

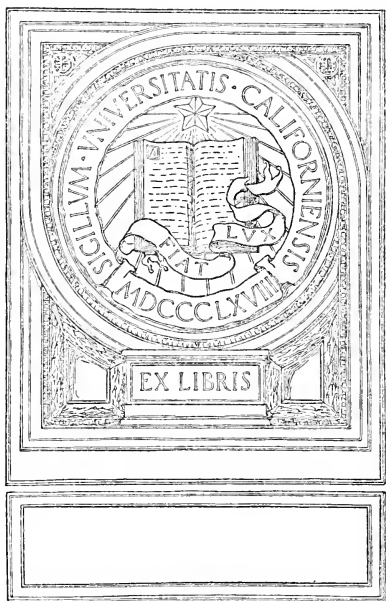
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THE announcement on the opposite page gives a suggestion of the very comprehensive plans the publishers have in mind for preparing helps for history teachers. Suggestions for the improvement or extension of the plans will be welcome.

To secure editors who had the unusual combination of scholarship and teaching ability was no easy task. The publishers acknowledge the splendid co-operation of the editors, who often at great personal inconvenience and amidst the pressure of other important duties sought to render a service for the better teaching of history in American schools.

In the preparation of each of these series the publishers aimed to produce maps that would meet the highest demands of artistic form, arrangement, and mechanical excellence; at the same time to keep the price of the maps within the reach of the most modest school system. The success achieved in this direction is due to the skillful and hearty co-operation of the craftsmen of the staff.

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A display room is maintained in which maps and pictures of different publishers can be examined and compared, and at which teachers are always welcome. The editorial staff gladly gives advice, either personally or by correspondence, as to the best selection of material for a fixed appropriation. School officials are urged to use freely this department of the institution.

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# A TEACHER'S MANUAL

ACCOMPANYING THE

# BREASTED-HUTH ANCIENT HISTORY MAPS

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED, Ph.D.

AND

CARL F. HUTH, JR.

Professors in the University of Chicago

1918

DENOYER-GEPPERT COMPANY

School Map Publishers

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## PREFACE

THE history teachers in American schools are equipped with better text books than those of any other country. It is therefore all the more noteworthy that the history class-room should heretofore have been so inadequately furnished with wall maps. The need has been most noticeable in ancient history. No series of ancient history wall maps available in America has thus far represented the present state of knowledge. The rapid increase in our geographic knowledge of the ancient world, especially as revealed by exploration and archæological discovery both in the Mediterranean and the Orient, has far outstripped the data offered in any of the wall maps which have heretofore been in use among the schools of America. The large and elaborate wall maps produced by German publishers, while satisfactory in this respect, have been too large, too expensive and too detailed for use in schools.

In preparing this series of ancient history wall maps, therefore, the editors have felt that they were endeavoring to meet a real need in American education. Their effort has been so to select the epochs represented as to bring out a clear sequence of great outstanding points or periods of history, and thus to suggest in geographical terms that the career of man is not static but is always a progressive process. It is hoped that the sequence maps, a combination of successive periods on the same sheet, which one of the editors had already developed in an ancient history text book, will contribute to aid the teacher in impressing upon classes the great movement and drift of history in the ancient world, as seen in growth, development and decline.

At the same time it has been the effort of the editors to indicate trade-routes, roads and lines of communication along which commerce and influences of civilization moved from people to people or continent to continent. Similarly the most important native products, resources and raw materials, which stimulated such intercourse, have been inserted quite generally. Reviewers have already given these economic features a kindly welcome, and have even expressed a desire for more, especially in

the matter of trade routes. Perhaps at a not very distant date, further special maps along these lines may be forthcoming.

The revelations of archæological research and excavation, both in the classical lands and those of the Near Orient down to the date when the maps went to press, have been carefully considered, as for example in the recent discovery that the Hittites were already mining and using iron in commercial quantities in northeastern Asia Minor in the thirteenth century B. C.

It should be noted that the grade and manner of instruction for which these maps have been prepared, have conditioned their character in essential particulars. In the first place the series is intended primarily for instruction in secondary schools. While its possible use in general college courses was also assumed and some material added with that contingency in mind, nevertheless it has been wiser in the opinion of the editors not to encumber the maps, and especially those of the Orient, with overcrowded names which might be referred to in college classes, but would obscure clearness and hamper instruction in the secondary schools.

In the second place the series is designed essentially for the class room wall and not for reference. The distance at which the map would be viewed in the class room has been the deciding factor in every case in which the question of exclusion or insertion of material has arisen. Only in the map of Cæsar's Gaul, for which there is a special demand in classes in Latin, was this principle somewhat relaxed. Colors, symbols and other devices have been employed with a view to simplifying and increasing the visibility and quick availability of the maps. Clear ocular impression on a large and general scale, and not necessarily precise, complete and detailed information, has been a cardinal aim. Thus, for example, in picturing Greek and Phœnician colonization, the broad general impression of the extent of colonization and the resulting radiation of culture influences have been the essential aim, rather than a full listing of names of colonies, or accurate fixation of boundaries. The same is true of the map of early Italy (B11).

It will be noticed that not all maps have been definitely dated. The fluidity and complexity of human development, as well as our lack of full and trustworthy data often render precise dating impracticable. For this reason also, the point of view of the student rather than that of the spe-

cialist has always been adopted in presenting the materials. Expediency in teaching has necessarily been the controlling factor. Thus in early Italy the conventional representation of the ethnic situation has been largely retained.

The editors have regarded military details as merely subsidiary. Where the importance of such material or the requirements of teaching seemed to demand, such data have been inserted. In place of more details of this type, constitutional and industrial matter have been added in so far as it is available and trustworthy.

Into such a series of maps the labors of many scholars necessarily enter. The editors and draughtsmen have constantly profited by consulting the maps of KIEPERT, BALDAMUS, SCHWABE, SIEGLIN, SCHRAEDER, DESJARDINS, PUTZGER, SHEPHERD, HOLMES, GUTHE, DROYSEN, REICH, CAVAINAC, DUSSAUD, and some others less frequently employed.

We are indebted to Dr. Berthold Laufer, Curator of Anthropology in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, for valuable suggestions and modern material for reconstruction of the map of China in B1.

The editors feel also that great credit is due the publishers to whose discernment, energy and patient co-operation American teachers and scholars owe these maps. Besides the never failing assistance of Mr. L. P. Denoyer, which has been of great value to the series, the editors would also express their appreciation of the devoted labors of the chief draughtsman, Mr. R. Baxter Blair.

The writer of these prefatory remarks feels it is but a slight recognition of his colleague's labors to state that by far the greater burden of editorial work has fallen upon Prof. Huth, both in the preparation of the maps and the writing of this manual. Of these pages Prof. Huth has furnished all the discussion of maps six to sixteen inclusive, and nearly all of the introduction.

J. H. B.

The University of Chicago.





## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD AND THE NEAR ORIENT

The Mediterranean Sea and its adjacent lands as far east as Persia formed the imposing stage upon which the drama of ancient history was enacted. In this region we are accustomed to seek the ancestry of our western civilization. The territory commonly considered as part of the Mediterranean basin has an extent of about three million square miles. This is but a modest portion of the world of the eastern hemisphere, and above all only a small region if compared with the areas known to have ultimately developed a considerable civilization of their own in ancient times (see Map B1). We are in a self-satisfied manner prone to forget this, because in the main these other remoter worlds of the Far Orient went their own way and developed a life which contributed little or nothing to the building up of that life and society which we regard as more intimately our own.

The outstanding feature of the Mediterranean area is the sea which gives it its name. It is thus prominent not merely because of its relative size, but as will be apparent to any observer, because the sea is really the great bond of union between the peoples and lands round about. Its coastal regions are so frequently impassable except with difficulty that men were forced to use the water highways, even where poverty of the home soil was not an incentive to seeking a livelihood upon the sea or beyond it. Thus this inland ocean does not separate but unites. Its very name as far as we know that it was given one by these ancient peoples, would indicate this. Not until the third century of our era do we find reference to the name "*Mediterranean*." They termed it merely "the sea," or more frequently perhaps, "our sea." It was the heart of their life and their nurturing mother in more ways than one.

While it is true that this great body of water links the ancient peoples it must also be distinctly understood by the student that the whole region about it is in itself a clear cut unit of this earth's surface. That is

proven not merely by the inevitable tendency of historical developments as they occurred over this area, but by evidences from the plant and animal life, and from its geological formation and history. Lastly this striking unity is shown by the series of more or less rugged mountain ranges and desert plateaus which shut it off from the rest of the world.

The sea itself, now a unit, was only in recent geological time thus fashioned. There seems no doubt that once upon a time it was cut up into a number of lakes. At least it seems to have been separated into an eastern and a western basin, the dividing line being a land ridge connecting Italy via Sicily and the lesser islands with Africa. A sinking process gradually submerged these connections and resulted in the union of the two seas. The process of subsidence was apparently accompanied by volcanic disturbances, and volcanic action in this particular region has not ceased even now. The operation of these gigantic forces of nature in historic times aroused in the mind of the ancients indelible impressions. Tradition, mythology and religion show plainly that both the Greek and the Roman speculated a great deal about the superhuman forces supposedly responsible for these upheavals.

The Mediterranean as it now is would probably again divide itself automatically into its component basins due to the fact that the rainfall over its whole surface is considerable less than the evaporation. This process of reversion to former conditions, however, is inhibited by the circumstance that the lack of precipitation is compensated for by the water pouring in at both ends, through the Straits of Gibraltar and from the Black Sea and its tributary rivers. While the level of this land-locked sea is thus rendered stable, this inflow determines certain of its characteristics. In the first place, it is a body of salt water. Indeed the salt content, despite the coming in of fresh water through the rivers all along and from those emptying into the Black Sea, is higher than that of the Atlantic at approximately the same latitude. The average amount of salt contained in the ocean water is barely three and one-half per cent. In the Mediterranean it is four, and in the Black Sea less than two. The peculiar blue color of the water has not been satisfactorily explained, but it seems to be due to residuary organic matter and in certain special localities to mineral deposits.

The Mediterranean is practically a tideless sea. Where local

phenomena of ebb and tide do exist in a more than negligible degree, as for instance in the northern Adriatic around Venice, this is caused by the banking of the water by winds blowing from a certain quarter. Neither lunar influences nor on the other hand strong currents in the water itself can be held responsible. Indeed the currents of the Mediterranean have been overemphasized considerably, especially as regards their influence on ancient shipping. Certain local wind conditions and other circumstances in limited areas do result in rapids and even whirlpools; as for instance in the Straits of Messina, the ancient Scylla and Charybdis; or in the waters between Eubœa and the mainland, and again off the southwestern inlet leading through the narrows to Constantinople. These interfered with ancient navigation, not because of their intrinsic strength and rapidity but because of the primitive means of navigation employed and the extreme timidity of the ancient sailors.

The Mediterranean world also possesses a climatic uniformity. The entire region participates in what is called maritime climate exhibiting on the whole remarkable steadiness of wind and weather conditions. Only as one passes further on to the eastern portions of the sea does it assume a more continental character. To the northern European visitor the seasons in the Mediterranean have always been an object of unusual interest because of their lack of sharp definition. While the Greek and Roman knew in reality only two periods in the climatic year, the Northerner was accustomed to four. Summer and winter in the Mediterranean world quite imperceptibly merge into each other without any intermediate season. The relatively greater warmth of Mediterranean lands was also always noted. This is due not to mere latitude but to special circumstances, especially the mountain protection against the raw winds of the north, the nearness of large overheated desert sections to the south, the general west-easterly orientation of the whole region which gives free play to mild ocean breezes. Because of these conditions and certain characteristics of the wind, summer weather during four months of the year produces such a degree of drought and desiccation that the whole plant life and to a degree even animal and human existence is profoundly affected. One might say that in place of the winter sleep familiar to the northern European, the Mediterranean territory has its time of summer rest. The great period of bloom and fertility is the winter with its rains

and freedom from the parching rays of the sun. Snowfall is very rare over the whole region except in the higher altitudes. (On this situation with especial reference to Italy see NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde*.) At the same time the annual variation in temperature is small, so that, taking all conditions together, plant and animal life, excepting in the months of drought, are greatly favored and quite plentiful.

Considering the entire area and for our present purpose without attempting an exhaustive catalogue of resources and products, the following items may be set down as representing the mainstays of ancient life and commerce. Among grains there were barley, wheat and spelt; besides these there was timber, not of very good varieties, and plentiful building stone, both the common and finer grades, especially marble; also potter's clay in abundance. Of other mineral substances there were gold and silver, iron, copper, lead, and sulphur; of animal products, besides meat and hides, wool, cheese, and the purple dye; a large variety of vegetables and fruit, though some now especially associated with this area, such as the lemon, the orange and the peach, did not come in until rather late in ancient times. The sea was used not merely for communication and transport, but as a source of food materials as well. Above all its salt content was very early and consistently exploited, while the fisheries, though perhaps not commonly employed by the earliest Greeks, furnished an ample supply of food especially for the poorer classes. The most important prize of the sea was the tunny, which to the ancients was as useful as to us the herring, cod and salmon combined. The anchovy and sardine were also much used.

While the sea thus bound together and to a considerable degree fed and provided the population dwelling about it, these peoples on the whole can not be said to have taken readily or confidently to a maritime career. The earliest sea-going ships built on the Nile appeared in the eastern Mediterranean not long before 3000 B. C., but this new art of navigation, first practiced by the Egyptians, developed very slowly. It is true, necessity made the Phœnician and the Greek, both east and west, a people of the sea; but the Roman never took kindly to seafaring, either for travel or for business. The ancient peoples of this area seem generally to have clung pretty close to the shores whenever circumstances forced them to take to the water. This is important in a consideration both of ancient

commerce and colonization. The modern principle of navigation, that the open sea is far less dangerous than the waters off shore, they never seem to have grasped. They feared the power of the turbulent element, less perhaps from ignorance of more developed means and methods of navigation than from awe of the incalculable forces of nature and the anger of the spirits of the deep. This attitude is quite striking and can be illustrated from contemporary tradition and folklore. The student will be interested in comparing this timidity with the daring of the northern Germanic stock in the face of a certainly much more dangerous body of water, and with less rather than more knowledge of the ordinary aids to navigation.

When the student of antiquity views the Mediterranean as a whole, particularly from the point of view of the origins of western civilization, one of the first noticeable features which he observes is the extension of Europe at three points into the sea, in the three peninsulas of Greece, Italy and Spain. These tentacles of Europe jut into the sea from the north and northwest and thereby reach out toward those lands and those coasts in the east and south in which and behind which the higher civilization of the earliest period had developed. It is quite plain and must be impressed upon the student on the basis of a map that Europe acquired the stimulus toward higher development, in fact a large body of its superior civilization, directly from these southern and eastern shores. In a sense these peninsulas, especially the easternmost, acted as highways along which the influences of the east traveled to the opposite coastlands of the sea and into the areas beyond. The higher civilization was acquired by each peninsula in turn, the movement being from east to west. It is further a fact worth noting that while the ethnic elements in each came chiefly from northern Europe, and so to speak filtered into the peninsulas from the north and northeast, the culture and most higher aspects of life, including also political institutions, to a considerable degree were derived from the south and east.

The next prominent feature of the Mediterranean world as a whole is the fact that the southern shores of the sea are flanked by a vast desert which extends from the Atlantic on the west, eastward across northern Africa to the Red Sea, and appears again on the Asiatic side of this sea where it stretches on eastward and northward across Arabia, and with

some interruptions continues northeastward far into the heart of Asia. The hinterland, therefore, along the entire south shore of the Mediterranean, is a desert, which confined settlers on this coast to a narrow shore line, thus forcing any aggressive people, like the Carthaginians, to expansion seaward. Hence the Carthaginians endeavored to appropriate Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Spain. It is of primary importance to note, therefore, that no great national expansion inward into Africa was possible on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The only exception to this remark is at the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean, where the Nile valley furnishes an avenue into Africa. But even here, the cataracts of the Nile, which are mostly unnavigable, form a very serious barrier between the Mediterranean world and inner Africa, a barrier which is not wholly overcome even at the present day. It was here in this southeastern corner of the Mediterranean, in the lower (upper on the map) reaches of the Nile, that civilization arose, and passed thence to the nearest islands and the nearest peninsula of Europe (see Map B5).

Besides being crossed by the Nile, the great inter-continental desert just mentioned is also crossed diagonally by the twin rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. On the lower alluvial bottoms of these two streams civilization developed very early, but as this valley does not belong to the basin of the Mediterranean, the civilization which grew up there was slower in reaching the Mediterranean peoples. It is very essential in this connection to study the geographical relation of Asia to the Mediterranean. Just as Europe projects its three peninsulas into the Mediterranean, so Asia throws forward another large peninsula east of Europe's three. This great peninsula of Asia Minor brought the Asiatic Orient to the very shores of Europe. Asia Minor was the link which connected the civilization of the twin rivers with the Aegean, and it was later Asia Minor which made the vast Persian Empire a neighbor of the little Greek city states. The later interpenetration of East and West took place to a large extent through Asia Minor, and at the present moment in the Great War, it is this peninsula along which German imperial expansion, rivaling that of Great Britain, is stretching from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf in its endeavor to make it the link between central Europe and western Asia.

Finally, it should be noticed that the great intercontinental desert

stretches northward east of Palestine, and flanks the entire eastern coast of the Mediterranean but a few miles inland from the shore (see Map B2). This situation, together with the Lebanon range dropping directly to the sea, forced the dwellers along the eastern Mediterranean shores, wherever the presence of harbors permitted, to take up a maritime life. Here then the Phœnicians, the leaders of the maritime peoples of this region, absorbing the civilizations of Egypt and of the twin rivers, carried them seaward, thus not only contributing much to the early progress of European civilization, but also carrying the earliest civilization into the western Mediterranean.

It will be observed then, that the life of early man was focused upon the Mediterranean from all sides. The rigors of a northern climate and the genial mildness of the southern sea naturally directed the currents of migration as they drifted down into the three peninsulas along the northern shores, while on the south and east the desert, lying but a few miles inland, forced the dwellers along these shores into more intimate relations with the sea before them, rather than with the continent at their backs. It was for these reasons that the Mediterranean and its shores became the great theater in which the drama of ancient history was enacted. The scene of action in that drama at first was the lands of the Near Orient lying around the eastern end of the Mediterranean. It then shifted to the eastern Mediterranean itself, first in the islands of the Aegean and then to the mainland of Greece. Its center next moved to Italy. In order to understand this gradual westward shift of civilization, power and leadership we must now discuss Greece and Italy in detail.

## II. GREECE

AFTER this preliminary consideration of some of the chief characteristics of the Mediterranean area in its entirety, it will be useful to both teacher and student to preface the comment on the individual maps in the series with a brief discussion of the outstanding features in the geography of both the Greek and Italian peninsulas, the areas in which the most important developments in classical antiquity occurred or were controlled. This course will avoid the necessity of referring to these matters in an extended fashion in connection with the individual maps later on.

We have already stated that Greece received the first impetus toward civilization, and later important cultural content from older and more advanced regions in the East and South. The mainland of Greece is a mere extension of what we know as the Balkan Peninsula, though the exact line at which the Greek sphere began and the Balkan body of land ended is not clearly definable. As a rule, however, it will suffice to say that Greece lay south of about the fortieth parallel. The striking feature of this peninsula is its extremely broken and indented coastline and a corresponding singular irregularity of surface, the whole interior being a veritable network of mountain ranges. Thus, while the whole complex is a good deal smaller in area than modern Portugal, this modest country has a longer coastline by a good margin than all of Spain and Portugal put together. So cut up into almost completely separated valley basins is Greece, so capricious its outline and so deep the inlets, that the furthest point inland, a spot somewhere in the middle of the Pindus range, is only sixty-two miles from the nearest coast. The student may note also that the peninsula is a good deal more broken up in the east than in the west. On the latter coast there are really only three larger dents, all rendered difficult of access by rocky approaches and shallows.

In structure, climate and population this region is merely a transitional area between Asia and Europe. Indeed, in geological time, seemingly in the late Tertiary age, this peninsula was part of a broad and mountain-ribbed land-bridge connecting the two continents. The break does not seem to have occurred until the Quaternary period. A process of subsidence, again accompanied by violent volcanic manifestations, seems then to have formed the Aegean and opened the communication to the Black Sea. The only outstanding evidences of the former situation are the islands of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, fragments of former mountain ranges. Even now, therefore, it is not difficult for the student to follow out these mountains which must have presented a compact and connected mass from the Julian Alps to the Taurus.

The soil of Greece consists largely of cretaceous deposits over impervious beds of slate, marble and other hard stone. There is an unusual absence of fertile plains, the two most extensive being in Thessaly and Phocis-Bœotia. (See on this matter the map of Greece by GRUNDY in MURRAY, *Handy Classical Maps*, where the plains are shown in



green.) The formation of good arable soil is very slow, since there is little weathering of the rocky surface because of the lack of moisture in the air or a steady rainfall. Alluvial deposits are also for this reason not as quickly formed, though the rapid mountain torrents otherwise furnished ample opportunity. Of the soil of Greece somewhat less than one-fourth can be regarded as rich enough for grain tillage. Another reason for this poverty of arable land is the rapid absorption of precipitation by the surface soil. The prevailing winds during a large part of the year reach Greece after a course carrying them from moderately warm to hot latitudes. When they arrive in Greece, especially after the cooling off process in the mountain barriers enclosing the Mediterranean basin and the resultant precipitation of moisture, they are practically rainless. The winds from the southwest bring plentiful rain, but the porous soil rapidly drains it off to the hard stone ledges below where it forms subterranean water caves and rivers. Thus it is of very little use to the tillers of the soil. Consequently, even large rivers in Greece are in the dry months mere rivulets or less. They are not of any great size at any time if we compare them to the streams of *northern* Europe. The longest is the Thessalian Peneus with 110 miles, next in size the Alpheus with 75 miles. (Compare the Thames 209 mi., Rhine 815 mi., Missouri 4,200 mi.) On the whole, therefore, Greece suffers a good deal from lack of steady moisture. This condition, however, is less marked in the *west* than the *east* of the peninsula. Here we consequently find a more profuse and varied vegetation. On the whole the surface of Greece can from the point of view of human exploitation be divided into four belts. The upper is barren rock in the highlands, below it lie the wooded areas, partly still within these but mainly in the next tier is found pasture land and in the lowest region finally the more or less cultivable soil (on this see ZIMMERN, *Greek Commonwealth*, pp. 39 ff).

It is an axiom that wind and rainfall are interdependent. In the two seasons of Greece wind conditions vary. During the winter the air current is variable; it may blow from any opening in the Bag of Winds. According to Hesiod it is, therefore, "a great trouble to mortals." When out of the *north* and *northeast*, down from the region of the Black Sea, it is raw and carries some snow; when blowing from the *southwest* it brings warm rain. In the summer the winds are more steady, chiefly

north and northeast, sometimes from the *northwest*. At this time the atmosphere is very clear. However, the makeup of Greece is such that a great deal of local variation in weather conditions results. Also, it must be borne in mind that there is one great stabilizing agency in the climatic factors of Greece. The sea moderates both the hot and the cold season so that the variation in temperature throughout the year is rather small.

As in the Mediterranean in general, Greece, because of the rainless months and hot sun, has its time of summer sleep, the period of vegetation being the winter.

Woodlands were scarce in Greece even in antiquity, if judged by the standards of northern Europe. This was due in part to the character of the soil and climate, but the situation was rapidly made worse as a result of senseless deforestation by the peasant and charcoal burner, and because of the destruction wrought by the many herds of goats. Excepting in the highlands of the northwest, the trees of Greece are scrubby and belong mainly to the tough and shiny-leaved or the evergreen species. Hence timber for building purposes was scarce, construction being chiefly of stone or brick, this latter type of building also being much more suited to the climate. Better grades for building ships were either closely guarded for home consumption or imported from regions better provided, as for instance from Thrace.

It was noted above that Greece has only a relatively small grain-bearing area. Much of this is not really fertile if judged, for instance, by Italian or African standards. The cereal crops of Greece were barley, wheat and spelt, none of these in sufficient amount to provide for a large population. The lack was made up by importation from Thrace, the Black Sea area, Egypt and Italy. In the matter of the olive the gods had dealt more kindly with the Greeks. Although not originally native to Greece, it grew almost everywhere, content with the scantiest soil, as long as it was protected from the raw north and northeast blasts. It furnished to the Greek food, lubricant, light, fuel and other necessities. Wine likewise was profuse and came to be the everyday beverage. The Greek would as soon have considered going without water as without wine. In animal husbandry the Greeks possessed fowl (after the seventh century B. C.), great numbers of goats, sheep, a puny type of cattle and horses, especially in Thessaly and Bœotia, and large numbers of donkeys

and mules very useful in mountainous territory. This stock helped the Greek to till his fields and bear his burdens, besides furnishing him food and clothing. In addition to meat, he began very early to use fish extensively, especially the tunny, the eel, anchovy and sardine. Vegetables were profuse, and of fruits he had especially the apple, pear, pomegranate and fig. Mineral substances were also present in ample supply. There was much crude building stone and clay for brick, besides plentiful marble of various colors and texture. In his own land or in immediately contiguous areas he found both base and precious metals, among them copper, iron, lead, silver and gold. Sulphur also was available, and the sea furnished all the salt necessary.

