters of the world. The Chinese appear to have discovered that a needle, when rubbed with a lodestone, has the mysterious power of pointing to the north. The Arabs may have introduced this rude form of the compass among Mediterranean sailors. The instrument, improved by being balanced on a pivot so that it would not be affected by choppy seas, seems to have been generally used by Europeans as early as the thirteenth century. It greatly aided sailors by enabling them to find their bearings in murky weather and on starless nights. The compass, though useful, was not indispensable; without its help the Northmen had made their distant expeditions in the Atlantic.

NAUTICAL INSTRUMENTS

The astrolabe, which the Greeks had invented and used for astronomical purposes, also came into Europe through the Arabs. It was employed to calculate latitudes by observation of the height of the sun above the horizon. Other instruments that found a place on shipboard were the hour- glass, minute-glass, and sun-dial. A rude form of the log was used as a means of estimating the speed of a vessel, and so of finding roughly the longitude.

[Illustration: AN ASTROLABE]

OTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN NAVIGATION

During the last centuries of the Middle Ages the charting of coasts became a science. A sailor might rely on the "handy maps" (*portolani*) which outlined with some approach to accuracy the bays, islands, and headlands of the Mediterranean and adjacent waters. Manuals were prepared telling the manner about the tides, currents, and other features of the route he intended to follow. The increase in size of ships made navigation safer and permitted the storage of bulky cargoes. For long voyages the sailing vessel replaced the medieval galley rowed by oars. As the result of all these improvements navigators no longer found it necessary to keep close to the shore, but could push out dauntlessly into the open sea.

MOTIVES FOR EXPLORATION

Many motives prompted exploration. Scientific curiosity, bred of the Renaissance spirit of free inquiry, led men to set forth on voyages of discovery. The crusading spirit, which had not died out in Europe, thrilled at the thought of spreading Christianity among heathen peoples. And in this age, as in all epochs of exploration, adventurers sought in distant lands opportunities to acquire wealth and fame and power.

THE COMMERCIAL MOTIVE

Commerce formed perhaps the most powerful motive for exploration. Eastern spices—cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and ginger—were used more freely in medieval times than now, when people lived on salt meat during the winter and salt fish during Lent. Even wine, ale, and medicines had a seasoning of spices. When John Ball [8] wished to contrast the easy life of the lords with the peasants' hard lot, he said, "They have wines, spices, and fine bread, while we have only rye and the refuse of the straw." [9] Besides spices, all kinds of precious stones, drugs, perfumes, gums,

dyes, and fragrant woods came from the East. Since the time of the crusades these luxuries, after having been brought overland by water to Mediterranean ports, had been distributed by Venetian and Genoese merchants throughout Europe. [10] But now in the fifteenth century two other European peoples—the Portuguese and Spaniards—appeared as competitors for this Oriental trade. Their efforts to break through the monopoly enjoyed by the Italian cities led to the discovery of the sea routes to the Indies. The Portuguese were first in the field.

220. TO THE INDIES EASTWARD: PRINCE HENRY AND DA GAMA

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, 1394-1460 A.D.

In the history of the fifteenth century few names rank higher than that of Prince Henry, commonly called the Navigator, because of his services to the cause of exploration. The son of a Portuguese king, he devoted himself during more than forty years to organizing scientific discovery. Under his direction better maps were made, the astrolabe was improved, the compass was placed on vessels, and seamen were instructed in all the nautical learning of the time. The problem which Prince Henry studied and which Portuguese sailors finally solved was the possibility of a maritime route around Africa to the Indies.

EXPLORATION OF THE AFRICAN COAST

The expeditions sent out by Prince Henry began by rediscovering the Madeira and Azores Islands, first visited by Europeans in the fourteenth century. Then the Portuguese turned southward along the unchartered African coast. In 1445 A.D. they got as far as Cape Verde, or "Green Cape," so called because of its luxuriant vegetation. The discovery was important,

for it disposed of the idea that the Sahara desert extended indefinitely to the south. Sierra Leone, which the Carthaginian Hanno [11] had probably visited, was reached in 1462 A.D., two years after Prince Henry's death. Soon Portuguese sailors found the great bend of the African coast formed by the gulf of Guinea. In 1471 A.D. they crossed the equator, without the scorching that some had feared. In 1482 A.D. they were at the mouth of the Congo. Six years later Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern extremity of Africa. The story goes that he named it the Cape of Storms, and that the king of Portugal, recognizing its importance as a stage on the route to the East, rechristened it the Cape of Good Hope.

DA GAMA'S VOYAGE, 1497-1499 A.D.

A daring mariner, Vasco da Gama, opened the sea-gates to the Indies. With four tiny ships he set sail from Lisbon in July, 1497 A.D., and after leaving the Cape Verde Islands made a wide sweep into the South Atlantic. Five months passed before Africa was seen again. Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope in safety, Da Gama skirted the eastern shores of Africa and at length secured the services of a Moslem pilot to guide him across the Indian Ocean. In May, 1498 A.D., he reached Calicut, [12] an important commercial city on the southwest coast of India. When Da Gama returned to Lisbon, after an absence of over two years, he brought back a cargo which repaid sixty times the cost of the expedition. The Portuguese king received him with high honor and created him Admiral of the Indies.

[Illustration: VASCO DA GAMA
From a manuscript in the British Museum.]

CAMOENS, 1524-1580 A.D., AND THE LUSIADS

The story of Da Gama's memorable voyage was sung by the Portuguese poet, Camoens, in the *Lusiads*. It is the most successful of all modern epics.

The popularity of the *Lusiads* has done much to keep alive the sense of nationality among the Portuguese, and even to-day it forms a bond of union between Portugal and her daughter-nation across the Atlantic—Brazil.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MARITIME ROUTE

The discovery of an ocean passage to the East came at the right moment. Just at this time the Ottoman Turks were beginning to block up the old trade routes. [13] Their conquests in Asia Minor and southeastern Europe, during the fifteenth century, shut out the Italians from the northern route through the Aegean and the Black Sea. After Syria and Egypt were conquered, early in the sixteenth century, the central and southern routes also passed under Turkish control. The Ottoman advance struck a mortal blow at the prosperity of the Italian cities, which had so long monopolized Oriental trade. But the misfortune of Venice and Genoa was the opportunity of Portugal.

221. THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE

PORTUGUESE ASCENDANCY IN THE EAST

After Da Gama's voyage the Portuguese made haste to appropriate the wealth of the Indies. Fleet after fleet was sent out to establish trading stations upon the coasts of Africa and Asia. The great viceroy, Albuquerque, captured the city of Goa and made it the center of the Portuguese dominions in India. Goa still belongs to Portugal. Albuquerque also seized Malacca, at the end of the Malay Peninsula, and Ormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. The possession of these strategic points enabled the Portuguese to control the commerce of the Indian Ocean. They also established trading relations with China, through the port of Macao, and with Japan, which was accidentally discovered in 1542 A.D. By the middle of the sixteenth century

they had acquired almost complete ascendancy throughout southern Asia and the adjacent islands. [14]

PORTUGUESE TRADE MONOPOLY

The Portuguese came to the East as the successors of the Arabs, who for centuries had carried on an extensive trade in the Indian Ocean. Having dispossessed the Arabs, the Portuguese took care to shut out all European trade competitors. Only their own merchants were allowed to bring goods from the Indies to Europe by the Cape route. For a time this policy made Portugal very prosperous. Lisbon, the capital, formed the chief depot for spices and other eastern commodities. The French, English, and Dutch came there to buy them and took the place of Italian merchants in distributing them throughout Europe.

COLLAPSE OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

But the triumph of Portugal was short-lived. This small country, with a population of not more than a million, lacked the strength to defend her claims to a monopoly of the Oriental trade. During the seventeenth century the French and English broke the power of the Portuguese in India, while the Dutch drove them from Ceylon and the East Indies. Though the Portuguese lost most of their possessions so soon, they deserve a tribute of admiration for the energy, enthusiasm, and real heroism with which they built up the first of modern colonial empires.

EUROPE IN ASIA

The new world in the East, thus entered by the Portuguese and later by other European peoples, was really an old world—rich, populous, and civilized. It held out alluring possibilities, not only for trade, but also as a field for missionary enterprise. Da Gama and Albuquerque began a

movement, which still continues, to "westernize" Asia by opening it up to European influence. It remains to be seen, however, whether India, China, and Japan will allow their ancient culture to be extinguished by that of Europe.

222. TO THE INDIES WESTWARD: COLUMBUS AND MAGELLAN

THE GLOBULAR THEORY

Six years before Vasco da Gama cast anchor in the harbor of Calicut, another intrepid sailor, seeking the Indies by a western route, accidentally discovered America. It does not detract from the glory of Columbus to show that the way for his discovery had been long in preparation. In the first place, the theory that the earth was round had been familiar to the Greeks and Romans, and to some learned men even in the darkest period of the Middle Ages. By the opening of the thirteenth century it must have been commonly known, for Roger Bacon [15] refers to it, and Dante, in the *Divine Comedy*, [16] plans his Inferno on the supposition of a spherical world. The awakening of interest in Greek science, as a result of the Renaissance, naturally called renewed attention to the statements by ancient geographers. Eratosthenes, [17] for instance, had clearly recognized the possibility of reaching India by sailing westward on the same parallel of latitude. Especially after the revival of Ptolemy's [18] works in the fifteenth century, scholars accepted the globular theory; and they even went so far as to calculate the circumference of the earth.

MYTH OF ATLANTIS

In the second place, men had long believed that west of Europe, beyond the strait of Gibraltar, lay mysterious lands. This notion first appears in the writings of the Greek philosopher, Plato, [19] who repeats an old tradition

concerning Atlantis. According to Plato, Atlantis had been an island continental in size, but more than nine thousand years before his time it had sunk beneath the sea. Medieval writers accepted this account as true and found support for it in traditions of other western islands, such as the Isles of the Blest, where Greek heroes went after death, and the Welsh Avalon, whither King Arthur, [20] after his last battle, was borne to heal his wounds. A widespread legend of the Middle Ages also described the visit made by St. Brandan, an Irish monk, to the "promised land of the Saints," an earthly paradise far out in the Atlantic. St. Brandan's Island was marked on early maps, and voyages in search of it were sometimes undertaken.

BEHAIM'S GLOBE

The ideas of European geographers in the period just preceding the discovery of America are represented on a map, or rather a globe, which dates from 1492 A.D. It was made by a German navigator, Martin Behaim, for his native city of Nuremberg, where it is still preserved. Behaim shows the mythical island of St. Brandan, lying in mid-ocean, and beyond it Japan (Cipango) and the East Indies. It is clear that he greatly underestimated the distance westward between Europe and Asia. The error was natural enough, for Ptolemy had reckoned the earth's circumference to be about one-sixth less than it is, and Marco Polo had given an exaggerated idea of the distance to which Asia extended on the east. When Columbus set out on his voyage, he firmly believed that a journey of four thousand miles would bring him to Cipango.

[Illustration: BEHAIM'S GLOBE The outlines of North America and South America do not appear on the original globe.]

COLUMBUS, 1446(?)-1506 A.D.

Christopher Columbus was a native of Genoa, where his father followed the humble trade of a weaver. He seems to have obtained some knowledge of astronomy and geography as a student in the university of Pavia, but at an early age he became a sailor. Columbus knew the Mediterranean by heart; he once went to the Guinea coast; and he may have visited Iceland. He settled at Lisbon as a map-maker and married a daughter of one of Prince Henry's sea-captains. As Columbus pored over his maps and charts and talked with seamen about their voyages, the idea came to him that much of the world remained undiscovered and that the distant East could be reached by a shorter route than that which led around Africa.

[Illustration: CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)
The oldest known portrait of Columbus.]

RESEARCHES OF COLUMBUS

Columbus was a well-read man, and in Aristotle, Ptolemy, and other ancient authorities he found apparent confirmation of his grand idea. Columbus also owned a printed copy of Marco Polo's book, and from his comments, written on the margin, we know how interested he was in Polo's statements referring to Cathay and Cipango. Furthermore, Columbus brought together all the information he could get about the fabled islands of the Atlantic. If he ever went to Iceland, some vague traditions may have reached him there of Norse voyages to Greenland and Vinland. Such hints and rumors strengthened his purpose to sail toward the setting sun in quest of the Indies.

[Illustration: ISABELLA]

FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS, 1492 A.D.

All know the story. How Columbus first laid his plans before the king of Portugal, only to meet with rebuffs; how he then went to Spain and after many discouragements found a patron in Queen Isabella; how with three small ships he set out from Palos, August 3, 1492 A.D.; how after leaving the Canaries he sailed week after week over an unknown sea; and how at last, on the early morning of October 12, he sighted in the moonlight the glittering coral strand of one of the Bahama Islands. [21] It was the New World.

[Illustration: SHIP OF 1492 A.D.]

SUBSEQUENT VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS

Columbus made three other voyages to the New World, in the course of which he explored the Caribbean Sea, the mouth of the Orinoco River, and the eastern coast of Central America. He lived and died in the belief that he had actually reached the mainland of Asia and the realms of the Great Khan of Cathay. The name West Indies still remains as a testimony to this error.

NAMING OF AMERICA

The New World was named for a Florentine navigator, Amerigo Vespucci. [22] While in the Spanish service he made several western voyages and printed an account of his discovery of the mainland of America in 1497 A.D. Scholars now generally reject his statements, but they found acceptance at the time, and it was soon suggested that the new continent should be called America, "because Americus discovered it." The name applied at first only to South America. After it became certain that South America joined another continent to the north, the name spread over the whole New World.

[Illustration: THE NAME "AMERICA"
Facsimile of the passage in the *Cosmographiae Introductio* (1507), by Martin Waldseemuller, in which the name "America" is proposed for the New
World.]

THE DEMARCATION LINE, 1493 A.D.

Shortly after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, Pope Alexander VI, in response to a request by Ferdinand and Isabella, issued a bull granting these sovereigns exclusive rights over the newly discovered lands. In order that the Spanish possessions should be clearly marked off from the Portuguese, the pope laid down an imaginary line of demarcation in the Atlantic, three hundred miles west of the Azores. All new discoveries west of the line were to belong to Spain; all those east of it, to Portugal. [23] But this arrangement, which excluded France, England, and other European countries from the New World, could not be long maintained.

[Illustration: Map, PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH COLONIAL EMPIRES IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY]

FERDINAND MAGELLAN, 1480(?)-1521 A.D.

The demarcation line had a good deal to do in bringing about the first voyage around the globe. So far no one had yet realized the dream of Columbus to reach the lands of spice and silk by sailing westward. Ferdinand Magellan, formerly one of Albuquerque's lieutenants but now in the service of Spain, believed that the Spice Islands lay within the Spanish sphere of influence and that an all-Spanish route, leading to them through some strait at the southern end of South America, could be discovered.

CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE, 1519-1522 A.D.

The Spanish ruler, Charles V, grandson of the Isabella who had supported Columbus, looked with favor upon Magellan's ideas and gave him a fleet of five vessels for the undertaking. After exploring the east coast of South America, Magellan came at length to the strait which bears his name. Through this channel he sailed boldly and found himself upon an ocean which he called the Pacific, because of its peaceful aspect. Magellan's sailors now begged him to return, for food was getting scarce, but the navigator replied that he would go on, "if he had to eat the leather off the rigging." He did go on, for ninety-eight days, until he reached the Ladrone Islands. [24] By a curious chance, in all this long trip across the Pacific, Magellan came upon only two islands, both of them uninhabited. He then proceeded to the Philippines, where he was killed in a fight with the natives. His men, however, managed to reach the Spice Islands, the goal of the journey. Afterwards a single ship, the *Victoria*, carried back to Spain the few sailors who had survived the hardships of a voyage lasting nearly three years.

[Illustration: FERDINAND MAGELLAN
From a portrait formerly in the Versailles Gallery, Paris.]

MEANING OF THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION Magellan's voyage forms a landmark in the history of geography. It proved that America, at least on the south, had no connection with Asia; it showed the enormous extent of the Pacific Ocean; and it led to the discovery of many large islands in the East Indies. Henceforth men knew of a certainty that the earth was round and in the distance covered by Magellan they had a rough estimate of its size. The circumnavigation of the globe ranks with the discovery of America among the most significant events in history. In the company of great explorers Magellan stands beside Columbus.

223. THE INDIANS

PEOPLING OF AMERICA

The first inhabitants of America probably came from the Old World. At a remote epoch a land-bridge connected northwest Europe with Greenland, and Iceland still remains a witness to its former existence. Over this bridge animals and men may have found their way into the New World. Another prehistoric route may have led from Asia. Only a narrow strait now separates Alaska from Siberia, and the Aleutian Islands form an almost complete series of stepping-stones across the most northerly part of the Pacific.

THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

The natives of America, whom Columbus called Indians, certainly resemble Asiatics in some physical features, such as the reddish-brown complexion, the hair, uniformly black and lank, the high cheek-bones, and short stature of many tribes. On the other hand, the large, aquiline nose, the straight eyes, never oblique, and the tall stature of some tribes are European traits. It seems safe to conclude that the American aborigines, whatever their origin, became thoroughly fused into a composite race during long centuries of isolation from the rest of mankind.

INDIAN CULTURE

Because of their isolation the Indians had to work out by themselves many arts, inventions, and discoveries. They spoke over a thousand languages and dialects; and not one has yet been traced outside of America. Their implements consisted of polished stone, occasionally of unsmelted copper, and in Mexico and Peru, of bronze. They cultivated Indian corn, or maize, but lacked the other great cereals. They domesticated the dog and the

llama of the Andes. They lived in clans and tribes, ruled by headmen or chiefs. Their religion probably did not involve a belief in a "Great Spirit," as is so often said, but rather recognized in all nature the abode of spiritual powers, mysterious and wonderful, whom man ought to conciliate by prayers and sacrifices. In short, most of the American Indians were not savages, but barbarians well advanced in culture.

THE MAYAS

Indian culture attained its highest development in Mexico and Central America, especially among the Mayas of Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras. The remains of their cities—the Ninevehs and Babylons of the New World— lie buried in the tropical jungle, where Europeans first saw them, four hundred years ago. The temples, shrines, altars, and statues in these ancient cities show that the Mayas had made much progress in the fine arts. They knew enough astronomy to frame a solar calendar of three hundred and sixty-five days, and enough mathematics to employ numbers exceeding a million. The writing of the Mayas had reached the rebus [25] stage and promised to become alphabetic. When their hieroglyphics have been completely deciphered, we shall learn much more about this gifted people.

THE AZTECS

Several centuries before the arrival of Europeans in America, the so-called Aztecs came down from the north and established themselves on the Mexican plateau. Here they formed a confederacy of many tribes, ruled over by a sort of king, whose capital was Tenochtitlan, on the site of the present city of Mexico.

[Illustration: AZTEC SACRIFICIAL KNIFE British Museum, London. Length, twelve inches. The blade is of yellow, opalescent chalcedony,

beautifully chipped and polished. The handle is of light-colored wood carved in the form of a man masked with a bird skin. Brilliant mosaic settings of turquoise, malachite, and shell embellish the figure.]

[Illustration: AZTEC SACRIFICIAL STONE
Now in the National Museum in the City of Mexico.]

AZTEC CULTURE

The Aztecs appear to have borrowed much of their art, science, and knowledge of writing from their Maya neighbors. They built houses and temples of stone or sundried brick, constructed aqueducts, roads, and bridges, excelled in the dyeing, weaving, and spinning of cotton, and made most beautiful ornaments of silver and gold. They worshiped many gods, to which the priests offered prisoners of war as human sacrifices. In spite of these bloody rites, the Aztecs were a kind-hearted, honest people, respectful of the rights of property, brave in battle, and obedient to their native rulers. Aztec culture in some ways was scarcely inferior to that of the ancient Egyptians.

THE INCAS

The lofty table-lands of the Andes were also the seat of an advanced Indian culture. At the time of the Spanish conquest the greater part of what is now Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile had come under the sway of the Incas, the "people of the sun". The Inca power centered in the Peruvian city of Cuzco and on the shores of Lake Titicaca, which lies twelve thousand feet above sea-level. In this region of magnificent scenery the traveler views with astonishment the ruins of vast edifices, apparently never completed, which were raised either by the Incas or the Indians whom they conquered and displaced. Though the culture of the Incas resembled in

many ways that of the Aztecs, the two peoples probably never had any intercourse and hence remained totally unaware of each other's existence.

