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A BRIEF SURVEY OF HUMAN HISTORY

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OF
HUMAN HISTORY

BY
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THE MYSTERIOUS SPHINX

This figure sympolises for all time the emergence of Man from the Brute—the beginning of Human Civilisation.

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PREFACE

In this revised edition of *A Brief Survey of Human History* I have tried to enhance the utility of the book in the light of the experience gained through teaching the subject during the ten years that have elapsed since its first publication. Not only has the size been enlarged from *crown* to *demy* but several chapters have been thoroughly recast and rewritten. At the suggestion of kind and appreciative teachers, a topical framework has been provided for each chapter. I have, besides, added an analytical chart of "Outstanding Features" after each chapter. This is not to be taken as an exhaustive table; it is merely to suggest the lines on which the student might prepare for himself a useful framework of reference with varying details to suit his interests or convenience. Likewise the "Points for Study" given at the end of every chapter are intended to emphasise the salient topics dealt with in the text as well as to provoke thought in fresh and fruitful directions. The select Bibliography of the latest literature on the subject, given at the end, I hope, will be made use of by the reader to enlarge his horizons and add depth to his studies. Some essential maps and a few illustrations have also been included which it is my hope to improve upon and increase if further editions of the book are called for.

Fergusson College,
Poona, July, 1948

S. R. SHARMA

THE APPROACH

By Universal History I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of soul. It moves in a succession to which the nations are subsidiary. Their story will be told, not for their own sake, but in reference and subordination to a higher series, according to the time and the degree in which they contribute to the common fortunes of mankind.—LORD ACTON.

World History is capable of as varied treatment as there may be writers dealing with the subject. In this book an attempt is made to present the theme in a manner that should readily appeal to Indian students who are reading it for the first time. I am aware there are excellent works on World History which cannot be displaced. The present volume is intended to meet a definite need. In most of the available books on the subject Eastern history is either totally ignored or inadequately dealt with. It is obvious that such partial treatment is very unsatisfactory for our students in many ways. In the first place, the omission of Asia, particularly India and China, makes for incompleteness. Secondly, it also sets a wrong perspective. Whatever be the present position of Asiatic countries their past contributions to civilisation cannot be overlooked. World History is certainly more than the history of Europe and America. Thirdly, World History ought to emphasise the growth of human civilisation as a whole rather than be a mere dry-as-dust narrative of political happenings in various countries. Though politically the world is divided, and has always been so divided, there are other fundamentals which are common to the human race.

There is such a phenomenon as Progress; call it culture, civilisation, or by any other name. There may be setbacks here and there, or retrogression now and again, in the long course of human history. But with all these, Man has evolved out of the brute-creation. He has risen above the mere animal. He has ever toiled to make his lot better than his inheritance in every age. And, whatever may be his ultimate Destiny, an eternal urge keeps him striving after Utopias. The Vision beckons and recedes before our faltering steps. Yet Faith keeps us steadfast on the thorny upward path. This is one of the fundamental human traits which are universally true. There is no West and East here. Man, the universally

progressive creature, is the one subject of World History. Europe may be the workshop and Asia her dormitory for the time being; but time was when the reverse was the case. The Sun may shine on only one side of the globe at a time; but no part of the earth is left in darkness for ever.

Political power is the engine which quickens the pace of progress. Sometimes it also retards the even march of man. Politics, therefore, is an important lever, but it is not the be-all and end-all of human existence. Political history may form the basis, or rather supply the bony skeleton of our treatment, but it must be clothed with the flesh and blood of all-sided human activity, and animated by the indefatigable aspirations of man. Our aim, in this little volume, will therefore be to hold the mirror up to the whole pageant of man's life, and not merely to chronicle his political career. We shall try to follow up the 'living past' of the *genus homo* in all parts of our planet, in all ages and climes, to the extent that space will permit.

Rich and alluring as our theme is we must necessarily submit to certain limitations. Where much is to be left out what is actually included must be governed by the judgment of the selector. Here I have been guided by no other principle than the choice of the significant. Whether what has appeared to me significant has been really vital to human history or merely spectacular without being significant, it is for discerning readers to judge. I shall have at least succeeded in evoking some interest in what is usually, though wrongly, considered a dry if not also a useless subject. It is my earnest hope that I may have raised the curtain on a scene in the drama which I have found extremely engaging.

It is obvious that such a work could not have been carried out without laying several writers under contribution. My indebtedness to them is both general and specific, and I have acknowledged my sources in relevant places. It is my hope that these references may guide the interested reader to more extensive as well as intensive study. I have found it more useful to quote from my authorities verbatim rather than do them the injustice of indirect quotation through paraphrase.

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CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF CIVILISATION

1. Nature and Importance of History.
2. History and Pre-History.
3. Palaeolithic and Neolithic Cultures.
4. Primary Discoveries and Inventions.
5. Agriculture and Industry
6. Use of Metals and Writing.
7. Conclusion.

✓The fact that man possessed the capacity to rise from bestial savagery to civilization, at a time when it had *never before been done*, is the greatest fact in the history of the universe as known to us.—J. H. BREASTED.

1. Nature and Importance of History:

[Man's life is a moment between two eternities.] It is the hyphen that joins the Past with the Future. Most people are content with the animal satisfaction that is derived from the present. But this is not a quality that makes for progress. If we want to live intelligently, we must 'look before and after'. In this faculty, which does not belong to the sub-human world, lies the supreme privilege of man.

However keen the struggle for existence, however engrossing the living present, we shall be the better equipped for a happy and successful life, if we do not ignore the past. While the future for which we seek to provide is uncertain, scientific investigations have so enriched our knowledge of the past, that the vital dependence of our present upon the 'living past' is now considered quite axiomatic. Indeed, one imaginative writer has compared the present to a pygmy riding on the shoulders of the giant past, and pointed out how much we are benefited by this position of vantage. [The present may be truly described as the child of the past and the parent of the future.] Life is a continuous whole.

[History is, therefore, a record of only one stage in human life: it deals with man's past on earth.] Whatever may be the future of our species, man to the best of our knowledge,

is the last word in animate creation. [It was Charles Darwin, the famous nineteenth century biologist, who revealed to the modern world the continuity, not of human life only, but of all life, in his *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man*.] If we take into account the long process of evolution by which the human species grew up on this planet, our history appears so short that we cannot but marvel at the rapid progress man has made since he evolved out of the ape. While it took millions of years for Nature to bring man into existence, the dynamic intelligence of man (*homo sapiens*) has transformed life on earth so tremendously in the course of a few millennia which constitute the sum of human history. There is hardly a story more enthralling in its character than this truth about our human adventure which is stranger than fiction.

[Today man appears to dominate everything on earth. His mastery over Nature is all but complete. He has studied her secrets and harnessed her forces to serve human interests. Science has exploited all the resources of earth and sea and has now entered the very heavens. But all this is comparatively recent. Life on earth has not always been so very comfortable. Civilisation,[1] which is the term we use to describe our advanced way of living, literally means city-life.] The oldest cities known to us are not more than 6000 years old. Before that, men lived at first in the jungles, then in very crude villages or hamlets, as they do even now in the less advanced parts of the world. Indeed, civilisation has, during all ages, never spread uniformly over all parts of the globe. Why civilisation has haunted only certain places or zones on earth, to the exclusion of others, will become apparent as we go along. Here we must first describe the principal periods in the early history of our race.

2. History and Pre-History:

[How old is the history of man on earth is a very natural question to ask. But it is not so easy to answer. The sciences of Anthropology and Archæology, which have enabled us to ascertain the antiquity of man, are hardly a century old. Anthropology has two departments: Physical Anthropology and Cultural Anthropology. The former deals with man as an *organism*, and the latter with man as an *organiser*.[2]

1. Civilisation is a comparatively recent word. Dr. Johnson did not admit it into his Dictionary in 1772, but preferred *civility* instead.

2. Read "Progress in Pre-historic Times" by R. R. Marett, in *Progress and History* by F. S. Marvin.

Archæology is that science which studies man's life in the past as revealed in ancient relics and monuments. Both these are very difficult and delicate branches of investigation. Yet their value to human history is so great that scholars have devoted their lives to these subjects and rendered them more attractive than romance.[3] Their work has revealed to us two main divisions in the antiquity of man: Pre-historical and Historical.