It is possible to overstress the influence of physical environment on a people to the exclusion of other highly important factors, for the methods of the test tube cannot be applied to human evolution. However, the following conclusions relative to the character and development of the Greeks, as far as either was determined or affected by geographical conditions, seem generally accepted. At the very outset of their career the semi-nomad northern hosts were forced to split up into many small groups as they migrated into Greece and made it their abode. (See here a partial parallel in the Celtic invasion shortly after 280 B. C.) They were then forced actually to settle down, to adopt the settled life of the peasant or city-dweller. Agriculture on a large scale being impracticable, Greece became a country of small farms and homesteads. It has been computed that the average estate of the highest census class in early Attica held about one hundred acres. All this means, if one considers also the character of the soil, a relatively small population unless foodstuffs were imported from abroad. At the best period, there lived in Greece approximately four million people as compared to a population for modern Greece of about two and a half million. Importations for such a large body of inhabitants would have to be very large and could be paid for only by industrial production. Where this was undeveloped, the land-holding methods being antiquated and the people normally prolific, outlets had to be found for the surplus humanity. Colonization, therefore, furnished Greece a safety valve. All students of Greek History realize how great was the number of Greeks thus forced out into the various regions of the Mediterranean (see Map B6). Agricultural activity went

hand in hand with and was supplemented by animal husbandry. Up and down the mountain side in the scant vegetation of the slopes and glades with the changing seasons went the flocks of goats and sheep. The shepherd was freer than the husbandman and by habit less conservative, more unmanageable, an unstable element for several reasons in the political and social problem.

The climate of Greece favored the social instinct of the Greek. He was much in the open, loved the market-place and was a great deal given to leading his life in public. Unfortunately, he was consequently not very homelike in his habits and family life suffered. The market-place and topics of common interest engaged him a great deal more than private and domestic affairs.

The variety of the landscape, its sharp delineation in the clear, pure atmosphere, its high lights and bright colors, stimulated a love for beauty and an artistic appreciation which was again inclined to find a public and communal rather than private expression.

The Greeks were great traders. The poverty of their country forced them to seek a livelihood beyond their shores. The sea lay open before them almost anywhere in Greece; islands beckoned in the near distance to hearten the timid; splendid and interesting higher civilizations beyond acted as magnets drawing them out of their homes into the world of the Aegean and Mediterranean, the heirs of the grave Tyrian trader.

The physical environment of the Greek almost predestined him in Greece proper to the life of a city state. His city was his native land. Brought up as each community was in an isolated compartment, it never burst these confining influences, but fought hard against those whom a more fortunate position and contact with a larger world were leading outside and beyond this city ideal. Sectionalism, local patriotism, the ideals of the particularist community—these were the restraining bonds which no force in Greek life was ever able to break. They rendered him incapable of undertaking or long pursuing any great common national Hellenic ideal including all men of Greek speech. His loyalty to the city state and the individualistic, quasi-democratic forms it made possible, is touching and sometimes sublime. In the end this loyalty defeated itself and baffled all efforts toward a great Greek nation, a United States of the Greeks.

## III. ITALY

THE Near Orient lay too far east for its great empires to achieve the unification of the Mediterranean world. This was illustrated by the failure of Persia's European campaigns, and the inability of the Ptolemies to control the western Mediterranean with their fleets. The Greek peninsula and islands were also much too far east for easy control of the whole Mediterranean. The unification of the Mediterranean world in a political sense, therefore, was not achieved by the Greeks—even its Hellenization, while advanced to a remarkable degree, was never accomplished except in modified forms through Rome. Italy, however, is centrally located in the Mediterranean, and Rome lies in the heart of Italy. Any advantage of geographical position, therefore, in an effort at unification, rested with the middle peninsula.

Italy extends from the 38th to the 44th parallel. It is some 600 miles long and varies in width from 25 to 125 miles, if one considers only the peninsula. In area about 91,000 square miles,\* it is twice as large as Greece and its islands and approximately the equivalent of the states of Illinois and Indiana. In comparison to Greece, Italy is a compact body, with but a few shallow bays. Neither in outline nor contour, therefore, as irregular as the former.

Speaking geologically, it was a solid land-bridge which until the Quaternary age connected Europe with Africa. At that time a break occurred accompanied by volcanic action and a perceptible raising of the mountain ridge in the peninsula. As a result the western Mediterranean found two passages open to the eastern basin and a large area which probably connected the islands of the Etruscan Sea with Italy proper sank below sea level. Traces of volcanic disturbance are still noticeable in the region where the subsidence occurred. The student need merely be reminded of Aetna, the Lipari volcanoes and of Vesuvius.

The dominating feature of Italy is the Apennine range, originally part of a system running from the Alps to the Atlas. Its greatest height

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\* This is without the neighboring large islands. The area 110,000 square miles given in BREASTED, *Ancient Times* (p. 486, footnote) includes the islands.

is attained in Italy proper near the central course at the so-called Great Rock (Gran Sasso). The central ridge is flanked on both sides by a later subsidiary elevation of Tertiary character and usually called Sub-Apennine. All in all about two-thirds of the peninsula and four-fifths of Sicily are of Tertiary deposit. Most of this area, while it is hilly, consists of fertile formations, a fact which gave Italy an advantage over Greece. While the Apennine with its dependent ranges thus seems not very favorable to the political and cultural unity of the peninsula, it is nevertheless quite easily crossed and hence raises no barriers in the way of unification such as those encountered in Greece.

Due to a very abrupt drop of the mountains on the east coast there is only a narrow, flat and harborless plain on this side which is interrupted by the Gargano ridge before it merges in the broad Apulian flats. Much richer in plains and in harbors is the west side, on which the subsidence occurred. Its outline is more irregular, there are coastal islands, and the hill country slopes much more gradually to the sea. This gives the mountain torrents a better chance for creating plain areas.

Despite the relatively greater number of harbors and roadsteads on this and the south side, Italy is in no sense well equipped for maritime traffic. In a coastline of about 2,000 miles it has only one real harbor, that of Tarentum. Possibly the harbor complex about the Bay of Naples ought to be added. As for the rest, when the development of Rome in the economic and political sense, brought home the need for more landing facilities, both military and commercial, these were either improved or artificially created. Note in this connection Brundisium, Puteoli, Ostia. A striking fact is this, that a rapid process of silting up at the mouths of the turbulent streams of Italy makes harbors there either impracticable entirely, or at least forces their continual reconstruction. The rapidity and extent of this landmaking function of the rivers and its bearing on the harbor question can best be studied on the basis of Ostia or the Arno.

The result of all these various factors is that the centers of political and cultural development, the plains, are all on the west and southwest of Italy which is turned away from Greece, and that for contact with the Mediterranean world Italy is likewise dependent on this side. The isolating effect of this situation is overcome by the fact that Italy extends sufficiently far southeastward to bring its lower end almost into the midst of

the earlier Greek civilization, whose mediatory influences it therefore did not escape.

The Po region to the early Roman was not a part of Italy. Not until the end of the third century did it come more definitely within his calculations and politically it was not made part of Italy until Cæsar's time. However, from the geographical point of view and considered in relation to Roman-Italian development as a whole, it was always an essential part of the economic and political situation. This can be seen by the manner in which it is shut off from the rest of Europe by the Alps, while it is not at all difficult to pass over the Apennines from the Po valley to central Italy. No better proof of the essential unity of the two areas can be given than the early Etruscan state and the persistent Gallic menace which forced Rome, as soon as opportunity offered, to confirm its hold on this region. Italy could not be held securely unless its northeastern and northwestern portals were dominated by Rome. To attain this safety, the valley of the Po would necessarily have to be acquired.

In a similar position to the south lay Sicily, which is really a part of Italy, severed by a sort of geological accident. Its relation to Italy otherwise is quite that of the Peloponnesus to the Greek mainland. No power holding sway in Italy could long delay taking over this island. To a foreign power it always formed a stepping stone to Italy. It was a portal of attack especially menacing because of the presence in the western Mediterranean of a strong and hostile maritime state with a foothold in Sicily at the same time that Rome consolidated Italy.

Sicily is geographically in all essentials like southern Italy. The Po valley, however, due to specific causes, differs from it a good deal. It is originally a bay of the Adriatic, which the action of mountain streams in the course of centuries had fashioned into an immensely fertile plain, merging toward the east into swamp-land and lagoon. Construction of dams and a slow natural elevation of the soil had aided this process of reclamation. The whole region presents a picture much like the Tigris-Euphrates area and the Nile delta. The process of land formation here as there is not ended. Venice shows that clearly today, and Adria and Ravenna, like the Queen of the Adriatic, semi-island towns still at the time of Augustus, now have become inland cities.

The climate of the Po area is continental, since it is shut off on three

sides from the mollifying influences of the Mediterranean. Thus while Liguria, the modern Riviera region, although just as far north, has the maritime climate of southern Italy, the Po valley has the cold winters and the rainfall of more European climes. From the 41st parallel southward, Italy has a subtropical, maritime climate, its characteristic signs increasing as one passes southward to the rainless summers of Magna Græcia and Sicily. By and large, the weather conditions for Italy proper are therefore like those in Greece, though they show much less local variation, and not even in the extreme south does one find that almost complete lack of precipitation and moisture sometimes found in Greece.

The resources of Italy, both as regards their character, extent and accessibility, form an important factor in its history. For the ancient period they are chiefly the following: The Po valley was astonishingly productive, especially in grains—millet, barley and wheat being its staples. The rest of Italy produced wheat, barley and spelt.

The foothills of the Apennines are arable up to a height of 3,000 feet, especially in the valleys and glades. This area is equivalent to approximately one-tenth of the peninsula. By adding to it the plains, the resulting total gives unusual opportunities for tillage of the soil. The modern Italian Government makes the following calculation: Of the total area of 71,000,000 acres, 71% is rated as productive, 16% as unproductive, and 13% as uncultivable. In antiquity the situation was probably at least as advantageous.

Forests and timber are more plentiful than in Greece. The lower Alpine region furnished abundant fir, especially for shipbuilding; evergreens were similarly found in the upper belts of the Apennines, beyond a level of about 5,400 feet. Just beneath these, down to an elevation of about 3,500 feet, the Apennines are rich in oak and beech, the former also forming a conspicuous element in the forests of the more hilly soil in the Po valley. Famous in ancient times were the Sila forests of the South and the Etruscan barrier of woodland.

With vegetables the Italian was always abundantly supplied. His chief crops were beans, peas and lentils. Of fruits he had fewer than the Greek, since the trees of the citrus species were not introduced from the East until very late in the Republic. He did, however, use considerable quantities of the chestnut as food.



Other importations from Greece were the olive and the vine. Both were soon indispensables in the life of the Italian. Wine was produced almost everywhere in Italy in the lower levels, though the best brands were those of the southland. The Roman himself preferred the light varieties of Tuscany and Campania. The range of the olive was almost that of the vine. It also flourished best in Magna Græcia and Sicily.

Livestock was plentiful. The cattle of upper Italy and the plains were noted; likewise the horses raised in these regions. The Po valley was well known for its pigs, fattened mostly upon acorns. The mountainous territory with its prolific vegetation harbored vast numbers of goats and sheep which as in Greece wended their way from valley to valley up and down the mountainside with the changing seasons. The sure-footed donkeys and mules also were raised and much employed in these areas.

Where the flesh and other products of these animals did not suffice, they were supplemented by fish and oysters. The varieties were in the main those of Greece. An idea of the relative wealth of the fishery resources, however, can be gained if the student notes that there are in the Mediterranean, and thus largely accessible also to the Italian, 444 varieties of fish as compared to the 100 varieties in the much exploited Baltic. There are besides some 850 kinds of molluscs.

The output of the coastal salt pans was very large, and always formed an interesting and important element in the extension of civilizing influences from the seashore inland to the hills. An illustration of this can be given by having the student follow out the Via Salaria or Salt Way (see Map B11).

Greece was superior to Italy in the matter of mineral resources. Of building stone there was relative abundance; tufa and tiburtine limestone were much used when brick from the ample clay deposits was not wanted. Marble is chiefly represented by the Luna-Carrara variety. Etruria and certain islands off shore, especially Elba, furnished small supplies of copper and iron. Precious metals were not present in appreciable quantity.

Viewing as a whole the economic possibilities of Italy, it is clear at the outset, that while conditions in Greece almost forced its inhabitants to take to a life of industry and commerce, Italy points its people to agri-

culture. There are few harbors to encourage sea-borne trade, and when Italy under Roman control had constructed new harbors it was already in a position where the industry of others was made to cater to the wants of her people. Internal trade, excepting in the Greek south, seems to have assumed no vital significance. In so far as the road systems so prominent in Italy were not purely military, they were used for the movement of crops and products of the soil, but not much for land commerce in the broader sense. The emphasis on agriculture in Roman-Italian life is further due to the fertility of the soil, its accessibility and the ease with which it could usually be cultivated. Animal husbandry also, either as a separate enterprise or as supplementary to farming, always insured fine returns due to the plentiful pasturage in the hills.

On the other hand, the peninsula is quite poor in raw materials for industrial manufacture. This is an additional reason why Rome as mistress of the world lived off the world's production. The only region of Italy which ever developed a high type of manufacture and industrially stood on its own feet was Etruria. The Etruscan controlled the clay, copper and iron deposits of Italy.

Taking all these matters into account, it is not surprising to find that Italy should have been pre-eminently a land of the small farmer. Its peasant and shepherd stock give Roman-Italian history its character. The homestead, while adequate to an independent existence, was not sufficiently large to lead to ease and luxury. And as long as its hardy, simple, matter-of-fact peasant stock remained undiminished and was not encroached upon by the development of large estates or other factors lying outside its control, Rome seems to have felt secure. This, at least, seems to have been the view of her own writers and statesmen. Frugality without resultant depressing bondage bred a fearless, sturdy and independent farmer stock, feeling great attachment to the soil which to them meant home. This feeling expanded into that essentially peasant patriotism of the Roman, which is sober and practical but very effective. The sobriety instilled into the Roman character, the conservatism with which it was coupled, is clearly shown in the institutional, legal and religious life of the community. The talent for management and organization which the needs of Roman farming seem to have called forth, also expressed itself in the political and constitutional development. Lastly, the peasant

character is certainly in part responsible for the unimaginative, homely, prosaic aspects of native Roman life and literature in general.

The geography of Italy does not favor political and cultural unification. As indicated above, the mountains are no absolute barrier, but they do act as a retarding influence. Civilization and progress in all their phases are a development first of the coastal plains. From these they gradually pass to the inland and upland. This movement is accompanied by another, equally gradual, emanating from the Greek cities of the south and slowly penetrating northward, to cross over finally into the body of Europe.

A phenomenon further complicating the situation is to be found in the character of the hill population. Dalesmen and shepherds are slow to form political entities beyond the merest makeshift cantonal type. If they for some special purpose, in an emergency, fashion larger political structures, these are likely to be confederations, equally loose (see here the Samnite confederacy and compare the hill cantons of Greece). Despite this seeming lack of interest in anything but the simplest political activity and organization (perhaps really because of the sense of independence and individualism it mirrors), these populations were difficult to conquer and organize. The unification of Italy was much retarded by them. Another disturbing factor in the problem was the periodical overflow of hillsmen into the lower and more highly cultivated sections. This may be due in part to mere love of plunder and the attractive influences of these areas, or may be a manifestation of overpopulation.

In the process of firmly binding together all Italy politically, Rome on the Tiber, beyond direct reach from the shore, and near old crossroads, unquestionably had the advantage. Other towns in this region which might have become its rivals were bitterly assailed and overcome. Perhaps this is why the tradition about the savage wars with Veii is so persistent. The subduing of this Etruscan center removed the last dangerous neighbor.

Like Rome the city, Italy the land has in the Mediterranean as a whole the best position in relation to other powers. While the fact that it turns its back on Greece is culturally unfavorable, it enabled the Latin-Italians to develop an established civilization of their own before the test of strength came. That this would come first in the western basin was

obvious not only because of the presence of Carthage, but because Rome's outlook was on this part of the sea. Once successful in this competition, her other troubles would be small; and her achievement of these earlier aims was at least aided by the fact that Greece was looking the other way. When Greece really awakened to the situation in the west, resistance was almost hopeless. Rome had been permitted to choose her own time, and to face her adversaries one at a time. The Mediterranean basin was already at the point of political unification.

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# Breasted-Huth Ancient History Maps

## MAP B1. ANCIENT WORLD

**MAIN MAP.** This map shows the entire Ancient World from the Atlantic Ocean eastward to the Japanese Islands. In longitude it extends across practically half the globe. In latitude, however, it covers scarcely a sixth. Not only did the Ancient World lie entirely in the northern hemisphere, but aside from the peninsula of India, southern Arabia, and the upper Nile it lay outside the tropics. At the same time the northern belt of stormy temperate countries where civilization is now highest was then practically unknown. More precisely defined, the nucleus of the Ancient World consisted of the lands grouped about the Mediterranean Sea. Indeed we might call it the Mediterranean world, provided we add the neighboring Tigris-Euphrates region, especially Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and adjacent lands.

The lands around the eastern Mediterranean, including Asia Minor and Egypt, are called the *Near Orient*. The lands east of Arabia and Persia, including especially India, China, and Japan, are called the *Far Orient*. The Far Orient developed a high civilization much later than did the Mediterranean world and to no small extent under its influence. The Far Orient, however, possessed some products of great value which were originally unknown to the Near Orient. Among these were cotton (India), silk (China), oranges, peaches, pepper, domestic fowl (chickens), diamonds, pearls and some other things. The desire for these and other products early led to traffic between the Near and the Far Orient—how early we cannot say definitely. It was certainly long before 1000 B. C., for cotton appeared in Assyria in the 8th century B. C. It was not until after the campaigns of Alexander the Great (see map B10), however, that traffic between the Mediterranean and the Far Orient was regular and extensive. Not until early in the Christian era when the ancient seafarers learned to use the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean did commerce with the Far Orient assume great importance. At the same time the long land route to China passing through Balkh and Kashgar was in use, for then the deserts of central Asia were moister than now.

Their desiccation tended to cut off much of the land intercourse between the East and West and forced men to use the sea, although the land route was still in common use under the Roman Empire.

It will be seen that the Far Orient was too distant, and connection with it developed too late to affect the course of ancient history in the Near Orient and the Mediterranean world. Civilization has descended to us (through our ancestors in Europe), not from the Far Orient, but from the Near Orient and the Mediterranean world. Our earliest cultural antecedents, therefore, were the peoples of the Near Orient and the Mediterranean world, and not those of the Far Orient, from whom we have inherited almost nothing through Europe.

Besides the geographical and cultural relations of the Far Orient and the Mediterranean world, this map shows in a general way the distribution of the ancient races. In the northeast and the southwest we see vast areas occupied chiefly by the Finns and Mongolians (northeast) and Negroes (southwest). The leading races of the ancient world were the Hamites, the Semites, the Indo-Europeans, and the "Mediterranean race." The Hamites occupied northern Africa. The Egyptians were closely related to them, but *may* have belonged to the gifted "Mediterranean race," which played so prominent a part especially on the shores of the Mediterranean. The distribution of the Mediterranean race is still too uncertain to be indicated clearly and no attempt has been made to do so on this map (see BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, §334). The Semites will be found at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, but also in colonies along the northern coast of Africa westward to the Atlantic. On the opposite (northern) side of the Mediterranean we see the widely extended Indo-European race, stretching from the British Isles and the Atlantic and the Norse countries eastward to India. It is now evident, however, that peoples of the Mediterranean race preceded the Indo-Europeans in possession of the northern shores of the Mediterranean. The Greeks and Romans, both of Indo-European race, therefore pushed in, conquered the peoples of the Mediterranean race, and seized the northern Mediterranean shores. Later the Indo-Europeans crossed the Mediterranean and conquered the Semitic colonies, like Carthage, in northern Africa. The supposed original home of the Huns is indicated in northern China.

The silk route connecting the Far Orient with the Near Orient has

already been referred to. Note also the "amber route" from the Baltic and the "amber way" from the North Sea. Note also the route by way of the Atlantic to the Guinea coast. The word "gold" just north of the Caucasus suggests the voyages in search of the Golden Fleece. The word "horses" just east of the Caspian suggests the region from which horses were first introduced into Europe. The word "silver" on the west coast of Spain and the word "tin" in the peninsula of Cornwall suggest early trade in these metals.

**INSETS.** These offer a rapid survey of the progress of geographic knowledge in ancient times beginning with the very limited world known to the Greeks in Homeric times. A more extended world was known to Hecatæus through Greek colonization and commerce in the sixth century B. C., when the Greeks made the first world maps. Herodotus in the next century was still better informed, and his data, for example, for the first time showed that the Red Sea was connected with the Indian Ocean. Eratosthenes, the greatest of all the ancient geographers, could draw a much more accurate map, adding the British Isles, India, and Ceylon. With many added observations of latitude and longitude, the geographer Ptolemy was later able to produce a still fuller map. It should be noted that what we call Africa was known to these geographers as Libya. These five small inset maps thus exhibit the progress of ancient knowledge of geography for nearly a thousand years.

### QUESTIONS

Define the situation of the Ancient World. What is chiefly included by the term Near Orient? The Far Orient? Which developed civilization first? Mention some products contributed by the Far Orient to the Mediterranean world. When did commerce between the Far Orient and the Mediterranean become regular and extensive? What routes did this commerce follow? Did intercourse with the Far Orient affect the course of ancient history in the Near Orient and the Mediterranean lands? From what regions then has our own civilization descended? Where did our cultural ancestors dwell? Recount briefly the distribution of the leading races of the Ancient World. Trace the growing geographical knowledge of the ancients themselves, as shown by the inset maps of the early Greek geographers and historians.

## MAP B2. ANCIENT ORIENT AND PALESTINE

**MAIN MAP.** This shows us what we have already defined as the "Near Orient," that is, the lands around the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, including some regions a little further east, especially the Tigris-Euphrates world with Armenia, Media, Persia and Arabia. In the main the Near Orient is a region of mountains and plateaus in the north, and of desert in the south. Racially the desert south was the home of the Semites, as it is today; while the mountainous north was inhabited by a numerous group of non-semitic peoples. We recall that the Nile valley was inhabited by a Hamitic people, perhaps originally of Mediterranean race.

Civilization arose first on the Nile, with the discovery of metal and the invention of writing toward the beginning of the fourth millennium B. C., if not earlier. Not long afterward similar progress was also made in Babylonia on the lower Tigris and Euphrates. Down to the sixteenth century B. C. the nations of these two valleys, the Nile valley and the Tigris-Euphrates valley, did not come into hostile contact in their competition for the supremacy of the Near Orient. After that time there was long conflict between Egypt and western Asia for the leadership of the Near Orient.

The Mediterranean has always been a very important feature of the Near Orient, into which its eastern end deeply penetrates. The earliest sea-going ships—those of Egypt—appeared in the eastern Mediterranean as far back as 3000 B. C., and probably earlier. Into these oriental waters, so early traversed by oriental commerce, it should be particularly noticed that Europe thrusts forward the Græco-Balkan Peninsula, with outlying islands, which carried Europe still further out into this world of oriental sea traffic. We must especially notice, then, that the southeastern island outposts of Europe belong to the world of the Near Orient. It was on these islands, especially the outermost, Crete, that Europe first received civilization, chiefly as a result of Egyptian commerce on the Mediterranean.



At the same time it is important to observe that western Asia projects far westward on the north of the eastern Mediterranean. There the peninsula of Asia Minor extends to the Aegean Sea and looks across to southeastern Europe, distant only a short voyage through the Greek islands; while further north Asia is separated from Europe only by the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Asia Minor thus became another very important link between early Europe and the Near Orient in western Asia. Through Asia Minor, therefore, the influence of Assyria, Babylonia and the entire Tigris-Euphrates world early reached Europe. On the relation of this Tigris-Euphrates world with the desert along which it lies, forming together with Syria-Palestine a cultivable fringe of the desert, suggesting a crescent in shape, which may conveniently be called the *Fertile Crescent*, see BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, pp. 100-101. Its situation and extent will be found indicated by blue dots more clearly on the four maps shown on sheet B4. The early history of this region was to a large extent a struggle between the desert Semites of the south, and the non-Semitic mountaineers of the north for the possession of the Fertile Crescent.

**PALESTINE.** This map does not chronologically belong on this sheet, but has been placed here because the space was available. We notice on the main map how Palestine lies, a narrow strip, between the desert on the east and the Mediterranean on the west. Indeed the desert invades southern Palestine, and the hills of Judah are largely bare and uncultivable as far north as Jerusalem. It is not easy to indicate this in colors on the map. Notice also that the coast, as far as it was held by the Hebrews, is without harbors, for the harbors of its northern coast were held by the Phœnicians. Finally notice that Palestine was unavoidably the highway connecting Asia and Africa (Egypt).

**SMALL INSET.** This plan of Jerusalem shows the old castle of David on the east, with the northern extension added by Solomon for a more splendid residence and for the temple which he built. A view of the city of David as it now looks from below the Well Gate may be seen in BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, Fig. 127. Since David and Solomon's time the city has extended westward and northward as shown by the pink and yellow.