[Illustration: Map, WEST INDIES]

224. SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND CONQUESTS IN AMERICA

OBJECTS OF THE SPANIARDS

The discoverers of the New World were naturally the pioneers in its exploration. The first object of the Spaniards had been trade with the Indies, and for a number of years, until Magellan's voyage, they sought vainly for a passage through the mainland to the Spice Islands. When, however, the Spaniards learned that America was rich in deposits of gold and silver, these metals formed the principal objects of their expeditions.

PONCE DE LEÓN AND BALBOA, 1513 A.D.

The Spaniards at first had confined their settlements to the Greater Antilles in the West Indies, [26] but after the gold of these islands was exhausted, they began to penetrate the mainland. In 1513 A.D. Ponce de León, who had been with Columbus on his second voyage, discovered the country which he named Florida. It became the first Spanish possession in North America. In the same year Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, from the isthmus of Panama, sighted the Pacific. He entered its waters, sword in hand, and took formal possession in the name of the king of Spain.

[Illustration: Map, AN EARLY MAP OF THE NEW WORLD (1540 A.D.)]

CONQUEST OF MEXICO 1519-1521 A.D. AND PERU 1531-1537 A.D.

The overthrow of the Aztec power was accomplished by Hernando Cortés, with the aid of Indian allies. Many large towns and half a thousand villages, together with immense quantities of treasure, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Henceforth Mexico, or "New Spain," became the most important Spanish possession in America. Francisco Pizarro, who invaded Peru with a handful of soldiers, succeeded in overthrowing the Incas. Pizarro founded in Peru the city of Lima. It replaced Cuzco as the capital of the country and formed the seat of the Spanish government in South America.

EL DORADO

The Spaniards, during the earlier part of the sixteenth century, heard much of a fabled king whom they called El Dorado. [27] This king, it was said, used to smear himself with gold dust at an annual religious ceremony. In time the idea arose that somewhere in South America existed a fabled country marvelously rich in precious metals and gems. These stories stirred the imagination of the Spaniards, who fitted out many expeditions to find the gilded man and his gilded realm. The quest for El Dorado opened up the valleys of the Amazon and Orinoco and the extensive forest region east of the Andes. Spanish explorers also tried to find El Dorado in North America. De Soto's expedition led to the discovery of the Mississippi in 1541 A.D., and Coronado's search for the "Seven Cities of Cibola" not only added greatly to geographical knowledge of the Southwest, but also resulted in the extension of Spanish dominion over this part of the American continent. About 1605 A.D. the Spaniards founded Santa Fé and made it the capital of their government in New Mexico.

* * * * *

225. THE SPANISH COLONIAL EMPIRE

SPAIN IN THE NEW WORLD

The wonderful exploits of the *conquistadores* (conquerors) laid the foundations of the Spanish colonial empire. It included Florida, New Mexico, California, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and all South America except Brazil. [28] The rule of Spain over these dominions lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time she gave her language, her government, and her religion to half the New World.

INTERMARRIAGE OF SPANIARDS AND INDIANS

The Spaniards brought few women with them and hence had to find their wives among the Indians. Intermarriage of the two peoples early became common. The result was the mixed race which one still finds throughout the greater part of Spanish America. In this race the Indian strain predominates, because almost everywhere the aborigines were far more numerous than the white settlers.

TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS

The Spaniards treated the Indians of the West Indies most harshly and forced them to work in gold mines and on sugar plantations. The hard labor, to which the Indians were unaccustomed, broke down their health, and almost the entire native population disappeared within a few years after the coming of the whites. This terrible tragedy was not repeated on the mainland, for the Spanish government stepped in to preserve the aborigines from destruction. It prohibited their enslavement and gave them the protection of humane laws. Though these laws were not always well enforced, the Indians of Mexico and Peru increased in numbers under Spanish rule and often became prosperous traders, farmers, and artisans.

CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS

The Spaniards succeeded in winning many of the Indians to Christianity. Devoted monks penetrated deep into the wilderness and brought to the aborigines, not only the Christian religion, but also European civilization. In many places the natives were gathered into permanent villages, or "missions," each one with its church and school. Converts who learned to read and write often became priests or entered the monastic orders. The monks also took much interest in the material welfare of the Indians and taught them how to farm, how to build houses, and how to spin and weave and cook by better methods than their own.

THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

The most familiar examples of the Spanish missions are those in the state of California. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century Franciscan friars missions erected no less than eighteen mission stations along the Pacific coast from San Diego to San Francisco. The stations were connected by the "King's Road" [29] which still remains the principal highway of the state. Some of the mission buildings now lie in ruins and others have entirely disappeared. But such a well-preserved structure as the mission of Santa Barbara recalls a Benedictine monastery, [30] with its shady cloisters, secluded courtyard, and timbered roof covered with red tiles. It is a bit of the Old World transplanted to the New.

SPANISH AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

The civilizing work of Spain in the New World is sometimes forgotten. Here were the earliest American hospitals and asylums, for the use of Indians and negroes as well as of Spaniards. Here were the earliest American schools and colleges. Twelve institutions of higher learning, all modeled upon the university of Salamanca, arose in Spanish America during the colonial period. Eight of these came into existence before the creation in 1636 A.D. of Harvard University, the oldest in the United States.

The pioneer printing press in the Western Hemisphere was set up at Mexico City in 1535 A.D.; no printing press reached the English colonies till more than one hundred years later. To the valuable books by Spanish scholars we owe much of our knowledge of the Mayas, Aztecs, and other Indian tribes. The first American newspaper was published at Mexico City in 1693 A.D. The fine arts also flourished in the Spanish colonies, and architects of the United States have now begun to copy the beautiful churches and public buildings of Mexico and Peru.

SPANISH COLONIAL POLICY

The government of Spain administered its colonial dominions in the spirit of monopoly. As far as possible it excluded French, English, and other foreigners from trading with Spanish America. It also discouraged ship-building, manufacturing, and even the cultivation of the vine and the olive, lest the colonists should compete with home industries. The colonies were regarded only as a workshop for the production of the precious metals and raw materials. This unwise policy very largely accounts for the economic backwardness of Mexico, Peru, and other Spanish- American countries at the present day. Their rich natural resources have as yet scarcely begun to be utilized.

226. ENGLISH AND FRENCH EXPLORATIONS IN AMERICA

THE CABOT VOYAGES, 1497-1498 A.D.

The English based their claim to the right to colonize North America on the discoveries of John Cabot, an Italian mariner in the service of the Tudor king, Henry VII. [31] In 1497 A.D. Cabot sailed from Bristol across the northern Atlantic and made land somewhere between Labrador and Nova Scotia. The following year he seems to have undertaken a second voyage

and to have explored the coast of North America nearly as far as Florida. Cabot, like Columbus, believed he had reached Cathay and the dominions of the Great Khan. Because Cabot found neither gold nor opportunities for profitable trade, his expeditions were considered a failure, and for a long time the English took no further interest in exploring the New World.

[Illustration: CABOT MEMORIAL TOWER Erected at Bristol, England, in memory of John Cabot and his sons. The foundation stone was laid on June 24, 1897 A.D., the four-hundredth anniversary of John Cabot's first sight of the continent of North America.]

CARTIER'S VOYAGES, 1534-1542 A.D.

The discovery by Magellan of a strait leading into the Pacific aroused hope that a similar passage, beyond the regions controlled by Spain, might exist in North America. In 1534 A.D. the French king, Francis I, sent Jacques Cartier to look for it. Cartier found the gulf and river which he named after St. Lawrence, and also tried to establish a settlement near where Quebec now stands. The venture was not successful, and the French did not undertake the colonization of Canada till the first decade of the seventeenth century.

THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE

English sailors also sought a road to India by the so-called Northwest Passage. It was soon found to be an impossible route, for during half the year the seas were frozen and during the other half they were filled with icebergs. However, the search for the Northwest Passage added much to geographical knowledge. The names Frobisher Bay, Davis Strait, and Baffin Land still preserve the memory of the navigators who first explored the channels leading into the Arctic Ocean.

THE ENGLISH "SEA DOGS"

When the English realized how little profit was to be gained by voyages to the cold and desolate north, they turned southward to warmer waters. Here, of course, they came upon the Spaniards, who had no disposition to share with foreigners the profitable trade of the New World. Though England and Spain were not at war, the English "sea dogs," as they called themselves, did not scruple to ravage the Spanish colonies and to capture the huge, clumsy treasure-ships carrying gold and silver to Spain. The most famous of the "sea dogs," Sir Francis Drake, was the first Englishman to sail round the world (1577-1580 A.D.).

THE RALEIGH COLONIES, 1584-1590 A.D.

Four years after Drake had completed his voyage, another English seaman, Sir Walter Raleigh, sent out an expedition to find a good site for a settlement in North America. The explorers reached the coast of North Carolina and returned with glowing accounts of the country, which was named Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen." But Raleigh's colonies in Virginia failed miserably, and the English made no further attempt to settle there till the reign of James I, early in the seventeenth century.

227. THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

EXPANSION OF EUROPE

The New World contained two virgin continents, full of natural resources and capable in a high degree of colonization. The native peoples, comparatively few in number and barbarian in culture, could not offer much resistance to the explorers, missionaries, traders, and colonists from the Old World. The Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century, followed by

the French, English, and Dutch in the seventeenth century, repeopled America and brought to it European civilization. Europe expanded into a Greater Europe beyond the ocean.

SHIFTING OF TRADE ROUTES

In the Middle Ages the Mediterranean and the Baltic had been the principal highways of commerce. The discovery of America, followed immediately by the opening of the Cape route to the Indies, shifted commercial activity from these enclosed seas to the Atlantic Ocean. Venice, Genoa, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bruges gradually gave way, as trading centers, to Lisbon and Cadiz, Bordeaux and Cherbourg, Antwerp and Amsterdam, London and Liverpool. One may say, therefore, that the year 1492 A.D. inaugurated the Atlantic period of European history. The time may come, perhaps even now it is dawning, when the center of gravity of the commercial world will shift still farther westward to the Pacific.

INCREASED PRODUCTION OF THE PRECIOUS METALS

The discovery of America revealed to Europeans a new source of the precious metals. The Spaniards soon secured large quantities of gold by plundering the Indians of Mexico and Peru of their stored-up wealth. After the discovery in 1545 A.D. of the wonderfully rich silver mines of Potosi in Bolivia, the output of silver much exceeded that of gold. It is estimated that by the end of the sixteenth century the American mines had produced at least three times as much gold and silver as had been current in Europe at the beginning of the century.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE ENLARGED MONEY SUPPLY

The Spaniards could not keep this new treasure. Having few industries themselves, they were obliged to send it out, as fast as they received it, in

payment for their imports of European goods. Spain acted as a huge sieve through which the gold and silver of America entered all the countries of Europe. Money, now more plentiful, purchased far less than in former times; in other words, the prices of all commodities rose, wages advanced, and manufacturers and traders had additional capital to use in their undertakings. The Middle Ages had suffered from the lack of sufficient money with which to do business; [32] from the beginning of modern times the world has been better supplied with the indispensable medium of exchange.

NEW COMMODITIES IMPORTED

But America was much more than a treasury of the precious metals. Many commodities, hitherto unknown, soon found their way from the New World to the Old. Among these were maize, the potato, which, when cultivated in Europe, became the "bread of the poor," chocolate and cocoa made from the seeds of the cacao tree, Peruvian bark, or quinine, so useful in malarial fevers, cochineal, the dye-woods of Brazil, and the mahogany of the West Indies. America also sent large supplies of cane-sugar, molasses, fish, whale-oil, and furs. The use of tobacco, which Columbus first observed among the Indians, spread rapidly over Europe and thence extended to the rest of the world. All these new American products became common articles of consumption and so raised the standard of living in European countries.

POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERIES

To the economic effects of the discoveries must be added their effects on politics. The Atlantic Ocean now formed, not only the commercial, but also the political center of the world. The Atlantic-facing countries, first Portugal and Spain, then Holland, France, and England, became the great powers of

Europe. Their trade rivalries and contests for colonial possessions have been potent causes of European wars for the last four hundred years.

EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERIES ON THOUGHT

The sudden disclosure of oceans, islands, and continents, covering one-third of the globe, worked a revolution in geographical ideas. The earth was found to be far larger than men had supposed it to be, and the imagination was stirred by the thought of other amazing discoveries which might be made. From the sixteenth century to the twentieth the work of exploration has continued, till now few regions of the world yet remain unmapped. At the same time came acquaintance with many strange plants, animals, and peoples, and so scientific knowledge replaced the quaint fancies of the Middle Ages.

EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERIES UPON RELIGION

The sixteenth century in Europe was the age of that revolt against the Roman Church called the Protestant Reformation. During this period, however, the Church won her victories over the American aborigines. What she lost of territory, wealth, and influence in Europe was more than offset by what she gained in America. Furthermore, the region now occupied by the United States furnished in the seventeenth century an asylum from religious persecution, as was proved when Puritans settled in New England, Roman Catholics in Maryland, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. The vacant spaces of America offered plenty of room for all who would worship God in their own way. Thus the New World became a refuge from the intolerance of the Old.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate those parts of the world known in the time of Columbus (before 1492 A.D.).

2. On an outline map indicate the voyages of discovery of Vasco da Gama, Columbus (first voyage), John Cabot, and Magellan.

3. What particular discoveries were made by Cartier, Drake, Balboa, De Soto, Ponce de León, and Coronado?

4. Compare the Cosmas map (page 617) with the map of the world according to Homer (page 76).

5. Compare the Hereford map (page 617) with the map of the world according to Ptolemy (page 132).

6. Why has Marco Polo been called the "Columbus of the East Indies"?

7. "Cape Verde not only juts out into the Atlantic, but stands forth as a promontory in human history." Comment on this statement.

8. How did Vasco da Gama complete the work of Prince Henry the Navigator?

9. Show that Lisbon in the sixteenth century was the commercial successor of Venice.

10. "Had Columbus perished in mid-ocean, it is doubtful whether America would have remained long undiscovered." Comment on this statement.

11. Why did no one suggest that the New World be called after Columbus?

12. Show that Magellan achieved what Columbus planned.

13. Why did Balboa call the Pacific the "South Sea"?

14. Why is Roman law followed in all Spanish-American countries?

15. In what parts of the world is Spanish still the common language?

16. Why did the Germans fail to take part in the work of discovery and colonization?

17. Show that the three words "gospel, glory, and gold" sum up the principal motives of European colonization in the sixteenth century.

18. Compare the motives which led to the colonization of the New World with those which led to Greek colonization.

19. "The opening of the Atlantic to continuous exploration is the most momentous step in the history of man's occupation of the earth." Does this statement seem to be justified?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxi, "The Travels of Marco Polo"; chapter xxii, "The Aborigines of the New World."

[2] *Ezekiel*, v, 5.

[3] *Isaiah*, x, 12.

[4] See pages 574-575.

[5] See page 35.

[6] See page 347.

[7] See page 488.

[8] See page 611.

[9] Froissart, *Chronicles*, ii, 73.

[10] See page 540.

[11] See page 49.

[12] Not Calcutta.

[13] See page 540.

[14] The Portuguese colonial empire included Ormuz, the west coast of India, Ceylon, Malacca, and various possessions in the Malay Archipelago (Sumatra, Java, Celebes, the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, and New Guinea). The Portuguese also had many trading posts on the African coast, besides Brazil, which one of their mariners discovered in 1500 A.D. See the map Between pages 628-629.

[15] See page 573.

[16] See page 591.

[17] See page 133.

[18] A Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*, accompanied by maps, was printed for the first time probably in 1462 A.D.

[19] See page 275.

[20] See page 560.

[21] Named San Salvador by Columbus and usually identified with Watling Island.

[22] In Latin, Americus Vespucius.

[23] In 1494 A.D., the demarcation line was shifted about eight hundred miles farther to the west. Six years later, when the Portuguese discovered Brazil, the country was found to lie within their sphere of influence.

[24] Also known as the Mariannes. Magellan called them the Ladrones (Spanish *ladrón*, a robber), because of the thievish habits of the natives.

[25] See page 9.

[26] Cuba, Hispaniola (now divided between the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo), Porto Rico, and Jamaica.

[27] Spanish for the "gilded one."

[28] See the map between pages 628-629. The Philippines, discovered by Magellan in 1521 A.D., also belonged to Spain, though by the demarcation line these islands lay within the Portuguese sphere of influence.

[29] In Spanish *El Camino Real*.

[30] See page 355.

[31] See page 518.

[32] See page 541.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REFORMATION AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS, 1517-1648 A.D. [1]

228. DECLINE OF THE PAPACY

THE PAPACY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Papacy, victorious in the long struggle with the Holy Roman Empire, reached during the thirteenth century the height of its temporal power. The popes at this time were the greatest sovereigns in Europe. They ruled a large part of Italy, had great influence in the affairs of France, England, Spain, and other countries, and in Germany named and deposed emperors. From their capital at Rome they sent forth their legates to every European court and issued the laws binding on western Christendom.

FRICTION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

The universal dominion of the Church proved useful and even necessary in feudal times, when kings were weak and nobles were strong. The Church of the early Middle Ages served as the chief unifying force in Europe. When, however, the kings had repressed feudalism, they took steps to extend their authority over the Church as well. They tried, therefore, to restrict the privileges of ecclesiastical courts, to impose taxes on the clergy, as on their own subjects, and to dictate the appointment of bishops and

abbots to office. This policy naturally led to much friction between popes and kings, between Church and State.

PONTIFICATE OF BONIFACE VIII, 1294-1303 A.D.

The Papacy put forth its most extensive claims under Boniface VIII. The character of these claims is shown by two bulls which he issued. The first forbade all laymen, under penalty of excommunication, to collect taxes on Church lands, and all clergymen to pay them. The second announced in unmistakable terms both the spiritual and the temporal supremacy of the popes. "Submission to the Roman pontiff," declared Boniface, "is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature".

BONIFACE AND PHILIP THE FAIR

Boniface had employed the exalted language of Gregory VII in dealing with Henry IV, but he found an opponent in a monarch more resolute and resourceful than any Holy Roman Emperor. This was Philip the Fair, [2] king of France. Philip answered the first bull by refusing to allow any gold and silver to be exported from France to Italy. The pope, thus deprived of valuable revenues, gave way and acknowledged that the French ruler had a limited right to tax the clergy. Another dispute soon arose, however, as the result of Philip's imprisonment and trial of an obnoxious papal legate. Angered by this action, Boniface prepared to excommunicate the king and depose him from the throne. Philip retaliated by calling together the Estates-General and asking their support for the preservation of the "ancient liberty of France." The nobles, the clergy, and the "third estate" rallied around Philip, accused the pope of heresy and tyranny, and declared that the French king was subject to God alone.

ANAGNI, 1303 A.D.

The last act of the drama was soon played. Philip sent his emissaries into Italy to arrest the pope and bring him to trial before a general council in France. At Anagni, near Rome, a band of hireling soldiers stormed the papal palace and made Boniface a prisoner. The citizens of Anagni soon freed him, but the shock of the humiliation broke the old man's spirit and he died soon afterwards. The poet Dante, in the *Divine Comedy*, [3] speaks with awe of the outrage: "Christ had been again crucified among robbers; and the vinegar and gall had been again pressed to his lips". [4] The historian sees in this event the end of the temporal power of the Papacy.

THE "BABYLONION CAPTIVITY," 1309-1377 A.D.

Soon after the death of Boniface, Philip succeeded in having the archbishop of Bordeaux chosen as head of the Church. The new pope removed the papal court to Avignon, a town just outside the French frontier of those days. The popes lived in Avignon for nearly seventy years. This period is usually described as the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Church, a name which recalls the exile of the Jews from their native land. [5] The long absence of the popes from Rome lessened their power, and the suspicion that they were the mere vassals of the French crown seriously impaired the respect in which they had been held.

THE "GREAT SCHISM," 1378-1417 A.D.

Following the "Babylonian Captivity" came the "Great Schism." Shortly after the return of the papal court to Rome, an Italian was elected pope as Urban VI. The cardinals in the French interest refused to accept him, declared his election void, and named Clement VII as pope. Clement withdrew to Avignon, while Urban remained in Rome. Western Christendom could not decide which one to obey. Some countries declared for Urban, while other countries accepted Clement. The spectacle of two rival popes, each holding himself out as the only true successor of St. Peter,

continued for about forty years and injured the Papacy more than anything else that had happened to it.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, 1414-1418 A.D.