[The Historical period may be said to commence with the art of writing, which is not more than five to six thousand years old.] We have written records of some sort, from Egypt and Babylonia, which date from about 4000—3000 B.C. Yet, thanks to Anthropology and Archæology, our knowledge of man extends far beyond that time. There are indications of man's emergence from the primates at least 50,000 years ago. Then he was, no doubt, little better than the brutes in most respects but he was already marked out by his somewhat erect gait and a glint of primitive intelligence in his eyes, superior to that of any other animal. He possessed none of their natural equipment for self-protection. He had neither horns, nor claws, nor fangs; nor was he clothed like the sheep or the bear. But he was compensated by an inventive and resourceful brain. While in his organism he was a slave to Nature, like the rest of animate creation, his potential power of organisation was calculated to make him her master. However, it took him several thousands of years before he could appreciably demonstrate this unique faculty.

Anthropologists have marked the successive stages of man's ascent to manhood by observing his physical development, the evidence of which has been discovered in ancient graves. According to the places where such discoveries were made, the successive types have been named the Java, Heidelberg, Piltdown, Neanderthal, Aurignacian, and Cro-Magnon man, etc.[4] The last named appears to have been over six feet high and had all the features of a modern European, though he must have lived between 50,000 and 10,000 years ago. Before the close of this period man had distinguished himself by his superior tool-making capacity which gave him a distinct advantage over all other animals. He could fashion

3. Read *Digging Up the Past* by Sir Leonard Woolley.

4. Skeletons or parts thereof, representing the various stages in the ascent of man, were found at Trinil in Java in 1892, at Heidelberg in Germany in 1907, at Piltdown in Sussex, England, in 1912, at Neanderthal in Germany in 1857, at Aurignac and Cro-Magnon in France in 1868. But the earliest known human skull was discovered by a young Chinese paleontologist, in 1929, near Peiping.

ASCENT OF MODERN MAN

Culture	Type of Life	Antiquity
Iron	Modern	1500 years B.C.
Bronze	MAN=	3000 years B.C.
Copper	Homo	6000 years B.C.
Neolithic	Sapiens	12,000 years B.C.
Later Palaeolithic	Cro-magnon	25,000 years B.C.
Earlier Palaeolithic	Neanderthaler	
Glacial	Sub-Men	50,000 years B.C.
	Monkeys & Apes	
	Birds & Mammals	
	Fishes & Reptiles	100,000,000 years B.C.

a stone, however crudely, into a defensive and offensive weapon. He could even fix it on a wooden handle or stick and use it as a spear or axe, and perhaps also send it flying at an enemy by means of a sling or bow. More than anything else, he had discovered 'the red miracle of fire' which he could light or extinguish at will. And what is still more wonderful, he could communicate with his fellows through intelligible speech. What a catalogue of discoveries and inventions! Nothing like it had appeared on earth before. It was as if the Creator had suddenly turned alchemist or come upon an Eldorado. From the first chipping of wood and stone, and the first lighting of the Promethean spark, and the first intelligible gibber, the modern progress of man in all directions has followed as the culmination of a logical series. The fruits and flowers and thorns of modern civilisation are borne aloft on the stem of history whose roots are imbedded in the pre-historic soil of dim antiquity.

3. Palaeolithic and Neolithic Cultures:

Scholars have divided the earliest history of man into two periods: Palæolithic or Old Stone Age, and Neolithic or New Stone Age.[5] Though this seems arbitrary it is not without reason. No other animal is known to have possessed the tool-making faculty which has given man such great mastery over Nature. Hence it is most natural to denote his early progress by the quality and material of his tools. By 'Old Stone Age' we, therefore, mean the period during which primitive man fashioned crude implements out of stone. Since even axe and spear heads were made out of hard stone or flint, it is obvious that metals had not been discovered. Wood was cut with a flint piece sharpened at the edge, and fire was also kindled with its help. No new discoveries were made for long ages, but during the 50,000 years or so preceding the Neolithic Age (about 12,000—8,000 B.C.), considerable improvements were made even in the stone implements. On this account the later Palæolithic period is often distinguished separately as the Middle Stone Age.

During these fifty thousand years well-shaped stone implements with wooden handles were made, instead of the crude flint instruments. Even the bones and horns of animals killed in the hunt were now utilised for various purposes. For instance, needles and whistles of such material, made by primitive man, have been found by archæologists. Though

5. Greek, *Palaios* = old; *lithos* = stone; *Neos* = new.

the Middle Stone Age man had not discovered the arts of weaving and pottery, he wore garments of skin and used skin bags for storing things. His most remarkable contribution to civilisation was, however, in the field of Art.

In 1879 Señor Marcelino de Sautuola, a Spanish nobleman, accidentally came upon some cave-paintings on his estate at Altamira. They were figures of animals drawn with astounding skill on the ceiling of a cave. Similar art productions have since been discovered elsewhere also. There are drawings of reindeer, wild boars, the mammoth, etc., besides those of even men and women. They were painted with colours that have endured during at least 20,000 years. "These paintings are often of such delicacy, power and skill as to suggest the unhappy thought that art, in this field at least, has not advanced much in the long course of human history."[6] In some places bone tubes and stone palettes with paints in them have also been found. On an Aurignacian cliff at Laussel, in France, has been discovered an astonishingly vivid bas-relief of an archer, while at Bruniquel, in the same country, wonderfully carved mammoth tusks have also been unearthed. The fact that these primitive art works were executed in the dark recesses of caves, indicates the use of artificial lights. This is confirmed by the discovery of hollow stone dishes which must have obviously served as lamps in which fat was burnt with a wick. Man-made fire was, indeed, a marvellous discovery. It protected him from cold, scared away beasts, cooked his food, and lighted up the primeval darkness of the jungle. And later, when metals were discovered, it could smelt them and fuse them,—"the only real advance in technology", one writer calls this, "from Cro-Magnon days to the Industrial Revolution."

4. Primary Discoveries and Inventions:

The beginning of historic civilisation was yet a long way off when Palæolithic conditions developed into Neolithic, but not so distant as the Old Stone Age was from the New, being separated by the Middle Stone Age. Progress, when the primary discoveries or inventions had been made, moved with the gathering speed of an avalanche. The fundamental discoveries of the Palæolithic Age were fire, tool-making, and speech. Those of the Neolithic Age were weaving, pottery, cottage building, domestication of animals (sheep, goats, pigs, dogs), agriculture, wheeled transport, boat construction,

6. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, I, 97.

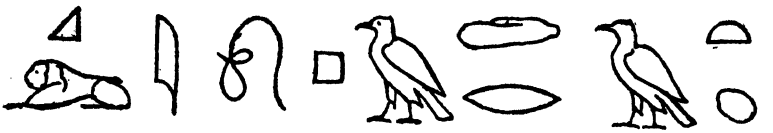
metals, and some sort of thought-recording which later developed into regular writing. A few comments may be made regarding each of these.

Weaving must obviously have been learnt from the observation of spiders' webs, birds' nests, and the natural plaiting and interlacing of creepers and branches of trees. Basket and mat plaiting might have preceded actual weaving of cloth, as the use of vegetable fibre may have preceded the spinning of yarn. Similarly, cave-dwelling and groves of trees suggested artificial houses. At first constructed with branches and twigs, cottages were soon improvised with matted screens and thatch. Dobbing the walls with wet mud and allowing them to dry in the sun, led to adobe and brick construction; while the baking of clay for bricks, either in sun or fire, naturally suggested pottery. The oldest artificial dwellings still surviving are, perhaps, the pile constructions in the midst of the lakes of Wangen in Switzerland and other places. For purposes of greater security Neolithic men sometimes built their cottages on wooden supports driven into the beds of lakes, connecting them with the shore by a removable bridge. Some two hundred of such dwellings were discovered in Switzerland in 1854. But the most revolutionising change that came over human life in Neolithic times was due to agriculture. All the other innovations of the period are associated with agriculture.

5. Agriculture and Industry:

"In one sense", observes Professor Will Durant, "all human history hinges upon two revolutions: the neolithic passage from hunting to agriculture, and the modern passage from agriculture to industry." Man was a food-gatherer or hunter before he became a food-producer or agriculturist. With the latter change he gradually ceased to be a wanderer and developed increasing attachment to a settled life. A sense of property and patriotism had their birth here. With settled life also came greater leisure, and concentration upon the improvement of all the instruments of material progress. From the digging stick were evolved the hoe and the plough, and the latter led to the utilisation of animal power. The dog and the ass appear to have been the first animals to be domesticated. Then came the goat, sheep and cattle, and finally the horse. The animal driven plough was undoubtedly the predecessor of the sledge, and the latter the parent of the wheeled vehicle. Some ingenious carpenter had hit upon the wheel whose potentialities were immense; it could roll a

EGYPTIAN



ASSYRIAN

CHINESE

PHOENICIAN

MOHENJO-DARO

WORLD'S EARLIEST SCRIPTS

The invention of Writing divides Pre-historic times from the Historical.

and AUSTROLOID (black) found in Africa, Australia and New Guinea. These groups represent Races more or less mixed. As H. G. Wells has put it: they are "in a state of arrested differentiation and possible re-admixture".