## QUESTIONS

Enumerate the leading lands of the Near Orient. Contrast the physical characteristics of the northern and southern portions of the Near Orient. How were they racially differentiated in population? Where did civilization first arise? What two achievements marked the rise of civilization? In what other river valley did civilization also arise very early? When did the two civilizations begin hostile competition for the leadership of the Near Orient? Explain the relation of the eastern end of the Mediterranean to the Near Orient. When did the first sea-going ships appear and in what waters? What is the situation of extreme southeastern Europe in relation to these waters? Where did civilization first arise in Europe and from what source did it come? What is the situation of the westernmost extension of Asia with reference to the Mediterranean? With reference to southeastern Europe? From what region did Asia Minor transmit influences of oriental civilization to early Europe? What is the situation of the Fertile Crescent and what lands does it include? What races struggled for its possession? Point out the regions where gold was found; iron; silver; copper; ivory; etc.

What are the natural boundaries of Palestine? What is the relation of the desert to Palestine? What can you say of its harbors? What is the position of Palestine with reference to the two continents, Asia and Africa?

## MAP B3. EGYPT AND EARLY BABYLONIA

This shows, more in detail than was possible on Map B2, the two river valley homes: one in northeastern Africa and the other in western Asia, where civilization first arose. It will be seen that the earliest civilized communities in both the river valleys occupied the lower reaches of their respective valley homes, where the river had brought down and deposited a level floor of rich and productive alluvial soil. They were natural garden spots of the ancient world which needed only to be reclaimed from the dense jungle growth of semi-tropical river marshes to make them the most productive agricultural areas in the world.

**ANCIENT EGYPT.** The Egyptian end of the Nile valley is a great winding trench cut across the high sandstone and limestone plateau of the Sahara from south to north. At the bottom of the trench lies the level floor of rich alluvian brought down from Abyssinia by the Nile. Egypt consists, therefore, of a narrow band of verdure (green on the map) fringing the Nile on either hand, and flanked on each side by the waterless desert (yellow on the map). Here is a country (including the Delta) about ten thousand square miles in extent (a little larger than the state of Vermont), which is some seven hundred and fifty miles in length, following the river, and is rarely more than thirty miles wide, except in the Delta, where it expands to something over a hundred and twenty-five miles. It will be seen that a country so long and narrow has little more than two boundaries. When we further consider that these two boundaries are deserts with no population, we discern at once how completely sheltered from invasion and foreign interference the Egyptians were. On the south, moreover, they were further protected by a series of unnavigable cataracts on the Nile; while on the north, the Delta has no good harbors along its coast. Furthermore, in the days when Egyptian civilization began, there was no navigation on the sea, and hence no ships which could have brought over invaders from the north.

Living as they did in a practically rainless climate the Egyptians

depended on the river as their only source of water, and they were, therefore, obliged to devise extensive irrigation arrangements by which they watered their fields. The annual inundation of the fields by the rising river made road building difficult, for every road had to be a high embankment, lifting the highway above the reach of the inundation. For this reason the Nile itself became the natural highway, extending from one end of the land to the other, and large cargo boats were very early built to carry the extensive river commerce. The irrigation canals enabled these boats to reach all parts of the country. The Egyptians thus became the earliest shipbuilders and long before 3000 B. C. they had discovered that they could employ the wind as a motive power to drive their vessels. In the earliest sailing ships known to us, they ventured out upon the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. At least as early as the beginning of the thirtieth century B. C. these Egyptian vessels were trafficking along the Mediterranean shores of Asia and at about the same time they must have reached Crete and the islands of the Aegean (see large map of Crete on this sheet and compare also Map B5). These lines of commerce diverging from the Delta are indicated on the map. This earliest navigation on the Mediterranean resulted in the introduction of civilization into Europe. At the same time it introduced the highly developed Egyptian arts and crafts into neighboring Asia along the Syrian coast, especially the harbor-cities which we later know as Phœnician.

All this development would have been impossible but for the fact that Egypt enjoyed access to mineral deposits in the neighboring desert. Far back in the fourth millennium B. C., perhaps earlier, the Egyptians discovered copper in the peninsula of Sinai and learned to mine it there (see copper mines marked on map). The possession of copper tools gave their civilization a tremendous impetus. It was then that they were able to quarry the stone from the desert cliffs on either side of their valley, and to develop the earliest known architecture in stone. Such developments as these reveal to us how profoundly the history of Egypt has been influenced by its geographical situation.

**SUMER AND AKKAD.** The same is true of the eastern end of the Fertile Crescent, the other home of earliest civilization. Here we notice that the alluvial plain was much smaller in early times than it is now, for the two rivers have, in the last four thousand years carried in new soil and

shifted the coast line one hundred and fifty miles or more out into the Persian Gulf. The map shows the *ancient* coast line, but the present coast line is also indicated by a pale blue broken line. Such a land as this is low and level and fortunately so. For, although this region lies in the Mediterranean belt of rainy winters and dry summers, the rains of winter are insufficient for successful agriculture. Irrigation on a large scale was therefore indispensable.

A glance at this lower Euphrates country on Map B2 shows us at once that it is not so isolated as Egypt, and hence did not enjoy such a protected situation as that which Egypt possessed. It was continually subject to invasion by desert tribes coming down the Euphrates or by mountain peoples from the north and east. Its story, therefore, is not the chiefly peaceful progress of a single people, but rather the struggles of contending peoples and rival civilizations.

The first of these intrusive peoples whom we find in possession of some civilization had already recovered the marshes of the lower Euphrates for cultivation, in the region called Sumer, before 3000 B. C. These Sumerians, probably invaders from the eastern and northern mountains, pushed their agricultural settlements gradually up the Euphrates, rather than the Tigris, the banks of which were too high for convenient irrigation. An examination of the map will disclose that the early towns are all on the Euphrates rather than on the Tigris.

As the Sumerians pushed northward they came into contact with the Semitic nomads from the desert who had long intruded upon the alluvium, usually descending the Euphrates. The first of these Semitic occupants of the valley, the Akkadians, settled in the region where the two rivers approach most closely to each other, and which we therefore call Akkad.

In the days of the Sumerians and Akkadians, reaching down into the twenty-third century B. C., Babylon was an obscure town of no importance. Eventually an immigration of Semitic tribes known as Amorites was powerful enough in the latter part of the twenty-third century to make Babylon their center, and when they conquered both Sumer and Akkad, Babylon became the capital of both these united regions, which might after that time be properly called Babylonia. The name Chaldea, so often applied to the country, really ought to be reserved for the period

of the Chaldean Empire (see Map B4); for the Chaldeans did not gain possession of the country until the seventh century B. C.

The two rivers formed a natural connection with the country on the northwest, that is, up the rivers. Babylonian commerce very early followed this route, reaching the Mediterranean, and penetrating Asia Minor to the shores of the Aegean Sea (see Map B2). Babylonian civilization radiated also in other directions, especially eastward. It spread, therefore, by the *land* routes of its commerce, in contrast with Egyptian civilization which was so widely carried by *sea*.

INSETS. The small city maps show us the three leading cities of the ancient oriental world. The first great monumental city on a large scale was Thebes on the Nile, which reached the height of its splendor as the seat of the Egyptian Empire in the fifteenth century B. C. At this time there were no such large cities or buildings anywhere else, either in Asia or in Europe. Great city building with imposing monumental architecture did not arise in Asia until the supremacy of the Assyrian Empire in the eighth century B. C. The greatest city of western Asia at that time came to be Nineveh, the capital of Assyria on the Tigris (see Map B2). With the destruction of Nineveh in 606 B. C., the leading city of western Asia arose on the site of Babylon which before that time had not been a great city, either in extent or in architecture. This Chaldean Babylon, built chiefly by Nebuchadnezzar, has become familiar to all as the Babylon of the Hebrew captivity. Much of its architectural splendor was adopted from that of Nineveh. Both of these Asiatic cities owed much to the architecture and to the arts and crafts of Egypt. The three cities are here all on the same scale and thus can be compared as to size, though the great buildings of Thebes were not enclosed by walls entirely round the city, as were Nineveh and Babylon.

On the inset map of Crete see Map B5.

## QUESTIONS

What two river valleys were the homes of the earliest civilizations? What was the source and nature of the soil? What is the situation and character of the lower Nile valley? How is it situated with reference to the desert? Discuss the proportions of Egypt, especially the relation of

length and breadth. What likelihood was there of foreign invasion of Egypt? Describe its frontiers on all sides. Discuss the climate of Egypt. How was agriculture carried on? How did transportation develop in early Egypt? How did this affect commerce on the Mediterranean? How did the earliest navigation in the eastern Mediterranean affect the history of Europe? The coast of Syria? Discuss the influence of the earliest use of metal in Egypt.

What great change has taken place in the Babylonian alluvial plain? Discuss the climate of Babylonia and explain how agriculture was possible. Compare the situation of Babylonia with that of Egypt in the matter of exposure to invasion. What is the effect of this situation on the history of Babylonia? Who were the earliest settlers in Babylonia, who possessed any civilization? Along which river did they settle? From which end of Babylonia do they seem to have moved and in what direction? Who were their opponents? At which end of Babylonia did the latter settle? What was this region called? Discuss the early history of Babylon. Give an account of the spread of Babylonian civilization.

## MAP B4. ORIENTAL EMPIRES

These four maps combine to form what we call a sequence map. It portrays at a glance the expansion of imperial power in the Orient for somewhat more than a thousand years from the supremacy of the Egyptian Empire as it appeared in the fifteenth century B. C., through the Assyrian Empire, and the Median and Chaldean Empires, until the expansion of imperial power reached its maximum in the Persian Empire under Darius about 500 B. C. This in turn gave way to a decline which a century and a half later prepared the way for the leadership of Europe with the advance of Macedonian power under Philip and Alexander (see Map B10).

The decline of the early Babylonia of Hammurapi, the result of one invasion after another, left western Asia to be absorbed by Egypt, a process which was in full swing less than a generation after 1600 B. C. This expansion of Egypt included not only neighboring Asia, but also the eastern Mediterranean. The islands of the Aegean were under Egyptian rule and the coasts of Asia Minor were also touched by Egyptian civilization (see Map B5). The Egyptian Empire in Asia was broken up by the advance of the Hittites from Asia Minor, and also by hordes of incoming Hebrews after 1400 B. C. Although partially restored after 1350 B. C. its final fall was complete by 1150 B. C.

Profiting by the decline of Babylonia, the once little kingdom of Assur on the upper Tigris rose into power as Egypt declined. By 1300 B. C. the kings of Assur had crossed the Euphrates westward, and a little later captured Babylon itself. About 1100 B. C. an Assyrian king, leading his army westward, for the first time looked down upon the waters of the Mediterranean. It was not until the middle of the eighth century B. C., however, that the power of the Mediterranean kingdoms was finally broken, and Assyria became undisputed mistress of western Asia. For a time in the early seventh century even Egypt was added to this great Empire of Assyria, which extended thence into Asia almost to



the Black and the Caspian Seas (pink on the map). These wide conquests carried the Assyrians over into the iron region on the southeast of the Black Sea (marked on map of Egyptian Empire), which had been worked first by the Hittites. The Assyrian Empire was the first great empire employing iron weapons, although the Hittites had begun to use them.

It should be noticed that it was the Assyrian Empire which stopped the colonizing of the Greeks eastward along the southern shores of Asia Minor. It was the Assyrian Empire also which broke the power of the Hebrew kingdoms, destroying one entirely (722 B. C.) and crushing the other so that it fell an easy prey to the Chaldean Empire. Nineveh itself, however, was similarly crushed by a combination between the Medes of the north and the Chaldeans of the south, who captured and destroyed the great city in 606 B. C. and founded two empires (see map of Median and Chaldean Empires).

The Medes represented the incoming of the Indo-Europeans from the north. As they were pushing southward against the Fertile Crescent, so further west their Indo-European kindred, the Greeks, had begun to push southward against the Aegean peoples of Greece and its islands. Thus the Indo-European northerners were about to absorb both the Fertile Crescent and the northern Mediterranean. But the rise of the Chaldeans who aided the Medes in overthrowing Assyria, established for a time a new empire along the Fertile Crescent, and for a brief period (from about 606 to about 550 B. C.) the two empires, the Median and the Chaldean, went on side by side. It was the Chaldean Empire which made Babylon for the first time a great and splendid city, and its greatest king, Nebuchadnezzar, captured and destroyed Jerusalem (586 B. C.).

While both empires were still in their splendor, a group of Indo-European tribes whom we call Persians, vassals of their kinsmen the Medes, held a scanty territory on the north of the Persian Gulf. Their king, Cyrus, having rebelled and overthrown the Medes not long before 550 B. C., then rapidly defeated all other rivals, including the Chaldean Empire, which he overthrew in 539 B. C. When he died in 528 B. C. he left an empire including all western Asia, except the desert of Arabia, which was of no value to him. His successors conquered Egypt and carried their eastern frontier to India at the Indus River. This vast

Persian Empire then extended from the Nile valley, the Mediterranean and the Aegean on the west, to India on the east, and from the Black Sea, the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea on the north to the Red Sea, the Arabian Desert and the Indian Ocean on the south. Organized especially by Darius it was the greatest imperial state which the Orient had ever seen. It was the eastern neighbor of Greece, and the great question was whether it would likewise absorb Greece. Darius indeed did conquer European territory in Thrace behind Greece (see map). But the military skill of Greece made her quite able to meet her giant neighbor and the remarkable march of the ten thousand Greeks into the heart of the Persian Empire (400 B. C.), as shown on this map, and their safe return furnished a demonstration of what a Greek army might be expected to accomplish against the Persians.

With the decline of the Persians in the fourth century B. C., the Orient was about to be conquered by Europe led by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great. The vast empire which he conquered is shown on Map B10. Before the rise of Greece and Macedonia, however, we must follow geographically the introduction of civilization into Stone Age Europe, and in order to do this we must go back as far as 3000 B. C.

## QUESTIONS

What great age of oriental history is represented in this group of four maps? What four periods are represented? What power first established an intercontinental empire? What Mediterranean territory was included in the Egyptian Empire? What peoples in Asia broke up the Egyptian Empire?

Point out the original city home of the Assyrian Kingdom. When did the Assyrian kings first cross the Euphrates? When did they reach the Mediterranean? When were the Mediterranean kingdoms finally crushed by Assyria, and the Assyrian Empire set up? Outline its greatest extent. What effect had the Assyrian Empire on the eastward movement of Greek colonization? What city was head of the Assyrian Empire? What caused its fall?

What race did the Medes represent? What regions were the Indo-European peoples absorbing? What new empire in Babylonia for a time

prevented the Indo-Europeans from taking possession of the Fertile Crescent? What two empires then ruled side by side?

What people overthrew both the Median and Chaldean Empires? Who was their first leader? What was the greatest extent of the Persian Empire? What peoples were the western neighbors of the Persian Empire? What continent gained the leadership at the fall of the Persian Empire?

## MAP B5. EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

FIRST MAP. With the appearance of Egyptian ships in the eastern Mediterranean where they were common by 3000 B. C., this earliest navigation resulted in the appearance of products of Egyptian manufacture in the regions of Europe nearest to the Nile Delta, especially Crete (consult also inset on Map B3). These earliest routes of salt-water commerce are indicated on the map. In this way civilization first appeared in Stone Age Europe. Beginning about 3000 B. C. the influence of Oriental civilization went on steadily, until there were highly civilized states in Crete and on the neighboring mainland of Greece which reached their culmination in the century ending about 1500 B. C., the date which our map represents. The centers of this early Aegean civilization are indicated by small circles on the map, the most important places being marked also by a dot within the circle.

These people, living on the shores and in the islands of the Aegean Sea, we may conveniently call Aegeans. They seem to belong to the Mediterranean race. Owing to the nature of our sources, and the lack of written documents, there is much difference of opinion about many features of Aegean civilization and the Aegean age. The current theories, together with critical bibliography, will be found in HTM, Vol. 5, pp. 47ff. and p. 105; also WHIBLEY, *Companion to Greek Studies*, pp. 23 ff. Additional suggestions will be found in HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*; J. L. MYRES, *Dawn of History and Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*; LLOYD, *Making of the Roman People*. Other books are cited by these authors. Regarding the peoples and tribes of Greece there is even less agreement. For short sketches of the ethnological questions see WHIBLEY, pp. 23 ff.; BURY, *History of Greece*; and HALL.

The oblique bands of color suggest the penetration of one civilization by influences from another or perhaps from several others. The bands of green in the Aegean and along the coasts of Asia Minor indicate Egyptian civilization penetrating there, while bands of buff in Egypt and

Syria-Palestine show the presence of Aegean influences there by 1500 B. C. The yellow color represents Babylonian, Hittite and Phœnician civilization, called Oriental in the legend of the map.

**SECOND MAP.** This map represents a second stage of migration and commerce in the eastern Mediterranean. Between 1500 and 1000 B. C. the Aegeans, the predecessors of the Greeks in the Aegean world, were completely crushed by the incoming of the Greek tribes. At the same time, by the middle of the twelfth century B. C., the fall of the Egyptian Empire permitted Phœnician commerce to take possession of the eastern Mediterranean. The distribution of the incoming Greek immigrants, who had taken complete possession of the Aegean world by 1000 B. C., is shown by three different colors. The sea routes by which the Aegeans fled are indicated by broken lines with interspersed crosses.

The barbarian nomad Greeks of this early age were then civilized by oriental influences, just as their Aegean predecessors had been. In the case of the Greeks, however, the oriental influences were brought in by Phœnician traders along the routes indicated by broken lines, especially along the coast of Asia Minor or by way of Cyprus and Rhodes, from which last point they sailed in all directions through the Aegean, where they established trading posts and manufacturing settlements indicated by black squares, each surrounding a disk. Phœnician influences, now a composite of Egyptian, Assyrian and Hittite-Aramean influences, indicated by the yellow, will be noted along the coast of Asia Minor, throughout the Aegean and its shores, and even past the region of Troy into the Sea of Marmora. See also the remarks on Phœnician influence in the eastern Mediterranean in the discussion of Map B6.

In these two maps we have then two successive stages of history in the eastern Mediterranean: in the first the leadership of Egyptians and Aegeans; in the second the incoming of Phœnicians and Greeks to inherit this leadership. Such a sequence map possesses evident advantages which increase with the number of epochs represented. The teacher will find it very profitable to explain to the class the sequence illustrated by the map, and then to ask the pupils also to explain it from the map with pointer in hand.

## QUESTIONS

In what stage of civilization was Europe when navigation began in the eastern Mediterranean? What resulted from the appearance of Egyptian ships in the waters around southeastern Europe? Where did European civilization first develop? What island in European waters is nearest to Egypt? At what distance from the Nile mouths? How many days' sail? Where were the most important centres of Aegean civilization? What important interpenetration of civilizations early occurred in the eastern Mediterranean?

What invading people crushed Aegean civilization? When did the Greeks take possession of the Aegean world? What became of the Aegeans and their civilization? In what stage of culture were the Greeks at this time? Under what influences did they then gain civilization? What people were then the carriers of Oriental civilization by sea? Along what main routes did their ships travel? Trace the extent of their influence.

What two stages of history in the eastern Mediterranean do these two maps represent? What civilization led the way for Europe to follow in both cases?

## MAP B6. GREEK AND PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION

**MAIN MAP.** This map gives a picture of the scope of both Greek and Phœnician colonization. As far as our present knowledge goes it seems clear that the Greek pursued the Phœnician on his path of expansion until the latter finally stood at bay in the western Mediterranean (see inset). The earliest spreading of the Hellenic tribes over the Aegean and the coastlands of Asia Minor, while shown here in its later results, is indicated on Map B5. Our information and the technical difficulties do not permit an accurate portrayal of Greek colonization as a development, period by period. Hence this map shows the whole subject statically in perhaps its greatest extent prior to Alexander. As it happens this is also the period (between 550 and 500 B. C.) when a further advance on the part of the Greeks, except in a small way in Thrace for instance, was blocked by conditions at home and by the resistance of Persia, Carthage and Etruria.

Not all of the colonies known to us have been entered. The map, however, by the colony symbol if not by the actual name of the foundation, conveys to the observer a visual image of the density and the extent of the movement. The pupil must be made to acquire this realization. Only thus can he hope to appreciate the tremendous popular energy and social and economic vitality manifested by the Greek peoples in their spread over well nigh the whole Mediterranean in an age which otherwise shows them relatively primitive in civilization.

To bring out most advantageously this idea of density and all that it implies it would be worth while if the teacher could superimpose any one of the thickly settled areas on a modern map of some sections of the United States drawn to the same scale. The inset on the Black Sea or the area about the Straits of Messina would serve this purpose very well.

The Greek colonists were frontiersmen much like our own early

settlers. In pre-empting and exploring new areas they faced barbarians and aliens. Even at this early date, therefore, they began their task of Hellenizing the ancient world—a task which looms so large in any intelligent study of ancient civilization. They handed on the higher life which they themselves had in part received from older eastern centers of civilization, in part developed at home. For this reason the map not only indicates settlements, but gives in color the direct and indirect spheres of influence about the Greek colonial area. A close and accurate view of a thing in itself so elusive as cultural radiation cannot of course be given. Hence the map merely suggests, as well as possible on the basis of our information, the areas more or less exposed to Greek life and thought. A closer study of Italy, for instance, from this special angle will convey to the pupils very forcibly one of the chief factors in an understanding of early Rome and its Confederacy—the Greek civilization present in southern Italy and Sicily during its whole early growth.

The Latin-Italian tribesmen are, however, only a small fraction of the many barbarian and alien elements subjected to Greek influence and in turn affecting the Greek settlers. Therefore, the map gives also the chief peoples and aggregations of tribes with whom the Greek in his expansion came into contact (see also Map B11).

The pupil ought further to note how the colonies have a tendency to cluster about advantageous points. The teacher must endeavor for that reason to show how fertile areas, like the alluvial soil about Sybaris; river mouth regions from which the interior can readily be reached and exploited, as for instance the neighborhood of Massilia; traffic points like Messina; old highway end points like Trebizond; good harbors, as the sections about Naples; and other locations rarely escaped the keenly practical eye of the settler or the colonial politician at home. These considerations suggest economic interests and motives operating in Greek colonization. They further lead one to expect colonial rivalries. These develop very early, the conflict between Corinth and Corcyra in 664 B. C. being one of the first concrete examples. Other instances must be brought out by the teacher. This is best done if in addition to this map more specific atlases or textbook maps are used which show the colonies grouped according to mother cities or by ethnic affiliation. The pupil ought to be made to pick out on the large map a series of settlements



depending for instance on Corinth, Miletus, Megara, or Aegina and Phocæa. This will illustrate the colonial race and rivalry (see also the inset of the Black Sea).

No attempt has been made in our map to divide the colonies along ethnic lines as either Dorian, Aeolian or Ionian. For these facts as far as he must know them the student can find ample material in most texts or atlases. In actual fact most of the settlements probably remained pure in stock, if ever they were that in a concrete sense, only for a relatively brief period. Certainly in the age pictured in our map the Greek elements throughout were thoroughly mixed (see BURY, *History of Greece* on this subject).

The teacher will note that some few Phœnician colonies or trading posts are indicated elsewhere in addition to the general western Phœnician area. They are fewer in number than older authors would name. These authors saw Phœnicians whenever Cadmus, Hercules-Melkarth, Aphrodite-Ashtoreth, or a place name defying explanation in Greek met their searching eyes. This view, which from the time of Movers got much credence, was later radically opposed. Indeed, authors were then prone to grant no appreciable Phœnician influence at all in the Aegean or Mediterranean Sea. Very recently, however, this skeptical attitude has again given way to a more moderate one, which allows for at least as much Phœnician colonization as indicated on the map. A new factor complicating an already difficult problem is our greater knowledge of Aegean-Minoan civilization. What thus far has been regarded as authentically Phœnician may really have been Aegean. For a brief and very sane statement of the case of the "Grave Tyrian Trader" see H. R. HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 523.

An interesting line of investigation and presentation is that which shows the presence of Phœnicians, especially in the eastern Mediterranean at points yielding purple and precious metals. The following list of localities would seemingly substantiate such a thesis: Itanos, Cythia, Greater Syrtis, Tarentum, Thera, Melos, Thasos, Thrace, Iberia and Tarshish.

Geographical influences did not favor larger political unions in Greece. This is especially noticeable in the early age when other factors increased Greek particularism. In the age of colonization there were,

however, at least two larger Greek bodies, the Delian League and the Delphian Amphictiony. Both of these were in origin essentially religious and their political significance refers in the main to a later age. In this connection the map must be used by the pupil, who will especially be able to see the early basis of later Greek confederations, and also the lack of any geographical logic in the formation of these two unions. The Delphian priesthood is probably responsible for a good share of the colonial information used by the Greeks at the time. At any rate tradition puts it into close connection with the movement.

FIRST INSET. The purpose of this detail study is obvious from what has been said above. It gives a small area on a large scale and thus emphasizes the thoroughness and density in the exploitation of this north-eastern colonial sphere. In this area also the teacher can best connect up with the earliest stages of Greek colonial settlement, in that the foundation myths in this region seem to indicate two successive phases of settlement. The relation of this section to the tale of the Argonauts can be easily brought out to the student. Note especially Colchis, the land of gold. For some very interesting material on the relation between the Scythian tribes bordering on this area and the Greek settlers see the recent book by E. H. MINNS, *Scythians and Greeks*.