The schism in western Christendom was finally healed at the Council of Constance. There were three "phantom popes" at this time, but they were all deposed in favor of a new pontiff, Martin V. The Catholic world now had a single head, but it was not easy to revive the old, unquestioning loyalty to him as God's vicar on earth.

THE RENAISSANCE POPES

From the time of Martin V the Papacy became more and more an Italian power. The popes neglected European politics and gave their chief attention to the States of the Church. A number of the popes took much interest in the Renaissance movement and became its enthusiastic patrons. [6] They kept up splendid courts, collected manuscripts, paintings, and statues, and erected magnificent palaces and churches in Rome. Some European peoples, especially in Germany, looked askance at such luxury and begrudged the heavy taxes which were necessary to support it. This feeling against the papacy also helped to provoke the Reformation.

[Illustration: Map, THE GREAT SCHISM, 1378-1417 A.D.]

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE CLERGY

The worldliness of some of the popes was too often reflected in the lives of the lesser clergy. Throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the Church encountered much criticism from reformers. Thus, the famous humanist, Erasmus, [7] wrote his *Praise of Folly* to expose the vices and temporal ambitions of bishops and monks, the foolish speculations of

theologians, and the excessive reliance which common people had on pilgrimages, festivals, relics, and other aids to devotion. So great was the demand for this work that it went through twenty-seven large editions during the author's lifetime. Erasmus and others like him were loyal sons of the Church, but they believed they could best serve her interests by effecting her reform. Some men went further, however, and demanded wholesale changes in Catholic belief and worship. These men were the heretics.

229. HERESIES AND HERETICS

PERSECUTION OF HERETICS

During the first centuries of our era, when the Christians had formed a forbidden sect, they claimed toleration on the ground that religious belief is voluntary and not something which can be enforced by law. This view changed after Christianity triumphed in the Roman Empire and enjoyed the support, instead of the opposition, of the government. The Church, backed by the State, no longer advocated freedom of conscience, but began to persecute people who held heretical beliefs.

MEDIEVAL ATTITUDE TOWARD HERESY

It is difficult for those who live in an age of religious toleration to understand the horror which heresy inspired in the Middle Ages. A heretic was a traitor to the Church, for he denied the doctrines believed to be essential to salvation. It seemed a Christian duty to compel the heretic to recant, lest he imperil his eternal welfare. If he persisted in his impious course, then the earth ought to be rid of one who was a source of danger to the faithful and an enemy of the Almighty.

PUNISHMENT OF HERESY

Although executions for heresy had occurred as early as the fourth century, [8] for a long time milder penalties were usually inflicted. The heretic might be exiled, or imprisoned, or deprived of his property and his rights as a citizen. The death penalty was seldom invoked by the Church before the thirteenth century. Since ecclesiastical law forbade the Church to shed blood, the State stepped in to seize the heretic and put him to death, most often by fire. We must remember that in medieval times cruel punishments were imposed for even slight offenses, and hence men saw nothing wrong in inflicting the worst of punishments for what was believed to be the worst of crimes.

THE ALBIGENSES

In spite of all measures of repression heretics were not uncommon during the later Middle Ages. Some heretical movements spread over entire communities. The most important was that of the Albigenses, so called from the town of Albi in southern France, where many of them lived. Their doctrines are not well known, but they seem to have believed in the existence of two gods—one good (whose son was Christ), the other evil (whose son was Satan). The Albigenses even set up a rival church, with its priests, bishops, and councils.

CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES, 1209-1229 A.D.

The failure of attempts to convert the Albigenses by peaceful means led the pope, Innocent III, [9] to preach a crusade against them. Those who entered upon it were promised the usual privileges of crusaders. [10] A series of bloody wars now followed, in the course of which thousands of men, women, and children perished. But the Albigensian sect did not entirely disappear for more than a century, and then only after numberless trials and executions for heresy.

THE WALDENSES

The followers of Peter Waldo, who lived in the twelfth century, made no effort to set up a new religion in Europe. They objected, however, to certain practices of the Church, such as masses for the dead and the adoration of saints. They also condemned the luxury of the clergy and urged that Christians should live like the Apostles, charitable and poor. To the Waldenses the Bible was a sufficient guide to the religious life, and so they translated parts of the scriptures and allowed everyone to preach, without distinction of age, or rank, or sex. The Waldenses spread through many European countries, but being poor and lowly men they did not exert much influence as reformers. The sect survived severe persecution and now forms a branch of the Protestant Church in Italy.

JOHN WYCLIFFE, 1320-1384 A.D.

Beliefs very similar to those of the Waldenses were entertained by John Wycliffe, (or Wyclif) master of an Oxford college and a popular preacher. He, too, appealed from the authority of the Church to the authority of the Bible. With the assistance of two friends Wycliffe produced the first English translation of the Scriptures. Manuscript copies of the work had a large circulation, until the government suppressed it. Wycliffe was not molested in life, but the Council of Constance denounced his teaching and ordered that his bones should be dug up, burned, and cast into a stream.

[Illustration: JOHN WYCLIFFE
After an old print.]

THE LOLLARDS

Wycliffe had organized bands of "poor priests" to spread the simple truths of the Bible through all England. They went out, staff in hand and

clad in long, russet gowns, and preached to the common people in the English language, wherever an audience could be found. The Lollards, as Wycliffe's followers were known, not only attacked many beliefs and practices of the Church, but also demanded social reforms. For instance, they declared that all wars were sinful and were but plundering and murdering the poor to win glory for kings. The Lollards had to endure much persecution for heresy. Nevertheless their work lived on and sowed in England and Scotland the seeds of the Reformation.

JOHN HUSS, 1373(?)-1415 A.D.

The doctrines of Wycliffe found favor with Anne of Bohemia, wife of King Richard II, [11] and through her they reached that country. Here they attracted the attention of John Huss, (or Hus) a distinguished scholar in the university of Prague. Wycliffe's writings confirmed Huss in his criticism of many doctrines of the Church. He attacked the clergy in sermons and pamphlets and also objected to the supremacy of the pope. The sentence of excommunication pronounced against him did not shake his reforming zeal. Finally Huss was cited to appear before the Council of Constance, then in session. Relying on the safe conduct given him by the German emperor, Huss appeared before the council, only to be declared guilty of teaching "many things evil, scandalous, seditious, and dangerously heretical." The emperor then violated the safe conduct—no promise made to a heretic was considered binding—and allowed Huss to be burnt outside the walls of Constance. Thus perished the man who, more than all others, is regarded as the forerunner of Luther and the Reformation.

THE HUSSITE WARS

The flames which burned Huss set all Bohemia afire. The Bohemians, a Slavic people, regarded him as a national hero and made his martyrdom an excuse for rebelling against the Holy Roman Empire. The Hussite wars,

which followed, thus formed a political rather than a religious struggle. The Bohemians did not gain freedom, and their country still remains a Hapsburg possession. But the sense of nationalism is not extinct there, and Bohemia may some day become an independent state.

230. MARTIN LUTHER AND THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY, 1517- 1522 A.D.

MARTIN LUTHER, 1483-1546 A.D.

Though there were many reformers before the Reformation, the beginning of that movement is rightly associated with the name of Martin Luther. He was the son of a German peasant, who, by industry and frugality, had won a small competence. Thanks to his father's self-sacrifice, Luther enjoyed a good education in scholastic philosophy at the university of Erfurt. Having taken the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, Luther began to study law, but an acute sense of his sinfulness and a desire to save his soul soon drove him into a monastery. There he read the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers and found at last the peace of mind he sought. A few years later Luther paid a visit to Rome, which opened his eyes to the worldliness and general laxity of life in the capital of the Papacy. He returned to Germany and became a professor of theology in the university of Wittenberg, newly founded by Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. Luther's sermons and lectures attracted large audiences, students began to flock to Wittenberg; and the elector grew proud of the rising young teacher who was making his university famous.

[Illustration: MARTIN LUTHER
After a portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger.]

TETZEL AND INDULGENCES

But Luther was soon to emerge from his academic retirement and to become, quite unintentionally, a reformer. In 1517 A.D. there came into the neighborhood of Wittenberg a Dominican friar named Tetzel, granting indulgences for the erection of the new St. Peter's at Rome. [12] An indulgence, according to the teaching of the Church, formed a remission of the temporal punishment, or penance [13] due to sin, if the sinner had expressed his repentance and had promised to atone for his misdeeds. It was also supposed to free the person who received it from some or all of his punishment after death in Purgatory. [14] Indulgences were granted for participation in crusades, pilgrimages, and other good works. Later on they were granted for money, which was expected to be applied to some pious purpose. Many of the German princes opposed this method of raising funds for the Church, because it took so much money out of their dominions. Their sale had also been condemned on religious grounds by Huss and Erasmus.

POSTING OF THE NINETY-FIVE THESES, 1517 A.D.

Luther began his reforming career by an attack upon indulgences. He did not deny their usefulness altogether, but pointed out that they lent themselves to grave abuses. Common people, who could not understand the Latin in which they were written, often thought that they wiped away the penalties of sin, even without true repentance. These criticisms Luther set forth in ninety-five theses or propositions, which he offered to defend against all opponents. In accordance with the custom of medieval scholars, Luther posted his theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg, where all might see them. They were composed in Latin, but were at once translated into German, printed, and spread broadcast over Germany. Their effect was so great that before long the sale of indulgences in that country almost ceased.

BURNING OF THE PAPAL BULL, 1520 A.D.

The scholarly critic of indulgences soon passed into an open foe of the Papacy. Luther found that his theological views bore a close resemblance to those of Wycliffe and John Huss, yet he refused to give them up as heretical. Instead, he wrote three bold pamphlets, in one of which he appealed to the "Christian nobility of the German nation" to rally together against Rome. The pope, at first, had paid little attention to the controversy about indulgences, declaring it "a mere squabble of monks," but he now issued a bull against Luther, ordering him to recant within sixty days or be excommunicated. The papal bull did not frighten Luther or withdraw from him popular support. He burnt it in the market square of Wittenberg, in the presence of a concourse of students and townsfolk. This dramatic answer to the pope deeply stirred all Germany.

DIET OF WORMS, 1521 A.D.

The next scene of the Reformation was staged at Worms, at an important assembly, or Diet, of the Holy Roman Empire. The Diet summoned Luther to appear before it for examination, and the emperor, Charles V, gave him a safe conduct. Luther's friends, remembering the treatment of Huss, advised him not to accept the summons, but he declared that he would enter Worms "in the face of the gates of Hell and the powers of the air." In the great hall of the Diet Luther bravely faced the princes, nobles, and clergy of Germany. He refused to retract anything he had written, unless his statements could be shown to contradict the Bible. "It is neither right nor safe to act against conscience," Luther said. "God help me. Amen."

LUTHER AT THE WARTBURG, 1521-1522 A.D.

Only one thing remained to do with Luther. He was ordered to return to Wittenberg and there await the imperial edict declaring him a heretic and

outlaw. But the elector of Saxony, who feared for Luther's safety, had him carried off secretly to the castle of Wartburg. Here Luther remained for nearly a year, engaged in translating the New Testament into German. There had been many earlier translations into German, but Luther's was the first from the Greek original. His version, simple, forcible, and easy to understand, enjoyed wide popularity and helped to fix for Germans the form of their literary language. Luther afterwards completed a translation of the entire Bible, which the printing press multiplied in thousands of copies throughout Germany.

LUTHER'S LEADERSHIP

Though still under the ban of the empire, Luther left the Wartburg in 1522 A.D. and returned to Wittenberg. He lived here, unmolested, until his death, twenty-four years later. During this time he flooded the country with pamphlets, wrote innumerable letters, composed many fine hymns, [15] and prepared a catechism, "a right Bible," said he, "for the laity." Thus Luther became the guide and patron of the reformatory movement which he had started.

231. CHARLES V AND THE SPREAD OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION, 1519-1556 A.D.

CHARLES V, EMPEROR, 1519-1556 A.D.

The young man who as Holy Roman Emperor presided at the Diet of Worms had assumed the imperial crown only two years previously. A namesake of Charlemagne, Charles V held sway over dominions even more extensive than those which had belonged to the Frankish king. Through his mother, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, [16] he inherited Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the Spanish possessions in the New World. Through his

father, a son of the emperor Maximilian I, he became ruler of Burgundy and the Netherlands and also succeeded to the Austrian territories of the Hapsburgs. Charles was thus the most powerful monarch in Europe.

CHARLES V AND THE LUTHERANS

Charles, as a devout Roman Catholic, had no sympathy for the Reformation. At Worms, on the day following Luther's refusal to recant, the emperor had expressed his determination to stake "all his dominions, his friends, his body and blood, his life and soul" upon the extinction of the Lutheran heresy. This might have been an easy task, had Charles undertaken it at once. But a revolt in Spain, wars with the French king, Francis I, and conflicts with the Ottoman Turks led to his long absence from Germany and kept him from proceeding effectively against the Lutherans, until it was too late.

[Illustration: Map, EUROPE at the Beginning of the Reformation, 1519 A.D.]

THE "REFORMED RELIGION"

The Reformation in Germany appealed to many classes. To patriotic Germans it seemed a revolt against a foreign power—the Italian Papacy. To men of pious mind it offered the attractions of a simple faith which took the Bible as the rule of life. Worldly-minded princes saw in it an opportunity to despoil the Church of lands and revenues. For these reasons Luther's teachings found ready acceptance. Priests married, Luther himself setting the example, monks left their monasteries, and the "Reformed Religion" took the place of Roman Catholicism in most parts of northern and central Germany. South Germany, however, did not fall away from the pope and has remained Roman Catholic to the present time.

[Illustration: CHARLES V
A portrait of the emperor at the age of 48, by the Venetian painter Titian.]

THE PROTESTANTS, 1529 A.D.

Though Germany had now divided into two religious parties, the legal position of Lutheranism remained for a long time in doubt. A Diet held in 1526 A.D. tried to shelve the question by allowing each German state to conduct its religious affairs as it saw fit. But at the next Diet, three years later, a majority of the assembled princes decided that the Edict of Worms against Luther and his followers should be enforced. The Lutheran princes at once issued a vigorous protest against such action. Because of this protest those who separated from the Roman Church came to be called Protestants.

PEACE OF AUGSBURG, 1555 A.D.

It was not till 1546 A.D., the year of Luther's death, that Charles V felt his hands free to suppress the rising tide of Protestantism. By this time the Lutheran princes had formed a league for mutual protection. Charles brought Spanish troops into Germany and tried to break up the league by force. Civil war raged till 1555 A.D., when both sides agreed to the Peace of Augsburg. It was a compromise. The ruler of each state—Germany then contained over three hundred states—was to decide whether his subjects should be Lutherans or Catholics. Thus the peace by no means established religious toleration, since all Germans had to believe as their prince believed. However, it recognized Lutheranism as a legal religion and ended the attempts to crush the German Reformation.

LUTHERANISM IN SCANDINAVIA

Meanwhile Luther's doctrines spread into Scandinavian lands. The rulers of
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden closed the monasteries and compelled the Roman
Catholic bishops to surrender ecclesiastical property to the crown.
Lutheranism became henceforth the official religion of these three countries.

232. THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND; ZWINGLI AND CALVIN

HULDREICH ZWINGLI, 1484-1531 A.D.

The Reformation in Switzerland began with the work of Zwingli. He was the contemporary but not the disciple of Luther. From his pulpit in the cathedral of Zurich, Zwingli proclaimed the Scriptures as the sole guide of faith and denied the supremacy of the pope. Many of the Swiss cantons accepted his teaching and broke away from obedience to Rome. Civil war soon followed between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and Zwingli fell in the struggle. After his death the two parties made a peace which allowed each canton to determine its own religion. Switzerland has continued to this day to be part Roman Catholic and part Protestant.

JOHN CALVIN 1509-1564 A.D.

The Protestants in Switzerland did not remain long without a leader. To Geneva came in 1536 A.D. a young Frenchman named Calvin. He had just published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a work which set forth in an orderly, logical manner the main principles of Protestant theology. Calvin also translated the Bible into French and wrote valuable commentaries on nearly all the Scriptural books.

CALVIN AT GENEVA

Calvin at Geneva was sometimes called the Protestant pope. During his long residence there he governed the people with a rod of iron. There were no more festivals, no more theaters, no more dancing, music, and masquerades. All the citizens had to attend two sermons on Sunday and to yield at least a lip-assent to the reformer's doctrines. On a few occasions Calvin proceeded to terrible extremities, as when he caused the Spanish physician, Michael Servetus, to be burned to death, because of heretical views concerning the Trinity. Nevertheless, Geneva prospered under Calvin's rule and became a Christian commonwealth, sober and industrious. The city still reveres the memory of the man who founded her university and made her, as it were, the sanctuary of the Reformation.

[Illustration: JOHN CALVIN, after an old print.]

DIFFUSION OF CALVINISM

Calvin's influence was not confined to Geneva or even to Switzerland. The men whom he trained and on whom he set the stamp of his stern, earnest, God-fearing character spread Calvinism over a great part of Europe. In Holland and Scotland it became the prevailing type of Protestantism, and in France and England it deeply affected the national life. During the seventeenth century the Puritans carried Calvinism across the sea to New England, where it formed the dominant faith in colonial times.

233. THE ENGLISH REFORMATION, 1533-1658 A.D.

HENRY VIII, KING, 1509-1547 A.D.

The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland started as a national and popular movement; in England it began as the act of a despotic sovereign, Henry VIII. This second Tudor [17] was handsome, athletic, finely educated, and very able, but he was also selfish, sensual, and cruel. His father had created a strong monarchy in England by humbling both Parliament and the nobles. When Henry VIII came to the throne, the only serious obstacle in the way of royal absolutism was the Roman Church.

[Illustration: HENRY VIII
After a portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger.]

HENRY'S EARLY LOYALTY TO THE PAPACY

Henry showed himself at first a devoted Catholic. He took an amateur's interest in theology and wrote with his own royal pen a book attacking Luther. The pope rewarded him with the title of "Defender of the Faith," a title which English sovereigns still bear. Henry at this time did not question the authority of the Papacy. He even made his chief adviser Cardinal Wolsey, the most conspicuous churchman in the kingdom.

PREPARATION FOR THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

At the beginning of Henry's reign the Church was still strong in England. Probably most of the people were sincerely attached to it. Still, the labors of Wycliffe and the Lollards had weakened the hold of the Church upon the masses, while Erasmus and the Oxford scholars who worked with him, by their criticism of ecclesiastical abuses, had done much to undermine its influence with the intellectual classes. In England, as on the Continent, the worldliness of the Church prepared the way for the Reformation.

HENRY AND CATHERINE OF ARAGON

The actual separation from Rome arose out of Henry's matrimonial difficulties. He had married a Spanish princess, Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of the emperor Charles V and widow of Henry's older brother. The marriage required a dispensation [18] from the pope, because canon law forbade a man to wed his brother's widow. After living happily with Catherine for eighteen years, Henry suddenly announced his conviction that the union was sinful. This, of course, formed simply a pretext for the divorce which Henry desired. Of his children by Catherine only a daughter survived, but Henry wished to have a son succeed him on the throne. Moreover, he had grown tired of Catherine and had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, a pretty maid-in-waiting at the court.

THE DIVORCE, 1533 A.D.

At first Henry tried to secure the pope's consent to the divorce. The pope did not like to set aside the dispensation granted by his predecessor, nor did he wish to offend the mighty emperor Charles V. Failing to get the papal sanction, Henry obtained his divorce from an English court presided over by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Anne Boleyn was then proclaimed queen, in defiance of the papal bull of excommunication.

ACT OF SUPREMACY, 1534 A.D.

Henry's next step was to procure from his subservient Parliament a series of laws which abolished the pope's authority in England. Of these, the most important was the Act of Supremacy. It declared the English king to be "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." At the same time a new treason act imposed the death penalty on anyone who called the king a "heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper." The great majority of the English people seem to have accepted this new legislation without much objection; those who refused to do so perished on the scaffold. The most eminent victim was Sir Thomas More, [19] formerly Henry's Lord

Chancellor and distinguished for eloquence and profound learning. His execution sent a thrill of horror through Christendom.