POINTS FOR STUDY

1. Nature, scope and importance of World History.
2. Distinction between Pre-History and History.
3. Materials and methods of discovering and reconstructing the Past.
4. "Necessity is the mother of invention"—what and how primitive man discovered and invented: importance in the growth of civilisation.
5. "Physical Anthropology describes Man as an Organism; Cultural Anthropology describes Man as an Organiser."

CHAPTER II

GIFTS OF THE NILE

8. Why Begin with Egypt?
9. Marvellous Monuments.
10. Eloquent Mummies.
11. Egyptologists.
12. Tomb of Tutankhamen.
13. Gifts of the Nile.
14. Thirty-one Dynasties of Pharaohs.
15. Feudalism in Egypt.
16. Epoch of Imperialism.
17. Golden Age of Egypt.
18. Egyptian Contributions to Civilisation.

The Nile has become for us a great historical volume disclosing stage by stage the first advance of man from bestial savagery to civilization.—J. H. BREASTED.

8. Why Begin with Egypt?

The history of man's progress from the most primitive stage to the most advanced, in the ancient world, is nowhere traceable over so long a period and with such continuity as in Egypt, the land of Pyramids, Sphinxes, and Mummies. This, rather than the claim that Egypt was the cradle of civilisation, might more reasonably justify priority being given to the land of the Nile in our brief survey of human history. It is vain to discuss the origins of civilisation with reference to any definite country or any precise period of chronology.[1] The beginnings described in the previous chapter are indicative of *logical* rather than strictly *chronological* sequence. Even a survey of the modern world will show that, while some countries are in the vanguard of civilisation, others are in varying degrees of backwardness. The progress of primitive man from dark discomfort to enlightened comfort depended upon two

1. Read "When and Where Old Civilization Begin?" by M. C. Burkitt in *Wonders of the Past*, I, 429-34.

factors: First, his racial stock and native intelligence[2] which enabled him to learn from experience and improve either rapidly or slowly. Second, his geographical environment, including climatic conditions and natural resources like water supply, facilities for food-production, transport and quality of minerals and building materials available in the vicinity. Egypt was happy in the possession of all these pre-requisites of civilisation. Hence her marvellous achievements during antiquity. By 4000 B.C. she had emerged from nebulous pre-history and entered the more definite region of history. Of this she has left wonderful testimony in her pyramids, sphinxes, obelisks and mummies, etc.

9. Marvellous Monuments:

The Pyramids are huge structures that impress us at first sight by their sheer immensity. Closer observation increases rather than diminishes our sense of astonishment. The Great Pyramid of Gizeh, for example, is 484 ft. high, and covers an area of 13¼ acres. It is built of 2,300,000 limestone blocks, each weighing on an average two tons and a half; the largest being one hundred and fifty tons. According to Herodotus, the earliest of Greek historians, the building of this pyramid occupied 100,000 men with unceasing toil durng twenty years. Breasted has observed that such rapid progress in the control of mechanical power can be found in no other period of the world's history until the nineteenth century A.D. The wealth expended over it must have been enormous. The Pyramids are spread over a distance of about sixty miles along the course of the Nile, and though all of them are not of the same size, their stones, brought from long distances, have been so skilfully set that the space between two of them averages not more than one fiftieth of an inch.[3] What human ingenuity could have put together these huge blocks and raised them to such heights in the absence of mechanical appliances? They have endured during 5000 years. Why? and by whom were they erected? Who would not wonder and grow impatient for an explanation?

The Sphinxes are equally astounding figures. The biggest of them is 75 ft. high and 150 ft. long. They are images of

2. The cranial capacity of man has varied with his stock. That of the Neanderthal man was 1600 cubic centimetres. That of the Cro-Magnon man ranged from 1590 to 1715 c.c.

3. Read "The Pyramids of Egypt" by T. Eric Peet in *Wonders of the Past*, I, 453-62.

crouching lions with human heads. The largest sphinx has a face 13 ft. 8 ins. across, and its nose alone measures 5 ft. 7 ins. It was first discovered by Capt. Caviglia in 1818 A.D. Later excavations have disclosed that it represents King Khafre (2867-2811 B.C.) the builder of the second pyramid of Gizeh. It is the largest human face ever sculptured in stone by man. What great mysteries have these sphinxes been guarding during these nearly fifty centuries of history? The ancient Egyptians called the Sphinx *Hu* or Guardian Watcher; their modern descendants know it only as *'Abu'l hol* or the Father of Terror.

The Obelisks are inscribed, free-standing monoliths, often of great height. There is one at Heliopolis, on the Nile Delta. A second, 68 ft. 5 ins. high, was transplanted, in 1877, by the British, and now stands on the Thames Embankment. A third, 67 ft. 2 ins. high, was carried to New York by American explorers. Each of them weighs from 500 to 1000 tons, and their transport, indeed, represented an engineering *tour-de-force*. In the Great Temple of Karnak, in Egypt, there are sculptures on the walls depicting such obelisks being conveyed in ships. An inscription of Queen Hatshepsut proudly declares that these obelisks

"are of hard granite from the quarries of the South; their tops are of fine gold chosen from the best in all foreign lands. They can be seen from afar on the river; the splendour of their radiance fills the Two Lands, and when the solar disc appears between them it is truly as if he rose up into the horizon of the sky.... You who after long years shall see these monuments, who shall speak of what I have done, you will say: "We do not know, we do not know how they can have made a whole mountain of gold".

It goes on to say: 'To guild them I have given gold measured by the bushel, as though it were sacks of corn'.

10. Eloquent Mummies:

Marvellous as these pyramids and sphinxes and obelisks appear to us, there is nothing in Egyptian antiquities so thought-provoking and wonder-evoking as the Mummies. In their very silence they are so touchingly eloquent! They are the actual builders of the pyramids and sphinxes and obelisks, present before our eyes in their very flesh. They are the greatest of the ancient Egyptians immortalised by a process

of embalming, the secrets of which are little known to us.[4] The earliest Mummy yet discovered is kept in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was found by Sir Finders Petrie, in 1892, near the pyramid of Medun. The oldest of the Royal Mummies is dated 2050 B.C. These Egyptians who have survived in their bodies during 4,000 years, are in such a state of preservation that they could be identified with reference to their contemporary sculptures, which are themselves marvellous specimens of the sculptor's art. We might truly say that, among the monuments of North-East Africa, an entire civilisation lies 'embalmed and treasured up for a life beyond life'. Our knowledge of ancient Egypt is derived mostly from the manuments and relics left by the makers of its civilisation. Never was a richer legacy bequeathed by any people to posterity.

11. Egyptologists:

The credit of having discovered the ancient monuments of Egypt for the modern world belongs to Napoleon Bonaparte. When he led his famous expedition to that country, in 1798, he took with him scholars, engineers and explorers interested in history. The *Description de L'Egypte* which they prepared (1809-13) for the French Academy "was the first mile-stone in the scientific study of this forgotten civilisation." Napoleon's party stumbled upon an inscribed stone near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile. It contained an inscription in triplicate, written in hieroglyphic, demotic[5] and Greek, which were particularly deciphered by Champollion, a young French palæographist, in 1822, after years of patient investigation. Before his death, in 1832, this Columbus of Egyptology had given us a grammar and dictionary of hieroglyphics, thereby imparting eloquence to the hitherto mute and mysterious monuments of a civilisation that was at once powerful and graceful. It is impossible to give an adequate account of all it meant within our limited space. Even a brief survey of the antiquities of Egypt would make us exclaim with Champollion:

4. It is believed that they used common salt, natron and resin for preserving the bodies. The dry climate of Egypt and the warmth of the desert further helped the process which is elaborately described by Herodotus. The art appears to have reached its perfection between 1580 and 945 B.C. under the XVIII to XXI Dynasties. The best specimens are those of Amenhotep II Thuthmose IV, Seti I and Ramesis II, Read Dr. F. Smith on the subject in *Wonders of the Past,* I, 540-59.

5. The popular script of Egypt.

Powers of the Pharaohs petrified
King Khafre 2867-2811 B.C.

An example of powerful portrait sculpture in Ancient Egypt.

"There all the magnificence of the Pharaohs appeared to me, all that men have imagined and executed on the grandest scale.... No people, ancient or modern, has conceived the art of architecture on a scale so sublime, so great, so grandiose, as the ancient Egyptians. They conceived like men a hundred feet high!"

Thanks to the labours of later Egyptologists, we are enabled to witness today much more than was given to the founder of that science.

The rich possibilities in the field were disclosed by the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb, by Lord Carnarvon and Dr. Carter, in 1922.