SECOND INSET. This shows Carthaginian and Etruscan rivalry with the Greeks. By about the middle of the sixth century B. C. Greek settlers were beginning to crowd the Phœnician colonies of the west and seemingly to endanger Etruscan control over the lands surrounding what later was named the Etruscan Sea. Possibly actual hostile acts against the newcomer occurred in a minor way over a long period. At about this time, however, the Greeks are for the first time really checked, for instance at Aleria in Corsica. This was, however, merely a prelude to a more organized and concerted effort made during the age of the Great Persian War on the Greeks of the west. It is this latter attack as it was met first by the Greeks of Sicily under Syracuse and then by those of Cumæ with the aid of Hiero of Syracuse which this second inset illustrates. The details of this conflict on the extreme right wing of the Greek world and its possible connection with the struggle on the left wing against Orientalism can be gathered from any modern history of ancient Greece. See for instance J. B. BURY, *History of Greece*. Note that in the war some of

the western Greeks stand aloof as neutrals while others actively side with the enemy.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.** The subject of Greek colonization has frequently been dealt with in more general and simple accounts. Reference to some of the following titles will be of service: HTM, V. 5, pp. 109 and 271; ZIMMERN, *Greek Commonwealth*, especially pp. 103-20, 246-50, 295-343; CUNNINGHAM, *Western Civilization*; BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, pp. 71-90; KELLER, *Colonization*; GREENIDGE, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, pp. 36-45; BURY, or BURY-KIMBALL, *History of Greece*; WHIBLEY, *Companion to Greek Studies*, pp. 513-28, 567-89.

## QUESTIONS

Distinguish, by using modern geographical designations, the areas colonized by the Greeks and by the Phœnicians. Where do the two overlap and where especially do they become open rivals? Which areas of the Mediterranean are most directly and fully subjected to Greek colonial influences? To Phœnician colonial influences? Name some of the peoples and tribes with whom Greek colonists came into contact. What is the position of Greek colonial settlements in the Nile valley? Where do Greek colonists meet more directly the Oriental world and its traffic? What is the importance of Trebizond, of Massilia, of Sybaris, of Syracuse, of Corcyra, of Miletus and Aegina? At what points is one likely to find evidence of Phœnician colonization or trade?

## MAP B7. BOEOTIA AND ATTICA

**MAIN MAP.** The *central eastern* section of Greece shown here on a large scale is presented because of the special significance of this area in Greek history. Greece faces the earlier eastern world. From here to a large degree, in the earlier age at least, it derived its civilization. Outside of the Greek island and Asiatic frontier, this is where the East met the West. From the very first study of Greek development even in the Minoan-Mycenæan age it is quite evident that the section from Attica and Boeotia to the Gulf of Argos was to be the foremost stage of Greek action (see Map B5). Few major occurrences or tendencies in the Greek world, either political, economic, or cultural, between the Great Persian War and the establishment of Philip and Alexander as masters of the Greeks can be dealt with in the classroom without continual reference to this area.

Here we find the recognized pivotal point in the economic life of the Greek homeland. Even while the real supremacy in the Greek world still rested in the hands of the colonial cities in Asia Minor we find here certain towns such as Aegina and Corinth coming to the front as close competitors. In detail no pupil will understand the rivalry for instance between such centers of trade and colonization as Corinth and Megara without recourse to a specific map showing the relative position of the two. The antagonism of Athens with its older and luckier rivals, Aegina and Salamis, both of which blocked Athenian commercial advance, cannot adequately be grasped except by recourse to the map. Corinth is geographically the logical link between the Aegean and the western Mediterranean. That means it is also the great depot-in-transit for the trade of the two regions, especially if the student is made to realize the hazard of a passage around southern Greece with the primitive shipping conveniences of the day. Corinth by that very fact is the rival of any power new or old rising to a position from which it may dispute with her this advantage. The pupil can follow out this idea by the train of events before and under Pericles, which illustrate how Athens gradually comes to be such a rival

to Corinth. Athenian trade and political power as soon as it begins prominently to involve the west, thus far Corinth's own sphere, leads inevitably to trouble. The bearing of these facts on the Peloponnesian War ought to be made clear to the pupil. These are merely a few suggestions to prove the possibilities of the map from the angle of Greek economic history.

From a military and political point of view the location of Athens in its league and empire, the significance of a hostile Bœotia in the rear of Attica, the importance of the isthmus as a factor in the defense of Greece as a whole or the Peloponnesus alone, (here the pupil can be reminded of the situation during the Persian War) and the meaning of an Athenian control over Megara and its isthmus ports in this same connection can well be shown from this map. In the crucial years just before and during the Peloponnesian War this area assumes a special significance. The map admits of a clear statement of Pericles' policy toward Eubœa and the area about the Corinthian Gulf. The danger of a hostile Argos behind Corinth and on the flank of Sparta can also be readily appreciated. To bring out all these and many other factors in Greek development a close use of the map will be of great benefit to the student.

The roads of Greece are not comparable to those of Italy. There was in Greece no need for the development of an art of road-making such as that in Italy or perchance in the vast empire of Persia. All points of the interior were easily accessible from the coast by paths, and most of the more bulky traffic over larger distances seems to have proceeded by water. Nevertheless a view of at least the most significant arteries of communication in their general significance is necessary. The map shows these portions of the road system. The religious purport of the highways is immediately apparent to the observer. Along these paths traveled the Greek to Eleusis, to Delphi, to the lesser games, and to Olympia (see GARDNER, *Greek Religious Games and Festivals*).

Since this area is also the chief theatre of war in the classical age of Greece and since this map to a greater degree than usual aims to serve as a reference, the most important fields of battle have been indicated in the conventional manner. The campaign of Xerxes in Greece proper, for instance, can be fully explained from the map. In connection with Thermopylæ the pupil must be made to note the difference between the

ancient and the modern coastline flanking the pass. The tourist visiting this spot finds difficulty in comprehending how Leonidas and his few men could hold this region, for it is now a flat open plain several miles wide. The broken lines on the map show the present courses of the rivers, whose deltas have filled in this area, and also the modern coast itself. Furthermore a large portion of the campaigning during the Peloponnesian War can be illustrated from the details given in the map.

General economic factors are as a rule not very well brought out on a map. It seemed wise, however, to show here and there the resources upon which the ancients depended. More particularly the setting forth of economic data in one rather more restricted but well known area promised to be of service to the pupil. Thanks to a map published in Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, (2d ed.), this has been possible for the region of Attica. The student must specifically be made to find on the map the agricultural, woodland, mining and quarry resources of the people in the city-state of Athens-Attica. He will then on the basis of a fair sample realize the economic foundations of a Greek city. As for Athens it is obvious that in natural resources it is relatively rich, though not nearly so well off as many modern communities of considerably less promise. In the general sense indeed Athens is quite poor. The city would never have attained its prominence on the strength of these means alone. The other pillar of Athenian power is trade and industry. Her advantageous location in this respect can clearly be seen on the map (see also inset, Athens and Piræus). Athens, the mercantile center and naval power, is built upon her local resources and geographical position coupled with a peculiar aptitude of her people which cannot, however, be reduced to a formula. On the silver mines of Laurium, indicated on the map, see ZIMMERN, p. 395.

The large scale of the map of Attica shows clearly also the three regions, the coast, the hills and the plain. Also there are inserted enough names of the lesser towns and villages, which went to make up the city, to enable the teacher to give the pupil a reasonably adequate idea of the structure of the Athenian Commonwealth, as, for example, it was after the reforms by Cleisthenes. An exercise of this sort might make use also of the plan of Athens (see Map B8) where several of the demes are given by name. Together with the economic data furnished, such a dem-

onstration ought to make quite clear the possible economic interests behind political groupings.

INSET. ATHENS AND THE PIRAEUS. This is merely a further detail to show the relationship of the two. Athens as a trading center is really represented by the Piræus, its main port. For a different view of the Phaleric Wall and the Long Walls see WELLER, *Athens and Its Monuments*, p. 71. For other references on the situation as a whole see the same book, especially p. 13 and p. 383. In general see also WHIBLEY, pp. 518 ff.

INSET. ALEXANDRIA. Here again the purpose is less a detailed city plan than the relation of the city to its direct environment and a view of its harbor facilities. For Alexandria is the greatest of the ancient trading centers after Alexander, the foremost of all his foundations. It further was the station for the great fleet with which the Ptolemaic kings so long played an important role in the fortunes of the eastern world. More especially it is the home of the great Library and Academy of the Ptolemies, the greatest center of learning in its day. For special points on Alexandria see SMITH, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

INSET. SYRACUSE gives another rather general sketch of an ancient Greek city in its immediate environment. Of the details of the city plan we know next to nothing. What is given here is chiefly to be used in illustration of the Sicilian expeditions during the Peloponnesian War. Also the sketch shows how Syracuse benefited by unusual harbor facilities. On the whole matter see BURY, *History of Greece*.

INSET. In PRIENE we have a rough representation of a later Greek city. The plan is based upon the excavations of the city by Wiegand and Schrader and shows it in outline as it was during the Hellenistic age. It is a typical community of second or third rank flourishing in the age after Alexander, and, as compared to Pergamum or Alexandria, is distinctly a provincial center. A minute reconstruction of Priene has been attempted. A view of it and fuller explanations can be found in BREASTED, *Ancient Times*, p. 460. A single house from Priene is shown in WELLER, p. 22.

## QUESTIONS

What are the natural advantages in the position of Attica and Athens? Point out the early colonial and trading rivals about the Isthmus of Corinth. Why did Athens and Aegina, or Athens and Corinth, get into trouble with one another? What is the military significance of the Isthmus of Corinth? What is the strategic importance of the system of walls connecting Athens and the Piræus? Why was Argos a dangerous enemy of Corinth, or of Sparta and the Peloponnesian League? Prove the religious significance of the Greek roads. Why is the Greek road system not as significant as that of Rome? Outline the campaigns of Xerxes and his generals as far as it can be done from this map. What is the relation of Eleusis to Athens? Name the chief natural resources of Attica. What is the importance of Laurium? Would the art of sculpture have developed as highly in Athens if suitable marble was not found in the near-by Pentelicus Mountains? Why did Sparta often endeavor to maintain close relations with Bœotia, and why were alliances of Athens and Argos not uncommon? Note the projected canal across the Isthmus of Corinth. When was this canal actually completed?



## MAP B8. ATHENS

The Athens that was the pride of every Athenian, and the glory of all Greece is now a sad relic of its former self. Even the busy spade of the excavator has not been able to bring forth for us again more than a small and disappointing portion of the city. The plan here given, though it is simplified from more elaborate representations, shows this scantiness of the remains, even if one considers merely the ruins of public and more pretentious structures. Furthermore, the object of the plan is to bring out roughly the several areas within which the drama of the city was played. Outwardly the finest period of the city was that of the Antonines, particularly after the new constructions and repairs lavished upon it by its enthusiastic friend and patron, the Emperor Hadrian. It is this era of which the travelogue by Pausanias speaks. Unfortunately, however, even the remnants of this latest age are so scant that most of the structures he mentions are now gone or badly ruined.

Much detail usually found in ground plans of Athens is omitted in this map or at least not given a definite label. As we travel back in the city's architectural history we more and more leave the firm ground of definite knowledge behind. Neither the exact location nor identification of even important structures is possible in the earlier period. The more detailed a plan of Athens, therefore, the more conjectural it is likely to be. In this one, only those buildings have been entered and named whose identity is pretty well agreed upon. The buildings are only slightly differentiated according to the several successive eras, those of an orange cast being Roman, while those of a purer red are earlier, but in most cases their names in themselves indicate the age.

It is quite apparent that the city, clustered about its defense, the fortress center of the Acropolis, is not the product of careful town planning. What little remains of the old town shows that Athens grew in the haphazard fashion cities have even now of adding to their size. The contrast with the Piræus (see Map B7) in this aspect is remarkable. The latter is evidently the conscious construction of an orderly builder.

The severe rectangular system of the Piræus dates from the age directly after the Persian War. In the Athenian city there seem to have been only a few real streets, and these straggling and accidental and affected by the obstacle of the several hills. These streets served essentially public purposes; the regular avenues of communication for the citizens on ordinary business seem to have radiated irregularly from these chief roads and to have been more in the shape of our modern alley or the cramped streets of the older sections of some continental towns. Roads leading from the outside to the several gates were of course carried inward but lack of knowledge as to their location makes it impossible to show this.

In order to visualize feebly the Athens of Pericles the student must be made to follow a sacred procession up the paths to the Propylæa, through this marvelous gateway up to the sacred enclosure and temples of the gods. From this vantage point he can then with the help of the teacher survey the Athens of any given period—its harbors in the distance with the craft of peaceful trade and the vessels of war, the olive orchards, the tree clad hills rich in mineral and beautiful rock, the once hostile now subdued Salamis in the offing. Coming back to his closer neighborhood he can watch the assembly in the Pnyx, the council on the Hill of Mars or in the Senate House, and the various courts and magisterial commissions in session in their respective halls or open places. He can join a religious ceremony in one of the temples of the lower city or worship at the very altar of the City Goddess, Athena, herself, in the Parthenon; he can finally wend his way past the Sacred Gate and through the Street of Tombs to the ancient city of the mysteries, Eleusis. Such hypothetical trips are the only way of making live once more the cold shadows of ruined beauty and grandeur. Any attempt to do this of course will show the necessity of using in connection with this plan ever again the larger map B7. The roads leading away from Athens are here connected up in part with the network of highroads in Attica. Thus the city is placed within its environment and given greater reality than a mere ground plan can furnish. For the close economic and military interdependence of Athens and its harbors the inset in B7 is the better illustration, though even this plan permits the student to realize that Athens, in times of need such as those of the Peloponnesian War, might easily be considered a fortified city of the first rank.

The pupil must also realize that our plan makes no mention of private buildings, houses or suchlike. The Greek housing conditions as far as we know them were still extremely primitive at an age when in public structures Athens led the world. The Greek in more senses than one was a political being, he lived his real life in the open in the public places. These he beautified and for these he worked and planned as long as the city state lived. It is only in the era after Alexander that private houses begin to furnish an index to the new era of the individual. Also it must be remembered at all times that climate and other considerations tend to encourage the Greek in his habit of building his own house of ephemeral materials and without pretentiousness. Of the Greek house in Athens we know nothing; to find it we must visit in later days such places for instance as Priene.

The demes of the city are named. Together with the material given in Map B7 they can be used in the teaching of the internal organization of the city-state of Athens. In a rough way these districts are the counterpart of our wards.

A more detailed pointing out of objects of interest in Athens would not be appropriate in a manual of this sort. Every teacher will find ample materials for class-room work in the plan, especially if it is supplemented by work on more specific plans from atlases and correlated with the religious and artistic history of the city. Conveniently the whole architectural history of Athens is summarized in WHIBLEY, *Companion to Greek Studies*. See also the very practical book by WELLER, *Athens and Its Monuments*. The map is so designed that in order to be effective it must be used together with some such account. Also while it is not a detailed reference map, it yet aims to be useful for the study of Greek Literature and Life, and of Greek Art.

## QUESTIONS

Name the several walls of Athens and show how they connect the city with its harbors. What is the military advantage of these walls? Name the chief architectural achievements in the age of Pericles in Athens. What purpose, other than the religious one, did the Parthenon serve? Compare the construction of Athens with that of the Piræus.

Where do we get our most detailed information on ancient Athens? Name several of the city demes. Enumerate several of the important public sites within the city walls. What is the Ceramicus? Why does the plan not show remains of private dwellings? Whither does the Sacred Road lead? Where is the shrine of the Goddess of Victory? Where did St. Paul preach his famous sermon?

## MAP B9. SEQUENCE MAP OF GREECE

THE SEQUENCE AS A WHOLE. This sheet is arranged with a view to showing the development of Greek affairs in the form of a sequence of four geographical pictures. They illustrate the age from the Great Persian War to shortly before Rome's first interference in the politically decadent eastern Mediterranean world. The idea of growth and decline in the fortunes of the several Hellenic powers seems most successfully brought home to the student by an arrangement of this kind. Thus this map does for Hellas what in Map B4 has been done for the Oriental empires and what later map sequences (see Maps B12 and B14) will do for the rise of Roman dominion. The complexity of Greek history makes the task more difficult, and the shape of the area adds to this disadvantage, but the cardinal historical factors of change, motion, development ought on the basis of these four maps be readily discernible. Also the pupil should see at the first glance the reflection of the everlasting rivalries in Greece which brought to the front one candidate after the other for hegemony. Finally he will note that the maps are merely the geographical image of passing political ideals and expedients. An appreciation of all these factors is vital to any grasp of Greek history.

The territory shown, because of the peculiar conformation of Greece and the consequent necessity of using a rather large scale, represents only the Greek world proper. All really vital areas are included and the relationship of the section to the eastern Mediterranean is sufficiently evident for most purposes. For a view of outlying Hellenic districts and areas, which in some way or other in the different periods have close connection with this central region, see Maps B4 and B6. Should an even more detailed map be needed, the one on Central Eastern Greece will serve most ends (Map B7). Questions dealing more distinctly with the geography of Greece will be found briefly discussed in the general introduction preceding the notes on individual maps.

MAP A. GREECE AND THE PERSIANS. Fittingly the series opens with a map recording the situation at the time of the Persian Wars.

To the Greek of later days this age was the cornerstone of his existence, the great Golden Age, the real beginning of his political and cultural career. To it he still harked back when almost every vestige of freedom as he understood it and had fought for it had long passed away. The map is, therefore, in one sense a war map. As such it gives by an easily distinguishable symbol the routes of the several Persian attacking forces both by land and sea. Also the most important battle sites have been entered. Should the pupil wish to make a more specific study of any one campaign, this map may be used in conjunction with Map B7. The defensive value for instance of Thermopylæ and the Isthmus of Corinth can be best thus illustrated. The supposed maneuvering of the Greeks at the Artemesian promontory, the collaboration of the land forces and the navy there and the strategy of Themistocles at Salamis, all these and many other factors in the warfare of the day can in the same way be rendered more intelligible to the class.

A more important and fundamental problem for every teacher ought to be to convey to the pupil some notion of the comparative size and strength of the combatants. To this end he must disregard the more detailed colorings of the map and divide the states of Greece into two groups only, those who fought Persia and those who remained neutral. The Medizing areas must for the purpose of this question be included in the area representing the strength of Persia. The attacking force must, therefore, include those sections of the map in the yellow and green. It must also take in the regions in buff. The Greek peoples in this latter area had precipitated the whole conflict by their revolt. They had been suppressed and were now vassals of the Great King at best and represented in his forces. While in this way a picture of the attacking bulk is obtained, a really satisfactory view of the possible driving power of Persia—at least as far as size means that—can be gained only if the student refers also to Map B4 (see, in addition, the comment on Map B10). With this geographical background the teacher must try to make clear the possible chances of the contending parties.

So far the relative strength of the adversaries has been computed by area. This is naturally not a wholly satisfactory method. Other factors entered into the problem, some of which ought to be presented. One is the lack of homogeneity in the Persian Empire. The student must try to

see behind the names of the several peoples in that state, as they appear in Maps B4 and B10, the evident differences in interest, all of which had a good deal of influence in preventing real unity of action even in a despotically controlled state. Also the Great King had to wrestle with the problem of distance. To gather his forces in the first place was difficult, to launch them at Greece was even more of a task, to provision them there (see here the Introduction on Greece and its resources), a feat possible only at great expense and under the continual necessity of keeping communication with the homeland open. In this connection the actual routes of attack may be studied.

Another item in the calculation of the relative position of the two antagonists is the question of fighting material. Therefore it may be helpful to give the student a suggestion of the density of the population of Greece at least. Our information in this matter is very imperfect, but tribute lists and other stray hints here and there have enabled scholars like Beloch and Cavaignac to furnish some idea of the situation. Therefore, on the map the size of the more important cities has been indicated by symbols. The categories are those of CAVAIGNAC (see his *Histoire de l'Antiquité*, V. 2, Athènes, map). The basis of his computations, the best available, is the period directly following the Persian attacks. Hence, the results for our purposes must be discounted somewhat, especially for the Greek area in Asia Minor. There the bloom of the cities had been blighted by the Ionic revolt. This is apparent in the size of Miletus, once the greatest of these towns, as compared with that of Lampsacus. Nevertheless on the whole the statistics given will be a helpful guide, and it ought to be an interesting study for the student to select the cities in Greece proper who led in the fight with Persia and to compare them with the almost unlimited resources in fighting men controlled by Persia and reported in such an exaggerated form by Herodotus.

Density of population connotes either very fertile soil and intensive cultivation, or it points to industry as the support of a large number of people whose foodstuffs are imported. Now, despite the war and the revolt preceding it, Asia Minor still exhibits according to the map a rather high average of population in the several cities about 475 B. C. The fertility of the region is certainly below the average. Therefore prior to these catastrophes the congestion must have been even greater. Pros-

perity of trade and industries was beyond doubt in those years the portion of these communities. They took full advantage of their location on the coast and near the termini of the river and road systems tapping the interior, which on the whole was politically on good terms with them. It would, therefore, seem a just conclusion from the facts indicated on the map to say that before the war these sections led the Greek world in material endeavor, if not in cultural achievements also. It was only after the Great War that the region around the Isthmus of Corinth gained the leadership in these matters.

Both in size and resources the Persian colossus impressed the Greeks. They were confronted with the alternative of downright subjection or a hopeless struggle. This is evident from our map and the data in Map B4. Some, therefore, cringed at the approach of the giant; they "medized" and have been so marked in the map. In the case of most of them their small size and unprotected position will render this intelligible. Others, especially if not so directly menaced, stood aside as neutrals, actuated by panicky fear or possibly by even more ignoble motives.

Thus the very first map of our series on the history of Greece illustrates the besetting sin of the Greek, his lack of a feeling of common interest and nationalism in the face of even a great crisis. Just how deeply this characteristic had affected the people can be shown if we consider for instance the attitude of Thebes and Delphi. The brighter side of the picture is the outstanding proof of loyalty and devotion to Greek ideals evident elsewhere, even in the face of bitter oppression and great odds. Let the student here note the attitude of Thespiæ and Platæa, of a portion of Eubœa and of Potidæa in the north.

It is also interesting to see how the large northwest region of Greece is still quite outside the main current of affairs. On the whole the peoples there may be said to have had no direct interest in the conflict. On the attitude of the several states in the war and on other matters of interest see HTM, V. 4, p. 285, also BURY, *History of Greece*, and GRUNDY, *The Great Persian War*.

The war had its western angle, the remote settlements of Hellenes in Sicily and south Italy were in much the same situation as their countrymen at home. Whether as a result of an actual common arrangement



between the Great King and his quasi-vassal state of Carthage, or because the interests of this power and those of the Etruscans were much like those of Persia and happened to find expression in a hostile attitude at the same time, certainly their attack on the Greeks coincided with that in the east. It came on the extreme right (western) wing of Hellenic settlement. See on this matter Map B6 inset. A convenient brief statement may be found in ALLCROFT, *History of Sicily*.

The first of these sequence maps gives besides the military, political and economic facts of the Persian War also the names of the traditional provinces of Greece. In this regard a comparison may be made with the situation as it is depicted in Map B5. In addition to the titles quoted there on the ethnological problems of Greece see the discussion in HTM, V. 1, p. 7; V. 2, p. 17; MYRES, *Greek Lands and Greek Peoples*; WHIBLEY, *Companion to Greek Studies*; BURY, *History of Greece*.

MAP B. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. This map is devoted entirely to the great civil conflict in Hellas, the Peloponnesian War. It was really a series of struggles running through almost thirty years. The causes and rivalries leading to it involve so fundamentally the history of the whole fifth century and even earlier times that they cannot even be indicated here except in certain phases more readily illustrated from the map. The same must be said for the course of the war itself.

In the first place, from a consideration of the very area under Athenian control and Spartan domination, respectively, the student should be able to arrive at certain conclusions very vital to the whole situation, both in its military and economic aspects. While it is difficult for any portion of Greece to be real land power, the pre-eminently naval and maritime character of the Athenian Empire is quite apparent if compared with the much more clearly landed interests of the rival aggregation. There are, however, some significant exceptions to this general rule. Among the old prominent trading centers of Greece, towns leading in the Aegean and Mediterranean policies of Greece before Athenian commercial leadership, were Corinth and Megara (see Map B7 and B9 A). Both were on the side of Sparta. In a study of the events precipitating the conflict their rôle is a significant one. Taking them in connection with their colonial and commercial sphere and noting their location the teacher ought to be able to bring out certain highly interesting facts.

Furthermore, in conjunction with B6, the map can be used to present the question of Athenian dependence on grain imports. Her interests in the Black Sea and Thracian region, the control over the northeast passage can be fully discussed. Thereby some light will also be thrown on the Spartan military and naval operations in these districts.

Among the more strictly land powers were Thebes and her neighbors. They also at least in the main supported the Peloponnesian Confederacy. The teacher must show some of the military consequences of this situation from the map, with the help, if desired, of B7. In this latter map all the necessary campaigning operations on land in this area can also be brought out.