THE MONASTERIES SUPPRESSED

The suppression of the monasteries soon followed the separation from Rome. Henry declared to Parliament that they deserved to be abolished, because of the "slothful and ungodly lives" led by the inmates. In some instances this accusation may have been true, but the real reason for Henry's action was his desire to crush the monastic orders, which supported the pope, and to seize their extensive possessions. The beautiful monasteries were torn down and the lands attached to them were sold for the benefit of the crown or granted to Henry's favorites. The nobles who accepted this monastic wealth naturally became zealous advocates of Henry's anti-papal policy.

[Illustration: RUINS OF MELROSE ABBEY The little town of Melrose in Scotland contains the ruins of a very beautiful monastery church built about the middle of the fifteenth century. The principal part of the present remains is the choir, with slender shafts, richly-carved capitals, and windows of exquisite stone- tracery. The beautiful sculptures throughout the church were defaced at the time of the Reformation. The heart of Robert Bruce is interred near the site of the high altar.]

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION UNDER EDWARD VI, 1547-1553 A.D.

Though Henry VIII had broken with the Papacy, he remained Roman Catholic in doctrine to the day of his death. Under his successor, Edward VI, the Reformation made rapid progress in England. The young king's guardian allowed reformers from the Continent to come to England, and the doctrines of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were freely preached there. At this time all paintings, statuary, wood carvings, and stained glass were removed

from church edifices. The use of tapers, incense, and holy water was also discontinued. In order that religious services might be conducted in the language of the people, Archbishop Cranmer and his co-workers prepared the *Book of Common Prayer*. It consisted of translations into noble English of various parts of the old Latin service books. With some changes, it is still used in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.

THE CATHOLIC REACTION UNDER MARY TUDOR, 1553-1558 A.D.

The short reign of Mary Tudor, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was marked by a temporary setback to the Protestant cause. The queen prevailed on Parliament to secure a reconciliation with Rome. She also married her Roman Catholic cousin, Philip of Spain, the son of Charles V. Mary now began a severe persecution of the Protestants. It gained for her the epithet of "Bloody," but it did not succeed in stamping out heresy. Many eminent reformers perished, among them Cranmer, the former archbishop. Mary died childless, after ruling about five years, and the crown passed to Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth. Under Elizabeth Anglicanism again replaced Roman Catholicism as the religion of England.

234. THE PROTESTANT SECTS

EXTENT OF PROTESTANTISM

The Reformation was practically completed before the close of the sixteenth century. In 1500 A.D. the Roman Church embraced all Europe west of Russia and the Balkan peninsula. By 1575 A.D. nearly half of its former subjects had renounced their allegiance. The greater part of Germany and Switzerland and all of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, England, and Scotland became independent of the Papacy. The unity of

western Christendom, which had been preserved throughout the Middle Ages, thus disappeared and has not since been revived.

[Illustration: Map, EXTENT OF THE REFORMATION, 1524-1572 A.D.]

COMMON FEATURES OF PROTESTANTISM

The reformers agreed in substituting for the authority of popes and church councils the authority of the Bible. They went back fifteen hundred years to the time of the Apostles and tried to restore what they believed to be Apostolic Christianity. Hence they rejected such doctrines and practices as were supposed to have developed during the Middle Ages. The Reformation also abolished the monastic system and priestly celibacy. The sharp distinction between clergy and laity disappeared, for priests married, lived among the people, and no longer formed a separate class. In general, Protestantism affirmed the ability of every man to find salvation without the aid of ecclesiastics. The Church was no longer the only "gate of heaven."

[Illustration: CHAINED BIBLE
In the church of St. Crux, York.]

DIVISIONS AMONG PROTESTANTS

But the Protestant idea of authority led inevitably to differences of opinion among the reformers. There were various ways of interpreting that Bible to which they appealed as the rule of faith and conduct. Consequently, Protestantism split up into many sects or denominations, and these have gone on multiplying to the present day. Nearly all, however, are offshoots from the three main varieties of Protestantism which appeared in the sixteenth century.

LUTHERANISM AND ANGLICANISM

Lutheranism and Anglicanism presented some features in common. Both were state churches, supported by the government; both had a book of common prayer; and both recognized the sacraments of baptism, the eucharist, and confirmation. The Church of England also kept the sacrament of ordination. The Lutheran churches in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as well as the Church of England, likewise retained the episcopate.

CALVINISM

Calvinism departed much more widely from Roman Catholicism. It did away with the episcopate and had only one order of clergy—the presbyters. [20] It provided for a very simple form of worship. In a Calvinistic church the service consisted of Bible reading, a sermon, extemporaneous prayers, and hymns sung by the congregation. The Calvinists kept only two sacraments, baptism and the eucharist. They regarded the first, however, as a simple undertaking to bring up the child in a Christian manner, and the second as merely a commemoration of the Last Supper.

THE REFORMATION AND FREEDOM

The break with Rome did not introduce religious liberty into Europe. Nothing was further from the minds of Luther, Calvin, and other reformers than the toleration of Reformation beliefs unlike their own. The early Protestant sects punished dissenters as zealously as the Roman Church punished heretics. Lutherans burned the followers of Zwingli in Germany, Calvin put Servetus to death, and the English government, in the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, executed many Roman Catholics. Complete freedom of conscience and the right of private judgment in religion have been secured in most European countries only within the last hundred years.

THE REFORMATION AND MORALS

The Reformation, however, did deepen the moral life of European peoples. The faithful Protestant or Roman Catholic vied with his neighbor in trying to show that his particular belief made for better living than any other. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in consequence, were more earnest and serious, if also more bigoted, than the centuries of the Renaissance.

235. THE CATHOLIC COUNTER REFORMATION

THE REFORMING POPES

The rapid spread of Protestantism soon brought about a Catholic Counter Reformation in those parts of Europe which remained faithful to Rome. The popes now turned from the cultivation of Renaissance art and literature to the defense of their threatened faith. They made needed changes in the papal court and appointed to ecclesiastical offices men distinguished for virtue and learning. This reform of the Papacy dates from the time of Paul III, who became pope in 1534 A.D. He opened the college of cardinals to Roman Catholic reformers, even offering a seat in it to Erasmus. Still more important was his support of the famous Society of Jesus, which had been established in the year of his accession to the papal throne.

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA, 1491-1556 A.D.

The founder of the new society was a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius Loyola. He had seen a good deal of service in the wars of Charles V against the French. While in a hospital recovering from a wound Loyola read devotional books, and these produced a profound change within him. He now decided to abandon the career of arms and to become, instead, the knight of Christ. So Loyola donned a beggar's robe, practiced all the kinds of asceticism which his books described, and went on a pilgrimage to

Jerusalem. The turning-point of his career came with his visit to Paris to study theology. Here Loyola met the six devout and talented men who became the first members of his society. They intended to work as missionaries among the Moslems, but, when this plan fell through, they visited Rome and placed their energy and enthusiasm at the disposal of the pope.

[Illustration: ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA]

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Loyola's military training deeply affected the character of the new order. The Jesuits, as their Protestant opponents styled them, were to be an army of spiritual soldiers, living under the strictest obedience to their head, or general. Like soldiers, again, they were to remain in the world, and there fight manfully for the Church and against heretics. The society grew rapidly; before Loyola's death it included over a thousand members; and in the seventeenth century it became the most influential of all the religious orders. [21] The activity of the Jesuits as preachers, confessors, teachers, and missionaries did much to roll back the rising tide of Protestantism in Europe.

JESUIT SCHOOLS

The Jesuits gave special attention to education, for they realized the importance of winning over the young people to the Church. Their schools were so good that even Protestant children often attended them. The popularity of Jesuit teachers arose partly from the fact that they always tried to lead, not drive their pupils. Light punishments, short lessons, many holidays, and a liberal use of prizes and other distinctions formed some of the attractive features of their system of training. It is not surprising that the

Jesuits became the instructors of the Roman Catholic world. They called their colleges the "fortresses of the faith."

JESUIT MISSIONS

The missions of the Jesuits were not less important than their schools. The Jesuits worked in Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and other countries where Protestantism threatened to become dominant. Then they invaded all the lands which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. In India, China, the East Indies, Japan, the Philippines, Africa, and the two Americas their converts from heathenism were numbered by hundreds of thousands.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, 1506-1552 A.D.

The most eminent of all Jesuit missionaries, St. Francis Xavier, had belonged to Loyola's original band. He was a little, blue-eyed man, an engaging preacher, an excellent organizer, and possessed of so attractive a personality that even the ruffians and pirates with whom he had to associate on his voyages became his friends. Xavier labored with such devotion and success in the Portuguese colonies of the Far East as to gain the title of "Apostle to the Indies." He also introduced Christianity in Japan, where it flourished until a persecuting emperor extinguished it with fire and sword.

COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1545-1563 A.D.

Another agency in the Counter Reformation was the great Church Council summoned by Pope Paul III. The council met at Trent, on the borders of Germany and Italy. It continued, with intermissions, for nearly twenty years. The Protestants, though invited to participate, did not attend, and hence nothing could be done to bring them back within the Roman

Catholic fold. This was the last general council of the Church for over three hundred years. [22]

WORK OF THE COUNCIL

The Council of Trent made no essential changes in the Roman Catholic doctrines, which remained as St. Thomas Aquinas [23] and other theologians had set them forth in the Middle Ages. In opposition to the Protestant view, it declared that the tradition of the Church possessed equal authority with the Bible. It reaffirmed the supremacy of the pope over Christendom. The council also passed important decrees forbidding the sale of ecclesiastical offices and requiring bishops and other prelates to attend strictly to their duties. Since the Council of Trent the Roman Church has been distinctly a religious organization, instead of both a secular and religious body, as was the Church in the Middle Ages. [24]

THE INDEX

The council, before adjourning, authorized the pope to draw up a list, or Index, of works which Roman Catholics might not read. This action did not form an innovation. The Church from an early day had condemned and destroyed heretical writings. However, the invention of printing, by giving greater currency to new and dangerous ideas, increased the necessity for the regulation of thought. The "Index of Prohibited Books" still exists, and additions to the list are made from time to time. It was matched by the strict censorship of printing long maintained in Protestant countries.

THE INQUISITION

Still another agency of the Counter Reformation consisted of the Inquisition. This was a system of church courts for the discovery and punishment of heretics. Such courts had been set up in the Middle Ages, for

instance, to suppress the Albigensian heresy. After the Council of Trent they redoubled their activity, especially in Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain.

INFLUENCE OF THE INQUISITION

The Inquisition probably contributed to the disappearance of Protestantism in Italy. In the Netherlands, where it worked with great severity, it only aroused exasperation and hatred and helped to provoke a successful revolt of the Dutch people. The Spaniards, on the other hand, approved of the methods of the Inquisition and welcomed its extermination of Moors and Jews, as well as Protestant heretics. The Spanish Inquisition was not abolished till the nineteenth century.

236. SPAIN UNDER PHILIP II, 1556-1598 A.D.

ABDICATION OF CHARLES V, 1555-1556 A.D.

In 1555 A.D., the year of the Peace of Augsburg, [25] Charles V determined to abdicate his many crowns and seek the repose of a monastery. The plan was duly carried into effect. His brother Ferdinand I succeeded to the title of Holy Roman Emperor and the Austrian territories, while his son, Philip II, [26] received the Spanish possessions in Italy, the Netherlands, and America. There were now two branches of the Hapsburg family—one in Austria and one in Spain.

PHILIP II

The new king of Spain was a man of unflagging energy, strong will, and deep attachment to the Roman Church. As a ruler he had two great ideals: to make Spain the foremost state in the world and to secure the triumph of the Roman Catholic faith over Protestantism. His efforts to realize these ideals

largely determined European history during the second half of the sixteenth century.

[Illustration: PHILIP II
After the portrait by Titian.]

BATTLE OF LEPANTO, 1571 A.D.

The Spanish monarch won renown by becoming the champion of Christendom against the Ottoman Turks. At this time the Turks had a strong navy, by means of which they captured Cyprus from the Venetians and ravaged Sicily and southern Italy. Grave danger existed that they would soon control all the Mediterranean. To stay their further progress one of the popes preached what was really the last crusade. The fleets of Genoa and Venice united with those of Spain and under Don John of Austria, Philip's half- brother, totally defeated the Turkish squadron in the gulf of Lepanto, off the western coast of Greece. The battle gave a blow to the sea-power of the Turks from which they never recovered and ended their aggressive warfare in the Mediterranean. Lepanto is one of the proud names in the history of Spain.

ANNEXATION OF PORTUGAL, 1581 A.D.

Philip had inherited an extensive realm. He further widened it by the annexation of Portugal, thus completing the unification of the Spanish peninsula. The Portuguese colonies in Africa, Asia, and America also passed into Spanish hands. The union of Spain and Portugal under one crown never commanded any affection among the Portuguese, who were proud of their nationality and of their achievements as explorers and empire- builders. Portugal separated from Spain in 1640 A.D. and has since remained an independent state.

[Illustration: THE ESCORIAL This remarkable edifice, at once a convent, a church, a palace, and a royal mausoleum, is situated in a sterile and gloomy wilderness about twenty-seven miles from Madrid. It was begun by Philip II in 1563 A.D. and was completed twenty-one years later. The Escorial is dedicated to St. Lawrence, that saint's day (August 10, 1557) being the day when the Spanish king won a great victory over the French at the battle of St. Quentin. The huge dimensions of the Escorial may be inferred from the fact that it includes eighty-six staircases, eighty-nine fountains, fifteen cloisters, 1,200 doors, 2,600 windows, and miles of corridors. The building material is a granite-like stone obtained in the neighborhood. The Escorial contains a library of rare books and manuscripts and a collection of valuable paintings. In the royal mausoleum under the altar of the church lie the remains of Charles V, Philip II, and many of their successors.]

PHILIP'S FAILURES

But the successes of Philip were more than offset by his failures. Though he had vast possessions, enormous revenues, mighty fleets, and armies reputed the best of the age, he could not dominate western Europe. His attempt to conquer England, a stronghold of Protestantism under Elizabeth, resulted in disaster. Not less disastrous was his life-long struggle with the Netherlands.

237. REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

THE NETHERLANDS

The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands occupied the flat, low country along the North Sea—the Holland, Belgium, and northern France of the present day. During the fifteenth century they became Hapsburg

possessions and thus belonged to the Holy Roman Empire. As we have learned, Charles V received them as a part of his inheritance, and he, in turn, transmitted them to Philip II.

CONDITION OF THE NETHERLANDS

The inhabitants of the Netherlands were not racially united. In the southernmost provinces Celtic blood and Romance speech prevailed, while farther north dwelt peoples of Teutonic extraction, who spoke Flemish and Dutch. Each province likewise kept its own government and customs. The prosperity which had marked the Flemish cities during the Middle Ages [27] extended in the sixteenth century to the Dutch cities also. Rotterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, and Amsterdam profited by the geographical discoveries and became centers of extensive commerce with Asia and America. The rise of the Dutch power, in a country so exposed to destructive inundations of both sea and rivers, is a striking instance of what can be accomplished by a frugal, industrious population.

PROTESTANTISM IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands were too near Germany not to be affected by the Reformation. Lutheranism soon appeared there, only to encounter the hostility of Charles V, who introduced the terrors of the Inquisition. Many heretics were burned at the stake, or beheaded, or buried alive. But there is no seed like martyr's blood. The number of Protestants swelled, rather than lessened, especially after Calvinism entered the Netherlands. As a Jesuit historian remarked, "Nor did the Rhine from Germany or the Meuse from France send more water into the Low Countries than by the one the contagion of Luther, and by the other that of Calvin, were imported into these provinces."

POLICY OF PHILIP II

In spite of the cruel treatment of heretics by Charles V, both Flemish and Dutch remained loyal to the emperor, because he had been born and reared among them and always considered their country as his own. But Philip II, a Spaniard by birth and sympathies, seemed to them only a foreign master. The new ruler did nothing to conciliate the people. He never visited the Netherlands after 1559 A.D., but governed them despotically through Spanish officials supported by Spanish garrisons. Arbitrary taxes were levied, cities and nobles were deprived of their cherished privileges, and the activity of the Inquisition was redoubled. Philip intended to exercise in the Netherlands the same absolute power which he enjoyed in Spain.

ALVA SENT TO THE NETHERLANDS, 1567 A.D.

The religious persecution which by Philip's orders raged through the Netherlands everywhere aroused intense indignation. The result was rioting by mobs of Protestants, who wrecked churches and monasteries and carried off the treasure they found in them. Philip replied to these acts by sending his best army, under the duke of Alva, his best general, to reduce the turbulent provinces into submission.

OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLT

Alva carried out with thoroughness the policy of his royal master. A tribunal, popularly known as the "Council of Blood," was set up for the punishment of treason and heresy. Hundreds, and probably thousands, perished; tens of thousands fled to Germany and England. Alva, as governor-general, also raised enormous taxes, which threatened to destroy the trade and manufactures of the Netherlands. Under these circumstances Roman Catholics and Protestants, nobles and townsfolk, united against their Spanish oppressors. A revolt began which Spain could never quell.

WILLIAM THE SILENT, 1533-1584 A.D.

The Netherlands found a leader in William, Prince of Orange, later known as William the Silent, because of his customary discreetness. He was of German birth, a convert to Protestantism, and the owner of large estates in the Netherlands. William had fair ability as a general, a statesmanlike grasp of the situation, and above all a stout, courageous heart which never wavered in moments of danger and defeat. To rescue the Netherlands from Spain he sacrificed his high position, his wealth, and eventually his life.

[Illustration: WILLIAM THE SILENT]

SEPARATION OF THE NETHERLANDS

The ten southern provinces of the Netherlands, mainly Roman Catholic in population, soon effected a reconciliation with Philip and returned to their allegiance. They remained in Hapsburg hands for over two centuries. Modern Belgium has grown out of them. The seven northern provinces, where Dutch was the language and Protestantism the religion, formed in 1579 A.D. the Union of Utrecht. Two years later they declared their independence of Spain. Thus the republic of the United Netherlands, often known as Holland, the most important of the seven provinces, came into being.

[Illustration: Map, THE NETHERLANDS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY]

COURSE OF THE REVOLT

The struggle of the Dutch for freedom forms one of the most notable episodes in history. At first they were no match for the disciplined Spanish soldiery, but they fought bravely behind the walls of their cities and on more than one occasion repelled the enemy by cutting the dikes and letting in the sea. Though William the Silent perished in a dark hour by an

assassin's bullet, the contest continued. England now came to the aid of the hard-pressed republic with money and a small army. Philip turned upon his new antagonist and sent against England the great fleet called the "Invincible Armada." Its destruction interfered with further attempts to subjugate the Dutch, but the Spanish monarch, stubborn to the last, refused to acknowledge their independence. His successor, in 1609 A.D., consented to a twelve years' truce with the revolted provinces. Their freedom was recognized officially by Spain at the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 A.D.

THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

The long struggle bound the Dutch together and made them one nation. During the seventeenth century they took a prominent part in European affairs. The republic which they founded ought to be of special interest to Americans, for many features of our national government are Dutch in origin. To Holland we owe the idea of a declaration of independence, of a written constitution, of religious toleration, and of a comprehensive school system supported by taxation. In these and other matters the Dutch were pioneers of modern democracy.

238. ENGLAND UNDER ELIZABETH, 1558-1603 A.D.

ELIZABETH

Queen Elizabeth, who reigned over England during the period of the Dutch revolt, came to the throne when about twenty-five years old. She was tall and commanding in presence and endowed with great physical vigor and endurance. After hunting all day or dancing all night she could still attend unremittingly to public business. Elizabeth had received an excellent education; she spoke Latin and several modern languages; knew a little

Greek; and displayed some skill in music. To her father, Henry VIII, she doubtless owed her tactfulness and charm of manner, as well as her imperious will; she resembled her mother, Anne Boleyn, in her vanity and love of display. As a ruler Elizabeth was shrewd, far-sighted, a good judge of character, and willing to be guided by the able counselors who surrounded her. Above all, Elizabeth was an ardent patriot. She understood and loved her people, and they, in turn, felt a chivalrous devotion to the "Virgin Queen," to "Good Queen Bess".

PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND

The daughter of Anne Boleyn had been born under the ban of the pope, so that opposition to Rome was the natural course for her to pursue. Two acts of Parliament now separated England once more from the Papacy and gave the English Church practically the form and doctrines which it retains to-day. The church was intended to include everyone in England, and hence all persons were required to attend religious exercises on Sundays and holy days. Refusal to do so exposed the offender to a fine.

[Illustration: ELIZABETH]

TREATMENT OF ROMAN CATHOLICS

The great body of the people soon conformed to the state church, but Roman Catholics could not conscientiously attend its services. The laws against them do not seem to have been strictly enforced at first, but in the later years of Elizabeth's reign real or suspected plots by Roman Catholics against her throne led to a policy of repression. Those who said or heard mass were heavily fined and imprisoned; those who brought papal bulls into England or converted Protestants to Roman Catholicism were executed as traitors. Several hundred priests, mostly Jesuits, suffered death, and many

more languished in jail. This persecution, however necessary it may have seemed to Elizabeth and her advisers, is a blot on her reign.

PROTESTANTISM IN IRELAND

The Reformation made little progress in Ireland. Henry VIII, who had extended English sway over most of the island, suppressed the monasteries, demolished shrines, relics, and images, and placed English-speaking priests in charge of the churches. The Irish people, who remained loyal to Rome, regarded these measures as the tyrannical acts of a foreign government. During Elizabeth's reign there were several dangerous revolts, which her generals suppressed with great cruelty. The result was to widen the breach between England and Ireland. Henceforth to most Irishmen patriotism became identified with Roman Catholicism.

[Illustration: SILVER CROWN OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN]

ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Many of the plots against Elizabeth centered about Mary Stuart, the ill-starred Queen of Scots. She was a granddaughter of Henry VII, and extreme Roman Catholics claimed that she had a better right to the English throne than Elizabeth, because the pope had declared the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn null and void. Mary, a fervent Roman Catholic, did not please her Scotch subjects, who had adopted Calvinistic doctrines. She also discredited herself by marrying the man who had murdered her former husband. An uprising of the Scottish nobles compelled Mary to abdicate the throne in favor of her infant son [28] and to take refuge in England. Elizabeth kept her rival in captivity for nearly twenty years. In 1586 A.D., the former queen was found guilty of conspiring against Elizabeth's life and was beheaded.

[Illustration: Map, WESTERN EUROPE IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH]

[Illustration: LONDON BRIDGE IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH The old structure was completed early in the thirteenth century. It measured 924 feet in length and had 20 narrow arches. Note the rows of houses and shops on the bridge, the chapel in the center and the gate above which the heads of traitors were exhibited on pikes. The present London Bridge was completed in 1831 A.D.]

ELIZABETH AND PHILIP II

Philip II, the king of Spain, also threatened Elizabeth's security. At the outset of her reign Philip had made her an offer of marriage, but she refused to give herself, or England, a Spanish master. As time went on, Philip turned into an open enemy of the Protestant queen and did his best to stir up sedition among her Roman Catholic subjects. It must be admitted that Philip could plead strong justification for his attitude. Elizabeth allowed the English "sea dogs" [29] to plunder Spanish colonies and seize Spanish vessels laden with the treasure of the New World. Moreover, she aided the rebellious Dutch, at first secretly and at length openly, in their struggle against Spain. Philip put up with these aggressions for many years, but finally came to the conclusion that he could never subdue the Netherlands or end the piracy and smuggling in Spanish America without first conquering England. The execution of Mary Stuart removed his last doubts, for Mary had left him her claims to the English throne. He at once made ready to invade England. Philip seems to have believed that as soon as a Spanish army landed in the island, the Roman Catholics would rally to his cause. But the Spanish king never had a chance to verify his belief; the decisive battle took place on the sea.

THE "INVINCIBLE ARMADA," 1588 A.D.

Philip had not completed his preparations before Sir Francis Drake sailed into Cadiz harbor and destroyed a vast amount of naval stores and shipping. This exploit, which Drake called "singeing the king of Spain's beard," delayed the expedition for a year. The "Invincible Armada" [30] set out at last in 1588 A.D. The Spanish vessels, though somewhat larger than those of the English, were inferior in number, speed, and gunnery to their adversaries, while the Spanish officers, mostly unused to the sea, were no match for men like Drake, Frobisher, and Raleigh, the best mariners of the age. The Armada suffered severely in a nine-days fight in the Channel, and many vessels which escaped the English guns met shipwreck off the Scotch and Irish coasts. Less than half of the Armada returned in safety to Spain.

[Illustration: THE SPANISH ARMADA IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL. After an engraving by the Society of Antiquarians following a tapestry in the House of Lords.]

ENGLISH SEA-POWER

England in the later Middle Ages had been an important naval power, as her ability to carry on the Hundred Years' War in France amply proved. But in the sixteenth century she was greatly over-matched by Spain, especially after the annexation of Portugal added the naval forces of that country to the Spanish fleets. The defeat of the Armada not only did great harm to the navy and commerce of Spain; it also showed that a new people had arisen to claim the supremacy of the ocean. Henceforth the English began to build up what was to be a sea-power greater than any other known to history.

239. THE HUGUENOT WARS IN FRANCE

FRANCE UNDER FRANCIS I, 1515-1547 A.D.

By 1500 A.D. France had become a centralized state under a strong monarchy. [31] Francis I, who reigned in the first half of the sixteenth century, still further exalted the royal power. He had many wars with Charles V, whose extensive dominions nearly surrounded the French kingdom. These wars prevented the emperor from making France a mere dependency of Spain. As we have learned, [32] they also interfered with the efforts of Charles V to crush the Protestants in Germany.

THE HUGUENOTS

Protestantism in France dates from the time of Francis I. The Huguenots, [33] as the French Protestants were called, naturally accepted the doctrines of Calvin, who was himself a Frenchman and whose books were written in the French language. Though bitterly persecuted by Francis I and by his son Henry II (1547-1559 A.D.), the Huguenots gained a large following, especially among the prosperous middle class of the towns—the *bourgeoisie*. Many nobles also became Huguenots, sometimes because of religious conviction, but often because the new movement offered them an opportunity to recover their feudal independence and to plunder the estates of the Church. In France, as well as in Germany, the Reformation had its worldly side.

CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

During most of the second half of the sixteenth century fierce conflicts raged in France between the Roman Catholics and the Huguenots. Philip II aided the former and Queen Elizabeth gave some assistance to the latter. France suffered terribly in the struggle, not only from the constant fighting, which cost the lives, it is said, of more than a million people, but also from the pillage, burnings, and other barbarities in which both sides indulged. The wealth and prosperity of the country visibly declined, and all patriotic feeling disappeared in the hatreds engendered by a civil war.

MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY, 1572 A.D.

The episode known as the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day illustrates the extremes to which political ambition and religious bigotry could lead. The massacre was an attempt to extirpate the Huguenots, root and branch, at a time when peace prevailed between them and their opponents. The person primarily responsible for it was Catherine de' Medici, mother of Charles IX (1560-1574 A.D.), the youthful king of France. Charles had begun to cast off the sway of his mother and to come under the influence of Admiral de Coligny, the most eminent of the Huguenots. To regain her power Catherine first tried to have Coligny murdered. When the plot failed, she invented the story of a great Huguenot uprising and induced her weak-minded son to authorize a wholesale butchery of Huguenots. It began in Paris in the early morning of August 24, 1572 A.D. (St. Bartholomew's Day), and extended to the provinces, where it continued for several weeks. Probably ten thousand Huguenots were slain, including Coligny himself. But the deed was a blunder as well as a crime. The Huguenots took up arms to defend themselves, and France again experienced all the horrors of internecine strife.

HENRY IV

The death of Coligny transferred the leadership of the Huguenots to Henry Bourbon, king of Navarre. [34] Seventeen years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, he inherited the French crown as Henry IV. The Roman Catholics would not accept a Protestant ruler and continued the conflict. Henry soon realized that only his conversion to the faith of the majority of his subjects would bring a lasting peace. Religious opinions had always sat lightly upon him, and he found no great difficulty in becoming a Roman Catholic. "Paris," said Henry, "was well worth a mass." Opposition to the king soon collapsed, and the Huguenot wars came to an end.

EDICT OF NANTES, 1598 A.D.

Though now a Roman Catholic, Henry did not break with the Huguenots. In 1598 A.D. he issued in their interest the celebrated Edict of Nantes. By its terms the Huguenots were to enjoy freedom of private worship everywhere in France, and freedom to worship publicly in a large number of villages and towns. Only Roman Catholic services, however, might be held in Paris and at the royal court. Though the edict did not grant complete religious liberty, it marked an important step in that direction. A great European state now for the first time recognized the principle that two rival faiths might exist side by side within its borders. The edict was thus the most important act of toleration since the age of Constantine. [35]

FRANCE UNDER HENRY IV, 1588-1610 A.D.

Having settled the religious difficulties, Henry could take up the work of restoring prosperity to distracted France. His interest in the welfare of his subjects gained for him the name of "Good King Henry." With the help of Sully, his chief minister, the king reformed the finances and extinguished the public debt. He opened roads, built bridges, and dug canals, thus aiding the restoration of agriculture. He also encouraged commerce by means of royal bounties for shipbuilding. The French at this time began to have a navy and to compete with the Dutch and English for trade on the high seas. Henry's work of renovation was cut short in 1610 A.D. by an assassin's dagger. Under his son Louis XIII (1610-1643 A.D.), a long period of disorder followed, until an able minister, Cardinal Richelieu, assumed the guidance of public affairs. Richelieu for many years was the real ruler of France. His foreign policy led to the intervention of that country in the international conflict known as the Thirty Years' War.

[Illustration: CARDINAL RICHELIEU (Louvre, Paris.)
After the portrait by the Belgian artist, Philippe de Champaigne.]

240. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1618-1648 A.D.

RELIGIOUS ANTAGONISMS

The Peace of Augsburg [36] gave repose to Germany for more than sixty years, but it did not form a complete settlement of the religious question in that country. There was still room for bitter disputes, especially over the ownership of Church property which had been secularized in the course of the Reformation. Furthermore, the peace recognized only Roman Catholics and Lutherans and gave no rights whatever to the large body of Calvinists. The failure of Lutherans and Calvinists to cooperate weakened German Protestantism just at the period when the Counter Reformation inspired Roman Catholicism with fresh energy and enthusiasm.

POLITICAL FRICTION

Politics, as well as religion, also helped to bring about the great conflagration. The Roman Catholic party relied for support on the Hapsburg emperors, who wished to unite the German states under their control, thus restoring the Holy Roman Empire to its former proud position in the affairs of Europe. The Protestant princes, on the other hand, wanted to become independent sovereigns. Hence they resented all efforts to extend the imperial authority over them.

THE BOHEMIAN REVOLT

The Thirty Years' War was not so much a single conflict as a series of conflicts, which ultimately involved nearly all western Europe. It began in Bohemia, where Protestantism had not been extinguished by the Hussite wars. [37] The Bohemian nobles, many of whom were Calvinists, revolted against Hapsburg rule and proclaimed the independence of Bohemia. The German Lutherans gave them no aid, however, and the emperor, Ferdinand

II, easily put down the insurrection. Many thousands of Protestants were now driven into exile. Those who remained in Bohemia were obliged to accept Roman Catholicism. Thus one more country was lost to Protestantism.

DANISH INTERVENTION

The failure of the Bohemian revolt aroused the greatest alarm in Germany.
Ferdinand threatened to follow in the footsteps of Charles V and to crush Protestantism in the land of its birth. When, therefore, the king of Denmark, who as duke of Holstein had great interest in German affairs, decided to intervene, both Lutherans and Calvinists supported him. But Wallenstein, the emperor's able general, proved more than a match for the Danish king, who at length withdrew from the contest.

EDICT OF RESTITUTION, 1692 A.D.

So far the Roman Catholic and imperial party had triumphed. Ferdinand's success led him to issue the Edict of Restitution, which compelled the Protestants to restore all the Church property which they had taken since the Peace of Augsburg. The enforcement of the edict brought about renewed resistance on the part of the Protestants.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND THE INTERVENTION OF SWEDEN

There now appeared the single heroic figure on the stage of the Thirty Years' War. This was Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and a man of military genius. He had the deepest sympathy for his fellow-Protestants in Germany and regarded himself as their divinely appointed deliverer. By taking part in the war Gustavus also hoped to conquer the coast of northern Germany. The Baltic would then become a Swedish lake, for Sweden

already possessed Finland and what are now the Russian provinces on the Baltic.

[Illustration: GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS
After the portrait by the Flemish artist, Sir Anthony Van Dyck.]

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN GERMANY, 1630-1632 A.D.

Gustavus entered Germany with a strong force of disciplined soldiers and tried to form alliances with the Protestant princes. They received him coolly at first, for the Swedish king seemed to them only a foreign invader. Just at this time the imperialists captured Magdeburg, the largest and most prosperous city in northern Germany. At least twenty thousand of the inhabitants perished miserably amid the smoking ruins of their homes. This massacre turned Protestant sentiment toward Gustavus as the "Lion of the North" who had come to preserve Germany from destruction. With the help of his allies Gustavus reconquered most of Germany for the Protestants, but he fell at the battle of Lützen in the moment of victory. His work, however, was done. The Swedish king had saved the cause of Protestantism in Germany.

RICHELIEU AND THE INTERVENTION OF FRANCE

After the death of Gustavus the war assumed more and more a political character. The German Protestants found an ally, strangely enough, in Cardinal Richelieu, the all-powerful minister of the French king. Richelieu entered the struggle in order to humble the Austrian Hapsburgs and extend the boundaries of France toward the Rhine, at the expense of the Holy Roman Empire. Since the Spanish Hapsburgs were aiding their Austrian kinsmen, Richelieu naturally fought against Spain also. The war thus became a great international conflict in which religion played only a minor

part. The Holy Roman Emperor had to yield at last and consented to the treaties of peace signed at two cities in the province of Westphalia.

[Illustration: Map, EUROPE at the End of the Thirty Years' War, 1648 A.D.]

PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, 1648 A.D.

The Peace of Westphalia ended the long series of wars which followed the Reformation. It practically settled the religious question, for it allowed Calvinists in Germany to enjoy the same privileges as Lutherans and also withdrew the Edict of Restitution. Nothing was said in the treaties about liberty of conscience, but from this time the idea that religious differences should be settled by force gradually passed away from the minds of men.

TERRITORIAL READJUSTMENTS

The political clauses of the peace were numerous. France received nearly all of Alsace along the Rhine. Sweden gained possessions in North Germany. Brandenburg—the future kingdom of Prussia—secured additional territory on the Baltic Sea. The independence of Switzerland [38] and of the United Netherlands [39] was also recognized.

DISRUPTION OF GERMANY

The Peace of Westphalia left Germany more divided than ever. Each one of the larger states was free to coin money, raise armies, make war, and negotiate treaties without consulting the emperor. In fact, the Holy Roman Empire had become a mere phantom. The Hapsburgs from now on devoted themselves to their Austrian dominions, which included more Magyars and Slavs than Germans. The failure of the Hapsburgs in the Thirty Years' War long postponed the unification of Germany.

EXHAUSTION OF GERMANY

During the Thirty Years' War Germany had seen most of the fighting. She suffered from it to the point of exhaustion. The population dwindled from about sixteen million to one-half, or, as some believe, to one-third that number. The loss of life was partly due to the fearful epidemics, such as typhus fever and the bubonic plague, which spread over the land in the wake of the invading armies. Hundreds of villages were destroyed or were abandoned by their inhabitants. Much of the soil went out of cultivation, while trade and manufacturing nearly disappeared. Added to all this was the decline of education, literature, and art, and the brutalizing of the people in mind and morals. It took Germany at least one hundred years to recover from the injury inflicted by the Thirty Years' War; complete recovery, indeed, came only in the nineteenth century.

RISE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The savagery displayed by all participants in the Thirty Years' War could not but impress thinking men with the necessity of formulating rules to protect noncombatants, to care for prisoners, and to do away with pillage and massacre. The worst horrors of the war had not taken place, before a Dutch jurist, named Hugo Grotius, published at Paris in 1625 A.D. a work *On the Laws of War and Peace*. It may be said to have founded international law. The success of the book was remarkable. Gustavus Adolphus carried a copy about with him during his campaigns, and its leading doctrines were recognized and acted upon in the Peace of Westphalia.

THE EUROPEAN STATE SYSTEM

The great principle on which Grotius based his recommendations was the independence of sovereign states. He gave up the medieval conception of a

temporal and spiritual head of Christendom. The nations now recognized no common superior, whether emperor or pope, but all were equal in the sight of international law. The book of Grotius thus marked the profound change which had come over Europe since the Middle Ages.

STUDIES

1. On an outline map indicate the European countries ruled by Charles V.

2. On an outline map indicate the principal territorial changes made by the Peace of Westphalia.

3. Identify the following dates: 1648 A.D.; 1519 A.D.; 1517 A.D.; 1588 A.D.; 1598 A.D.; and 1555 A.D.

4. Locate the following places: Avignon; Constance; Augsburg; Zurich; Worms; Magdeburg; and Utrecht.

5. For what were the following persons noted: Cardinal Wolsey; Admiral de Coligny; Duke of Alva; Richelieu; St. Ignatius Loyola; Boniface VIII; Frederick the Wise; Gustavus Adolphus; and Mary Queen of Scots?

6. Compare the scene at Anagni with the scene at Canossa.

7. On the map, page 646, trace the geographical extent of the "Great Schism."

8. Name three important reasons for the lessened influence of the Roman Church at the opening of the sixteenth century.

9. Explain the difference between heresy and schism.

10. Why has Wycliffe been called the "morning star of the Reformation"?

11. Compare Luther's work in fixing the form of the German language with Dante's service to Italian through the *Divine Comedy*.

12. What is the origin of the name "Protestant"?

13. Why was Mary naturally a Catholic and Elizabeth naturally a Protestant?

14. On the map, page 663, trace the geographical extent of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

15. Why did the reformers in each country take special pains to translate the Bible into the vernacular?

16. What is the chief difference in mode of government between Presbyterian and Congregational churches?

17. "The heroes of the Reformation, judged by modern standards, were reactionaries." What does this statement mean?

18. Why is the Council of Trent generally considered the most important church council since that of Nicaea?

19. Mention some differences between the Society of Jesus and earlier monastic orders.

20. Compare the Edict of Nantes with the Peace of Augsburg.

21. Show how political, as well as religious, motives affected the revolt of the Netherlands, the Huguenot wars, and the Thirty Years' War.

22. Compare the effects of the Thirty Years' War on Germany with the effects of the Hundred Years' War on France.

23. What would you say of Holbein's success as a portrait painter (illustrations pages 651, 658)?

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxiii, "Martin Luther and the Beginning of the Reformation"; chapter xxiv, "England in the Age of Elizabeth."

[2] See page 514.

[3] See page 591.

[4] *Purgatorio*, xx, 88-90.

[5] See pages 36-37.

[6] See page 594.

[7] See page 600.

[8] See page 344.

[9] See page 641.

[10] See page 468.

[11] See page 611.

[12] See page 455.

[13] See page 441.

[14] See page 443.

[15] His hymn *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ("A mighty fortress is our God") has been called "the Marseillaise of the Reformation."

[16] See page 527.

[17] See page 518.

[18] See page 453.

[19] See page 613.

[20] Churches governed by assemblies of presbyters were called Presbyterian; those which allowed each congregation to rule itself were called Congregational.

[21] In 1773 A.D. the pope suppressed the society, on the ground that it had outgrown its usefulness. It was revived in many European countries during the nineteenth century.

[22] Until the Vatican Council, held at Rome in 1869-1870 A D.

[23] See page 572.

[24] See page 440.

[25] See page 656.

[26] See page 677.

[27] See pages 550-552.

[28] See page 511, note 1.

[29] See page 639.

[30] Armada was a Spanish name for any armed fleet.

[31] See page 519.

[32] See page 634.

[33] The origin of the name is not known with certainty.

[34] Navarre originally formed a small kingdom on both sides of the Pyrenees. The part south of these mountains was acquired by Spain in 1513 A.D. See the map on page 521.

[35] See page 235.

[36] See page 656.

[37] See page 650.

[38] See page 524, note 1.