12. Tomb of Tutankhamen:

Tutankhamen was, and would have remained in history, one of the least significant monarchs of Egypt, but for this accidental disclosure. He was a mere boy of ten when he ascended the throne of the Pharaohs, in 1350 B.C., and died a youth hardly nineteen years of age, in 1341 B.C. But his tomb contained a treasure 'rich beyond the dreams of avarice.' The signficance of the tomb of Tutankhamen, Breasted has observed, lies in the fact that it is a treasury of works of art from the first great age of spiritual emancipation in the history of the world. The body of Tutankhamen was embalmed and encased in a series of seven coffins, the innermost of which was made of pure gold plate a quarter inch thick. It has been intrinsically valued at £50,000. Its art treasures have been preserved in the National Museum at Cairo and fill a whole gallery 80 yds. by 10 yds. and more. There are in it magnificent specimens of the sculptor's, metal-worker's, carpenter's, jeweller's, painter's, potter's, and every kind of craftsman's art: exquisite boxes, superb carvings, magnificent thrones, excellent furniture, wonderfully designed walking-sticks, and other articles too varied to be described here.[6] There were hundreds of such tombs in ancient Egypt, each more or less crammed with relics of great historical value. But, alas, they were rifled by treasure-hunting hyæna-thieves, in the course of succeeding centuries, thereby depriving us of much of the wealth of information they would have otherwise yielded.

6. For a fuller account read T.E. Peet's interesting article on "The Amazing Riches of Tutankhamen" in *Wonders of the Past*, I, 41-50. Carnarvon who discovered this, died within 2 months. The curse of Tut was: "Death will come on swift wings to strike him who disturbs my rest."

The curious reader might wonder why the Egyptians of old filled their tombs with such treasures. Explanation of this practice is to be found in the beliefs of all ancient peoples in a life after death. Various kinds of tombs, scattered all over the world, testify to this universal custom of antiquity. The graves of the ancients are really so many source-books for the historian. Their significance is thus brought out by Sir Leonard Woolley in his extremely interesting book, *Digging up the Past*:—

"All over the world, and at most periods in the history of each part of it, a belief in some kind of life after death has induced man to place in the graves of his dead things which may minister to the needs of another world: conversely, from the fact that a grave contains such objects, we can deduce that there prevailed a belief in a future life. I am not speaking of such very personal things as decency would naturally leave to the corpse, the pin that fastens cloak or winding-sheet, the ring on the finger, the amulet worn in life about the neck, nor again of such things as might be considered mere offerings to the memory of the dead, the sword by the warrior's hand, the top with which the child played and none other must play, the wreaths of flowers which are our modern expression of sad respect. 'Grave furniture,' to use an archæological phrase, is something far more definite than this, and answers to far more definite ideas.

"The Greek placed on the dead man's mouth a coin to pay Charon his fare for ferrying him across the river of Death. The Egyptian might take with him a copy of the Book of the Dead to prompt his memory so that he might give the right anwers to the gods or demons who held the gates of the under-world and cross-examined all who would pass through. In Mesopotamia vessels of food and drink provide sustenance for the long journey which the dead must undertake, and during one period these vessels are stacked in a boat made of bitumen, implying that the journey must be made by water. But the journey is not everything, there is the whole life of the next world, and because it is difficult to imagine life otherwise than in terms of that which we know, it is assumed that man's occupations and needs hereafter will be very similar to what they have been in the past—the next world is a continuation of this. Whatever, therefore, a man used and required in his lifetime he will use and require after death. The woman takes her spindle, her needle, her mirror and her cosmetics, the jeweller his balance and weights, the carpenter his saw and chisels, the soldier his weapons of war. The king must be provided with a goodly sample of his pomp on earth; the

viking leader is laid in his barrow on the deck of his beaked galley with all his gear about him; the Sumerian king has not only his treasure of gold and the Pharaoh, in the rock-hewn labyrinth of his tomb, had such a provision for his splendour that the grave of Tutankhamen, one of the most insignificant of Egypt's rulers, found intact, has astonished the whole world with its riches. It is not surprising, then, that the archæologist derives most of his material from the cemeteries of the old world, and that what he there finds illustrates not only the beliefs and burial-customs of the past, but also its everyday life."[7]

13. Gifts of the Nile:

In the course of a little over thirty centuries B.C. thirty-one dynasties ruled over Egypt. We have a wonderfully continuous, and all but complete, history of this long period of human endeavour and achievement, political as well as cultural, chronologically ascertained, and for the most part authentically illustrated by the monuments and relics preserved for us by the historically helpful climate of Egypt.

It is no mere metaphor that describes Egypt as the 'Gift of the Nile', as Herodotus did. The dry rainless tract has indeed been made to 'blossom like the rose' by the life-giving waters of that river. The ancient Egyptian, like the Vedic Aryan in India, apostrophised the Nile in the following manner:

"Homage to thee, O Hapi! Thou appearest in this land and thou comest in peace to make Egypt to live. Thou waterest the fields which Ra hath created, thou givest life unto all animals, and as thou descendest on thy way from heaven, thou makest the land to drink without ceasing. Thou art the friend of bread and drink. Thou givest strength to the grain and makest it to increase; and thou fillest every place of work with activity. Thou art the creator of barley, and thou makest the temples to endure for millions of years. Thou art the Lord of the poor and the needy. If thou wert overthrown in the heavens, the gods would fall upon their faces and men would perish. When thou appearest on the earth, shouts of joy rise up and all the people are glad; every man of might receiveth food, and every tooth is provided with meat. Thou fillest the store-houses; thou makest the granaries to overflow. Thou makest herbs and grain to grow that the desires of all may

7. Pp. 75-7.

be satisfied; and thou art not impoverished thereby. Thou makest thy strength to be a shield for men."

Nature to the Egyptians was neither a pampering grandmother, nor a niggardly step-mother. She gave them just what their intelligence and industry might improve and placed them in a situation that, while it gave immunity from invasion, also drew them into a world larger, and in some respects, richer than their own. The desert on their west, the sea on their north and east, and the Dark Continent stretching in the south, afforded sufficient protection for hundreds of years. Their infant civilisation could thus mature into full manhood without much interference from outside. When it was sufficiently vigorous, it did not confine itself to its cradle or nursery, but strayed into the neighbouring world through the Isthmus of Suez and the seas. Their long line of Pharaohs, to a large extent, fostered and stimulated their culture during three thousand years. They, likewise, paved the way for their own and their country's ultimate ruin by their ambitions, power and grandeur.

The yearly renewal of the soil and fertility of the country, by the alternating ebb and flow of the Nile, suggested to the Egyptians the idea of Osiris, their River God, who perpetually renovated himself. Death appeared to them, therefore, only as an ebb-tide in the river of life; hence their irrepressible hope in immortality. Since there was uniformity in Nature's periodic self-renewal, the after-life of man, they argued, could not be different from his ordinary mode of living. Hence their peculiar mania for preserving the human body, our corrupt tabernacle of life, from decay. How could the lamp be relit if its vessel were destroyed? How could the *Ka* or spirit be revived if the body was not preserved? This is the philosophy that explains the ancient Egyptian's meticulous care for the dead. This is the logic behind the pyramids and tombs and mummies, and their rich furnishings. But the Pharaohs alone could command the enormous wealth, industry and skill needed for the purpose. They were like the sun in their universal power. They were, accordingly, regarded as the sons of the effulgent orb of heaven, their god *Aton* or *Amon-Ra*.

'Like king like subjects,' declares an Indian proverb. The Pharaoh only represented the apex of the pyramid of Egyptian society and culture. As in all ages, the nobles copied the standards of royalty, and the common folk tried to follow in their footsteps. Thus we have all grades of tombs and mummies, differing only in their paraphernalia and wealth. But this morbid concentration on the *post-mortem* state

ultimately resulted in feeding the dead at the expense of the living. This, no less than the proverbial tide in the affairs of men, accounts for the final disappearance of Egyptian civilisation.