Further use can be made of this second map of Greece in making a comparison of the area of the Athenian Empire with the limits of the old Delian League as shown in B6, as well as of the territory affected by the Ionic Revolt, in B9 A. Such a study will bring out how both now lay almost completely within the boundaries of Athenian dominion, and to what extent Athens had progressed on the mainland. In order to bring out the organization of this empire the several taxing districts have been outlined and designated. Note the distinction between the Empire as such and the allies of Athens, also the fact that the city itself stands outside of these divisions. On the Empire see BURY, FERGUSON, *Greek Imperialism*, WHIBLEY, and GREENIDGE, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, and ZIMMERN, *Greek Commonwealth*.

Again the teacher ought to note the Persian Empire in the background. Defeated in the Great War, but not beaten, this state was still a serious menace to the Greeks. One phase of the civil struggle in Greece was the see-saw of alternating alliances with this power. The diplomacy, or if you will, the brutal interference of Persia in the struggles of Greece, her selfish exploitation of the chronic lack of harmony or unity in Hellas, cannot be grasped at all unless the student keep continually before his eyes the proximity of Persia. Her malicious intrusion was a black cloud ever hovering on the horizon of Greek affairs during this and all future epochs of Greek development down to the expedition of Alexander.

MAP C. GREECE UNDER THEBAN SUPREMACY. The attempt of Athens to unite Hellas under her own control, both from the ideal and the possibly selfish practical point of view, had failed. Her collapse be-

fore Sparta and Persia, together with her own internal demoralization had irrevocably ended her leadership. The present map shows another effort in Greece to organize a state more powerful and inclusive, and constitutionally in advance also of the city state. This endeavor to unify Greece was a task which Thebes had set for itself at a time when similar efforts toward the same goal, more or less clearly outlined and tinged with selfish interest, were so much in evidence that the country increasingly presented a picture of utter disorganization. Foreign pressure is in this age again prominent. The effort of Thebes, however, was the last significant project of this sort prior to the advent of the Macedonian monarchy.

The plans of Thebes were for a time remarkably successful, due in part to the new form of political and tactical organization employed, in part to the personality of Epaminondas, and largely perhaps to the fact that there was really no powerful counterforce. But they were doomed to failure. Real control of the sort attempted, apart from indispensable changes in Greek political propensities, involved naval empire and the task of protecting Hellenic interests in general, for which the Thebans had neither the resources nor the requisite geographical position. As a successor to Athens it was at a disadvantage, both as an essentially inland state and because of its fundamentally agrarian nature. A comparison of its location with that of Athens and of the two spheres of political domination will be profitable (see here Maps B9 and B7).

The teacher ought also to show how the advance of Thebes into the Peloponnesus endangered Sparta, how the adhesion of part of Arcadia to the Bœotian state, and the acquisition of the Messenian rebel area, once for all overthrew the proud supremacy of Sparta. The significance of the loss of Messenia will be apparent if the student here uses as parallels former efforts of this serf population to wrench themselves free from Lacedæmonia.

While Thebes was consolidating an empire chiefly on land, Athens was once more essaying a naval confederation. Its extent is shown and may be studied in relation to the earlier empire in B9 B. While these rivalries were going on in the more highly developed sections of Greece, the northwest region was still outside of the whirlpool.

The map gives also a sketch of some of the main highways of Greece. It would have been impracticable to be more full in the treatment of this subject. The facts here presented supplement the more detailed data given for central eastern Greece in Map B7. Internal communication was difficult in Greece (see Introduction on Greece) and at no time in the days of Greek glory were the road systems of this country as well worked out as in Italy. Nor were they so significant in a country of which most sections opened out on much more direct communication by water.

On the Bœotian League, Theban Supremacy and kindred topics see BURY, FERGUSON, BOTSFORD, and SIHLER, *Hellenic Civilization*, and the titles quoted there.

MAP D. THE GREEK LEAGUES. The last map in the series takes up the situation in Greece shortly before the coming of the Roman into the eastern Mediterranean and into Greek affairs. The encroachment of Macedonia on Hellas, and the age of Alexander have been passed over. As far as the events are of significance and require illustration they are dealt with in the map on Alexander's Empire. (See Map B10.)

There is no specific virtue in the date chosen for the presentation of the two later Greek Leagues, though in the main this year marks the point of their greatest territorial extent. Some of the holdings were very temporary, but the map gives at least a visual image of their size, and in this sense of the achievements of this latter day league policy, a policy which in antiquity comes closer than any other on that scale to modern federal and representative systems. This is the importance of these formations, not the political or military details of their history.

Note that the two oldest and proudest leaders of Hellenic policy held aloof (though they were not consistent in this) from these new combinations which in their way were trying to attain what Sparta, Athens and Thebes had failed to achieve. In a measure this aloofness may be held responsible for the ill success of the whole movement. Another fact the student may be asked to remember is the entrance at this time of those regions in Greece which so far had only in a negligible degree been active in the larger concerns of Greece. While ultimate success was not attained these states were the most vigorous political entities Greece developed in the century after Alexander. The extension of Macedonia

into Greece at this time must also be marked. It occupied a vantage point which it did not hesitate to exploit.

The rivalries in Hellas had not abated; order and peace were more and more rare; the various states were expending their vigor in futile bickerings. It was time that a stronger arm should appear in the Greek world, under whose guidance and protection those deeper capacities of the Hellene—capacities which political inefficiency at its worst had not been able to obscure—might have a chance peacefully to manifest themselves and perform their task.

In addition to the references given above on the Greek Leagues see HTM, V. 4, p. 285; CASPARI, *Parliament of the Achaean League*, in ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, V. 29, p. 209; HOWARD, *Comparative Federal Institutions*, with bibliography.

## QUESTIONS

State the factors of size, distance and population in the war of Greece and Persia. Why did Thessaly "medize"? What area is included in the Ionic revolt, and what becomes of this region later? Where were the greatest Greek economic centers before and after the war against Persia? Name the chief loyal states. Outline the several financial districts in the Athenian empire. What is the significance of the attitude of Corinth, Megara and Thebes assumed in the Peloponnesian War? Compare the extent of the Delian League and the Empire of Athens. What is the importance of the northwest passage to Athens? What were the advantages of position for Athens in an imperial policy? What was the importance of Messenia to Sparta? Compare the extent of the first and second so-called Empires of Athens. Why do the western communities in Greece appear as prominent factors in the political developments of the country so late in her independent history?

## MAP B10. ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

**MAIN MAP.** The first impression received from any representation of the Empire of Alexander is that of a contrast between the insignificance of the conquering area over against the vast bulk of the conquered. This fact must be borne in on the pupil in its several meanings even more than similar considerations are stressed in connection with the great Persian War. The lesson that mere size often counts for very little has rarely found a more effective illustration. The teacher may conveniently use the case of Japan and Russia in modern times as a parallel. What stood in the way of Persian victory among other things was the vastness of its area and resources under an administration too weak, corrupt and poorly organized properly to employ them. There was also in this colossal state no sentiment of unity, no real common cause even in a defense against Greek attack. The pupil must be made to realize the great divergence between the many peoples over this wide area. Local particularism in addition to corruption at the center of administration made any enthusiastic joint action impossible. Differences of custom, religion, political organization, historical tradition and experience made strangers of the Bactrian and Syrian, the Armenian highlander and the dweller in the Lydian cities. Had this not been the case and had the individual Persian subject felt a personal interest, held a stake in the fate of the Empire, all might have been different. As it is the Orient under the now effete Persian control lost to the Occident under the young and vigorous Alexander.

If these and other correlated elements in the downfall of Persia are properly grasped by the pupil—and unfortunately no graphic device can adequately set forth on a map these weaknesses and differences—he will also readily understand the *difficult task confronting Alexander* once he had made himself master of this vast empire and successor of the Great Kings. The fact is, and the map shows this, that the subjection of the Persian Empire was even under Alexander not as complete as we ordinarily assume and indicate by coloring in maps like this. Beside the regions here shown under the direct power of Alexander, or as allied or

free states, there are other shadings of political status which cannot satisfactorily be set down. Some sections marked as conquered were only nominally held, as for instance Bactria; others were openly resisting still at the time of Alexander's death. Among these, Cappadocia is a prominent example. Armenia was probably never very directly under control, and the outer limits of Alexander's state both in the region of the Caucasus and along the extreme eastern front are quite doubtful.

All these gaps in a system of uniform control cannot be indicated, and yet a realization of these factors helps the student further to grasp the problem facing Alexander. To complete and confirm his political and military program, to provide for a stable and strong state, and to gradually establish in that state the foundations of a uniform civilization were the main items in that task. A close study of the map alone will help one to see that the ultimate failure of this program is intelligible, even if the sudden and untimely death of Alexander be discounted. Indeed, it must be brought to the attention of the pupil that notwithstanding the final collapse the amount of common civilization developed in the brief time over this vast region despite all difficulties is quite wonderful.

The conquest opened up the East to the West. There had been a good deal of intercourse before, but hostile political relations and the threatening policy of Persia toward Greece during the earlier fourth century could now no more hamper free intercommunication. The Greek world immediately made use of its opportunity and we are confronted with a remarkable quickening of all energies in Greco-Macedonian life. By means of colonies, in military and civil service, through the pursuits of trade and commerce the Greeks and Macedonians spread over this new open area, especially it seems into the westernmost regions of the former Persian dominion and into the Tigris-Euphrates valley. With them goes Greek civilization in all its phases. Greek life and thought meets more closely than ever that of the Orient. The one merges with the other and the joint product, whether it be a new monarchical theory or great and far-reaching religious beliefs or institutions, becomes a vital factor in the development of the world—both then and later.

The number of the Westerners who thus became a leaven for the East is probably at highest small if compared to the teeming population within which they were sooner or later absorbed. It was very considerable,

however, when considered in relation to the area and population of the homeland. The vital energy expended by the West on the East was appalling and may be said to have direct bearing on the apparent exsanguination of old Greece and Macedonia and their consequent rather rapid decline in later years.

These and many other considerations crowd in on the observer in an attentive study of the map. Certainly, as far as they are presented in the classroom in conjunction with this period, they one and all can be fully appreciated only by constant contact with a graphic image of Alexander's Empire.

Among the more detailed and specific topics illustrated in the map is the colonization movement of the time. It is sufficient testimony to the keenness of perception on the part of Alexander and the Diadochi and their councillors if one realizes that the colonial sites picked by them were of great commercial and strategic importance. Some were unquestionably even then noteworthy trading posts and caravan centers. What is more to the point is the fact that a goodly number exist even now and despite all the changes of the centuries still in the main retain their several advantages and significance. The mere mention in our times of the modern names of a few of these sites will bring this home to the pupil. On the map, for this reason, besides the ancient designations will be found names like Hamadan, Kandahar, Herat, Merv, Samarkand and Khojent.

The actual story of the conquest, its military events, the route of Alexander and his commanders has been entered in a bold red line. This enables the pupil quickly and easily to review this part of the class work. The battle sites of importance have also been indicated. It might be worth while for the student in this connection to see how far Alexander followed older regular road systems in his penetration of the interior. Also the natural defenses of the country traversed by Alexander must be noted, whether they be obstacles like deserts or mountain ranges through which only narrow gates permit passage.

Another angle of the opening up of the east is that which deals with more distinctly economic interests. As indicated above this is one of the foremost results of the conquest and it must, at least in its chief outlines, be impressed upon a student of this period. The map is designed to help especially in this topic. The great routes via land and sea can be pointed



out readily. In a sense all roads converge in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. It is this area which becomes the economic center of the new Greek world. With it are associated such names as Alexandria, Antioch, Rhodes, Athens and Corinth. Goods traveled from the Far East by sea past Bab el Mandeb to Berenike, thence overland to the Nile and down the river to Alexandria. Or they might pass up the Red Sea to the Bitter Lakes east of Heliopolis and thence by canal and delta to the same port. Another system of traffic from the east is that which follows essentially the route of Nearchus to Babylon, or later to Seleucia on the Tigris by making use of the river and canal system. From thence it continues overland by caravan around the head of the Syro-Arabian desert to Antioch and its harbor town Seleucia by the Sea. The upper road to India and China is also indicated in the map. Its western mouth-point is Phasis on the Black Sea. Once wares had arrived in the old centers of Greek traffic, the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, the distribution followed beaten paths. Many minor roads, giving a general view both of the old Persian postal highways as well as of the relative closeness of intercommunication in the later age add to the usefulness of the map for economic and military discussions especially.

INSET. This lesser map represents the *political divisions in the Hellenistic world after the battle of Couropedion* and after the assassination of Seleucus. The last of the great contemporaries of Alexander had disappeared from the scene and the old rivalries in the main are now buried. This particular stage of the eastern development has, however, been chosen for the map because it marks the time when the newly established territorial monarchies are continentally differentiated, Macedonia in Europe, the Seleucid empire in Asia and the Ptolemæan state in Africa. Barring minor and temporary overlappings, especially in the oft-times curiously unnatural limits of the latter power, this was destined to be the condition of things down to the appearance of Rome in these regions.

Side by side with the great monarchies we already find the well defined growth of a number of lesser principalities. They, together with some smaller and in the main republican units, served as balance wheels in always precarious equilibrium of the east. At the time represented Media Atropatene, Armenia and Cappadocia were essentially vassal states of the Seleucids. Pontus and Bithynia, however, and also Perga-

mum already had an independent existence. Republicanism in this world of princes outside of the Greek mainland was chiefly represented by the city-state of Rhodes. No attempt has been made either in this inset or in the larger map to note the political affiliation of the lesser cities and islands. Their status at a given period was likely to be very doubtful. The attention of the pupil ought, however, in connection with this map be directed to the Celtic settlements in central Asia Minor. The series of events which brought these barbarians there at about the time when the Greek cities in southern Italy with the help of Pyrrhus were vainly trying to fight off the Italian natives is suggestive of the evident weakening of the Hellenic world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. On the general considerations connected with these maps and the period they cover see MAHAFFY, *Problems in Greek History*, chapter 8; MAHAFFY, *Progress of Hellenism*; WHEELER, *Alexander*; FERGUSON, *Greek Imperialism*; BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte*; CUNNINGHAM, *Western Civilization*; BREASTED, *Ancient Times*; BURY, *History of Greece*. For a more detailed representation of the road system see the atlas by SHEPHERD or SIEGLIN. Further detailed material on the events of Alexander's career and the history of the Diadochi has been put together in a number of charts by REICH in his *Atlas Antiquus*. See especially plates 11-22. The presentation is rather heavy and involved, but the book may with proper guidance be used by those who are interested in military history.

## QUESTIONS

Compute the area of the Greco-Macedonian power at the time of Alexander and compare its extent with the lands overrun by Alexander. Did geographical difficulties render more hopeless the defense of the Persian Empire? Mention several obstacles impeding the progress of the conqueror. What is the importance of the Taurus range to the Tigris-Euphrates valley? To what extent was traffic in this period carried on over navigable rivers? Point out the chief parts of the old Persian highway. To what extent are the roads and the trading posts of Alexander's time still significant in our times? Point out on the map the chief colonies of the age and note their strategic and economic significance.

Trace the several important systems of intercommunication between the Far East and the West. What was the importance of Alexandria in this connection? Name some of the merely nominally controlled regions in the area called the Empire of Alexander. Why does Rhodes become so powerful in this age? Show on the map the course of the Celtic invasion of 279 B. C. What is the importance of the cities of Babylon and Seleucia in the Tigris-Euphrates valley?

## MAP B11. ANCIENT ITALY

MAP A. PEOPLES AND TRIBES. As the first map presenting Italy is ordinarily supposed to deal with the ethnological questions underlying the development of the peninsula this series gives attention to the problem in a special map. It represents the period around 500 B. C. While little if any trustworthy information in detail is available as to the areas covered by the several tribes and peoples, the situation here portrayed seems to the best of our knowledge substantially correct. It will be noted that in the main the map sets forth both the close relationship of a lot of the lesser tribes and the presence in Italy of certain broad ethnic aggregates. Chief among these are the Italo-Latins, the Etruscans, Illyrians, Iberians and Greeks.

Numerous and vexing problems are associated with any, even a very superficial, study of the ethnic conditions in early Italy. Among the topics we know least about and have, therefore, most trouble in bringing home intelligently to the pupil is that of the pre-historic inhabitants of Italy, those populations which we must assume as having preceded the groups just mentioned, and as having then been either absorbed or bred out by the later comers. This much we know, the men of the Bronze and Iron Ages and of the Terramare cannot any more be left aside as a negligible quantity. They had their own role to play; they built up their civilization just as the primitive dweller in the Aegean. The more we learn about them the more easily shall we be able to evaluate the part played by the later tribes as they came in and carried on the work. For a brief survey of the problem which can only be referred to here, and for some slight sketch maps relating to it, see JONES, *Companion to Roman History*, ch. 1. Note also the excellent summary by BOTSFORD in the HTM, V. 5, p. 230. Other convenient accounts are those in MYRES, *Dawn of History*; LLOYD, *The Making of the Roman People*; and PEET, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*.

Of the later ethnic groups the most troublesome and elusive, though for a study of Rome and Italy also one of the most fascinating, are the

Etruscans. Who they were and whence they came is still an unsolved mystery. There are extant hundreds of inscriptions in their language, but so far not one has been deciphered. Until lately the view prevailed that this mysterious people was related to the Rhætian stock of the Alpine area, and that they had come into Italy from the north. The weight of expert opinion now, however, seems to have shifted. The evidence at hand is now generally believed to prove that the Etruscan came over sea somewhere around 1000 B. C., and originally hails from the northwestern section of Asia Minor. The chief proofs for this view are archæological. The whole view, however, if true has this important bearing on any historical consideration of the whole development of early Italy: it brings to Italy before the Greek colonization, certainly before any appreciable development of the earliest Greek settlements in the Mediterranean (if we bar out Minoan influences) a much advanced stock, partly oriental and partly Hellenic in its traditions and makeup. The bearing of such a situation on a treatment of early Rome is extremely interesting. Assuming that the view is defensible we have in Italy then a highly civilized and strongly orientalized population forming a conquering minority and imposing itself in a loose federative way gradually over the regions indicated on the map.

There are three distinct areas of Etruscan occupation discernible on the map: Etruria proper, the holdings beyond the Apennines, and a block of territory running south to Campania. In this latter section Etruscan political power is a direct neighbor of the Greek cities by about 500 B. C. On Map B6 the resulting clash has been referred to, and the driving out of the Etruscan by the Cumæan Greeks with the aid of Syracuse illustrated. Possibly the hold of the Etruscan in the south was neither very old or firm. Their recession may be due to this and also to the incursions of new tribes into their other sphere of influence in the valley of the Po. These were the Celts of whom special note will be made. To the teacher of Roman History, however, all these various lesser developments must remain secondary to the cardinal fact to be brought home by this map, namely, that the tenure of the Etruscans in central western Italy involves Rome. Rome's environment in the years of its growth was Greek and Etruscan. Indeed it seems more and more probable that the youthful state, for the latter portion at least of the age

ascribed by tradition to the kings, was under actual political domination by these northern neighbors (see BREASTED, *Ancient Times*). While our present knowledge of this phase of the early ethnic situation in Italy is still unsatisfactory it seems clear enough to indicate this fact by color.

Most current accounts of early Italy and its peoples are quite inadequate on the problem of the Etruscan. The standard modern treatise is that by SKUTSCH and KOERTE in the *Reallexicon* of PAULY-WISSOWA under "Etrusker." See also the simple statement by MYRES in the *Britannica*; FRANK in his *Roman Imperialism*, p. 14 and note; HTM, V. 5, p. 239; RIDGEWAY, *Who Were the Romans*; SANDYS, *Companion to Classical Studies*, pp. 1-24. These latter references are useful also for the general ethnic situation in Italy.

The Celts or Gauls, mentioned above as in part responsible for the weakening of Etruscan power, are in the map shown as occupants of a very large area north and northwest of Italy. Just where the disseminating point of these tribes is to be found has not been determined. The spread of their power involving so much of western Europe was approximately complete somewhat after 500 B. C. Isolated tribal groups from this general stock are by color blocks shown a good deal in advance of their fellows. These are the Celts who made trouble for the Etruscan and soon also for the Roman. By 425 B. C. they seem to have been in control of the regions marked. From this time on they seem to have been an ever present menace to the populations further south. The mere presence of this prolific fighting stock in what is undoubtedly the most fertile section of Italy and at a point from which they might at will make raids into the lands of their neighbors was a constant problem. As such it must even for this early date be stressed in the classroom. Specific instances from the history of Rome down at least to the war with Hannibal are so well known and numerous that the student cannot escape appreciating the situation. More detailed questions relating to the Celts can be found succinctly answered in RICE HOLMES, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*.

Of the Greeks in Italy as an ethnic element nothing further need be said here. Their importance for the development of early Italy and Rome can hardly be overstated. The teacher will do well to use in addi-

tion to the present map also B6 where the radiations of Greek influence have been more fully indicated.

It will be noted that the map makes no distinction between the Latins and the Italians. The teacher of history at least is not much concerned over these differences as far as they have been clearly determined at all. He is much more interested in the evident close relationship of the two. Except for linguistic purposes, and when confessedly dealing with more detailed problems of ethnology, such distinctions seem little practicable. There is no reason why teachers of today should aid in the perpetuation of the chauvinistic self-glorification of the Roman writers. To them the Latin stock meant something special; at least they endeavored as far as possible to make it loom large. Rarely if ever did the other Italian peoples, even when confessedly part of the Roman state, get their due credit. The teacher must see and impress on the pupil that essential unity of the Italian and Latin peoples as it expressed itself in confederations and a common state bearing jointly the burden of the conquest of Italy and of the Mediterranean. For references on the origin and character of this stock the teacher is referred to the books quoted above in connection with the Etruscan problem.

The other ethnic groups indicated in the map are of less importance in any study of ancient civilization or Roman power. Brief reference to them will suffice. There seems to be little doubt that the tribes, of which the most generally known goes under the name Messapians, migrated to Italy from across the Adriatic. They are, therefore, part of the general stock called Illyrian. The same relationship seems well established for the Venetians in the northeast of Italy. In fact these are a mere extension of the Illyrians whose connection with the mother group was disrupted by the coming of the Celts. On the Illyrians, see the titles quoted above. The Ligurians are another problematic people, like the Etruscans, though their active role in history and their influence on the developments in Italy is far smaller. They are now either considered as the late descendants, driven to the mountains by later arrivals, of the original Iron Age Italian, or they are set down as cousins of the Iberian stock so prominent in Spain and in the islands of the western Mediterranean. RICE HOLMES deals with these people, as do also the other authors cited.

## QUESTIONS

What do we know about the people living in Italy during the Bronze and Iron Ages? Where in the main have evidences of their existence been found? What is the Terramare? How did these earlier populations get to Italy and where were similar peoples to be found? How and in what general era did Greek settlers come to Italy? Where did they settle? Why did they not occupy also other portions of Italy? Who are the Etruscans? Where do you find their power established by about 500 B. C.? When did they lose a good deal of their territory? When do Celtic tribes begin to appear in Italy? What areas in western Europe do the Celts occupy? What is the significance of the settlement of the Celts in the Po valley? Do you think that they in an indirect way were helpful to Rome in its career toward supremacy in Italy? What is the ethnic relationship of the Venetians and of the Messapians? Has it any bearing on the modern situation in Italy and the Balkans? What territory is occupied by the Ligurians, and why is their position at that point significant for later Roman History?



## MAP B. MILITARY AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION ABOUT 90 B. C.

The purport of this second map, in time and in content so remote from its neighbor, is to furnish a graphic representation of how Rome organized and held Italy. Only incidentally is it to serve also in illustration of the historical events of the period to which properly it belongs. As such it conveys to the pupil an idea of the seriousness of the rising of Rome's allies in 90 B. C. In fact, since in a way this revolt may be regarded as proof that ultimately Rome's system of control broke down, the map could not well represent with equal justification any other age. The map shows Rome's means and methods of control. Now, neither the one nor the other exhibits much change between about 265 and 90 B. C. That then is an added reason for the choice of this particular date. The material for the representation of the differences in political status was in the main taken from BELOCH, *Der Italische Bund*. In that treatise the teacher will find another map on the same subject for the period just preceding the war with Hannibal.

Stripped of all complication, the map presents clearly Rome's central policy of domination used in Italy and elsewhere, *the policy of divide and command*. Further, it brings out the fact that in the service of this principle the Romans were always materially aided by the binding and fusing force of adequate systems of communication and of colonies.

Regions directly a part of the Roman state in the narrower sense, whether they be the lands organized under the tribe units or the properties of citizen colonies, are shown in buff. Two other colors, green and yellow, are used to show sections merely allied to the Roman state, viz., the Latin Colonies and the Allied States. Fundamentally, therefore, the pupil can be made to see that Rome in organizing her conquests and fitting new territories into the existing body politic did so either by incorporation or by alliance. A broadly satisfactory statement on the

details of this policy from this specific angle can be found in HEITLAND, *History of the Roman Republic*.