[39] See page 674.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ABSOLUTISM IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND 1603-1715 A.D. [1]

241. THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

ABSOLUTISM

Most European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries accepted the principle of absolutism in government. Absolutism was as popular then as democracy is to-day. The rulers of France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Scandinavia, and other countries, having triumphed over the feudal nobles, proceeded to revive the autocratic traditions of imperial Rome. Like Diocletian, Constantine, and later emperors, they posed as absolute sovereigns, who held their power, not from the choice or consent of their subjects, but from God.

DIVINITY OF KINGS

Royal absolutism formed a natural development of the old belief in the divinity of kings. Many primitive peoples regard their headmen and chiefs as holy and give to them the control of peace and war, of life and death. Oriental rulers in antiquity bore a sacred character. Even in the lifetime of an Egyptian Pharaoh temples were erected to him and offerings were made to his sacred majesty. The Hebrew monarch was the Lord's anointed, and

his person was holy. The Hellenistic kings of the East and the Roman emperors received divine honors from their adoring subjects. An element of sanctity also attached to medieval sovereigns, who, at their coronation, were anointed with a magic oil, girt with a sacred sword, and given a supernatural banner. Even Shakespeare could speak of the divinity which "doth hedge a king." [2]

"Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm off from an anointed king;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord." [3]

DIVINE RIGHT AFTER THE REFORMATION

The Reformation tended to emphasize the sacred character of kingship. The reformers set up the authority of the State against the authority of the Church, which they rejected and condemned. Providence, they argued, had never sanctioned the Papacy, but Providence had really ordained the State and had placed over it a king whom it was a religious duty to obey. Even those who were not reformers distorted the Christian idea that government has a divine basis to represent kings as God's vicegerents upon earth, as in fact earthly deities.

BOSSUET ON DIVINE RIGHT

The theory of divine right received its fullest expression in a famous book [4] written by Bossuet, a learned French bishop of the seventeenth century. A hereditary monarchy, declared Bossuet, is the most ancient and natural, the strongest and most efficient, of all forms of government. Royal power emanates from God; hence the person of the king is sacred and it is sacrilege to conspire against him. His authority is absolute and autocratic. No man may rightfully resist the king's commands; his subjects owe him

obedience in all matters. To the violence of a king the people can oppose only respectful remonstrances and prayers for his conversion. A king, to be sure, ought not to be a tyrant, but he can be one in perfect security. "As in God are united all perfection and every virtue, so all the power of all the individuals in a community is united in the person of the king."

242. THE ABSOLUTISM OF LOUIS XIV, 1661-1715 A.D.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU

France in the seventeenth century furnished the best example of an absolute monarchy supported by pretensions to divine right. French absolutism owed most of all to Cardinal Richelieu, [5] the chief minister of Louis XIII. Though a man of poor physique and in weak health, he possessed such strength of will, together with such thorough understanding of politics, that he was able to dominate the king and through the king to govern France for eighteen years (1624-1642 A.D.).

POLICIES OF RICHELIEU

Richelieu's foreign policy led to his intervention on the side of the Protestants at a decisive moment in the Thirty Years' War. The great cardinal, however, did not live to see the triumph of his measures in the Peace of Westphalia, which humiliated the Hapsburgs and raised France to the first place among the states of western Europe. Richelieu's domestic policy—to make the French king supreme—was equally successful. Though the nobles were still rich and influential, Richelieu beat down their opposition by forbidding the practice of duelling, that last remnant of private warfare, by ordering many castles to be blown up with gunpowder, and by bringing rebellious dukes and counts to the scaffold. Henceforth the nobles were no longer feudal lords but only courtiers.

CARDINAL MAZARIN

Richelieu died in 1642 A.D., and the next year Louis XIII, the master whom he had served so faithfully, also passed away. The new ruler, Louis XIV, was only a child, and the management of affairs for a second period of eighteen years passed into the hands of Cardinal Mazarin. Though an Italian by birth, he became a naturalized Frenchman and carried out Richelieu's policies. Against the Hapsburgs Mazarin continued the great war which Richelieu had begun and brought it to a satisfactory conclusion. The Peace of Westphalia was Mazarin's greatest triumph. He also crushed a formidable uprising against the crown, on the part of discontented nobles. Having achieved all this, the cardinal could truly say that "if his language was not French, his heart was," His death in 1661 A.D. found the royal authority more firmly established than ever before.

[Illustration: CARDINAL MAZARIN
A miniature by Petitot, in the South Kensington Museum, London.]

LOUIS XIV, THE MAN

Louis XIV, who now in his twenty-third year took up the reins of government, ranks among the ablest of French monarchs. He was a man of handsome presence, slightly below the middle height, with a prominent nose and abundant hair, which he allowed to fall over his shoulders. In manner he was dignified, reserved, courteous, and as majestic, it is said, in his dressing-gown as in his robes of state. A contemporary wrote that he would have been every inch a king, "even if he had been born under the roof of a beggar." Louis possessed much natural intelligence, a retentive memory, and great capacity for work. It must be added, however, that his general education had been much neglected, and that throughout his life he remained ignorant and superstitious. Vanity formed a striking trait in the

character of Louis. He accepted the most fulsome compliments and delighted to be known as the "Grand Monarch" and the "Sun-king."

[Illustration: LOUIS XIV
A portrait by J. Gale, in the Sutherland Collection, London.]

COURT OF LOUIS XIV AT VERSAILLES

Louis gathered around him a magnificent court, which he located at Versailles, near Paris. Here a whole royal city, with palaces, parks, groves, and fountains, sprang into being at his fiat. Here the "Grand Monarch" lived surrounded by crowds of fawning courtiers. The French nobles now spent little time on their country estates; they preferred to remain at Versailles in attendance on the king, to whose favor they owed offices, pensions, and honors. The king's countenance, it was said, is the courtier's supreme felicity; "he passes his life looking on it and within sight of it."

[Illustration: VERSAILLES The view shows the rear of the palace a part of the gardens and the grand stairway leading to the Fountain of Latona. The palace now forms a magnificent picture gallery of French historical scenes and personages while the park with its many fine fountains is a place of holiday resort for Parisians. It is estimated that Louis XIV spent one hundred million dollars on the buildings and grounds of Versailles.]

LOUIS XIV, THE KING

Louis taught and put into practice the doctrine of divine right. In his memoirs he declares that the king is God's representative and for his actions is answerable to God alone. The famous saying, "I am the State," [6] though not uttered by Louis, accurately expressed his conviction that in him was embodied the power and greatness of France. Few monarchs have tried harder to justify their despotic rule. He was fond of gaiety and sport, but he

never permitted himself to be turned away from the punctual discharge of his royal duties. Until the close of his reign—the longest in the annals of Europe—Louis devoted from five to nine hours a day to what he called the "trade of a king."

ABSOLUTISM IN FRANCE

Conditions in France made possible the despotism of Louis. Richelieu and Mazarin had labored with great success to strengthen the crown at the expense of the nobles and the commons. The nation had no Parliament to represent it and voice its demands, for the Estates-General [7] had not been summoned since 1614 A.D. It did not meet again till 1789 A.D., just before the outbreak of the French Revolution. In France there was no Magna Carta to protect the liberties of the people by limiting the right of a ruler to impose taxes at will. The French, furthermore, lacked independent law courts which could interfere with the king's power of exiling, imprisoning, or executing his subjects. Thus absolute monarchy became so firmly rooted in France that a revolution was necessary to overthrow it.

243. FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

COLBERT

No absolute ruler, however conscientious and painstaking, can shoulder the entire burden of government. Louis XIV necessarily had to rely very much on his ministers, of whom Colbert was the most eminent. Colbert, until his death in 1683 A.D., gave France the best administration it had ever known. His reforming hand was especially felt in the finances. He made many improvements in the methods of tax-collection and turned the annual deficit in the revenues into a surplus. One of Colbert's innovations, now adopted by all European states, was the budget system. Before his time

expenditures had been made at random, without consulting the treasury receipts. Colbert drew up careful estimates, one year in advance, of the probable revenues and expenditures, so that outlay would never exceed income.

COLBERT'S ECONOMIC MEASURES

Although the science of economics or political economy was little developed in the seventeenth century, Colbert realized that the chief object of a minister of finance should be the increase of the national wealth. Hence he tried in every way to foster manufactures and commerce. Among other measures Colbert placed heavy duties on the importation of foreign products, as a means of protecting the "infant industries" of France. This was the inauguration of the protective system, since followed by many European countries and from Europe introduced into America. Colbert regarded protectionism as only a temporary device, however, and spoke of tariffs as crutches by the help of which manufacturers might learn to walk and then throw them away.

[Illustration: MEDAL OF LOUIS XIV Commemorates the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The obverse bears a representation of 'Louis the Great the Most Christian King' the reverse contains a legend meaning "Heresy Extinguished."]

COLBERT AND COLONIAL EXPANSION

Colbert shared the erroneous views of most economists of his age in supposing that the wealth of a country is measured by the amount of gold and silver which it possesses. He wished, therefore, to provide the French with colonies, where they could obtain the products which they had previously been obliged to purchase from the Spaniards, Dutch, and English. At this time many islands in the West Indies were acquired, Canada

was developed, and Louisiana, the vast territory drained by the Mississippi, was opened up to settlement. France, under Colbert, became one of the leading colonial powers of Europe.

REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, 1685 A.D.

As long as Colbert lived, he kept on good terms with the Huguenots, who formed such useful and industrious subjects. But Louis hated them as heretics and suspected them of little love for absolute monarchy. To Louis religious unity in the state seemed as necessary as political unity. Accordingly, he revoked in 1685 A.D. the Edict of Nantes, [8] after the French for almost a century had enjoyed religious toleration. The Huguenots were allowed to keep their Protestant faith, but their freedom of worship was taken away and was not restored till the time of the French Revolution. The Protestants in France to-day are about as numerous, in proportion to the Roman Catholic population, as they were under Louis XIV.

EMIGRATION OF THE HUGUENOTS

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes resulted in a considerable emigration of Huguenots from France. What was a loss to that country was a gain to England and Holland, where the Huguenots settled and where they introduced their arts and trades. Prussia, also, profited by the emigration of the Huguenots. Many of them went to Berlin, and that capital owed the beginning of its importance to its Huguenot population. Louis by his bigotry thus strengthened the chief Protestant foes of France.

ART UNDER LOUIS XIV

Louis was a generous patron of art. French painters and sculptors led the world at this time. One of his architects, Mansard, invented the mansard

roof, which has been largely used in France and other European countries. This architectural device makes it possible to provide extra rooms at a small expense, without adding an additional story to the building. Among the monuments of Louis's reign are the Hôtel des Invalides, [9] now the tomb of Napoleon, additions to the Louvre, [10] perhaps the masterpiece of all modern architecture, and the huge palace of Versailles. Louis also founded the Gobelins manufactory, so celebrated for fine carpets, furniture, and metal work.

LITERATURE UNDER LOUIS XIV

The long list of French authors who flourished during the reign of Louis includes Molière, the greatest of French dramatists, La Fontaine, whose fables are still popular, Perrault, now remembered for his fairy tales, and Madame de Sévigné, whose letters are regarded as models of French prose. Probably the most famous work composed at this time is the *Memoirs* of Saint-Simon. It presents an intimate and not very flattering picture of the "Grand Monarch" and his court.

LEARNING UNDER LOUIS XIV

Louis and his ministers believed that the government should encourage research and the diffusion of knowledge. Richelieu founded and Colbert fostered the French Academy. Its forty members, sometimes called the "Immortals," are chosen for their eminent contributions to language and literature. The great dictionary of the French language, on which they have labored for more than two centuries, is still unfinished. The academy now forms a section of the Institute of France. The patronage of Colbert also did much to enrich the National Library at Paris. It contains the largest collection of books in the world.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

The brilliant reign of the French king cast its spell upon the rest of Europe. Kings and princes looked to Louis as the model of what a king should be and set themselves to imitate the splendor of his court. During this period the French language, manners, dress, art, literature, and science became the accepted standards of good society in all civilized lands. France still retains in large measure the preeminent position which she secured under the "Grand Monarch."

244. THE WARS OF LOUIS XIV

AMBITIOUS DESIGNS OF LOUIS XIV

How unwise it may be to concentrate all authority in the hands of one man is shown by the melancholy record of the wars of Louis XIV. To aggrandize France and gain fame for himself, Louis plunged his country into a series of struggles from which it emerged completely exhausted. Like Philip II, Louis dreamed of dominating all western Europe, but, as in Philip's case, his aggressions provoked against him a constantly increasing body of allies, who in the end proved too strong even for the king's able generals and fine armies.

THE BALANCE OF POWER

The union of the smaller and weaker countries of Europe against France illustrates the principle of the balance of power. According to this principle no state ought to become so strong as to overshadow the rest. In such a case all the others must combine against it and treat it as a common enemy. The maintenance of the balance of power has been a leading object of European diplomacy from the time of the Thirty Years' War to the present day.

FRENCH MILITARISM

Louis himself lacked military talent and did not take a prominent part in any campaign. He was served, however, by very able commanders, including Condé and Turenne. Vauban, an eminent engineer, especially developed the art of siege craft. It was said of Vauban that he never besieged a fortress without taking it and never lost one which he defended. Louvois, the war minister of the king, recruited, equipped, and provisioned larger bodies of troops than ever before had appeared on European battlefields. It was Louvois who introduced the use of distinctive uniforms for soldiers and the custom of marching in step. He also established field hospitals and ambulances and placed camp life on a sanitary basis. The labors of these men gave Louis the best standing army of the age.

THE RHINE BOUNDARY

Of the four great wars which filled a large part of Louis's reign, all but the last were designed to extend the dominions of France on the east and northeast to the Rhine. That river in ancient times had separated Gaul and Germany, and Louis, as well as Richelieu and Mazarin before him, regarded it as a natural boundary of France. A beginning in this direction had already been made at the close of the Thirty Years' War, when France gained nearly all of Alsace and secured the recognition of her old claims to the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine. A treaty which Mazarin negotiated with Spain in 1659 A.D. also gave France most of Artois, as well as part of Flanders. Louis thus had a good basis of further advance through Lorraine and the Netherlands to the Rhine.

TWO WARS FOR THE RHINE, 1667-1678 A.D.

The French king began his aggressions by an effort to annex the Belgian or Spanish Netherlands, which then belonged to Spain. [11] A triple alliance of Holland, England, and Sweden forced him to relinquish all his conquests, except a few frontier towns (1668 A.D.). Louis blamed the Dutch for his

setback, and determined to punish them. Moreover, the Dutch represented everything to which he was opposed, for Holland was a republic, the keen rival of France in trade, and Protestant in religion. By skillful diplomacy he persuaded England and Sweden to stand aloof, while his armies entered Holland and drew near to Amsterdam At this critical moment William, Prince of Orange, became the Dutch leader. He was a descendant of that William the Silent, who, a century before, had saved the Dutch out of the hands of Spain. When urged to submit, seeing that his country was surely lost, William replied, "I know one way of never seeing it, and that way is to die on the last dike." By William's orders the Dutch cut the dikes and interposed a watery barrier to further advance by the French. Then he formed another Continental coalition, which carried on the war till Louis signified his desire for peace. The Dutch did not lose a foot of territory, but Spain was obliged to cede to France the important province of Franche Comté (1678 A.D.).

[Illustration: Map, ACQUISITIONS OF LOUIS XIV AND LOUIS XV]

A THIRD WAR, 1689-1697 A.D.

Ten years later Louis again sought to gain additional territory along the Rhine, but again an alliance of Spain, Holland, England, and the Holy Roman Empire compelled 1689-1697 him to sue for peace (1697 A.D.). [12] During the course of the war the French inflicted a frightful devastation on the Rhenish Palatinate, so that it might not support armies for the invasion of France. Twelve hundred towns and villages were destroyed, and the countryside was laid waste. The responsibility for this barbarous act rests upon Louvois who advised it and Louis who allowed it.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Thus far the European balance of power had been preserved, but it was now threatened in another direction. Charles II, the king of Spain, lay dying, and as he was without children or brothers to succeed him, all Europe wondered what would be the fate of his vast possessions in Europe and America. Louis had married one of his sisters, and the Holy Roman Emperor another, so both the Bourbons and the Austrian Hapsburgs could put forth claims to the Spanish throne. When Charles died, it was found that he had left his entire dominions to Philip of Anjou, one of Louis's grandsons, in the hope that the power of France might be great enough to keep them undivided. Though Louis knew that acceptance of the inheritance would involve a war with Austria and probably with England, whose king was now Louis's old foe, William of Orange, [13] ambition triumphed over fear and the desire for glory over consideration for the welfare of France. At Versailles Louis proudly presented his grandson to the court, saying, "Gentlemen, behold the king of Spain."

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, 1702-1713 A.D.

In the War of the Spanish Succession France and Spain faced the Grand Alliance, which included England, Holland, Austria, several of the German states, and Portugal. Europe had never known a war that concerned so many countries and peoples. The English ruler, William III, died shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, leaving the continuance of the contest as a legacy to his sister-in-law, Queen Anne. [14] England supplied the coalition with funds, a fleet, and also with the ablest commander of the age, the duke of Marlborough. In Eugène, prince of Savoy, the allies had another skillful and daring general. The great victory gained by them at Blenheim in 1704 A.D. was the first of a series of successes which finally drove the French out of Germany and Italy and opened the road to Paris. But dissensions among the allies and the heroic resistance of France and Spain enabled Louis to hold

the enemy at bay, until the exhaustion of both sides led to the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht.

PEACE OF UTRECHT, 1713 A.D.

This peace ranks with that of Westphalia among the most important diplomatic arrangements of modern times. First, Louis's grandson, Philip V, was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on condition that the Spanish and French crowns should never be united. Since this time Bourbon sovereigns have continued to rule in Spain. Next, the Austrian Hapsburgs gained most of the Spanish dominions in Italy, as well as the Belgian or Spanish Netherlands (henceforth for a century called the Austrian Netherlands). Finally, England obtained from France possessions in North America, and from Spain the island of Minorca and the rock of Gibraltar, commanding the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean. England has never since relaxed her hold upon Gibraltar.

BRANDENBURG AND PRUSSIA

Two of the smaller members of the Grand Alliance likewise profited by the Peace of Utrecht. The right of the elector of Brandenburg to enjoy the title of king of Prussia was acknowledged. This formed an important step in the fortunes of the Hohenzollern [15] dynasty, which to-day rules over Germany. The duchy of Savoy also became a kingdom and received the island of Sicily (shortly afterwards exchanged for Sardinia). The house of Savoy in the nineteenth century provided Italy with its present reigning family.

POSITION OF FRANCE

France lost far less by the war than at one time seemed probable. Louis gave up his dream of dominating Europe, but he kept all the Continental

acquisitions made earlier in his reign. And yet the price of the king's warlike policy had been a heavy one. France paid it in the shape of famine and pestilence, excessive taxes, heavy debts, and the impoverishment of the people. Louis, now a very old man, survived the Peace of Utrecht only two years. As he lay on his deathbed, the king turned to his little heir [16] and said, "Try to keep peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, nor in my too great expenditure." These words of the dying king showed an appreciation of the errors which robbed his long reign of much of its glory.

[Illustration: MARLBOROUGH
A miniature in the possession of the Duke of Buccleugh.]

[Illustration: Map, EUROPE after the Peace of Utrecht, 1713 A.D.].

245. THE ABSOLUTISM OF THE STUARTS, 1603-1642 A.D.

TUDOR ABSOLUTISM

During the same century which saw the triumph of absolutism and divine right in France, a successful struggle took place in England against the unlimited power of kings. Absolutism in England dated from the time of the Tudors. Henry VII humbled the nobles, while Henry VIII and Elizabeth brought the Church into dependence on the crown. [17] These three sovereigns were strong and forceful, but they were also excellent rulers and popular with the influential middle class in town and country. The Tudors gave England order and prosperity, if not political liberty.

PARLIAMENT UNDER THE TUDORS

The English Parliament in the thirteenth century had become a body representative of all classes of the people, and in the fourteenth century it

had separated into the two houses of Lords and Commons. [18] Parliament enjoyed considerable authority at this time. The kings, who were in continual need of money, summoned it frequently, sought its advice upon important questions, and readily listened to its requests. The despotic Tudors, on the other hand, made Parliament their servant. Henry VII called it together on only five occasions during his reign; Henry VIII persuaded or frightened it into doing anything he pleased; and Elizabeth seldom consulted it. Parliament under the Tudors did not abandon its old claims to a share in the government, but it had little chance to exercise them.