14. Thirty-one Dynasties of Pharaohs:

If we leave out Horus, a purely mythical being, Menes appears to have been the first of the Pharaohs to rule over the whole of Egypt. From him no less than thirty-one dynasties of rulers are usually counted. There were kings in Egypt, however, before the First Dynasty (3400 B.C.) and Egypt's glory was long past before the Thirty-first Dynasty ended (332 B.C.). But this division into Dynasties is misleading, because it is very artificial and arbitrary. A Dynasty, in every case, did not represent a change in the family of rulers or foreign invasion. Another suggested division is that into the Old Kingdom, the Middle Kingdom, and the New Kingdom. The first closed with the Tenth Dynasty (2160 B.C.); the second with the Seventeenth Dynasty (1580 B.C.); and the third with the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (650 B.C.). The close of each period was marked by decadence, anarchy or foreign invasion. But the most natural division of Egyptian history is the one suggested by Breasted, viz., (a) the Age of Pyramids (3000-2500 B.C.), (b) the Age of Feudalism (2000 B.C.), and (c) the Age of Empire (1580-1150 B.C.) Whichever of the divisions we might follow, three epochs are clearly discernible. Power and glory in each lead to inevitable decline in the end; but twice, at least, that decline acted as a spur to greater endeavour and achievement. We find in these symmetrical movements an echo, as it were, of the ebb and flow of the Nile, and a reflection of the alternating plains and pyramids of Gizeh. Three great cities, Memphis, Thebes, and Amarna, symbolised the three successive ages, not as capitals merely but as embodiments of changing ideas and ideals as well.

Egypt at first comprised two kingdoms: the Kingdom of the Delta, and the Kingdom of the South. They were united together for the first time under Menes, first of the Pharaohs (c. 3400 B.C.). The creation of this first empire in Egypt was signalised by the foundation of the new city of Memphis. This is usually called the Old Kingdom. It attained the zenith of its power and prosperity under the Fourth Dynasty (2900-2750 B.C.) The Great Pyramid of Gizeh, already described, still reminds us of its achievements. It was built by Khufu (Cheops), the second ruler of the Dynasty (2898-75 B.C.). The Great Sphinx of Khafre (Chephren), brother of

Khufu, is another great monument of the same period (2867-11 B.C.).

15. Feudalism in Egypt:

The Middle Kingdom arose out of this chaos, under the Eleventh Dynasty, with Thebes as its capital. It lasted from 2100-1580 B.C. and has been described as the Feudal Age because of the extraordinary power wielded by the great nobles, and the social and economic conditions of the period, closely resembling those which obtained in Europe during the Middle Ages. It was an epoch of great intellectual activity, marked by considerable moral advancement as well. The so-called cliff-tombs of Egypt bear testimony to the civilisation of the period. In them have been discovered several rolls of papyrus with writings of unique historical value. It is interesting to notice in them expressions of human sentiments, such as, 'Do justice, comfort the mourner, oppress not the widow, and expel no man from the possessions of his father, etc.' There has also been found in them an anticipation of the Hebrew prophecy regarding the Messiah: 'He shall be the shepherd of his people, and in him there shall be no sin.' Feudal Egypt, however, had to pay dearly for her lack of co-ordinated authority by submission to foreign conquerors. The Hyksos, a people of obscure origin, invaded the land of the Nile and dominated it during five long centuries. Beyond the fact that they introduced the horse into Egypt, an animal not known there earlier, we hardly know anything more of the dark ages of their domination. They were overthrown by the founders of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in 1580 B.C. with whom began the most glorious epoch of Egyptian history, —the Age of Empire.

16. Epoch of Imperialism:

The Empire of Egypt flourished till the close of the twelfth century B.C. under the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. We might read the character of this age in a few examples: First, Hatshepsut, the world's first great queen and Egypt's greatest woman; second, Egypt's Napoleon, Thuthmose III; third, Amenhotep III, *Roi Soliel* (Silver King) of Egypt; and fourth, Amenhotep IV (Akhnaton), Egypt's most idealistic monarch.

Hatshepsut was the daughter of Thuthmose I who was the third ruler of the Dynasty that liberated Egypt from the yoke of the Hyksos. She reigned from 1501 to 1479 B.C. together

with her consort Thuthmose III, a unique pair of rulers in the history not only of Egypt but also of the world. The Great Temple of Dier-el-Behri (Luxor), near Thebes, with its marvellous colonnades and sculptures, bears testimony to the power and grandeur of its builder, Queen Hatshepsut. This temple, with additions made in succeeding reigns, extends over two furlongs, and contains the biggest colonnaded hall in the world. Its columns are 69 ft. high, and each so stout as to accommodate one hundred men on its top. There are also in it colossal figures cut in blocks of stone, 80-90 ft. high and weighing 1000 tons each. "It is in works of this massive monumental character", Breasted observes, "that the art of Egypt excelled." An inscription on one of the walls describes

"the loading of the ships very heavily with marvels of the country of Punt: all goodly fragrant woods of God's Land (the East), heaps of myrh-resin, with fresh myrh trees, with ebony and pure ivory, with green gold of Emu, with cinnamon wood, kheyst wood, with two kinds of incense, eye-cosmetic, with apes, monkeys, and with skins of the southern panther, with natives and their children. Never was brought the like of this for any king who has been since the beginning."[8]

Queen Hatshepsut is herself curiously represented in male attire, and with a bearded face—evidently on account of her masculine bearing throughout her life.

Thuthmose III was Egypt's greatest conqueror. His historic battle at Har-Megiddo (Mt. Megiddo in Asia-Minor) became so famous that even now we describe war as *Armageddon*. He subjugated the Hittites, and the Mitanni beyond the Euphrates. Even the warlike Assyrian sent him an embassy. Thuthmose ruled for thirty-three years (1479-47 B.C.) after the death of Hatshepsut, and by the end of his reign, peace reigned all over his empire, from the valley of the Nile to the valley of the Euphrates. He was a humane conqueror and a far-sighted statesman. His administrative organisation and conquests went hand-in-hand. Sir J.A. Hammerton discerns in his policy

"what might almost be called suggestions of the relations between the Supreme Government in India and the 'Protected Princes.' Native princes continued to rule in the subject principalities, conditionally on their good behaviour, including the regular payment of the recognised tribute. In some instances they were attended by an imperial officer who discharged the functions of a British Resident. Egyptian

8. Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilization*, p. 94.

garrisons were stationed in fortresses at strategic points. The north was under the general supervision of a military governor. Every effort was made to bring the native rulers into sympathy with Egyptian and imperial ideas, especially by educating them in the Princes' College at Thebes. There was no interference with the native religious or other customs."[9]

17. Golden Age of Egypt:

Thuthmose was succeeded by his son Amenhotep II, and he by his son Thuthmose IV. The latter is remembered for his dynastic marriage with a Mitanni princess, the first political marriage of its kind recorded in history. He was followed by Amenhotep III whose reign (1411-1375 B.C.) marked the Golden Age of Egyptian magnificence. In the words of G. A. Dorsey, "Egypt's Pharaoh was now easily the world's First man. Tribute poured into Thebes in floods. The temples blazed with jewels and gold beyond huge bronze doors. The whole civilized world—Babylon, Assyria, Mitanni—courted the smile of Amenhotep III, the magnificent... His warships policed the Mediterranean, his trading ships went everywhere to gather *objects d' art* for Theban palaces and temples—damascened bronzes from Knossos, wonderful figurines, and other products of Minoan art."[10] A famous set of three hundred cuneiform letters, known as the Tell-el-Amarna Letters, constitute an invaluable source of information regarding this period.

By far the most fascinating figure in ancient Egyptian history is Amenhotep IV, the next ruler (1375-1358 B.C.) He was a great idealist like Akbar, but more visionary and without the patience and tact of the Great Mughal. He tried to sweep away all the superstitions of his country by one imperial decree, and in this, no doubt, he failed. But it was a failure which shines in human history like one of Hatshepsut's golden obelisks described above. Egypt's Pantheon was filled with ignominious godlings like those destroyed by Prophet Muhammad later in Arabia.[11] Amenhotep IV attempted to replace them by a reformed worship of the Sun, the most ancient and universal God of mankind. He therefore forcibly swept away all the tribal deities of the Egyptians and sought to propagate his new faith with the zeal of a prophet. Though

9. *Outline History of the World*, p. 35.

10. *The Story of Civilization*, pp. 309-10.

11. Read "The Gods of Ancient Egypt" by Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie, in *Wonders of the Past*, II, 667-79.

his endeavours proved futile and the suppressed gods and goddesses were all restored by his successor, the now famous Tutankhamen, the beauty of Amenhotep's vision has survived in one of the glorious hymns he composed in praise of the Sun whom he called *Aton.* A few lines from it may be cited here as a sample:

Aton, Creator of the World, King of Kings.
Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of the sky.
O living Aton, beginning of life!
When thou risest in the eastern horizon,
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.
Thou art beautiful, great, glittering, high above every land...
Thy rays, they encompass the lands, even all that thou hast made....
Thou bindest them by the love.
Though thou art far away, the rays are upon earth...
The trees and the plants flourish.
The birds flutter in their marshes,
Their wings uplifted in adoration to thee...
When the fledgling in the egg chirps in the shell,
Thou givest him breath therein to preserve him alive,...
How manifold thy works!...
There is a Nile for the stranger in the sky,
And for the cattle of every country that go upon their feet.
Thy rays nourish every garden;
When thou risest, they live,
They grow by thee...
Thou art in my heart,
There is no other that knoweth thee
Save thy son Ikhnaton.
Thou hast made him wise,
In thy designs and thy might.
The world is in thy hand,
Even as thou hast made them.
When thou risest, they live,
When thou settest, they die...