The statesmanship of Rome in devising and applying this scheme has often been unduly lauded. As a device, it holds no mystery in its main principles and is not new. Without insisting that it was borrowed, the teacher yet may find it valuable to point to similar methods employed by Athens, for instance, in the Delian League and the Empire. It is in the application of the system that the younger community seems to have been wiser—or we may say, the temptation to a masterful leveling or nullifying of differences of status because of circumstances came to Rome much later than to Athens. Her structure, therefore, stood longer and survived remarkably well even such a severe test as the years of Hannibal's campaign in Italy brought.

A broad outline of Rome's practice, as it can be readily taught from the map, is the following: All incorporated areas, property and peoples—barring, of course, stranger residents—are legally citizen in character. On the map this is the portion shown in buff. Within this body there are several practical and legal shadings of status which the map cannot indicate and the teacher must provide. The other rubric contains allies, again in varying degree of participation or dependence in the Roman-Italian confederation. Among these the map indicates only the two chief divisions, the Latin colonies and the Latin and Italian Allies. Here again the pupil must be made to realize the more detailed divergences as far as that seems necessary to the individual teacher.

Throughout the structure Rome's hand is apparent. This will be especially evident when a study of the roads and fortifications is made. On the map the city looks almost like a spider in the center of its web. But while this is true, and while from the mere constitutional angle especially Rome the City looms large, the practical facts of historical progress show that the allies and citizens of lesser right must be considered as something more than unwilling tools and dupes of the city. In the confederation from at least the latter part of the fifth century there was an opportunity for participation in varying degree in the political, social and economic life of the whole for all citizens, whatever their degree, and for all types of allies. The teacher will do well to stress the fact that membership in a state means not merely sharing in political privileges and that

the actual development of the Roman Confederation proves this. The divergence established by the statesmen of Rome thus provides a safety valve for ambition and energy and a bar to common discontent. The leaders knew there would be trouble and rivalries. By shrewdly distributing political privilege and practical public opportunities in varying degree opposition is localized and rendered relatively harmless.

The proof of the policy is the revolt of 90 B. C. By that time the laws and contracts made with the several regions and communities, while in theory they still held good, had been wiped out in fact. A gulf had been fixed between the citizen and the ally, almost as wide as that established between the Roman and the provincial, but more dangerous because of the tradition of a common origin and a common task successfully performed. Equal subjection bred like resentment and a very general rising is the outcome. The teacher must show areas affected by this rebellion, indicating as far as possible rebel and loyal regions. Also the pupil must be shown what the final belated grant and offer of citizenship meant to Italy. On the whole matter as a topic for classroom work see WESTERMANN in the HTM, V. 6, pp. 103 ff. Also see FRANK, *Roman Imperialism*; ABBOTT, *Political and Constitutional History of Rome*; GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life*; likewise the standard histories of the Republic.

The teacher can in a way put more life into this problem and present it more adequately if he uses as a parallel the practices of the British Empire especially in India. Any good modern map of India showing in detail the differences of political relationship there will suffice. A convenient little text is HOLDERNESS, *Peoples and Problems of India*.

Another interesting problem in the development of Roman power in Italy can also be studied from this map with some advantage. Rome conquered Italy jointly with her allies. The spoils of war especially in land ought in fairness and according to special engagements have been apportioned accordingly. Was this done? The allies repeatedly said "No." The map, since it shows the sections assigned to or left in the hands of the allies, though in specific detail it cannot be made to show this accurately, furnishes an aid in determining for the student how far Rome kept her promise. Perhaps the best basis of an inquiry is a following out of the Latin colonies.

Rome's policy of "divide and command" was specially reinforced by certain other contrivances. They are the *colonies* and the *road system*. Indeed, without an adequate notion of these two factors an intelligent grasp on the policy as such and on the whole course of Rome's history is quite impossible. In a sense it is very true that Rome's history might well be written from the point of view of her colonies and her roads. Owing to difficulties of space it has not been practicable to enter all the highways on the map. Only the more important ones will be found. For a more detailed presentation the pupil must use in addition the small atlases of PUTZGER or SHEPHERD. Furthermore, the character of our information makes it difficult to set down the road system as it grew from age to age. The details in this connection as far as they help in the appreciation of Rome's forward movement can and ought in connection with the various periods be furnished by the teacher. Substantially this map is accurate for the period indicated.

The pupil will immediately note one fact: All parts, especially every vital or endangered area of Italy is through the network of roads made accessible without much loss of time. The teacher will with advantage here refer to the neighboring map and make the student fix more specifically the consistently hostile peoples, and thus the benefit Rome derived from its roads in keeping them under control and guarding its advancing frontier lines. In this connection see also Map B12 on the Growth of Roman Power in Italy. A second point must be impressed upon the student. A road system of this kind, covering all Italy and splendidly constructed and maintained, reflects a well-organized, self-confident, purposeful and watchful state. None other could muster the concerted effort required for its construction and upkeep alone.

It is everywhere quite apparent that the purpose of these roads is distinctly military. For that reason they are at all times closely associated with the colonial system which also is military. Indeed these foundations are in one sense nothing more than garrisons connected by strategic highways. This fact, of course, does not deny the social and especially the economic importance of the gridiron of roads. We know quite definitely that the Roman with his peculiarly hard sense of practical values saw both of these incidental advantages and made use of them. In this sense the early commercial connection between Rome and the part of the west-

ern coast down to the Bay of Naples may be an interesting illustration.

The map too must be used to show how Italy and Rome are linked up with their holdings outside of the peninsula, especially in the northeast and the northwest. Similarly the end points of the roads at Brundisium and Rhegium must be explained. The rapidity with which Rome could draw forces from or throw armies into any of these regions can thus be roughly estimated. For a more adequate realization of this angle of the problem teacher and pupil are referred to Map B15 where special effort has been directed toward the setting forth of this situation in connection with Gaul.

Many of the great public roads of Italy were doubtless constructed to follow older and more primitive local arteries of trade and communication. Even though these may not have been more than crude paths and pack trails, their existence is significant. The Via Salaria is one of these very early avenues. While the date of construction of the various later official state highways is in itself significant enough, this must not be taken to mean that in the age prior to the particular construction Rome was unable to project her power into the regions to be served by the new system. The approximate time of the building of the several major roads is herewith appended. The Appian Road in 312 B. C., the Latin Way still earlier, though the date is not known, the Aurelian in 241, the Clodian in 225, the Flaminian in 220, the Aemilian in 189, the Popilian in 159, the Valerian in 154, the Postumian in 148, the later Popilian in 132, the Cassian before 125 and the Road of Aemilius Scaurus in 109. The occasion, military and political, of these various constructions can be gathered from any more specific account of the Republic, for instance in Heitland or Mommsen. Reading on the roads in general and considerations connected with them will be found in JONES, *Companion*, pp. 22 ff; SANDYS, *Companion*, p. 422; HTM, V. 5, p. 323 and V. 6, p. 103; SKEEL, *Travel in the Early Empire*.

Roman colonies were settlements of Roman citizens, of Latins, and of Italians. Just what proportions of each were sent out either into the citizen or the Latin colonies we do not know. It is certain though that for the first variety citizenship was not always a criterion and for the last also no hard and fast lines of membership according to status were drawn. That such settlements should be hearths and radiating points of Roman

influence is obvious. This besides their primary function as garrisons was unquestionably their chief purpose. The pupil must be made aware of this by a definite study of some area, for instance the Po valley. This can best be done in conjunction with either of the two succeeding maps of Italy in which the gradual growth of Rome in Italy is shown. While thus Rome perpetuated herself and expanded by colonization we cannot here as in Greece say that the new settlements were consciously founded as economic or social safety valves. To be sure, they could not avoid being that in practice, but we know of no colonies with either of these motives until the age of the Gracchi. The pupil who is studying Rome's advance through colonization in the corporate sense should be reminded that concurrent with this extension of Rome on a large scale there went always the individual assignment of lands in the newly conquered areas. For a long time also, especially in the age when land seemed plentiful and the government not very rigid in its supervision, plenty of squatting on public land especially by the upper classes was practiced.

Not by any means the whole list of colonies known to us has been entered on the map, though by the colony symbol alone, as in Map B6, almost a complete picture of the situation has been given. The emphasis for the map as a whole has again been put on making the student realize the density of colonization, not to furnish him a mere reference list. The missing names are either supplied in Map B12 or they can be taken from the atlases of SHEPHERD, PÜTZGER or SIEGLIN.

For chronological tables of the colonies during the Republic see HEITLAND, V. 1, pp. 172 and 222 and V. 2, p. 144. See also on the subject as a whole GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life*; HTM, V. 6, p. 103 and V. 5, p. 323; SANDYS, *Companion*, p. 383; NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde*, V. 2, pp. 49-61; REID, *Municipalities in the Roman Empire*. The best treatment on the colony as such with lists, dates and all other apparatus is in the *Reallexicon* of PAULY-WISSOWA under "Colonia." See also the general references on colonization under Map B6.

## QUESTIONS

Name the chief categories under which Rome organized its newly gained territories. Which areas do you find especially pre-empted by Rome for its citizens, either active or passive? Is there any significance in this selection? Why is the central region of Italy so firmly in the power of the citizen class? Why does the old Samnite area on the other hand show even as late as the Social War preeminently allied status? Why does the same seem true for Etruscan territory? Compare in a rough way the amount of land controlled by Rome and that held by its allies and the Latin colonists. What type of organization do you find in Campania, and why is it significant? Can you fix on the map in a general way those regions which rose against Rome during the Social War? Is there any significance in noting the towns and sections which remained loyal? According to the map what advantages did Rome have over against the rebels? What is the demonstrable relation of the road system to the political and military organization of Italy under Rome? In what manner are roads and colonies closely interdependent? What special advantages outside of the military sphere did Rome derive from the following highways: the Salt Way, the Appian Way, Popilian, Flaminian and Aemilian Way? Name a few of the main stations on the Appian and the Flaminian Ways. Name the chief highways draining the Po valley. Give roughly the proportion of the Latin to the Roman colonies. Where mainly were the former and where the latter placed? Has this distinction any significance? Where especially would either type of colony when established act prominently as a radiating point of Roman civilization and point of view? Name some prominent modern cities in northern Italy which once upon a time were either Roman or Latin colonies. Which modern Italian port acts very much in the same capacity as when Cæsar was in pursuit of Pompey or Sulla embarking for his province in the east?

## MAP B12. GROWTH OF ROMAN POWER IN ITALY

THIS map in two consecutive representations of Italy shows the growth of Roman power from the days when the city was an unimportant local center to the time when it had achieved domination over the whole peninsula to the Arno. It presents, therefore, the several initial steps in Rome's imperialism and is followed by two additional maps concerned with the further progress of Rome (see Maps B14 and B16). The three maps are arranged in sequence following out the principles announced earlier (see p. 44 and p. 65).

As far as this particular map is concerned Rome at best is still a distinctly Italian power, though in the last stage of its career toward mastery it did come into conflict with the world politics of the day as represented by Pyrrhus and Carthage. The outer chronological limits used for the two representations will be quite intelligible. The lesser divisions of time have of necessity been chosen somewhat arbitrarily, but a brief sketch of the development portrayed in the maps will show the reasons for the adoption of these inner limits.

Rome's first territorial progress is no better known to us than any of the other phases of her origin and early growth. Tradition speaks in rather large terms of very unimportant accessions of territory in the age of the so-called monarchy. By the end of this period, though we are not very certain of the facts, we feel that Rome can be credited with control of the land from the foothills of the Apennines to the mouth of the Tiber, together with a small slice north of the river. In the main it controls northwestern Latium.

For at least a century, using the traditional chronology, Rome's progress was very small. Indeed, the very possession of its section of Latium seems to have been endangered by the neighboring tribal units. Certainly it seems clear that in about the last quarter of the fifth century the city had to fight hard to retain and confirm her hold there (about 430-405 B. C.). Shortly before the coming of the Gauls, however,



it appears to have successfully weathered this storm. At approximately the same time the tenacious resistance of southern Etruria was overcome through the capture and incorporation of Veii. Rome by about 390 B. C. definitely lords it over the lower reaches of the Tiber and is the champion of the Latin plains against Etruscan, Volscian and Gaul.

Her interests after the Gallic catastrophe and its invigorating influence begin naturally to point southward. Along the coast lay the fertile plains of Campania with its flourishing Greek or Hellenized cities. An advance into these regions involved pre-eminently also the fortunes of the Latins who in alliance with her had so far held back the hill tribes and thrown back the Etruscans. Any forward movement at that point would be a pushing forward of their own Latin frontiers and would open the question of the division of the spoils between themselves and their Roman leader and confederate. It would in the second place vitally involve the future of another confederation, more loosely knit it would seem, but with a distinct policy of its own—the Samnites. In the troubles down to the year 338 B. C., the details of which are dark to us now, both of these problems meet. Rome advances selfishly and sees her alliance break up. Successful in overcoming the revolt she forces her confederates back into a much more centralized league and at the same time receives the partly voluntary, partly forced homage of the Campanians down to a line due north of Naples.

In essence this meant two things. The Campanians, of old Samnite stock, had lined themselves up with Rome, and thereby effectively blocked any further adequate expansion toward the coast of their old fellow tribesmen. Only the preoccupation of the Samnites in Apulia at about this time seems to explain why they did not directly object by force of arms.

The inevitable clash between the two confederations came as soon as the Samnites had disencumbered themselves in the South. It led to what the Romans never forgot as the Great Samnite War. The prize was the confirmation of the hold on the Campanian coastlands to above Naples, the control over the central tribal units of Italy and thereby in reality the mastery of Italy. The issue was fairly joined and seems to have been generally understood. The war came to involve on the side of the Samnite Confederation the Etruscans and Gauls, on the side of

Rome the Apulians. After ups and downs, in which the memory of Romans looked back with shame and sorrow to days like those of Caudium, Rome's better organization and strategic position carried the day. She did not yet have the strength to absorb her most inveterate rivals, the Etruscans and Samnites, but she did gain her other points. The coastlands are retained and a wedge of land is thrown across Italy which gives Rome the heart of the peninsula and bars collusion between her most dangerous foes north and south. To add to her advantage she establishes an outpost in her alliance with the tribes in northern Apulia. They are Roman guards in the rear of the Samnites.

The arrangements closing the Samnite War are temporary. Will the verdict against the Samnites and the Etruscans be accepted by these as final? Will they and their possible allies, all old and potential enemies of Rome, be content to accept defeat after one trial at arms? The almost immediate renewal of the conflict with Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls fighting side by side against the new master of Italy is the answer. Swift blows by Rome from out of her well entrenched and consolidated holdings in central Italy in a few years decide the issue. By 290 Rome is in actual control of the lands of her rivals.

To the Greeks of southern Italy and Sicily, whose only able leader, Agathocles, died in 289 B. C., the new power was a menace worse than any of the older tribal aggregations which had pressed down upon them from the north. Unable to trust to their own power they called upon a representative of Alexandrine imperialism to help them stem the tide. The coming of Pyrrhus put Rome to the final test. For the first time she met the full strategy and military equipment of the east; once more also she confronted a rising of Samnite and Etruscan and the hostility of the Gaul of the north. She overcame all these dangers and then leisurely proceeded to gather up the remnants. By 265 B. C. this latter process was completed and Rome holds Italy to the Arno.

Such in brief is the outline of the development the map graphically shows. Convenient and suggestive accounts of the history involved which will amplify the hints here given are to be found in FRANK, *Roman Imperialism*; PELHAM, *Outlines of Roman History*; NIESE, *Grundriss der Römischen Geschichte*; FOWLER, *Rome*; MOMMSEN, *History of Rome*. For specific points in considerable detail, though perhaps too conservatively

treated especially in the earlier age, see HEITLAND, *Roman Republic*. The teacher here as elsewhere in Roman history will find much comfort in BOTSFORD, *Syllabus of Roman History*.

A few suggestions more directly connected with the maps as auxiliaries in the teaching of this period may be in place. The teacher will note that the names of only the chief enemy groups with whom Rome in the course of her Italian expansion collided are inserted. For minor details he must consult some convenient atlas like Shepherd or Putzger.

The point of Rome's rivalry with Samnium is very well illustrated if the colony foundations are noted. For this reason they are given in this map with the date appended and associated as far as possible with the expansive stage to which they belong. The teacher must also note the relative number of Latin and Roman colonies in this area (compare here Map B11). Let the pupil also realize the importance in the struggle with Samnium of such a fortress settlement as for instance Venusia. Likewise, colonies founded essentially in advance of general territorial incorporation, during a period when in a sense the region is still merely 'sphere of influence,' must be noted. Examples of such expansion are Sutrium and Nepete in southern Etruria.

After her conquest is assured Rome is more than ever a confederacy politically, though of course with a greater dominance by the city than ever, and a composite state in every other respect. Above all the teacher must make the student realize what the inclusion of Etruscan and Greek elements involves. To some of the Greek states of the south Rome had been a champion and protector even before the conflict with Pyrrhus. Now that she includes all the Greeks of Italy she is more than ever morally bound to carry on the burden of Agathocles, the task in which presumptuous Tarentum had failed. Rome, the barbarian from the north, as the political and military patron of the Greek west, must undertake to protect this Hellenic area against its old enemy, her own temporary friend Carthage. Rome directly becomes involved with this power (see Map B14).

## QUESTIONS

By what time can Rome be considered as the dominant power in Italy? What are the several stages in her achievement of this position? What role was played in these conquests by the Latins? Why did Rome come to blows with Samnium? What dangerous alliances against Rome can you point out from the map? What advantages did Rome have in the last Samnite War? What is the importance of Rome's advance into the Greek South of Italy? Why did the Samnites not attack Rome earlier? What would a victory over Rome have meant to Pyrrhus? Show how political organization and power in Italy moved from the plains and coast inland. What is the importance of the conquest of Veii? Illustrate from the map the significance of the colonies of Rome in her program of expansion. Indicate the complexity of the Roman state from the point of view of stock and population in 265 B. C.

## MAP B13. ROME

THIS map depicts separately Republican and Imperial Rome and gives besides a small detail plan of the Fora of the Emperors. In a sense, therefore, the map shows the stage on which formally at least the decisions were made which for many centuries determined the fortunes of a world. This complex of plans is not merely designed to assist in the study of Roman history but may be employed also in the teaching of Latin, Roman art and archæology and kindred topics. For practical reasons and because our data are not what we should like them to be, no attempt has been made to give an exhaustive representation of the area known to us by excavation or otherwise. However, all the important sites and structures have been indicated. For more specific information see the ground plans in the atlases of SHEPHERD or PUTZGER, or the special works cited below.

The map itself and the devices employed for graphic representation are self explanatory. A detailed commentary on the several structures would in a manual of this sort be impossible. It may be profitable, however, to sketch in a very general way the historic growth of the city and to append some references useful both to the pupil and teacher who may wish to have specific points in the map explained more fully.

**REPUBLICAN ROME:** According to tradition the earliest sacred limit (pomerium) of the city enclosed the hill of the Palatine. It was by nature well fortified and located in the center of a group of heights either isolated, such as the Capitoline or Aventine, or projecting as promontories from adjoining table-lands, such as the Quirinal, Viminal, Cælian or Esquiline. This early stage of the city is shown on the map by a broken boundary line and by its ancient name *Roma Quadrata*. Its area was equivalent to about 25 acres. The depressions or valleys between the several hills, especially such regions as the Forum, the Velabrum and the Subura were in part quite marshy and subject to periodical floodings—not especially desirable, therefore, for settlement, particularly

in the age before the construction of the drainage system, the best illustration of which is the Cloaca Maxima.

The very advantage of the Palatine as a site for settlement apparently made it necessary for the early occupants to add to its natural defenses. Tradition speaks of an earthen agger, and besides we know from remnants that very soon walls of tufa were added. In a general way this stone may be regarded as the building material of the age. It was obtained right on the ground. The earliest structures of Roma Quadrata, however, have disappeared and only the site of the Lupercal appears reasonably well established.

The Palatine settlement was not the only one in this region of the Tiber. All around it, on lesser elevations and elsewhere, traces of what seem to have been smaller communities have been detected. They date from the Iron Age and occupy for instance portions of the later Forum and of the Esquiline. Perhaps this little group of settlements in a loose way formed a league, the religious expression of which was a common festival still celebrated very much later in fully authenticated times under the name of the Feast of the Septimontium.

Rome itself, the republican city as we have it on the map, was the product of an amalgamation which must have taken place early in the age of the chieftaincy. The original community of Latins on the Palatine and its village neighbors according to tradition fused with another similar group on the Quirinal and Viminal Hills. These latter people were Sabine in origin. The common meeting place and market of the two groups was the Forum, their joint citadel the Capitoline.

Roma Quadrata was, therefore, quite early in the monarchy, if we follow traditional dating, superseded and outlived. That is borne out among other things by the fact that virtually all the really significant buildings of the monarchial era are situated outside of the Palatine in and about the market place, and that the Sacred Way runs through it up to the Capitoline and its temples. The new Rome quite appropriately has its new sacred limits, which then are not moved again until the age of Sulla (see here STUART JONES, *Companion to Roman History*, p. 33, and also CARTER quoted there).

Traditionally this extension of Rome and the fixing of the new pomerium, the construction of the new walls and the organization of the

whole city into four regions is credited to King Servius. This view, however, does not seem plausible. The so-called Servian Wall shown on the map is both in materials and in method of construction a product of the fourth century. Also it embraces a good deal more than the first four districts which just like the earliest tribes are named Collina, Palatina, Esquilina and Sucusana.

There seems now little doubt that the later monarchy witnessed new walls, a more adequate defensive system than the Capitoline or the older city could boast. The Romans even under their able Etruscan chieftains could otherwise hardly have withstood their more developed neighbors in southern Etruria. It is possible that the Etruscan princes who temporarily held Rome are themselves responsible for these additional defenses. Whatever the facts, when the Gauls came this new system proved insufficient. Rome fell before hordes from the north who were anything but siege artists. The city had learned its lesson and as a result constructed that line of fortress walls which we know as Servian. It was a pretentious undertaking, out of keeping with an earlier age, and placed Rome in security and size far ahead of any other community in the neighborhood. Its only rivals now were the Greek cities of the south.

Trade and business even in this early city of the fourth century seem to have been significant. Rome's relations with Carthage in this era, her maritime venture against the Etruscans in Corsica, and other signs would tend to prove that. On the map it is shown by the way in which the chief streets converge either on the market place or toward the river frontage. There we find the granaries and the cattle mart. And further along the Tiber even beyond the walls at an early date we find trade pre-empting space for a vegetable market.

Extensive trade presupposes congestion of population. And Rome from this time on increasingly became the dwelling place of swarms of people. The Aventine for some years had been the special home of the plebs, while other masses congested the Subura and the Argiletum which lay between it and the Forum. The aristocrats during most of the Republic occupied chiefly the Palatine and the saddle of the Velia.

The appearance of republican Rome during the third and second centuries before our era can in a measure be gathered from a brief description quoted from JONES, *Companion*, p. 35: "After the Gallic

catastrophe Greek influence continued to wax strong, and it was significant that towards the close of the fourth century Appius Claudius, the blind censor, who gave his name to the first of the Roman aqueducts, was also the builder of the first military highway which connected Rome with the Greek cities of Campania. In architecture the fusion of the Tuscan and Greek styles . . . was now accomplished." Transformations were taking place which were not all for the better. The popular quarters of the old city were broken up into vici, streets with adjoining lanes which could be shut off if need were by gates and which had their religious and social organizations. The Decemviral Code of 450 B. C. prescribed an interval of two and one-half feet between each house and its neighbor. But in the rapid expansion of Rome which followed the catastrophe of 390 B. C. this became a dead letter. Space became increasingly valuable, and as Rome attracted to herself the world's capital and became the center of the world's speculation, a new city grew up, in which besides the houses of the rich with their courts and colonnades, rose the towering blocks of tenements—*insulæ*—in which the poor were massed (on these see especially JONES, p. 166). Often five or six stories in height these buildings were separated by streets only twelve to fifteen feet in width. Insecurely built of sun dried bricks, and in their upper floors chiefly of wood, they were constantly threatened with collapse and conflagration, and must have been fully as insanitary and revolting as the worst slums of Naples and New York. In the closing century of the Republic the inhabited area overflowed the Servian wall in all directions; Rome ceased to be a fortified city. . . . In only two respects, water supply and drainage, was any adequate provision made for its needs. Instead of providing thoroughfares for wheeled traffic, it was found simpler to forbid it during the daytime with rare exceptions." See on this matter the Julian city charter in HARDY, *Six Roman Laws*.

MAIN MAP—IMPERIAL ROME. Once more this map by color distinction and a broken line for the Servian Wall gives the official limits for the Rome of the Republic. The student must be made to realize, however, that the real area of settlement had, as just indicated, for some time transcended this barrier. The portion marked in yellow consequently does not accurately give the additions of the imperial period except in so far as it shows what in the late third century, already an



age of decline, was included in the limits of the great Wall of Aurelian.

The boastful words of Augustus about the Rome which he had received constructed of brick and had handed on as a city of marble have ever since been symbolical of the progress of the city in the new age. Of course, they are in their literal sense not true, but the teacher can on the basis of the map readily give the student at least an impression of the amount of change at the very beginning of the empire by pointing out a representative selection of new structures. Augustus himself built or rebuilt eighty-two temples; his son-in-law Agrippa is responsible for much improvement in the Campus Martius and for an extensive construction of aqueducts. The Julio-Claudian family on the whole was partial to architectural splendor, and great houses of Rome probably found it in their interest to cater to the new masters of the world by copying their hobby.