JAMES I, KING, 1603-1625 A.D.

The death of Elizabeth in 1603 A.D. ended the Tudor dynasty and placed the Stuarts on the English throne in the person of James I. [19] England and Scotland were now joined in a personal union, though each country retained its own Parliament, laws, and state Church. The new king was well described by a contemporary as the "wisest fool in Christendom." He had a good mind and abundant learning, but throughout his reign he showed an utter inability to win either the esteem or the affection of his subjects. This was a misfortune, for the English had now grown weary of despotism and wanted more freedom. They were not prepared to tolerate in James, an alien, many things which they had overlooked in "Good Queen Bess."

JAMES I ON DIVINE RIGHT

One of the most fruitful sources of discord between James and the English people was his exalted conception of monarchy. The Tudors, indeed, claimed to rule by divine right, but James went further than they in arguing for divine *hereditary* right. Providence, James declared, had chosen the principle of heredity in order to fix the succession to the throne. This principle, being divine, lay beyond the power of man to alter. Whether the king was fit or unfit to rule, Parliament might not change the succession,

depose a sovereign, or limit his authority in any way. James rather neatly summarized his views in a Latin epigram, *a deo rex, a rege lex*—"the king is from God and law is from the king."

[Illustration: GOLD COIN OF JAMES I.
The first coin to bear the legend "Great Britain".]

JAMES I AND PARLIAMENT

Naturally enough, the extreme pretensions of James encountered much opposition from Parliament. That body felt little sympathy for a ruler who proclaimed himself the source of all law. When James, always extravagant and a poor financier, came before it for money, Parliament insisted on its right to withhold supplies until grievances were redressed. James would not yield, and got along as best he could by levying customs duties, selling titles of nobility, and imposing excessive fines, in spite of the protests of Parliament. This situation continued to the end of the king's reign.

JAMES I AND PURITANISM

A religious controversy helped to embitter the dispute between James and Parliament. The king, who was Puritanism a devout Anglican, made himself very unpopular with the Puritans, as the reformers within the Church of England were called. The Puritans had no intention of separating from the national or established Church, but they wished to "purify" it of certain customs which they described as "Romish" or "papist." Among these were the use of the surplice, of the ring in the marriage service, and of the sign of the cross in baptism. Some Puritans wanted to get rid of the *Book of Common Prayer* altogether. The Puritans were distinguished by their austere lives. They looked with disfavor on May Day and Christmas festivities, observed the Jewish Sabbath in all its rigor, and condemned the Anglicans who played games and danced upon the village green on

Sundays. As the Puritans had a large majority in the House of Commons, it was inevitable that the parliamentary struggle against Stuart absolutism would assume in part a religious character.

[Illustration: A PURITAN FAMILY
Illustration in an edition of the *Psalms* published in 1563 A.D.]

CHARLES I, KING, 1625-1649 A.D.

The political and religious difficulties which marked the reign of James I did not disappear when his son, Charles I, came to the throne. Charles was a true Stuart in his devotion to absolutism and divine right. Almost immediately he began to quarrel with Parliament. When that body withheld supplies, Charles resorted to forced loans from the wealthy and even imprisoned a number of persons who refused to contribute. Such arbitrary acts showed plainly that Charles would play the tyrant if he could.

PETITION OF RIGHT, 1628 A.D.

The king's attitude at last led Parliament to a bold assertion of its authority. It now presented to Charles the celebrated Petition of Right. One of the most important clauses provided that forced loans without parliamentary sanction should be considered illegal. Another clause declared that no one should be arrested or imprisoned except according to the law of the land. The Petition thus repeated and reinforced two of the leading principles of Magna Carta. [20] The people of England, speaking this time through their elected representatives, asserted once more their right to limit the power of kings.

PERSONAL RULE OF CHARLES I, 1629-1640 A.D.

Charles signed the Petition, as the only means of securing parliamentary consent to taxation; but he had no intention of observing it. For the next eleven years he managed to govern without calling Parliament in session. The conduct of affairs during this period lay largely in the hands of Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, and William Laud, who later became archbishop of Canterbury. The king made these two men his principal advisers and through them carried on his despotic rule. Arbitrary courts, which tried cases without a jury, punished those who resisted the royal will. A rigid censorship of the press prevented any expression of popular discontent. Public meetings were suppressed as seditious riots. Even private gatherings were dangerous, for the king had swarms of spies to report any disloyal acts or utterances.

JOHN HAMPDEN AND "SHIP-MONEY"

Since Charles ruled without a Parliament, he had to adopt all sorts of devices to fill his treasury. One of these was the levying of "ship- money." According to an old custom, seaboard towns and counties had been required to provide ships or money for the royal navy. Charles revived this custom and extended it to towns and counties lying inland. It seemed clear that the king meant to impose a permanent tax on all England without the assent of Parliament. The demand for "ship-money" aroused much opposition, and John Hampden, a wealthy squire of Buckinghamshire, refused to pay the twenty shillings levied on his estate. Hampden was tried before a court of the royal judges and was convicted by a bare majority. He became, however, the hero of the hour. The England people recognized in him one who had dared, for the sake of principle, to protest against the king's despotic rule.

[Illustration: CHARLES I
A painting by Daniel Mytens in the National Portrait Gallery. London]

LAUD'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY

Archbishop Laud, the king's chief agent in ecclesiastical matters, detested Puritanism and aimed to root it out from the Church of England. He put no Puritans to death, but he sanctioned cruel punishments of those who would not conform to the established Church. All that the dungeon and the pillory, mutilation and loss of position, could do to break their will was done. While the restrictions on Puritans were increased, those affecting Roman Catholics were relaxed. Many people thought that Charles, through Laud and the bishops, was preparing to lead the Church of England back to Rome. They therefore opposed the king on religious grounds, as well as for political reasons.

[Illustration: EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD After a contemporary print. The Tower of London is seen in the background.]

THE LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640 A.D.

But the personal rule of Charles was now drawing to an end. In 1637 A.D. the king, supported by Archbishop Laud, tried The Long to introduce a modified form of the English prayer book into Scotland. The Scotch, Presbyterian [21] to the core, drew up a national oath, or Covenant, by which they bound themselves to resist any attempt to change their religion. Rebellion quickly passed into open war, and the Covenanters invaded northern England. Charles, helpless, with a seditious army and an empty treasury, had to summon Parliament in session. It met in 1640 A.D. and did not formally dissolve till twenty years later. Hence it has received the name of the Long Parliament.

[Illustration: Map, ENGLAND AND WALES—THE CIVIL WARS OF THE 17TH CENTURY]

REFORMS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

The Long Parliament no sooner assembled than it assumed the conduct of government. The leaders, including John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, openly declared that the House of Commons, and not the king, possessed supreme authority in the state. Parliament began by executing Strafford and subsequently Laud, thus emphasizing the responsibility of ministers to Parliament. Next, it abolished Star Chamber and other special courts, which had become engines of royal oppression. It forbade the levying of "ship-money" and other irregular taxes. It took away the king's right of dissolving Parliament at his pleasure and ordered that at least one parliamentary session should be held every three years. These measures stripped the crown of the despotic powers acquired by the Tudors and the Stuarts.

246. OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1642-1649 A.D.

OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT REBELLION, 1642 A.D.

Thus far, the Long Parliament had acted along the line of reformation rather than revolution. Had Charles been content to accept the new arrangements, there would have been little more trouble. But the proud and imperious king was only watching his chance to strike a blow at Parliament. Taking advantage of some differences in opinion among its members, Charles summoned his soldiers, marched to Westminister, and demanded the surrender of five leaders, including Pym and Hampden. Warned in time, they made their escape, and Charles did not find them in the chamber of the Commons. "Well, I see all the birds are flown," he exclaimed, and walked out baffled. The king's attempt to intimidate the Commons was a great blunder. It showed beyond doubt that he would resort to force, rather than bend his neck to Parliament. Both Charles and Parliament now began to gather troops and prepare for the inevitable conflict.

"CAVALIERS" AND "ROUND-HEADS"

The opposing parties seemed to be very evenly matched. Around the king rallied nearly all of the nobles, the Anglican clergy, the Roman Catholics, a majority of the "squires," or country gentry, and the members of the universities. The royalists received the name of "Cavaliers." The parliamentarians, or "Roundheads," [22] were mostly recruited from the trading classes in the towns and the small landowners in the country. The working people remained as a rule indifferent and took little part in the struggle.

[Illustration: OLIVER CROMWELL
A painting by Robert Walker, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.]

OLIVER CROMWELL, 1599-1658 A.D.

Both Pym and Hampden died in the second year of the war, and henceforth the leadership of the parliamentary party fell to Oliver Cromwell. He was a country gentleman from the east of England, and Hampden's cousin. Cromwell represented the university of Cambridge in the Long Parliament and displayed there great audacity in opposing the government. An unfriendly critic at this time describes "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervor." Though a zealous Puritan, who believed himself in all sincerity to be the chosen agent of the Lord, Cromwell was not an ascetic. He hunted, hawked, played bowls, and other games, had an ear for music, and valued art and learning. In public life he showed himself a statesman of much insight and a military genius.

THE "IRONSIDES" AND THE "NEW MODEL"

At the outset of the war fortune favored the royalists, until Cromwell took the field. To him was due the formation of a cavalry regiment of "honest, sober Christians," whose watchwords were texts from Scripture and who charged in battle while singing psalms. These "Ironsides," as Cromwell said, "had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did." They were so successful that Parliament permitted Cromwell to reorganize a large part of the army into the "New Model," a body of professional, highly disciplined soldiers. The "New Model" defeated Charles decisively at the battle of Naseby, near the center of England (1645 A.D.). Charles then surrendered to the Scotch, who soon turned him over to Parliament.

PRESYBTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS

The surrender of the king ended the Great Rebellion, but left the political situation in doubt. By this time the Puritans had divided into two rival parties. The Presbyterians wished to make the Church of England, like that of Scotland, Presbyterian in faith and worship. Through their control of Parliament, they were able to pass acts doing away with bishops, forbidding the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and requiring every one to accept Presbyterian doctrines. The other Puritan party, known as the Independents, [23] felt that religious beliefs should not be a matter of compulsion. They rejected both Anglicanism and Presbyterianism and desired to set up churches of their own, where they might worship as seemed to them right. The Independents had the powerful backing of Cromwell and the "New Model," so that the stage was set for a quarrel between Parliament and the army.

"PRIDE'S PURGE," 1648 A.D.

King Charles, though a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, hoped to find profit in their divisions. The Presbyterian majority in the House of

Commons was willing to restore the king, provided he would give his assent to the establishment of Presbyterianism in England. But the army wanted no reconciliation with the captive monarch and at length took matters into its own hand. A party of soldiers, under the command of a Colonel Pride, excluded the Presbyterian members from the floor of the House, leaving the Independents alone to conduct the government. This action is known as "Pride's Purge." Cromwell approved of it, and from this time he became the real ruler of England.

[Illustration: INTERIOR OF WESTMINSTER HALL Next to the Tower and the Abbey Westminster Hall adjoining the Houses of Parliament, is the most historic building in London. The hall was begun by William Rufus in 1097 A.D. and was enlarged by his successors. Richard II in 1397 A.D. added the great oak roof, which has lasted to this day Here were held the trials of Stafford and Charles I.]

EXECUTION OF CHARLES I, 1649 A.D.

The "Rump Parliament," as the remnant of the House of Commons was called, immediately brought the king before a High Court of Justice composed of his bitterest enemies. He refused to acknowledge the right of the court to try him and made no defense whatever. Charles was speedily convicted and sentenced to be beheaded, "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good of the people." He met death with quiet dignity and courage on a scaffold erected in front of Whitehall Palace in London. The king's execution went far beyond the wishes of most Englishmen; "cruel necessity" formed its only justification; but it established once for all in England the principle that rulers are responsible to their subjects.

247. THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE, 1649-1660 A.D.

ENGLAND A REPUBLIC

Shortly after the execution of Charles I the "Rump Parliament" abolished the House of Lords and the office of king. It named a Council of State, most of whose members were chosen from the House of Commons, to carry on the government. England now became a commonwealth, or national republic, the first in the history of the world. It is clear that this republic was the creation of a minority. The Anglicans, the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics were willing to restore the monarchy, but as long as the power lay with the army, the small sect of Independents could impose its will on the great majority of the English people.

SUBJECTION OF IRELAND

Besides confusion and discontent at home, many dangers confronted the Commonwealth abroad. In both Ireland and Scotland Prince Charles, the oldest son of the dead sovereign, had been proclaimed king. But Cromwell rose to the emergency. Invading Ireland with his trained soldiers, he captured town after town, slaughtered many royalists, and shipped many more to the West Indies as slaves. This time Ireland was completely subdued, at a cost, from fighting, famine, and pestilence, of the lives of a third of its population. Cromwell confiscated the land of those who had supported the royalist cause and planted colonies of English Protestants in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster. The Roman Catholic gentry were compelled to remove beyond the Shannon River to unfruitful Connaught. Even there the public exercise of their religion was forbidden them. Cromwell's harsh measures brought peace to Ireland, but only intensified the hatred felt by Irish Roman Catholics for Protestant England. [24]

SCOTLAND SUBDUED

While Cromwell was still in Ireland, Prince Charles, who had been living as an exile at the French court, came to Scotland. On his promise to be a Presbyterian king the whole nation agreed to support him. Cromwell, in two pitched battles, broke up the Scotch armies and compelled Prince Charles to seek safety in flight. After thrilling adventures the prince managed to reach his asylum in France. Cromwell treated the Scotch with leniency, but took away their Parliament and united their country with England in a single state.

[Illustration: Map, IRELAND In the 16th Century]

DISSOLUTION OF THE "RUMP PARLIAMENT," 1653 A.D.

Meanwhile, the "Rump Parliament" had become more and more unpopular. The army, which had saved England from Stuart despotism, did not relish the spectacle of a small group of men, many of them selfish and corrupt, presuming to govern the country Cromwell found them "horridly arbitrary" and at last resolved to have done with them. He entered the House of Commons with a band of musketeers and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he cried, "I will put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament. I will put an end to your sitting." Another Parliament, chosen by Cromwell and the army, proved equally incapable. After a few months' rule it resigned its authority into the hands of Cromwell.

[Illustration: GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH (REDUCED)
The reverse represents the House of Commons in session.]

THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT

By force of circumstances Cromwell had become a virtual dictator, but he had no love of absolute power. He therefore accepted a so-called Instrument of Government, drawn up by some of his officers. It provided that Cromwell should be Lord Protector for life, with the assistance of a council and a Parliament. The Instrument is notable as the first written constitution of a modern nation. It is the only one which England has ever had.

CROMWELL AS LORD PROTECTOR, 1653-1658 A.D.

As Lord Protector in name, though a king in fact, Cromwell ruled England for five years. He got along with Parliament no better than the Stuarts had done, but his successful conduct of foreign affairs gave England an importance in the councils of Europe which it had not enjoyed since the time of Elizabeth. Cromwell died in 1658 A.D. Two years later the nation, weary of military rule, restored Charles II to the throne of his ancestors.

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

It seemed, indeed, as if the Puritan Revolution had been a complete failure. But this was hardly true. The revolution arrested the growth of absolutism in England. It created among Englishmen a lasting hostility to absolute power, whether exercised by King, Parliament, Protector, or army. And, furthermore, it sent forth into the world ideas of political liberty, which, during the eighteenth century, helped to produce the American and French revolutions.

248. THE RESTORATION AND THE "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION," 1660-1689 A.D.

REIGN OF CHARLES II, 1660-1685 A.D.

Charles II, on mounting the throne, pledged himself to maintain Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and other statutes limiting the royal power. The people of England wished to be governed by the king, but they also wished that the king should govern by the advice of Parliament. Charles, less obstinate and more astute than his father, recognized this fact, and, when a conflict threatened with his ministers or Parliament, always avoided it by timely concessions. Whatever happened, he used to say, he was resolved "never to set on his travels again." Charles's charm of manner, wit, and genial humor made him a popular monarch, in spite of his grave faults of character. One of his own courtiers well described him as a king who "never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one."

REACTION AGAINST PURITANISM

The period of the Restoration was characterized by a reaction against the austere scheme of life which the Puritans had imposed on society. Puritanism not only deprived the people of evil pleasures, such as bear-baiting, Cock-fighting, and tippling, but it also prohibited the Sunday dances and games, the village festivals, and the popular drama. When Puritanism disappeared, the people went to the opposite extreme and cast off all restraint. In this the king, who had lived long at the gay court of Louis XIV, set the example. England was nevermore merry and never less moral than under its "Merry Monarch."

[Illustration: BOYS' SPORTS
From a book of 1659 A.D.]

THE DISSENTERS

The Restoration brought back the Church of England, together with the Stuarts. Parliament, more intolerant than the king, passed an Act of Uniformity, which made the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*

compulsory and required all ministers to express their consent to everything contained in it. Nearly two thousand clergymen resigned their positions rather than obey the act. Among them were found Presbyterians, Independents (or Congregationalists), Baptists, and Quakers. These Puritans, since they did not accept the national Church, were henceforth classed as Dissenters. [25] They might not hold meetings for worship, or teach in schools, or accept any public office. For many years the Dissenters had to endure harsh persecution.

HABEAS CORPUS ACT, 1679 A.D.

One of the most important events belonging to the reign of Charles II was the passage by Parliament of the Habeas Corpus Act. The writ of *habeas corpus* [26] is an order, issued by a judge, requiring a person held in custody to be brought before the court. If upon examination there appears to be good reason for keeping the prisoner, he is to be remanded for trial; otherwise he is to be freed or released on bail. This writ had been long used in England, and one of the clauses of Magna Carta expressly provided against arbitrary imprisonment. It had always been possible, however, for the king or his ministers to order the arrest of a person considered dangerous to the state, without making any formal charge against him. The Habeas Corpus Act established the principle that every man, not charged with or convicted of a known crime, is entitled to personal freedom. Most of the British possessions where the Common law prevails have accepted the act, and it has been adopted by the federal and state legislatures of the United States.

[Illustration: SILVER CROWN OF CHARLES II]

WHIGS AND TORIES

The reign of Charles II also saw the beginning of the modern party system in Parliament. Two opposing parties took shape, very largely out of a religious controversy. The king, from his long life in France, had become partial to Roman Catholicism, though he did not formally embrace that faith until at the moment of death. His brother James, the heir to the throne, became an open Roman Catholic, however, much to the disgust of many members of Parliament. A bill was now brought forward to exclude Prince James from the succession, because of his conversion. Its supporters received the nickname of Whigs, while those who opposed it were called Tories. [27] The bill did not pass the House of Lords, but the two parties in Parliament continued to divide on other questions. They survive to-day as the Liberals and the Conservatives, and still dispute the government of England between them.

REIGN OF JAMES II, 1685-1688 A.D.

James II was without the attractive personality which had made his brother a popular ruler; moreover, he was an avowed Roman Catholic and a staunch believer in the divine right of kings. During his three years' reign, James managed to make enemies of most of his Protestant subjects. He "suspended" the laws against Roman Catholics and appointed them to positions of authority and influence. James also dismissed Parliament and supported himself with subsidies from Louis XIV. At last a number of Whig and Tory leaders, representing both parties in Parliament, invited that sturdy Protestant, William of Orange, [28] to rescue England from Stuart absolutism.

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689 A.D.

William landed in England with a small army and marched unopposed to London. The wretched king, deserted by his courtiers and his soldiers, soon found himself Harness alone. He fled to France, where he lived the

remainder of his days as a pensioner at the court of Louis XIV. Parliament granted the throne conjointly to William and Mary, William to rule during his lifetime and Mary to have the succession, should she survive him.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

In settling the crown on William and Mary, Parliament took care to safeguard its own authority and the of Protestant religion. It enacted the Bill of Rights, which has a place by the side of Magna Carta and the Petition of Right among the great documents of English constitutional history. This act decreed that the sovereign must henceforth be a member of the Anglican Church. It forbade the sovereign to "suspend" the operation of the laws, or to levy money or maintain a standing army except by consent of Parliament. It also declared that election of members of Parliament ought to be free; that they ought to enjoy freedom of speech and action within the two Houses; and that excessive bail ought not to be required, or excessive fines imposed, or cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. Finally, it affirmed the right of subjects to petition the sovereign and ordered the holding of frequent Parliaments. These were not new principles of political liberty, but now the English people were strong enough not only to assert, but also to uphold them. They reappear in the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

THE TOLERATION ACT

At this time, also, England took an important step in the direction of religious liberty. Parliament passed a Toleration Act, conceding to the Dissenters the right of worship, though not the right of holding any civil or military office. The Dissenters might now serve their God as they pleased, without fear of persecution. Unitarians and Roman Catholics, as well as Jews, were expressly excluded from the benefits of the act. The passage of

this measure did much to remove religion from English politics as a vital issue.