The simple grandeur of this poem retains its freshness, even in translation, after three thousand years, and truly breathes the spirit of its royal composer. To indicate his complete breach with the past, Amenhotep, changed his name to Akhnaton (or Ikhnaton), i.e. 'Profitable to Aton', and forsaking Thebes, the traditional capital of his ancestors (2160-1090 B.C.), founded a new city, calling it "the Horizon of

Aton" (modern Amarna). Akhnaton's noble monotheism really represented one phase of an intellectual revolution which bore fruit in a rich harvest of culture, a few glimpses of which are preserved in the amazing treasures of Tutankhamen's tomb already described. Professor Breasted refers to it as "the culminating point of the earliest known intellectual revolution—a revolution which profoundly modified, even transformed religion, thought and art." The happy blend of realism and naturalism displayed in the form and colour of the art of this period is well illustrated in one of the fragments discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie, wherein are depicted some spirited bulls, romping in the marshes, and disturbing a few birds which take sudden flight into the air. The whole scene has been reproduced 'with the grace and animation of Nature.' The ruins of Amarna (130 miles to the south of Cairo) contain also the earliest example of rational town-planning with adequate provision of decent quarters for the workers.

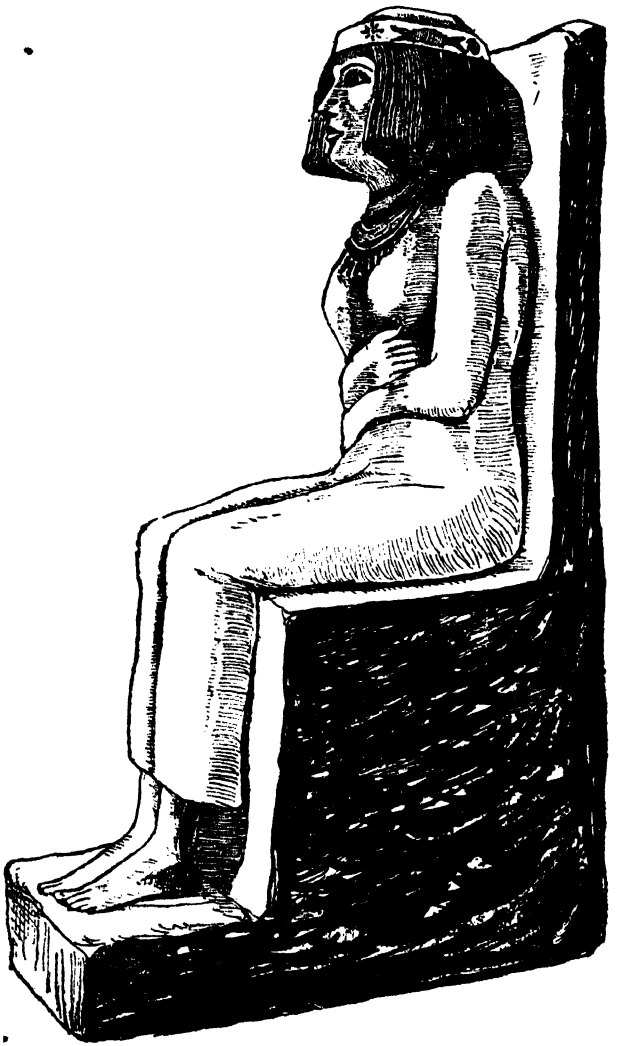
18. Egyptian Contributions to Civilisation:

It is obviously impossible to give in a few pages a fuller picture of Egypt's contributions to civilisation. Indeed, as one writer has well remarked, in peace as well as in war, Egypt was always doing something "for the first time in human history." Egypt, in other words, has been the source of "much that is sacred and much that is profane in modern civilisation".[12] In the opinion of Professor Hearushaw, during the twenty creative centuries of her career, 4500-2500 B.C. Egypt had "made discoveries and perfected inventions which have become a treasured part of the social heritage of the human race .... in short, every department of civilized life had been advanced as they never had been before by any other people, or during any other period."

After Akhnaton and Tutankhamen Egypt declined from her glory. A dozen more Dynasties succeeded, no doubt, but few rulers, with the singular exception of the vain-glorious Rameses II, achieved anything like the glory of the Pharaohs we have already described. Between Thebes, the greatest monumental city of the ancient world, and Karnak, lies the Westminster Abbey of ancient Egypt. There lie buried her kings, commanders, artists, writers, builders, priests, etc. The tombs, temples and palaces of Memphis, Thebes, and Amarna, constitute a veritable museum of antiquities, an invaluable 'Book of the Dead' illustrated with live sculptures and paintings, the most remarkable of their kind found anywhere

12. Dorsey, *The Story of Civilization*, pp. 312-13.

in the world. Here we have a wonderful record of human struggles and achievements, dreams and fulfilments, as well as failures, and disappointments, all depicted in such vivid line and colour, that he who runs may read. A mere inventory of all that the Egyptians did or attempted to do would



The Modernity of Ancient Egyptian Style.

It is immaterial whose portrait statue this is, but it represents two things: Feminine Fashion and the Skill of the Sculptor 5000 years ago.

in itself constitute the most remarkable commentary upon their civilisation and culture. Apart from what has been described already, they built the first Suez Canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; they invented the first calendar with 365 days; they devised the first shadow-clock for measuring time, and the first instrument for observing the movements of the heavenly bodies; they used the decimal system; they knew elementary algebra, and could calculate the cubical contents of cylinders, hemispheres, etc.[13]; they knew physiology and anatomy fairly accurately as is borne out by their medical treatise contained in the Edwin Smith papyrus; they knew that the heart is the centre of vital power in the body, and that the brain is the centre of the nervous system; they carried out surgical operations and had among them dentists, eye, stomach and other specialists; their furniture, as preserved in Tutankhamen's tomb, has a modern appearance; they used finger-bowls, cups, spoons, razors, wigs, hats, face paints, cosmetics, kilts, sandals and wooden headrests; their children played with mechanical toys, their sculptors produced the most life-like images, and were called 'vivifiers'; indeed, to carve was for them 'to give life'; their jewellery would excite the cupidity of a modern woman of fashion; they were the first people to have census and a postal system, to use sail-boats, and copper pipes as conduits; to use glass, paper, ink, and to devise a system of education.

We catch a glimpse of their intellectual outlook in their familiar sayings, with a few of which we may fittingly close this chapter:

> "The gods live as I, I live as the gods."
> "Enough is as good as a feast."
> "Let thy countenance shine joyfully as long as thou livest; did a man ever leave the coffin after having once entered it?"
> "Be not puffed up because of the knowledge that thou hast acquired, and hold converse with the unlettered man as with the learned, for there is no obstacle to knowledge, and no handicraftsman hath attained to the limit of the knowledge of his art."

POINTS FOR STUDY

6. Distinction between Civilisation and Culture.
7. Where to begin the History of Civilisation; Reasons.

13. Read the chapter on Egyptian Mathematics in *The Endless Quest* by F.W. Westaway.

8. Egyptologists and Egyptology.
9. Outstanding Monuments and Relics of Ancient Egypt: significance of each.
10. Feudalism and Imperialism in Ancient Egypt.
11. Great Personalities of Ancient Egypt: character and importance.
12. Religion and Society in Ancient Egypt.

ANCIENT EGYPT
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Epochs	Places	Personalities	General
4000 B.C.				Earliest established date.
3400 B.C.	Old Kingdom founded: First Dynasty	Memphis	Menes, first of the Pharaohs to rule over entire Egypt.	Union of the Northern and Southern kingdoms.
3000-2500 B.C.	Age of Pyramids:	Gizeh, Tel el Amarna, Thebes.	Khufu (Cheops)—2898-75 B.C. built the Great Pyramid of Gizeh; Khaphre (Chephren)—2867-11 B.C. built the Great Sphinx.	Old Kingdom at its zenith under the Fourth Dynasty—2900-2750 B.C.
2100-1580 B.C.	Middle Kingdom: Age of Feudalism	Thebes.	Eleventh to the Seventeenth Dynasties: Nobles dominated.	Golden Age of Egyptian civilisation: begins with the culture of the Feudal Age and culminates in the glory of Imperial expansion.