In the main, however, these new buildings are pretentious public structures, isolated symptoms of wholly altered conditions of life and politics. The broader needs of Rome and its teeming population are thereby not solved. What these really required was a thoroughgoing and wholesale reconstruction along big lines. The problem of administrative division and local government, of sanitation, housing, and suchlike called for authoritative and radical handling. While we are in these matters not as well informed it is to be noted by the student that the early decades of the Empire saw a good deal of work done. The city is redivided already by Augustus into fourteen regions and 264 subdivisions, something like our modern wards and precincts; there is a new building code, a better and ampler water supply, a police and fire department and a more effectively managed system of poor relief. The biggest question, however, that of congestion and the attendant problem of sanitation, was not then attacked rigorously. Individual further improvements occur under all the emperors after Augustus, especially under Claudius. He made another extension of the pomerium and especially provided more water, a benefit no one can appreciate who has not lived in Rome during the hot season.

The regime of Nero is an epoch in the history of the city. He took advantage of the great conflagration of the year 64 A. D. "partly to gratify his own craving for pomp and magnificence, partly also to make

Rome worthier of her destiny." After raging for six days the fire was finally controlled by wholesale wrecking and clearing away of houses at the foot of the Esquiline. Even then, however, a second outbreak occurred lasting for three days longer. At the end according to Tacitus only four of the fourteen regions of Augustus escaped the flames. On the greater part of the ruined third region and the land between it and the Palatine Nero proceeded to build his famous palace, the Golden House (see HENDERSON, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* and JONES, p. 167). This much of Nero's activity is strictly within the paths of traditional imperial self-gratification and glorification. "But at the same time he forbade the re-erection of the narrow, winding lanes of towering tenement houses, which the fire had swept away and laid out broad streets flanked by colonnades, limited the height of private houses (probably to 60 feet, while the limit under Augustus had been 70) and ordered them to be provided with inner courtyards, and in their lower stories built of Alban and Gabine stone." The site of the Golden House, which, as far as it had been completed at all, was destroyed again by the reaction under the Flavians, was turned over to public use once more. On it were placed the baths of Titus and the Colosseum. The Flavian emperors also for the last time enlarged the sacred boundaries of the city. Investigation seems to show that the pomerium did not at any time include all of the fourteen regions of Augustus. Certainly the official Rome of the Flavian age did not, therefore, embrace all the really settled city area.

Contemporaries, perhaps under promptings from the court, viewed the acts of the Flavians on behalf of the city as a refounding of Rome. The outward expression thereof is a marble plan of the new city placed by the emperors in the Temple of the City near the Forum of Peace. This was in later days, particularly under the Severi, repeatedly restored and enlarged. Fragments of it have been found at various times and have been put together. They are one of our chief sources of information about the city, and may be seen even now by the tourist in Rome. For a partial illustration of this plan see JONES, p. 39.

Despite the reconstruction under the Flavians, the overcrowding and the evil of hasty and reckless building became evident again later. "The congestion in the poorer quarters . . . was made worse by the

emperors who expropriated large tracts of private property to build temples or places of public resort." The student must note here especially the later palaces and fora and study the small inset for that purpose in relation to the larger map. "The gardens and palaces of the rich occupied most of the higher and healthier ground (see the map)—since the Palatine was appropriated by the Emperors (see JONES, Map 6) the aristocracy had emigrated to the Cælian and Aventine, or laid out vast parks on the eastern heights, while a zone of villas and gardens several miles in width encircled the city." These latter fell into the hands of the later emperors, and were used by them for residences, baths and the like, thus restricting still more the breathing space of the masses.

Among the emperors after Trajan, who is responsible for the new Forum bearing his name, one of the most imposing creations of its type, the greatest builder is Hadrian (see here Map B8 for his activity in Athens). While the love for building of this restless soul was put into practice mostly outside of Rome, the Roman Hadrian still was the builder of the Pantheon, the Temple of Venus and the great mausoleum which is now known as the Castle of San Angelo.

Septimius Severus was made into a great restorer of the city by a conflagration which in 191 A. D. gutted the Forum and its immediate environment. He also completed the complex of imperial residences on the Palatine, while his son Caracalla gave the city a splendid public bath. Restoration forced by a fire which wrought havoc in 283 A. D. was again a factor in the regime of Diocletian. The most pretentious of Rome's Thermæ it owes to him, and what is more, he constructed them "on a site acquired by purchase and cleared by the destruction of whole streets."

Meanwhile Rome, the great mistress of the world, had fallen sadly from her high estate. Since the Gallic invasion Rome had boasted of a power and a security which made fortification other than the Servian Wall unnecessary. Now it again becomes a fortress city. Decius already in the middle of the century had begun the erecting of new walls, and now Aurelian in 271 took over the task which was then carried through in about a decade, largely by the drafted labor of the citizens themselves (see JONES, p. 72). The direct occasion for the new fortification was the growing weakness of Italy in the face of the pressure by

the barbarians of the north. Very recently the raids of the Allemanni and Juthungi into the valley of the Po had painfully brought home that fact. The construction is, from the point of view of the art of defense, the embodiment of the best antiquity had to offer; in all other respects, however, it is an obvious sign of decline. Still the protective wall does not include the fourteen regions entire, and from now on it was less and less likely that it should. The city was shrinking, as the empire had long ago shrunk, both in political significance and in economic power. Its population was decreasing. Soon the proud Roma was to witness the rise of a new center of empire, a new capitol on the Bosphorus.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

For more specific information on any portion of the plans given in this map, as well as for a more extended treatment of any of the topics cursorily referred to in the above review see any of the subjoined accounts. General works: JONES, *Companion to Roman History*, especially chapter 2; SANDYS, *Companion to Latin Studies*, particularly pp. 35-47; PLATNER, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*; BAEDEKER, *Central Italy and Rome*; HUELSEN, *The Roman Forum*; LANCIANI, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*; PORTER, *What Rome Was Built With*.

For brief discussions of special topics connected with the maps see also in JONES, *Companion*: the gates, p. 74; bridges, p. 76; temples, p. 84. The teacher can here illustrate easily the cosmopolitan character of Rome's religion, at least in the empire, by merely pointing out the several temples and their names. On the markets see p. 95; public baths, p. 115; theatres and related structures, p. 124; sewers and the drainage system, p. 141. Many names, especially those of the gates and the streets, have for the sake of clearness been left off the map. For these see the atlases of SHEPHERD and PUTZGER, or the more extensive plans in the books cited above.

## QUESTIONS

What is Roma Quadrata and what was its approximate area? What several settlements went into the making of the earliest Roman city? When was the Servian Wall built? Give proofs from the map of the early commercial activity in Republican Rome. Discuss housing conditions and the problem of congestion of population both in Republican and in Imperial Rome. Illustrate the Julio-Claudian love for building. Generally what were the improvements in the city of Rome undertaken in the early empire? How do the names of the various temples in Rome indicate the cosmopolitanism of Rome's religion? Discuss Rome's water supply. What was the effect on the city of Rome of the several great conflagrations, especially that under Nero? What does the Wall of Aurelian signify in the development of Rome as a world power? What was the character of the streets in the city of Rome?

## MAP B14. CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

GENERAL. This sheet contains seven maps, all on the same scale, arranged in sequence and giving a compact visualization of Roman expansion over the Mediterranean down to Cæsar. Thus it continues the story told by Map B12 and introduces the further material given in Map B16. In Rome's progress toward the mastery of the Mediterranean basin there are three main stages: the overthrow of Carthage, the winning of the East, and the conquest of the Gallic lands. Since of these the first is also the most significant, four maps have been devoted to it. In her struggle for control of the eastern world Rome did not meet a single adversary like Carthage or Hannibal. Therefore, the story is less spectacular, less abundant in sheer human interest, and much less clearcut. It lends itself consequently less to either classroom instruction or to mechanical fixation. The essential steps, however, of this development will be found in the remaining maps. The last also roughly indicates Cæsar's achievements in Gaul. Detailed comment on these has been reserved for Map B15. In general the dates chosen for the maps are the conventional ones.

An adequate commentary on these seven maps is impossible in the scope of this manual. It would necessitate giving an outline history of Rome's external relations with certain references to her domestic development from about 265 to 44 B. C. A few suggestions alone can be set down here.

Rome's extra-Italian expansion exhibits three main driving forces at work: self-defense, conquest for conquest's sake, and material gain. At no time was any of them present in isolation, nor were they by any chance the only factors governing her policy. However, it may be legitimately urged that down until the incorporation of Spain Rome acted chiefly in the interest of her own security, though perhaps Carthage might have well argued the same point. After 150 B. C., while the same argument is still used, it is quite clear that downright imperialism and capitalistic poli-

tics are the driving motives. The Roman people as a whole unquestionably were not aware of these several incentives very clearly. Indeed, it may be doubted whether at all times even its leaders were, but this does not prove that the Roman state blundered or staggered blindly from conquest to conquest. The whole situation is summarized as follows by Sandys: "The Roman never at any time in his thousand years of political life cared for other peoples' liberty in itself, however resolutely he cherished his own. If he thought such liberty coincided with his own advantage, he would acquiesce in it, or even take steps to secure it. There was no humanitarian sentiment wasted at Rome." This is a concise summary of the policy of enlightened self-interest, and leads the student deeply into historical processes. Of the later age of conquest the same scholar says: "By the middle of the second century this policy (non-expansion between 197 and 150 B. C.) had definitely shown itself inadequate to guard Rome against perpetual alarms. The failure of the earlier diplomacy partly coincided in time with, partly was the result of, an increase of wealth which demanded ever new spheres of activity, new opportunities of increase. The Roman middle class merchant and the financial joint stock company in which most citizens had some interest made their appearance in politics. New wars gave them the chance. New needs at home, political and social, seemed to justify their demands. Roman provincial policy turned abruptly upside down. Non-annexation became the unpopular creed of a few. All classes, impelled, some by love of conquest, some by lust for gain, made haste to appropriate, to annex, to exploit, with all the ignorance and brutality of greed." On this whole matter see GREENIDGE, *History of Rome*, Chapter I, also FRANK, *Roman Imperialism*, and KROMAYER, *Roms Kampf um die Weltherrschaft*.

As Rome subdues her enemies she acquires new lands. Most of these she ultimately retains and makes into provinces, others for a longer or shorter period are formed into vassal states. In more than one sense it is true that the provinces especially were regarded by the Roman people as their "farms," to be exploited at will. At least Rome derived from its property an income by taxation. A definition of province in the Roman sense is the following brief one by Sandys: "A territory outside of Italy owned by the Roman people, governed directly by a Roman

magistrate, with defined geographical limits, subjected to Roman taxation." See further the comment under Map B16 and the bibliography quoted there. A list of these territories as far as this sequence deals with them can be found in SANDYS, *Companion*, p. 401.

In our maps it has seemed inadvisable to show complete and accurate boundary lines of the several provinces, the names alone being inserted in many cases. The outlines varied and are so little known for the different ages that accuracy is not attainable. The teacher can, if he wishes, make this clear to the student by referring for instance to the region of Syria, Illyria or Numidia. It is especially the question of the extent inland of the several provinces, except where they border on well defined states or older provinces, that is responsible for our dilemma. On the vassal states see SANDS, *Client Princes*.

MAPS 1-4. ROME AND CARTHAGE: The map shows the territory directly and indirectly controlled by Carthage. The student is enabled to assess on the basis of this presentation the significance of Carthage in the era before the wars with Rome and during the same. Her economic resources, her supply of fighting men, her maritime significance, and her strategic advantages over against Rome, all can be readily shown. Also the teacher can make clear the essential weakness in her position. The danger to the Roman state which had barely acquired hold on Italy and had not yet perfected her internal organization is apparent. Rome was vulnerable in the south. A powerful rival in Sicily was a perpetual menace. Also the economic interests, at least of her new southern allies, were not safe with Carthage master of the western Mediterranean. Lastly Rome inherited the task of protecting the Greek interests of southern Italy and Sicily. On the material interests in Rome's Imperialism see, however, FRANK, *Roman Imperialism*.

In the Hannibalic war conditions had changed somewhat, but the essentials were the same. To be sure, the advantage of the Sicilian and island power of Carthage, as well as her naval supremacy, had meanwhile been curtailed. But still she had her allies in Sicily, and her fleet even now was not a negligible factor. Above all, however, she had acquired in Spain an auxiliary empire and a new and dangerous point of vantage with regard to Rome. Her Spanish position and resources permitted an attack on Rome's other weak front, the north. That the latter was fully



aware of this is certain. Her negotiations about the Ebro line, her war against the Celtic north of Italy, her relations with Marseilles, and her endeavor to strike Hannibal on his own ground amply prove this.

The map also shows that the Hannibalic war was really the pivotal conflict in Rome's career toward Mediterranean dominion. Once Carthage were overcome Roman control in the west would be assured, her rear free from danger, her vulnerable fronts secure. Above all, with the aid of Map B11 the teacher can show what a conflict like this meant to Rome in her relation to her allies, and thereby to her position in Italy. On this matter see KROMAYER, *Roms Kampf um die Weltherrschaft*; FRANK; Heitland, *Roman Republic*, V. 1.

MAPS 5-7. The student must in the discussion of the Hannibalic war have been made to realize how this war foreshadowed future hostile relations with the powers of the east. Macedonia's interference in the conflict is merely the first phase of a struggle for the domination of the eastern world. It was delayed, and diplomatic measures were at first substituted for military ones, but the real outcome could never be in doubt.

In the wars with the East there are on the whole only a few factors of large significance from the point of view of Rome's imperialism. Material interests are in this whole era in the foreground. The wealth of the older world, and in a lesser degree its higher culture with all the advantages it would bring to the power controlling these areas, acted as a lure to the new master of the West. Perhaps Rome only dimly realized this from step to step, but consciously or unconsciously she went steadily on.

Only in a modified sense can one in this later era of republican conquest speak of a danger to Rome from the East. If the states formed out of the debris of the Alexandrine Empire had been able to agree with one another, if they had not at all times presented to Roman diplomacy a fertile ground for the seed of discord, things might have been different. Certain powerful leaders endeavored to overcome this disadvantage; Philipp and Perseus in a lesser sense, Antiochus and especially Mithradates in a more real way presented to Rome the possible danger of great coalitions from the east, possibly even in league with elements of discontent at home and among her western neighbors. But all these endeavors came to naught. The ingrained separatism and the timeworn

rivalries of the eastern peoples nullified such attempts almost before they were really matured.

The other great problem in the period of eastern expansion is not one of hostile forces without, it is the reaction of these newly acquired areas on Roman inner life and organization. Rome as a world center, Italy living more and more off the proceeds of the labor and achievement of subject peoples, that is the change that has been wrought. Its detailed implications cannot be well shown from the maps here given. A good summary of the whole matter can be found in the first chapter of the *History of Rome* by GREENIDGE.

One phase of the change, however, can be adequately presented on the basis of the map. The resources of Rome now that it controlled the eastern industrial, commercial and agricultural wealth are enormous. A mere reference to the territories of Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt as they one by one fell into her hands will make this clear. But these areas had to be governed and protected by a state whose whole governmental system was essentially unfitted for the task. The forms of the city state, even as they had been modified by the Italian conquests and the earlier provincial acquisitions, could not be made sufficiently elastic to answer the needs of a world empire. In the east Rome's governors were more than elsewhere kings in fact. Large areas there had known no other mode of political control in their whole existence. Also the problems of defending her eastern holdings made necessary centralization of power and augmentation of command to a dangerous degree. Sulla, Pompey, and similarly at the very end of the Republic Cæsar in the west, are the product of these natural tendencies and needs. From out of the provinces come the great provincial proconsuls and leaders to shatter the republican system which had not been able to evolve a defense against this menacing concentration of power in the hands of one man. In a real sense the provinces, especially those of the east, made the Empire and unmade the Republic.

In the map showing Rome's power in 133 B. C. have been inserted the cities which in about 218 B. C. had a population in excess of 100,000. A scrutiny of these towns will show that the congestion of population is then still in the east, though the wars after Alexander have sadly affected the once flourishing centers there. On the whole question

of population statistics as it bears on the history of the Republic, especially also during the Hannibalic war, see SANDYS, *Companion*, p. 355; KROMAYER (cited above); NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde*, V. 2, p. 99; HUME, *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Cities*.

## QUESTIONS

What territories are in the control of Carthage in 264 B. C.? Why is Carthage at this time a danger to Rome? What is the significance of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain? What was Hannibal's plan of campaign? Show from the map to what extent it was successful. What is the importance of the alliance of Rome with Marseilles—of the alliance of Hannibal with Celtic peoples? When and how did Rome acquire Sardinia, Macedonia, Asia, Bithynia, Egypt, Cisalpine Gaul? What rendered Rome's conquest of the East easy? Enumerate the Roman provinces at the time of Cæsar. Name the chief vassal states of Rome in the Republic. What areas were added to the Roman state by Pompey? Show from the map how the power in the hands of Pompey reacted on the Roman State. Show the same for Cæsar's power in the Gauls.

## MAP B15. CAESAR'S GAUL

**MAIN MAP.** This map offers on an unusually large scale a representation not only of the Gaul of Cæsar, but shows all of Italy as far as Rome and the northeastern approaches to the peninsula with a large part of the Germanic hinterland. It enables the teacher satisfactorily to deal with the Gallic war and with all those highly significant movements in Roman history associated with this area. The map embodies also features—the provincial organization for instance—which especially in conjunction with the later imperial map of Gaul in B16 make it possible to cover much of the subsequent history of this western frontier of the empire. Rather more than most maps in the series it is also designed as a reference map, pre-eminently as an aid in the teaching of the Gallic War of Cæsar.

A few brief points on the geography of Gaul as far as they have a more direct bearing on the campaigns of Cæsar and the history of the region may not be amiss. Gaul has two water fronts, the Atlantic ocean and the Mediterranean sea. However, in this case that does not mean a wealth of harbors. In the south the rocky and abrupt coast east of the Rhone and the marshy and lagoon-studded shores west of that river leave as practically the only harbor the river delta itself. It was here that Marseilles flourished from the earliest age of Greek colonization (see Map B6). While naturally in antiquity the demands made upon a harbor were much more moderate than at present, nevertheless even the Atlantic coast was poor in roadsteads. The vast dune region there, outside of the rough coast of the Bretagne, leaves for harbor purposes only the river mouths. Of these the most prominent are that of the Garonne with Bordeaux and the Seine inlet.

Because Gaul is poor in good coastal harbors intercommunication by interior lines was naturally more important, and in this respect Gaul has great advantages. Her river systems and watersheds are so distributed and arranged that they afford plentiful and easy communication either by water or along roads closely associated with the rivers. Among the

navigable streams of Roman days are the Garonne and the Loire, though both of these gave some trouble because of freshets and floods. The distance between the Loire and the Seine at the closest point is very small and the connecting route was known at the time of Cæsar. It gave rise to the important settlement of Cenabum, the later Orleans. The Rhone was used a great deal for shipping, as were also its larger tributaries, especially the Saone and the Doubs. The Rhine also was navigated, and among the lesser rivers the Durance.

On the whole the following important systems of communication dependent on the rivers can be picked out: a route from the Garonne over a portage to the Aude, responsible for the city of Toulouse; another up the Rhone and Saone, thence by portage to the Loire, or similarly from the Saone to the Seine. Lastly there is the route from the Rhone via the Saone and the Doubs by portage to the Rhine. It may be noted that the naturally most advantageous spot, where all these latter systems would meet is the confluence of the Rhone and the Saone. It is the location selected by the Romans for the political, military and religious capital of the newly acquired regions of Gaul, the site of Lyons.

The mountains of Gaul form no hindrance to traffic, not even the highest among them, which are all on the frontier. Both the Alps and the Pyrenees possess good passes, and the Romans made frequent use of these. The latter range is cut by at least three roads in use at the time of Cæsar and for a long time before.

The climate of the country may be regarded as in every way favorable. Below the Cevennes it is that of Italy, and the flora of the region is, therefore, very much the same. In a sense this section, the Provence, is merely an extension of Italy. Beyond this area to the north and west, covering in an irregular fashion the whole heart of France, lies the great central plateau. Here the climate is materially harsher, but still very favorable, especially to cereal crops. The coastal plains and the Paris basin are again more moderate, due to the influence of the ocean. Because of this very fortunate climatic situation, to which may be added the fact that the Celts from a very early day seem to have known and used fertilizers, Gaul was always exceedingly rich in products of the soil.

Among the natural resources of the country known and exploited to an appreciable extent at the time of Cæsar or in the early empire were

the following. Wheat was by far the most important cereal crop and was abundant. Its only competitor among the products of the soil was wine. The latter seems to have been produced with considerable success over most of the country, though even then the now famous wine districts seem to have been in the lead. Wine production was so successful that the Roman state variously tried to protect its own growers by legislation. Next to food products in importance ranked the mineral resources, above all the copper, though also silver and gold and iron were found and mined extensively. Among other mineral substances may be mentioned marble, especially in Aquitania, potter's earth and salt. The latter was also refined from springs and the Atlantic waters. Many sheep were raised and wool formed one of the staples of the country. The woodland areas were very extensive and seem to have been regularly exploited.

Among the manufactured products of Gaul, pointing to a live industrial development even at the time of Cæsar, were the following: Linen cloth especially from the north, ham, glassware, pottery and earthenware especially from around the modern center Limoges, the products of the metalcrafts especially silverware, woolens, cheese, and preserved fish and meats.

This catalogue of resources will give the student an idea of the potential significance of Gaul to Italy and Rome. Its very wealth in men and materials was the soundest reason why it should become the object of Rome's imperial expansion. The strategic value of the region easily seen from the map was another factor, perhaps outwardly the most striking. The map facilitates a study of the avenues of intercommunication and makes clear that in the long run Rome could hardly risk leaving this port of entry into Italy in strange hands. Her uninterrupted intercourse with Spain and thus her hold on that peninsula depended in a large measure on a firm control at least over the southern portion of the Gallic area. Rome's close alliance with Marseilles, the wars she fought on her behalf against the Celts, the military outposts she founded, and finally the setting up of the transalpine province as a sort of an irregular protective crescent about Marseilles are easily understood on this basis.

This defensive establishment seemed a satisfactory solution of Rome's problem, but not for very long. The Cimbrian avalanche proved the essential weakness of her position. Other invasions might come, when

the Provincia could not be held against the pressure of tribes and peoples exerted on southern Gaul from the north and northeast. Its backcountry with the teeming populations of restless Celts, themselves under stress of the Teutonic element in their rear, must needs also be brought under Roman sway. The teacher of Cæsar's Commentaries will be able to show how the Aeduan alliance for a time acted as a substitute for actual domination, but in the introduction of his subject will have to point out how both the revolts of the Allobrogi and the coming of the Suevi called for a more radical handling of the situation. They demonstrated that there could be no real security for the Provence, and hence for Italy and Rome, as long as the rear door to Gaul remained open. Gaul would either have to become German or Roman. Cæsar saw this clearly and made it Roman.

From Cæsar's day onward the Empire of Rome in the west had two military frontiers. The Alps had given way to a series of fortress and garrison colonies in the Provincia and to a new line of defense, the Rhine. The real frontier, especially in the strategic sense, is the latter. The road and colony system in the south has become the second line of defense.

With the acquisition of Gaul the empire is better balanced in the territorial sense (see B16). Also from the point of view of population it is given greater equilibrium and greater vigor. The inevitable tendency of the Roman world culturally and politically to gravitate eastward is counteracted for generations to come by the opportunities of Gaul, the role it assumed as a makeweight of Roman civilization to the attractive forces of the east. If Asia Minor and Syria were to ambitious minds thresholds of imperialist dreams involving the Tigris-Euphrates valley, Gaul was to such men equally the gateway to conquest and glory in the vast areas of Germanic settlement (see JULLIAN, *Histoire de la Gaule*).

What the conquest of Gaul meant to Cæsar personally in his conflict with the Senatorial party the teacher can readily illustrate from the map. The factors of this problem have become commonplaces in the teaching of the Commentaries and in the history of the period. The relation of these advantages gained by Cæsar to the fashioning of an empire in the constitutional sense are also quite plain.

Any possible dreams of acquisition of land beyond the Rhine were never carried into practice. Certainly Augustus and Tiberius at least

meant to do no more than secure this Rhine frontier by demonstrative and punitive expeditions into the region beyond as far as the Elbe. What might have occurred later, had not conditions in the following centuries placed Rome in these parts more and more on the defensive against the increasing Germanic pressure, is needless speculation. One great result of the holding of Gaul against this pressure is the Romanization of the Celt and of some Germanic tribes, both as far as they were contained in the area originally obtained or were later brought in. Out of this mixture of peoples grafted on Roman elements grew the prominent civilization of later Gaul. And even after the collapse in the fifth century a leaven remained which was an important factor in the further development of Francia and medieval Europe in language, law and institutions.