THE "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION"

The revolution of 1688-89 A.D. thus struck a final blow at absolutism and divine right in England. An English king became henceforth the servant of Parliament, holding office only on good behavior. An act of Parliament had made him and an act of Parliament might depose him. It is well to remember, however, that the revolution was not a popular movement. It was a successful struggle for parliamentary supremacy on the part of the upper and middle classes—the nobles, squires, merchants, and clergy. England now had a "limited" or "constitutional" monarchy controlled by the aristocracy. Not till the nineteenth century did the common people succeed in establishing a really democratic government in England.

249. ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SOCIAL ENGLAND

The population of England at the close of the seventeenth century exceeded five millions, of whom at least two-thirds lived in the country. Except for London there were only four towns of more than ten thousand inhabitants. London counted half a million people within its limits and had become the largest city in Europe. Town life still wore a medieval look, but the increase of wealth gradually introduced many new comforts and luxuries. Coal came into use instead of charcoal; tea, coffee, and chocolate competed with wine, ale, and beer as beverages; the first newspapers appeared, generally in weekly editions; amusements multiplied; and passenger coaches began to ply between London and the provincial centers. The highways, however, were wretched and infested with robbers. The

traveler found some recompense for the hardships of a journey in the country inns, famous for their plenty and good cheer. The transport of goods was chiefly by means of pack horses, because of the poor roads and the absence of canals. Postal arrangements also remained very primitive, and in remote country districts letters were not delivered more than once a week. The difficulties of travel and communication naturally made for isolation; and country people, except the wealthy, rarely visited the metropolis.

[Illustration: A LONDON BELLMAN Title-page of a tract published in 1616 A.D. It was part of the duties of a bellman, or night-watchman, to call out the hours, the state of the weather, and other information as he passed by.]

ECONOMIC ENGLAND

As the population of England increased, old industries developed and new ones sprang up. The chief manufacture was that of wool, while that of silk flourished after the influx of Huguenots which followed the revocation [29] of the Edict of Nantes. The absence of large textile mills made it necessary to carry on spinning and weaving in the homes of the operatives. The vast mineral deposits, which in later times became the main source of England's prosperity, were then little worked. Farming and the raising of sheep and cattle still remained the principal occupations. But agriculture was retarded by the old system of common tillage and open fields, just as industry was fettered by the trade monopoly of the craft guilds. These survivals of the Middle Ages had not yet disappeared.

[Illustration: COACH AND SEDAN CHAIR
Title-page of a tract published in 1636 A.D.]

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

The seventeenth century in England saw a notable advance in science. At this time Harvey revealed the circulation of the blood. [30] Napier, a Scotchman, invented logarithms, which lie at the basis of the higher mathematics. Boyle, an Irishman, has been called the "father of modern chemistry," so many were his researches in that field of knowledge. Far greater than any of these men was Sir Isaac Newton, who discovered the law of gravitation and the differential calculus. During the Civil War a group of students interested in the natural world began to hold meetings in London and Oxford, and shortly after the Restoration they obtained a charter under the name of the Royal Society. It still exists and enrolls among its members the most distinguished scientists of England. The Royal Observatory at Greenwich also dates from the period of the Restoration. Altogether much was being done to uncover the secrets of nature.

[Illustration: DEATH MASK OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON.
In the possession of the Royal Society of London.]

PROGRESS OF ART

Seventeenth century England produced no very eminent painters or sculptors, though foreign artists, such as Rubens and Van Dyck, were welcomed there. Among architects the most famous was Sir Christopher Wren, who did much to popularize the Renaissance style of building. [31] A great fire which destroyed most of old London during the reign of Charles II gave Wren an opportunity to rebuild about fifty parish churches, as well as St. Paul's Cathedral. His tomb in the crypt of the cathedral bears the famous inscription: *Si monumentum requieris, circumspice*: "If you seek his monument, look around you."

LITERATURE

English literature in the seventeenth century covered many fields. Shakespeare and Bacon, the two chief literary ornaments of the Elizabethan Age, did some of their best work during the reign of James I. In 1611 A.D. appeared the Authorized Version of the Bible, sometimes called the King James Version because it was dedicated to that monarch. The simplicity, dignity, and eloquence of this translation have never been excelled, and it still remains in ordinary use among Protestants throughout the English-speaking world. [32] The Puritan poet, John Milton, composed his epic of *Paradise Lost* during the reign of Charles II. About the same time another Puritan, John Bunyan, wrote the immortal *Pilgrim's Progress*, a book which gives an equal though different pleasure to children and adults, to the ignorant and the learned. But these are only a few of the eminent poets and prose writers of the age.

POSITION OF ENGLAND

Thus, aside from its political importance, the seventeenth century formed a noteworthy period in English history. England until this time had been, on the whole, a follower rather than a leader of Europe. The defeat of the Spanish Armada, the overthrow of Stuart absolutism, and the check administered to the aggressive designs of Louis XIV were so many indications that England had risen to a place of first importance in European affairs. During this century, too, the American colonies of England began to lay the basis for Anglo-Saxon predominance in the New World.

STUDIES

1. Give dates for (a) Peace of Utrecht, (b) execution of Charles I, (c) the "Glorious Revolution," and (d) revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

2. For what were the following men notable: Pym; Bossuet; duke of Marlborough; Louvois; Hampden; Mazarin; William III; and Colbert?

3. Explain and illustrate the following terms: (a) balance of power; (b) budget system; (c) absolutism; (d) writ of *habeas corpus*; (e) militarism; (f) "ship money," and (g) Star Chamber.

4. Compare the theory of the divine right of kings with the medieval theory of the papal supremacy.

5. In what European countries do kings still rule by divine right?

6. What is the essential distinction between a "limited" or "constitutional" monarchy and an "absolute" or "autocratic" monarchy?

7. Why is it very desirable for the United States to adopt the budget system?

8. After what French king was Louisiana named?

9. Why did the French language in the seventeenth century become the language of fashion and diplomacy? Is this still the case?

10. "The age of Louis XIV in France is worthy to stand by the side of the age of Pericles in Greece and of Augustus in Italy." Does this statement appear to be justified?

11. How does the preservation of the balance of power help to explain the Great European War?

12. By reference to the map on page 699 show how far the "natural boundaries" of France were attained during the reign of Louis XIV.

13. How did the condition of Germany after 1648 A.D. facilitate the efforts of Louis XIV to extend the French frontiers to the Rhine?

14. Show that in the Peace of Utrecht nearly all the contestants profited at the expense of Spain.

15. Explain: "Rump Parliament"; "Pride's Purge"; the "New Model"; the "Ironsides"; "Cavalier"; and "Roundhead."

16. What circumstances gave rise to (a) the Petition of Right; (b) the Institute of Government; (c) the Habeas Corpus Act; and (d) the Bill of Rights?

17. Why were the reformers within the Church of England called "Puritans"?

18. Contrast the Commonwealth as a national republic with the Athenian and Roman city-states, the medieval Italian cities, the Swiss Confederation, and the United Netherlands.

19. Under what circumstances does the Constitution of the United States provide for the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*?

20. Why has the Bill of Rights been called the "third great charter of English liberty"?

21. Show that the revolution of 1688 A.D. was a "preserving" and not a "destroying" revolution.

22. How did the revolution of 1688 A.D. affect the fortunes of Louis XIV?

23. Why did it prove more difficult to establish a despotic monarchy in England than in France during the seventeenth century?

24. What is the present population of England? of "Greater London?"

FOOTNOTES

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxv, "Characters and Episodes of the Great Rebellion"; chapter xxvi, "Oliver Cromwell"; chapter xxvii, "English Life and Manners under the Restoration"; chapter xxviii, "Louis XIV and his Court."

[2] *Hamlet*, iv, Y,123.

[3] *King Richard the Second*, in, ii, 54-57.

[4] *Politics as derived from the Very Words of the Holy Scriptures*. This work was prepared for the use of the young son of Louis XIV, the French king.

[5] See pages 682, 684.

[6] "*L'État, c'est moi.*"

[7] See page 514, 515.

[8] See page 681.

[9] See page 597, note 4.

[10] See page 601.

[11] See page 573.

[12] In America the war was known as "King William's War."

[13] In 1689 A.D. he ascended the English throne as William III. See page 720.

[14] In America the war was known as "Queen Anne's War."

[15] See page 315, note 2

[16] His great-grandson, then a child of five years. The reign of Louis XV covered the period 1715-1774 A.D.

[17] See pages 518-519, 658, 675-676.

[18] See page 507.

[19] See page 511, note 1, 676 and note 1.

[20] See page 505.

[21] See page 657, 664, note 1, 676.

[22] So called, because some of them wore closely cropped hair, in contrast to the flowing locks of the "Cavaliers."

[23] Also called Separatists, and later known as Congregationalists.

[24] See pages 511, 676.

[25] Or Noncomformists. This name is still applied to English Protestants not members of the Anglican Church.

[26] A Latin phrase meaning "You may have the body."

[27] Whig had originally been applied to rebellious Presbyterians in Scotland; Tory had designated Roman Catholic outlaws in Ireland.

[28] See page 701. William had married James's eldest daughter, Mary.

[29] See page 696.

[30] See page 609.

[31] See page 597.

[32] Many important corrections were embodied in the Revised Version, published in 1881-1885 A.D. by a committee of English scholars.

APPENDIX

TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES

Before 1000 B.C., and in some instances even later, nearly all dates must be regarded as merely approximate.

(Specially important dates are in italics)

THE ORIENT

B.C.

3400 *Menes, king of Egypt*
3000-2500 The pyramid kings
2000 *Hammurabi, king of Babylonia*
1800-1600 Rule of the Hyksos in Egypt
1292-1225 Rameses II, king of Egypt
1035-925 The undivided Hebrew monarchy
Saul, 1035-1015
David, 985-955
Solomon, 955-925
925-722 Kingdom of Israel
925-586 Kingdom of Judea
722-705 Sargon II, king of Assyria
705-681 Sennacherib, king of Assyria

606 *Destruction of Nineveh*
604-561 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylonia
553-465 Persian kings
Cyrus the Great, 553-529
Cambyses, 529-522
Darius I, 521-485
Xerxes I, 485-465
539 *Capture of Babylon by Cyrus the Great*

GREECE

B.C.

1600-1100 The Aegean Age
1100-750 Homeric Age
776 *First recorded Olympiad*
750-500 Period of colonial expansion
594-593 Reforms of Solon
560-527 Tyranny of Pisistratus
508-507 Reforms of Clisthenes
499-493 Ionian Revolt
490 *Battle of Marathon*
480 *Battles of Thermopylae and Salamis*
479 *Battles of Plataea and Mycale*
477-454 Delian League
461-429 Age of Pericles
431-404 *The Peloponnesian War*
404-371 Spartan supremacy
401-400 *Expedition of the "Ten Thousand"*
371-362 Supremacy of Thebes
371 *Battle of Leuctra*

362 Battle of Mantinea
359-336 Philip II, king of Macedonia
338 *Battle of Chaeronea*
336-323 Reign of Alexander the Great
335 Destruction of Thebes
334 Battle of the Granicus
333 Battle of Issus
332 Siege of Tyre; founding of Alexandria
331 *Battle of Arbela*
323 *Death of Alexander*

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

B.C.

753(?) *Founding of Rome* 753(?)-509(?) Legendary Roman kings 509(?) Establishment of the republic 449 Laws of the Twelve Tables 390(?) *Battle of the Allia; capture of Rome by the Gauls* 340-338 Latin War; dissolution of the Latin League 327-290 Samnite Wars 281-272 War between Rome and Tarentum; invasion of Pyrrhus 264-241 *First Punic War* 218-201 *Second Punic War* 216 Battle of Cannae 202 *Battle of Zama* 201 Peace between Rome and Carthage 197 Macedonia becomes a dependent ally of Rome 190 Syria becomes a dependent ally of Rome 149-146 Third Punic War 146 *Destruction of Carthage and Corinth; Africa and Macedonia become Roman provinces* 133 Acquisition of the province of Asia; final subjugation of Spain 133 Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus 123-122 Tribunate of Gaius Gracchus 112-106 Jugurthine War 102-101 Invasion of the Germans 90-88 The Social War 88-84 War with Mithridates 83-82 Civil War between Marius and Sulla 82-79 Dictatorship of Sulla 70 Impeachment of Verres 67 Pompey and the

war with the pirates 63 *Conspiracy of Catiline* 60-53 First Triumvirate: Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar 58-50 Conquest of Gaul by Caesar 53 Defeat of Crassus by the Parthians at Carrhae 48 Battle of Pharsalus 44 *Assassination of Caesar* 43 Second Triumvirate: Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian 42 Battles of Philippi 31 *Battle of Actium*

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

31 B.C.-68 A.D. The Julian and Claudian Caesars
Augustus, 31 B.C.-I4 A.D.
Tiberius, 14-37
Gaius (Caligula), 37-41
Claudius, 41-54
Nero 54-68

27 Octavian receives the title *Augustus*

4(?) Birth of Christ

A.D.

43-85 Conquest of Britain

64 The Great Fire in Rome; Nero's persecution of the Christians

68-69 The year of military revolution; Galba, Otho, and Vitellius emperors

69-96 The Flavian Caesars
Vespasian, 69-79
Titus, 79-81
Domitian, 81-96

70 Capture of Jerusalem by Titus

79 *Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum*

96-180 The "Good Emperors"

Nerva, 96-98
Trajan, 98-117
Hadrian, 117-138
Antoninus Pius, 138-161
Marcus Aurelius, 161-180

101-106 Conquest of Dacia by Trajan

180-284 The "Soldier Emperors"
Commodus, 180-192
Septimius Severus, 193-211
Aurelian, 270-275

212 *Edict of Caracalla*

227 Rise of the Sassanian or New Persian Empire

284 *Reorganization of the Roman Empire by Diocletian*

284-395 The "Absolute Emperors"
/Diocletian, 284-305
\Maximian, 286-305
Constantine I, 306-337
(sole emperor, 324-337)
Julian, 361-363
Theodosius I (East), 379-395

311 Edict of Galerius

312 Battle of the Milvian Bridge

313 *Edict of Milan*

325 *Council of Nicaea*

326 330 Removal of the capital to Constantinople

376 The Visigoths cross the Danube

378 Battle of Adrianople

395 *Death of Theodosius I*

410 *Capture of Rome by Alaric*

415-711 Visigothic kingdom in Spain (in Gaul, 415-507)

429-534 Vandal kingdom in Africa
443-534 Kingdom of the Burgundians
449 Invasion of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons
451 *Battle of Châlons*
455 Sack of Rome by the Vandals
476 *Deposition of Romulus Angustulus*

THE MIDDLE AGES

486 Clovis defeats the Romans at Soissons 493-553 Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy 496 *Clovis accepts Christianity* 527-565 Justinian, Roman emperor in the East 529(?) Rule of St. Benedict 568-774 Lombards in Italy 590-604 Pontificate of Gregory the Great 597 Augustine's mission to the Anglo-Saxons 610-641 Heraclius, Roman emperor in the East 622 *The Hegira* 632-661 The "Orthodox Caliphs" 661-750 The Ommiad Caliphs 711 Arabs and Berbers invade Spain 716-717 Siege of Constantinople by the Arabs 732 *Battle of Tours* 750-1058 The Abbassid Caliphs 768-814 Reign of Charlemagne 800 *Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans* 829 England united under Egbert 843 Treaty of Verdun 862(?) Northmen under Ruric settle in Russia 870 Treaty of Mersen 871-901(?) Reign of Alfred the Great 911 Northmen settle in northwestern France (Normandy) 962 *Otto the Great crowned Holy Roman Emperor* 982 Greenland discovered 987-996 Reign of Hugh Capet 988 Christianity introduced into Russia 1000(?) Vinland discovered 1016 England conquered by Canute 1054 Final rupture of Greek and Roman churches 1066 *Battle of Hastings; Norman conquest of England* 1066-1087 William I, the Conqueror, king of England 1073-1085 Pontificate of Gregory VII 1077 Humiliation of Henry IV at Canossa 1090-1153 St. Bernard 1095-1291 The Crusades 1095 *Council of Clermont* 1099 Capture of Jerusalem 1147-1149 Second Crusade 1189-1192 Third Crusade

1202-1204 Fourth Crusade; sack of Constantinople 1204-1261 Latin Empire of Constantinople 1291 *Fall of Acre; end of the crusades* 1122 Concordat of Worms 1152-1190 Reign of Frederick I, Barbarossa 1154-1189 Henry II, king of England 1180-1223 Philip II, Augustus, king of France 1181(?)-1226 St. Francis of Assisi 1198-1216 Pontificate of Innocent III 1206-1227 Mongol conquests under Jenghiz Khan 1215 *Magna Carta* 1226-1270 Louis IX, the Saint, king of France 1230 Union of Léon and Castile 1237-1240 Mongol conquest of Russia 1254-1273 The Interregnum 1261 Fall of Latin Empire of Constantinople 1271-1295 Travels of Marco Polo 1272-1307 Edward I, king of England 1273 *Rudolf of Hapsburg becomes Holy Roman Emperor* 1285-1314 Philip IV, the Fair, king of France 1291 First Swiss Confederation 1295 "Model Parliament" of Edward I 1309-1377 "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy 1314 Battle of Bannockburn 1337-1453 Hundred Years' War 1346 Battle of Crécy 1356 Battle of Poitiers 1429 Joan of Arc appears 1348-1349 Black Death in Europe 1378-1417 The "Great Schism" 1381 Peasants' Revolt in England 1396 Greek first taught at Florence 1405 Death of Timur the Lame 1415 John Huss burned

TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES

1453 *Constantinople captured by the Ottoman Turks* 1455-1485 War of the Roses 1461-1483 Louis XI, king of France 1462-1505 Ivan III, the Great, tsar of Russia 1476 Caxton's printing press set up in England 1479 Castile and Aragon united under Ferdinand and Isabella 1485-1509 Henry VII, king of England 1488 Cape of Good Hope rounded by Diaz 1492 *America discovered by Columbus* 1497 North America rediscovered by John Cabot 1498 *Vasco da Gama reaches India* 1513 Discovery of the Pacific by Balboa 1517-1555 Reformation in Germany 1517 *The Ninety-five Theses* 1520 Burning of the papal bull 1521 Edict

of Worms 1555 Peace of Augsburg 1519-1521 Mexico conquered by Cortés 1519-1522 Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe 1519-1556 Reign of Charles V 1531-1537 Peru conquered by Pizarro 1533-1558 Reformation in England 1534 Jesuit order founded by Loyola 1545-1563 Council of Trent 1556-1598 Reign of Philip II 1558-1603 Elizabeth, queen of England 1568-1609 Revolt of the Netherlands 1571 Battle of Lepanto 1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew 1579 Union of Utrecht 1588 *Defeat of the Spanish Armada* 1589-1610 Henry IV, king of France 1598 *Edict of Nantes* 1600 English East India Company chartered 1603-1625 Reign of James I 1607 Colonization of Virginia; Jamestown founded 1611 Authorized Version of the Bible 1618-1648 Thirty Years' War 1625-1649 Reign of Charles I 1628 The Petition of Right 1630-1640 Puritan exodus to Massachusetts 1640 Meeting of the Long Parliament 1642-1649 The Great Rebellion 1643-1715 Louis XIV, king of France 1648 *Peace of Westphalia* 1649 Execution of Charles I 1649-1660 The Commonwealth and the Protectorate 1651 First Navigation Act 1660 Restoration of Charles II 1688-1689 *The "Glorious Revolution"* 1692 Salem witchcraft persecution 1702-1713 War of the Spanish Succession 1713 *Peace of Utrecht* 1744-1748 "King George's War" 1754-1763 "French and Indian War" 1763 *Peace of Paris*

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