1580-1150 B.C.	New Kingdom or Age of Empire		Thuthmose III (1479-47 B.C.)—great conqueror: battle of Har-Magiddo (Armageddon). Queen Hatshepsut built the great temple of Luxor or Karnak near Thebes (Deir-el-Bahri).	
1411-1375			Amenhotep III the Magnificent: Babylon, Assyria and the Mitanni, courted the smile of the world's First Man, the Pharaoh of Egypt.	Height of imperial grandeur: tribute poured into Egypt and temples blazed with jewels and gold.
1375-1358 B.C.		Tel el Amara.	Amenhotep IV (Akhnaton) "Akbar of Egypt": idealist Pharaoh who destroyed idolatry and substituted Sunworship.	
1358-41 B.C.			Tutenkhamen.	Noted for his "grave furniture".

CHAPTER III

THE FERTILE CRESCENT

19. Monuments of Mesopotamia.
20. Buried Cities Unearthed:
21. Who were the Sumerians?
22. Semitic Founders of Babylon.
23. Hammurabi the Oldest Law-Giver.
24. Assyrian Militarism.
25. The Chaldeans.
26. Life in Assyria.
27. Sumerian Civilisation.
28. Science and Religion.
29. Mesopotamian Art.
30. Failure of Mesopotamian Civilisation.

✓ In studying and honouring the Near East we shall be acknowledging a debt long due to the real founders of European and American civilisation.—WILL DURANT

19. Monuments of Mesopotamia:

We have noted in the preceding chapter the numerous contributions to civilisation made by the Egyptians. It is difficult to confine these to the basin of the Nile alone. Excavations carried on over a wider area, across the Isthmus of Suez on the Asiatic side, have revealed the co-existence of a like civilisation in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris as well. The land enclosed between these twin rivers was called Mesopotamia (lit. land between two rivers) by the Greeks. If we follow it up a little to the east and the west, we shall find a patch of green ribbon spreading over the desert extending northward from the Arabian peninsula. This has been described by Professor Breasted as the *Fertile Crescent*. It was the home of a wide-spread culture coeval with that of ancient Egypt. The extent of the world's indebtedness to these ancient centres of civilisation will get defined with the progress of scientific investigations which are being carried out by archæologists. In the present state of our

knowledge our conclusions must necessarily remain tentative. Yet, what is known with a fair degree of certainty warrants a picture of utmost interest to human history.

As in Egypt, so in Mesopotamia, our knowledge of the past is derived from graves and monuments. The sombre task of the sexton is enlivened by the acquisition of booty that might excite cupidity even in the least covetous. Though the monuments of Mesopotamia are different from those of Egypt, they are not less marvellous in their character or construction. In and beneath them is a record of human endeavour of astounding antiquity. City after city has been exhumed, from the devouring sands of the great desert, by an army of excavators in recent years. Yet Herodotus, the Father of History, knew very little about them (with the exception of Babylon) in the fifth century B.C., while Berosus, a Babylonian historian writing about 250 B.C., vaguely refers to a race of monsters coming out of the Persian Gulf and introducing the arts of agriculture, metal-working and writing, in the legendary age, "and since that time no further inventions have been made." It was not until the middle of the last century that explorers like Hinks and Oppert discovered the first indications of a very ancient culture in its cuneiform writing. The Champollion of this script was Sir Henry Rawlinson, and its Rosetta Stone was the trilingual inscription of Behistun. Though excavations have been carried on in the Mesopotamian region since Layard unearthed, in 1842, the ruins of ancient buildings filled with sculptures and inscriptions, the most startling discoveries have been made more recently by the Anglo-American expeditions under Woolley and Langdon.

20. Buried Cities Unearthed:

Corresponding to Memphis, Thebes, Karnak, and Amarna, we have here very ancient cities like Kish, Susa, Ur, Babylon and Nineveh. Some of them have disclosed a civilisation even older than that of Egypt. The relics of Kish and Susa begin with Palæolithic and Neolithic ages. In some places there are as many as ten layers superimposed one above another, representing different strata of civilisation. Describing the remains of Kish (meaning "universal dominion") Mr. Blaxland Stubbs has observed that "Civilisation as we understand the term has, as yet, no earlier abiding centre... The work of twelve years at Kish, laborious in detail but magnificent in planning and achievement, surely represents one of the outstanding romances of modern archæology... this city of Kish had played its proud part not only as capital of the first

Sumerian civilisation, but also in the empires of Agade and Babylon, with an unbroken rôle, political or religious, down to the end of the Sassanian empire in 650 A.D."[1] The history of Kish begins about 4500 B.C. and it continues to be the dominating city down to the thirtieth century B.C. It is interesting to note that its Third Dynasty produced a great ruler, like Queen Hatshepsut, in the person of Azag-Bau who raised herself from the poor and unhonoured position of a wine-seller to the throne of Kish, and reigned as queen and regent for fifty years. Susa (modern Sushan) had a history not unlike that of Kish.[2] It was the capital of Elam to the east of Sumer. Here have been found human relics 20,000 years old and remains of an advanced culture dating from about 4500 B.C. They contain copper weapons and tools, hieroglyphic writings, mirrors and jewellery, finished vases "elegantly rounded and delicately painted with geometric designs, or with picturesque representations of animals and plants." The Elamites seem to have discovered the use of the wheel, both for vehicular and potter's purposes, earlier than the Babylonians or Egyptians. Susa flourished during six thousand years and witnessed the rise and fall of more than half-a-dozen empires: those of Sumer, Babylon, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome. But by far the most important and interesting of the cities of Mesopotamia were Ur, Babylon and Nineveh.

Ur is best described in the words of Leonard Woolley, Director of the British and American Joint Expedition to that city. Unravelling its treasures, the great archæologist observes—

"In arched and vaulted chambers of rubble masonry there lie concealed such treasures of art as revolutionise our ideas of early civilisation; as far back in time as 3500 B.C., when Egypt was still barbarous, there in the Euphrates valley the Sumerian workers in gold and silver, in copper, stone and shell were turning out veritable masterpieces of design and technique, while their architects were familiar with all the main principles of modern construction. There is no written history of that age, but even from the offerings placed in the graves we can see how highly organised civilisation had already become. Take the few objects illustrated here;[3] the materials of which every one of them is made had to be imported from abroad: by land and by sea, from the Pamir Mountains, from

1. "Kish, the World's Oldest City," in *Wonders of the Past, I,* 413-18.

2. Read "Susa the Eternal City of the East," in *Wonders of the Past, II,* 697-702.

3. "Ur: the City of 'The Flood,'" in *Wonders of the Past, I,* 19-26.

Oman at the foot of the Persian Gulf, from Persia from the hills of Labanon, were brought the lapis lazuli, the copper and alabaster, the silver and the cedar wood which the craftsmen of Ur used in their manufacture, and since their own country produced nothing but grain and dates it must have been in manufactured goods that they paid for their imports. All this meant an elaborate system of trade and a foreign policy which by treaties or by force of arms secured the farflung trade routes: the art of writing had been developed to meet the merchants' needs, and, as the 'Standard' shows, the Sumerian army with its heavy-armed phalanx and its chariotry had become a formidable weapon for opening up communications or resisting attack. We have evidence of a material prosperity seldom equalled in antiquity... It must be clear to anyone that the objects from the tombs are the product of a civilisation already old and experienced."

21. Who were the Sumerians?

Before we pass to Babylon and Nineveh, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with the earliest makers of this civilisation. They were the Sumerians, a people, like the Hyksos of Egypt, of very uncertain origin. Some imagine they came by land from Central Asia, others that they were Dravidians or Aryans who came by sea through the Persian Gulf. What is certain is that they were foreigners in the land of their occupation when the curtain of history lifted over them, about 3500 B.C. The land in which they settled was the Delta at the head of the Persian Gulf which was much higher up than it is today. Formerly the Euphrates and the Tigris entered the sea by separate estuaries. This region is referred to in the Bible as "Shinar." It is not strange, says one writer, that tradition should have located here Paradise, that primeval garden "out of the ground of which God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food." Hence, obviously, the struggle for its possession which throughout characterises Mesopotamian history. It was in its racial aspects a struggle between the Semites and non-Semitic people which, in a sense, has not yet come to an end.

The inhabitants of a rich oasis in the midst of an arid desert are compelled to be fighters. It is not surprising, therefore, that even the comparatively peaceful Sumerians fought both among themselves and with the surrounding nomads of the desert by whom they were finally overthrown. The internal warfare in Sumeria was between rival city-states (like Ur, Nippur, Uruk, Larsa and Lagash) into which the

country was divided as later in Greece. Each city-state was under a *Patesi* or priest-king who organised the people both in war and peace,—perhaps more often in war than peace.[4] Nevertheless, the Sumerians made important contributions to civilisation, the nature of which can be learnt from the thousands of inscribed clay-tablets discovered by archæologists, no less than from their architectural monuments and other remains.