The teacher will note that a good deal of attention has been given in the map to the tribes settled in Gaul at the time of Cæsar. This was done chiefly with a view to the needs of teaching the Gallic Wars of Cæsar. The detailed questions arising in this connection cannot be discussed in the manual and will be found adequately dealt with in the treatises on this subject in general cited below. In its large outlines the ethnic situation in Gaul at the time of Cæsar presents the picture of a Celtic population in many tribal organizations flanked in the southeast by a small remnant of Ligurian stock, in the southwest by Iberian elements, and encroached upon in the north and northwest by Germanic peoples. A convenient summary of the situation in detail both for teacher and student is best obtained in either the *De Bello Gallico* or *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* by RICE HOLMES.

The map for the convenience again of students of Cæsar gives prominently the campaigning routes of Cæsar. They do not pretend to be accurate since Cæsar's own vague and inadequate information and the disappearance of a number of the landmarks makes exactness in this matter impossible. The system of routes here shown is based on the best available materials and follows in the main Kiepert, Goeler and Holmes. The significance of the several expeditions in the subduing of Gaul can be shown satisfactorily from these indications. Further information in detail is obtainable in the works by Holmes cited above.

Another much agitated problem also, the bridging of the Rhine, cannot be specifically settled, owing to the vague character of our infor-



mation. While the whole question is of no great moment it has been much emphasized, and if the teacher should wish more extended materials on it, they can be found in the same titles (see *Conquest*, pp. 75, 79, 694-709). Most of the common text editions also devote space to these last two subjects. See for instance Bennet, Hodges, Kelsey, Westcott, Jenks and Fowler, Harper and Tolman, Harkness and Forbes by index.\*

The map contains in addition to the matter illustrating the conditions at the time of Cæsar a number of matters pertaining to other historical periods. It shows the internal organization of the Gallic provincial area under Augustus and at least the main portions of the road system for the third century of our era. While the map is thus not wholly homogeneous and a bit crowded it seemed advisable to the editors to risk these drawbacks. Nowhere else is an opportunity given the student to visualize the methods of Roman provincial organization or the ramifications of an imperial network of roads. This map seemed altogether the best place for such materials because of its scale and the fact that the information available to us on these topics happens to be fuller and more trustworthy here than perhaps for any other section of the empire. In a sense, therefore, it offers for the provinces a parallel to the material shown for Italy proper

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\* Rather in departure from the general scope of the series, plans of Roman camps have been added to this map of Gaul with a view to enhancing its usefulness. The ordinary marching or temporary camp is sketched after the specifications in Polybius while the permanent variety is shown on the basis of a reconstruction of the Roman garrison at Novesium (Neuss) as it was under the Emperor Claudius. Both plans are simplified from the series by CYBULSKI, where this plate, No. VIII, is edited by ANTHES. Further detail may be found there, also in the above text editions and in JONES, *Companion*, pp. 226-243, or SANDYS, pp. 477 ff. Very valuable classroom material can further be gleaned from GURLITT, *Anschaungstafeln*, KAMPEN, *Tabulae*, OEHLER, *Bilderatlas zu Caesar* and SCHREIBER, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*. On Cæsar in Gaul from the point of view of the general history of the Republic see HEITLAND, V. 3, Chs. 54-55; SIHLER, *Annals of Caesar*, Chs. 8-16.

in Map B11. The present map should, however, be used in conjunction with the representation of Gaul in B16.

Neither the conquest nor the organization of Gaul was completed by Cæsar. The Civil War and attendant developments prevented his dealing fully with these problems. While both the Republicans and the Triumvirs made certain arrangements, these were temporary and the actual settlement was not effected until after the establishment of Augustus in power. Beginning in the year 27 B. C. he then undertook those adjustments which in their main outlines remained unchanged during the whole early empire. Gaul was always given peculiar attention by him, a fact which alone would indicate that he fully appreciated the importance of the region.

The severance of the *Provincia* as it had already been outlined by Cæsar was retained. This section had been so long under Roman sway that it was evidently regarded as sufficiently accustomed to its new status to be considered safe. For this reason in the division between the civil and military, public and imperial, provinces it came to be numbered among the former. The rest of the Gallic area with the exception of the Germanic frontier was divided by him into three provinces—Aquitania, Belgica and Lugdunensis. The Rhine frontier was rather irregularly established into two military districts which until Domitian remained in a more or less direct way dependent on the three Gauls.

On the whole the treatment of the whole northwestern frontier by Augustus shows a curious mixture of policies and institutional paradoxes. The principles of centralization and of division seem to be working at cross purposes. This confusion, however, as far as it was not temporary and due to a reaching out after permanent and adequate forms, is only on the surface. A map cannot fully illustrate the situation, but by using the material given in the map of Gaul and in B16 the student can be made to grasp the essentials.

In the first place the three provinces lying north of the *Narbonnensis* were by Augustus placed under the control of one governor who resided at Lyons. In addition this official usually held sway also over the two Germanic frontier districts. Thus the student is afforded a sample of centralization of important areas for military purposes. The highly significant region defending Rome in the northwest with its tribu-

tary regions are thus justly grouped with a view to efficiency. Any possible danger to Rome and Augustus from such accumulation of power is neutralized by the type of men used for the command. The teacher may here compare the similar concentration in the hands of Cæsar or Sulla. An additional factor in this arrangement, the conquest of the Alpine regions, their organization into three small districts and their at least partial dependence upon this same governor, will thus also be intelligible. The need of a close control over this connecting area is quite obvious.

How the principle of division in the internal organization was applied will be shown directly. It was in another sense employed in the making up of the three provinces. Old ethnic affiliations were somewhat broken and severed in that both the southern and the northern provinces were given a mixed population, Celtic-Iberian and Celtic-Belgian, provincial lines running across the ethnic lines.

In the administration of the finances of this new territory we find the following situation: The Lugdunensis and Aquitania receive one procurator jointly, likewise Belgian Gaul and the Germanies. For the purpose of the customs, however, Augustus takes the whole new area, that is the Three Provinces—the Germanies, the alpine territories and the old Provincia—and groups them together. They are set off from the rest of the empire and the outside world by a customs duty of two and one-half per cent.

The very name, however, of the heart of Gaul, the *Tres Gallia*, would indicate that they were regarded in a special sense as belonging together, and that while they were separate provinces the Roman administration here again gave proof of its wisdom in not interfering unduly with the historical or cultural background. This the teacher can make clear if he makes the student see that there was for the whole territory one assembly to which delegates were sent from every *civitas* and which met at Lyons, the natural center of the Gauls. Closely associated with this diet, indeed almost its only real reason for existence, is the worship of Augustus and Roma. It is centered at the great altar at Lyons and thus centralizes the official religion and organizes the loyalty of the inhabitants. On the basis of these facts the student must be made to see the significance of the Emperor cult and of religion as a phase of imperial

policy. See STUART JONES, *Companion*, and GREENIDGE on the Emperor cult.

The big outlines of imperial provincial policy and organization are thus readily seen by a study of the maps here given. The more specific devices and the ideals behind them can also be illustrated. The lowest organism in the makeup of a province is the *civitas*. There seem to have been eighty of these in the four main regions into which Gaul under Augustus was divided. They are indicated by capitalization of the names. They were created by attributing to existing town centers a certain territory round about, thus old tribal units became counties with an urban center. Where no adequate city life existed it was created. Not everywhere, especially in the more undeveloped and remote districts, was this possible in practice and here, while technically the *civitas* obtains, practically we find little more than the old cantons with their loosely knit organization. On the *civitas* see GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life*, p. 426; TAYLOR, *Political and Constitutional History of Rome*; ARNOLD, *Roman Provincial Administration* (second edition); SANDYS, *Companion*, pp. 366 ff. and p. 391. For similar material in other regions see the books by BOUCHIER on Roman Spain, Syria and Sardinia. These titles may be referred to in general for the organization, the life and evolution of a Roman province.

Underlying this *civitas* grouping is of course the idea of extending Rome's influence by a process of urbanization and of assimilating the new territory through the medium of the Roman ideal of city life. Rome progresses by founding or creating by reorganization many new Romes in miniature; the process employed in the Italian *municipia* is repeated in the provinces (see Map B11). This is particularly true of the West, more especially in Gaul. In the East there were insurmountable hindrances to an outright application of this principle.

As in the case of Italy, however, the pushing forward of the *municipium* involved another and supplementary device. It is that of a varied distribution of political privilege to the several towns and cantons. To stimulate loyalty and thus hurry the process of assimilation, to avoid possible discontent and consequent joint opposition to Rome of larger areas, she judiciously distributed political rights and the attendant social and economic advantages. Under Augustus, and therefore in the period

of our map, the plan has not reached full realization, but its main outlines are distinctly discernible especially in the Narbonnensis. It is the old and not essentially Roman device of "divide and command." (The teacher can here compare the situation in the Athenian empire.) Thus the teacher will note in the map some towns or tribes marked as possessing allied status, others as being free, again others with Latin rights, and finally some with the title and privileges of Roman citizen colonies. This is the situation of Italy over again with only the necessary modifications. All these units are far above the status of the mere stipendiary, tributary town. There is plan and purpose in this careful gradation of political relationship with Rome, as the teacher can readily show by some concrete examples—by a comparison for instance of the extreme southern area and the tribal lands of the north, by placing in series such different centers as Narbo, Nimes, the Arverni and their city Nemetum and the Aeduians with Bibracte. The whole situation would be even clearer if the teacher took the eighty civitates as they are shown in their supposed limits by RICE HOLMES (map at the beginning of volume on Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul) and had all or representative ones colored in accordance with their political status. To bring the idea home still more clearly such a study might be compared with a modern detailed map of India under British domination. For specific material on these grades of privilege see the titles above. Special discussion of the situation in Gaul is best given in JULLIAN, *Histoire de la Gaule*, or BLOCH, V. 2, in LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*. On the whole problem of the extension of citizenship, the top rung in this ladder of preferment and romanization, see the speech of the Emperor Claudius in TACITUS, *Annals* XI, 24.

On the colonies as such and as centers radiating Roman influence the same titles will serve (SANDYS, p. 383). How those in the south situated on a well planned and executed system of military roads formed a splendid defensive complex can easily be seen from the map. In the north there were few such centers, either as agencies of Romanization or as military points of support. The Rhine defense line took over those duties. That in part explains why the process of Romanization north of the Loire line, with the exception of the German sphere of occupation, was so much slower and less intensive.

The road system shown is simplified from the itinerary of Antoninus

and is thus in detail that of the third century. However, most of the chief arteries are older and existed already in the first century. The map gives a clear idea of how all possible regions were tapped and how especially the frontiers were closely linked up with the backcountry and with Italy. It is an interesting fact that the main highways of the imperial period rather closely coincide with the great trunk lines of the postroad system in eighteenth century France. See LAVISSE, V. 1, pp. 378-379. Note also JONES, *Companion*, p. 40, SANDYS, p. 422.

## QUESTIONS

Show on the basis of the map the significance of the Gallic area for Italy, for Cæsar, for the Roman Empire as a whole. What several lines of defense did Rome establish in the northwest? Why did Rome establish first the Provincia, and then conquer the Celtic-Germanic area to the north of it? What natural products and wares did Rome derive from Gaul? What principles were applied in the organization of Gaul? Illustrate the principle of "divide and command" on the basis of Gaul. What was the importance of the city of Lyons in the Roman Empire? Distinguish between the policy adopted toward Narbonnese Gaul and the rest of the territory. What was the relation of the Germanies to Gaul? What is meant by progress through urbanization? How is it illustrated in Gaul? What was the importance of the road system of Gaul?

## MAP B16. ROMAN EMPIRE

GENERAL. The political unification of the Mediterranean basin was attained under Augustus. This sheet, therefore, presents chiefly the situation at that time. Occupying in security the Mediterranean area, however, involved more or less hostility to the inland states and peoples. Despite the Augustan policy of non-expansion additional conquests were therefore made even by successors of his own line. The Flavians proceeded further on the path of annexation, while Trajan once more gave an illustration of the true imperialist. After the great renunciation under Hadrian we once more meet a policy in the main of holding and assimilating acquired areas which soon, especially in the third century, was followed by a gradual but consistent recession on almost all fronts. The reconstructive efforts of Diocletian and Constantine could not permanently stop this movement. To illustrate these later phenomena of increase and shrinkage a small inset has been added to our map, giving at least the essentials of the process. On the whole, these two representations are thus to be regarded as in sequence to Map B14 and the teacher must use them from that point of view. The second inset on the "Roman Empire in 395 A. D." is to give the outstanding facts in the division and administration of the Empire in the age just preceding the great invasions. It seemed advisable to choose this period rather than the one which contains the arrangements as made by Diocletian and Constantine. The size of this inset does not permit the delineation of the more than one hundred and twenty provinces into which the Empire had been divided. All in all the whole map is further designed to act as a connective between this and the companion series of maps entitled *Harding European History Series*.

MAIN MAP AND INSET ON GROWTH AND SHRINKAGE: One glance at this map will show that the Roman Empire under Augustus is a complex of provinces and vassal states more or less directly or completely dependent on Italy and Rome. This nucleus has, therefore, been given special coloring. The status of the several regions depended entirely on

the arrangements made by Rome with the individual area conquered or otherwise added. These were laid down in separate charters and treaties, subject naturally to a good deal of change, not only during the course of the Empire but even in the individual reigns. The situation is further complicated, both in teaching the history of the Empire and in trying to represent any given age on a map, by the fact that Rome made special and additional agreements with the several cities and subdivisions in the various provinces. A really adequate map ought to show also these differences, but the information available is both too scant and too complicated to permit of such a presentation for the Empire as a whole. For the benefit of the student and teacher, however, an attempt at fixing these factors has been made for the Gallic provincial complex. Their significance in the administration and assimilation of the Mediterranean lands, especially in the northwest can be studied there (see Map B15).

The many problems in the history of imperial expansion even under Augustus, the loss or acquisition of territories, their changes in status or organization, the conversion of vassals into provincials and all other attendant questions, many of them very knotty and impossible to clearly solve, cannot be even briefly indicated in this manual. The facts as far as known or of moment in the classroom are discussed in the current textbooks and in the more extensive histories and special treatises. For the convenience of the teacher and pupil reference may here be made to the brief summaries in GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life*; SANDYS, *Companion to Latin Studies*, pp. 391-410 (especially valuable in his alphabetical list of provinces, with their limits, dates of acquisition, changes, etc.); and ARNOLD, *Roman Provincial Administration* (2d ed.). Further titles are quoted in these works and also under Map B15. A very suggestive volume bringing Roman Imperialism home to the modern student is CROMER, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*.

The map shows the extra-Italian dominions of Rome in three groups, the two types of provinces and the allied or vassal states. The latter are after Augustus temporarily or permanently absorbed by the provincial system. The differentiation in the former is the work of Augustus and is intimately interwoven with both the constitutional and practical aspects of the early Empire. Territories along the frontier requiring military protection or occupation, or in other ways demanding a



strong hand, either in the interest of the Empire or the Princes, are placed under the immediate direction of the Emperor. They are known as *imperial* provinces and are shown on the map in a light tint with single ruling. Those sufficiently assimilated to be regarded as safe are the public or *senatorial* provinces. Here, too, the Princes exercised control over the finances and held them in military security. In these also, as in the other provinces, he was "Divus Augustus." On the map the latter variety is shown in the darker tint with cross ruling. There were certain shiftings in this relationship both under Augustus and later. These could not conveniently be shown and do not materially affect the problem from the classroom point of view. (On these matters see the titles just cited.) Egypt is really not a province, it was and remained for several centuries purely a special crown domain, due to its wealth and significance for the grain supply of Rome and Italy.

Rome used her vassals or allies in self-defense. They were placed usually at points where for the time being she did not wish to bring her own provincial lines in contact with hostile states or tribal groups, where it seemed expedient to put between her own and enemy areas a buffer, or safety cushion, a state whose ruler and people might temporarily protect Rome's frontiers or keep her from unwelcome involvements with foreign powers. Excepting in the east, all these states became provinces (see inset). Here Rome was never quite able to overcome Parthian rivalry, to check the imperialism Parthia was pursuing on her own account, particularly in relation to the lands at the upper courses of its river system. Parthia is the only state which despite many defeats held her own, always a menace to Rome and destined ultimately to outlive the Empire as far as it was Roman. The map for this reason shows the rough outlines of Parthia.

The map gives also the chief tribes and tribal aggregations on Rome's frontiers. This will make possible a discussion of Rome's relations to its barbarian neighbors, especially in the north. While the relative position of the several peoples changes in the course of the centuries, particularly when the invasions grew to be a serious danger, the essential facts in the Roman frontier policy can be dealt with on the basis of the indications given here. For the later situations see Map H1 in the Harding European History Series.

Closely connected with the whole question of provincial administration is that of the frontier. Not until Augustus does the Roman state have a frontier in our modern sense. "In a haphazard way, under all sorts of conflicting circumstances, she extended her direct and indirect sphere of influence" (Jones). Perhaps during the reign of Augustus, certainly later, there is considerable vacillation between "Alexandrine Imperialism" and a mere maintenance of relatively fixed boundary lines by means of that mysterious policy known as defensive warfare (on the Rhine-Danube frontier see OLDFATHER and CANTER, *The Defeat of Varus*).

One of the concrete factors in the frontier policy of Rome is the "limes." At the outset this term referred to military roads constructed for the opening up and control of newly gained lands. Thus it is used under Augustus. These highways were protected by little forts, *castella*. Under Trajan the word limes has come to technically mean "frontier," due in part to the Flavian efforts at providing rectified and properly defended limits for the Empire, an attempt involving some conquests. In the main the "limes" is a road as above, but especially from the Rhine to the Danube these roads had become really lines of fortifications of earth or stone, with watch towers at intervals, and connected by palisades. Behind this inadequate first defense were placed larger and stronger stone forts from which it might readily be reinforced, since this second defense was bound to the first by means of other highways. While clearly military in its essence, such a system undoubtedly had its civil uses in the regulation of traffic between Roman and barbarian. This type of fortification at the same period can be studied in Britain or Africa—wherever Roman power penetrates such defenses are seen. Even in the east along the Nabatæan front Trajan constructs them; elsewhere in this section the catastrophic end of his plans seems to have cut short a like development. Most systematic is the endeavor of Hadrian to throw about the Empire a hedge of effective barriers. Palisades, stone ramparts, dikes and ditches, military roads and strong forts in the first line supplant the Flavian limes. Not always does this military frontier coincide with the actual sphere of occupation or influence. In Dacia and Britain, for example, there are outposts and garrisons beyond. Already in the third century the whole defensive structure proves inadequate; the barbarians seem to break it at will from the time of Alexander Severus on. Diocletian turned over the

securing of the boundary to special frontier troops under independent "dukes," whose forces supported themselves on chains of small forts. But this also availed nothing in the end. For further discussion of this whole problem see STUART JONES, *Companion*, p. 243, who also gives the best modern titles on the subject. See *ibid.* a fine sketch of the Germanic limes (p. 244). See also SANDYS, p. 478. Compare B15.

**Roads and Naval Courses:** The road system of the Empire is only represented on our map in its main trunk lines to avoid overloading the map. Further details for classroom purposes can be gleaned from the discussion of this topic in STUART JONES (p. 40), and from a very convenient map he appends (p. 44). In this series more specific illustration of the avenues of communication is offered for Italy (B11) and the Northwest (B15). A brief summary of the situation, especially for the Empire, may at this point be added for the benefit of the student.

The road system of the Empire is justly famous. "Over a large part of it, especially in the south and east the ease and safety of communication secured by construction of great highways far surpassed that which exists at the present time." The roads were primarily for military and political purposes, by a mesh of highways the several portions of the Empire were connected with and held in subjection by Rome (see especially B15). How they were used as auxiliaries in frontier protection has just been mentioned. As we advance with Rome in her conquests from her earliest steps in Italy to the very end of her career we can see the highways extending with the frontiers. In the Republic the big era of construction was the second century. In the Empire, our knowledge of details is less good, but in its earlier half the whole vast region was covered by great main arteries and numerous lesser branches. The Roman used either old established routes and rebuilt them or constructed new ones to suit his several needs. See thus Trajan's road from Gaul to the Black Sea, or the roads connecting the big eastern garrison centers of Melitene and Samosata (see B10), and the system of highways in Britain.

As far as the roads served other than strategic and political ends, they were chiefly employed in an administrative way for the imperial post (see JONES, p. 49). That in addition to all these public purposes they acted as arteries of trade, were in fact chiefly strategic conversions of former commercial highroads, is quite evident; and if we view the

complex of roads from this angle it is plain that commerce on land, despite the oft-times difficult territory, was well provided for. The trade with the East was amply served, the raw products of the several provinces (see Gaul, B15) could easily be brought to manufacturing centers, the traffic in goods from the provinces to the center of the Empire and from the east to the west was rendered convenient.

This is especially plain if we consider also the opportunities of water transportation as given in our map (JONES, p. 44). Even though sailing was still suspended from the middle of November to the middle of March, and despite the timidity of the sailors who still clung mainly to coasting routes, and the dependence of the ancients on favorable winds, the needs of commerce were seemingly amply taken care of.

On the speed of sailing in these days we have only inadequate evidence. Pliny mentions a six or seven days' sail from the Messina Straits to Alexandria; another bit of information gives nine days from Puteoli in the bay of Naples to Alexandria in light wind. The distance from Cadiz to Puteoli consumed seven, from Hither Spain it took four, from Narbo three, Africa two days to the same port. These are probably record trips, but an average journey possibly did not require a very much longer time (but see RAMSAY in HASTINGS *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol. under "roads and travel"). Ancient geographers estimated the average day's sail at between one hundred and one hundred and fifty knots, about an average of five knots an hour. For further discussion see the titles cited by STUART JONES, p. 51, also SANDYS, p. 422, and SKEEL, *Travel in the First Century*.

INSET ON PREFECTURES AND DIOCESES: Diocletian completely changed the organization of the Empire. Further measures were undertaken by his successors, all of them more or less in line with his policy. In the first place he increased the number of provinces to 116. A group of these he then formed into a *diocese* under the control of a *vicar*. The whole Empire furthermore, in keeping with his idea of two Augusti and two Cæsars, was finally divided into four administrative units known as *prefectures*, each under a Prætorian Prefect, the assistant of the respective Augustus or Cæsar.

The main reasons for these arrangements were the following: The experience of the third century with its many pretenders and the ruin in

the wake of their ambitions had taught the danger of giving too large an area into the hand of one governor, especially when that official was both military and civil head of his region. Smaller districts would avoid part of the danger, so Diocletian proceeded to cut up the old provinces. As a second measure he then for the first time definitely broke with the Roman idea of unity in provincial command—he separated the army control from the civil power. This he felt would render the provincial commanders harmless.

A degree of centralization in the forces of the empire was, however, necessary, especially in the face of the growing internal disintegration and the barbarian pressure. To meet both these conditions he evolved the diocese and the quadripartite Empire. Each of the four sections was now primarily responsible for its own affairs and its own boundary. The student will note in our map which refers to a later period—there were several adjustments in the scheme of dioceses and the limits of the prefectures after Diocletian, the details of which are very obscure, and of which we have chosen the one under Theodosius—the essential unity of the task of frontier defense, especially in the north. Here each prefecture guards a part of the Rhine-Danube line. For an understanding of the history of the later Empire this fact is of importance.

Mere territorial shiftings, however, were not adequate to the needs of the day. Therefore, Diocletian also reorganized the army. Part of it is immobilized along the frontier in garrisons; the rest, the real field army, is grouped at some central point, preferably about the several Augusti or Cæsars, ready to hasten to any point that might be in danger. These are the *limitanei* and the *comitatenses*. See the comment on the other portions of this map.

Another feature of this inset is the indication of the Theodosian line dividing the Empire into an eastern and western sphere. The genius of historical development in the imperial period had in various ways foreshadowed such an outcome. The East and the West were bound to go their way severally. More or less formally and temporarily this had been indicated earlier, for instance under Augustus and Marcus Aurelius. The particularist states of Palmyra and Gaul had further pointed that way. Now, while Theodosius perhaps did not see it clearly and really did not mean to separate the two altogether, the eastern and western

worlds were parted. No legal theory of unity or idealistic conception of a world empire ever again brought them together.

One of the interesting features about the division of the empire as it existed in the century when Christianity was recognized is the relation of the ecclesiastical districts, into which gradually the Church came to be divided, to the system as it was inaugurated by Diocletian and carried on by Constantine. On this question and on the whole matter see SHEPHERD, *Atlas*, p. 42; SANDYS, *Companion*, p. 396; JONES, *Roman Empire*, pp. 362 and 429; ARNOLD, *Roman Provincial Administration*; the *Notitia Dignitatum* as edited and translated in the PENNSYLVANIA TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS; BURY, *Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*; FIRTH, *Constantine*; COSENZA, *Official Positions After the Time of Constantine*; PAULY-WISSOWA under "Diocesis."

## QUESTIONS

Give the boundaries of the territory directly controlled by Rome at the time of Augustus. What are the chief vassal states and protectorates of Rome during the Empire? What is their ultimate fate? What is a vassal state, and what was its significance in Rome's system of domination? Enumerate the imperial provinces under Augustus. What was the criterion of their selection? What form has the Roman military frontier in the Empire? What is the greatest period of Roman expansion after Augustus? How far eastward does Rome's power reach at its best? What is a diocese? What were the causes for the reorganization of the Empire under Diocletian? Give the limits of the prefectures as they were under Theodosius. Discuss the character of sea traffic during the Empire.

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