The temple-citadels of the Sumerians, called *ziggurats*, were the centres of their life. *Ziggurat* meant "the Mountain of God." It was a terraced tower with tiers of steps to climb to the top where was the central shrine of Nannar, the Moon God, or Nin-gal, his wife. There were lesser shrines all around, as well as quarters for the priests. "These temples were not merely places of worship," writes Woolley, "about their courts were store-houses and magazines for the multitudinous offerings in kind brought by faithful worshippers or paid as rent by tenants of the sacred estates; there were living quarters for the priests and the temple servants, and there were workshops and factories wherein the men and women attached to the temple were employed, spinning and weaving into cloth the raw wool which the farmers brought, casting and hammering into objects for the god's use the copper and the silver paid as tithes by the merchants of the city, cutting and carving the timber imported from the north; here too were the schools where the professional scribes were taught, and libraries where sacred texts and historical records and court proceedings were stored."

22. Semitic Founders of Babylon:

Among the external enemies of Sumer was Akkad which was situated on its north. We have already noticed its chief city Kish. In the twenty-eighth century B.C. there arose in Akkad a Semitic ruler named Sargon (2772-2717 B.C.). He was the first great builder of an empire in Western Asia and made himself master from Elam in the east to Syria in the west, or as he proudly proclaimed, "from the countries of the rising sun to the countries of the setting sun." Ur, Lagash and other Sumerian cities were all subdued by him. Thereafter the kings of Mesopotamia described themselves as kings of "Sumer and Akkad." They founded the city of Babylon

4. "We found on the Nile the earliest highly developed arts of peace; we find here among the Sumerians the earliest highly developed art of war in the history of man." J. H. Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilisation*, p. 138.

which in course of time eclipsed all other cities and gave the name Babylonia to the southern part of the valley of the twin rivers.[5] It derived its name from its great *ziggurat,* (the Biblical Tower of Babel) the temple of its god Marduk (Merodach) or its goddess Ishtar: *Bab-ili,* the Gate of the Gods.

23. Hammurabi the Oldest Law-Giver:

The real founder of the greatness of Babylon was king Hammurabi, who ruled for forty-three years, 2123-2080 B.C. His fame has been revived in this world, after four thousand years, on account of the discovery of his remarkable code of laws inscribed on a diorite pillar.[6] It will now endure as long as our language and civilization last. 'In its wisdom, justice, and tolerance the Hammurabi Code forms one of the most remarkable of the early landmarks of civilization.' The Hebrew Code of Moses was directly derived from that of Hammurabi, as Hammurabi's was derived from the more ancient Sumerian. It is very comprehensive and contains over 280 sections. Some idea of this Code may be gained from the following excerpt from its epilogue:—

"Hammurabi, the protecting King, am I. I have not withdrawn myself from the black-headed race that Bel has entrusted to me, and over whom Merodach has made me shepherd. I have not reposed myself upon my side, but I have given them places of peace. Difficult points have I made smooth, and radiance have I shed abroad. With the mighty weapon that Zamama and Ishtar have lent me, with the penetration which Ea has endowed me, with the valour that Merodach has given me, I have rooted out all enemies above and below, and the depths have I subjugated. The flesh of the land I have made rejoice: the resident people I have made secure; I have not suffered them to be afraid. It is I that the great gods have elected to be the Shepherd of Salvation, whose sceptre is just. I throw my good shadow over my city. Upon my bosom I cherish the men of the lands of Sumer and Akkad. By my protecting genius, their brethren in peace are guided: by my wisdom are they sheltered. That the strong may not oppress the weak; that the orphan and the widow may be counselled;

5. For a description of Babylon read "Babylon the Great" by H. R. Hall, and "The Hanging Gardens of Babylon" by J.A. Brendon, in *Wonders of the Past, II,* 897-910; *I,* 605-8.

6. It was excavated near Susa by French archaeologists in 1897 and is now preserved in the Louvre Museum (Paris). There is a very good reproduction of it in the British Museum (London).

in Babylon the city whose head has been lifted up by Anu and Bel; in E Sagila, the temple whose foundations are so solid as heaven and earth: to proclaim the law of the land: to guide the procedure of the land, to sustain the feeble, I have written my precious words upon my pillar, and before my image as king of justice I have placed....In after days, and for all time, the ruler who is in the land shall observe the words of justice which are written upon my pillar. He shall not alter the law of the land I have formulated, or the statutes of the country I have enacted, nor shall he damage my sculptures. If that man has wisdom, and strives to keep his land in order, he will heed the words which are written upon my pillar."

Evidence of Hammurabi's actual doings is found in a number of clay-tablets scattered about in his dominions. Besides "Sumer and Akkad" he also conquered Elam and Assyria. His promulgation of the laws (*c.* 2084-2081 B.C.) was but the culmination of a long and successful reign. "To his military achievements," writes a competent authority,[7] he added "a genius for administrative detail, and his letters and despatches which have been recovered reveal him as in active control of even subordinate officials stationed in distant cities of his empire. That he should have superintended matters of public interest is what might be naturally expected; but we also see him investigating quite trivial complaints and disputes among the humbler classes of his subjects, and even sending back a case for retrial or further report. In fact, Hammurabi's fame will always rest on his achievements as a lawgiver, and the great legal Code which he drew up for use throughout his empire....Its provisions reflect the king's own enthusiasm, of which his letters give independent proof, in the cause of his humbler and more oppressed classes of his subjects. Numerous legal and commercial documents also attest the manner in which its provisions were carried out; and we have evidence that the legislative system so established remained in practical force during subsequent periods."

Just as the Babylonians had eclipsed, then wiped out the Sumerians, so it was now the turn of Babylonians to be overcome by another people. These were the Kassites who came from the northern highlands, bringing with them a strange animal which the southerners naively called "the ass from the mountains." It was the horse! Not much is known about the Kassites, nor about the kings 'of the sea country'—the Hittites

7. King, *History of Babylon*, p. 160; cited by Edwards, *The World's Earliest Laws*, pp. 11-12.

—who invaded from the north-west. They were followed by the Assyrians about whom we know more. The common result of all these inundations was that Babylonia was submerged for over a thousand years after Hammurabi.

24. Assyrian Militarism:

The Assyrians got their name from their city of Ashur on the Tigris, which was their capital before Nineveh was founded. They were great fighters and their entire history (c. 1300-606 B.C.) is a record of wars. The chief of these were with the Hittites of Cappadocia, the Armeans of Syria, and the Babylonians of Mesopotamia. Their greatest rulers were Sargon II (722-705 B.C.), Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), and Assurbanipal (called Sardanapalus by the Greeks—668-626 B.C.).

Assyria, rather than Babylon or Egypt, says Hogarth, heads the list of aspirants to the mastership of the world. It was particularly under Sargon II that she rose to the height of her grandeur and power as a military empire. To commemorate his victories he built a new fortified city to the north-east of Nineveh and called it Dur-Sharrukin or Sargonburg. Its enclosure was large enough to accommodate 80,000 people, and the royal palace alone covered an area of twenty-five acres. "Babylonia in her greatest days had possessed a seat of power like this. In no uncertain terms it proclaimed Assyria mistress of Western Asia."[8]

Sennacherib, Sargon's son and successor, is even more celebrated on account of his mention in the Old Testament of the *Bible*. Hezekiah, King of Judah, having joined the Phoenicians and the Philistines in a revolt, brought upon himself the might of the Assyrian emperor. Of this Sennacherib proudly says:

"I took 46 of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil, 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, building towers about the city to hem in and raising banks of earth against the gate so as to prevent escape."

But Sennacherib himself met with a terrible fate. His army was destroyed by plague (2 Kings xx), and, some years later, he was murdered by his own sons. Yet the empire of

8. Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilization*, p. 168.

Assyria reached its zenith under Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) and included, though only for a time, Northern Egypt and some of the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean. Great as Assurbanipal was as a conqueror, he was equally interested in the arts of peace. It was his boast that his father had taught him not only the arts of riding and shooting, but also the art of writing on clay-tablets and all the wisdom of his age. He was the proud possessor of a magnificent library, of course consisting of clay-tablets, of which no less than 30,000 have been recovered and placed in the British Museum. They are a mine of information regarding the culture of the age. But, before we turn to describe it, we must briefly notice the end of the imperial history of Mesopotamia.

25. The Chaldeans:

The prosperity and culture of Nineveh sapped the vitality of the Assyrians, while, at the same time, the oppressive weight of their military rule goaded the provinces into rebellion. A powerful combination of their enemies stormed their capital city, in 606 B.C., and razed it to the ground, even as the Assyrians had done with Babylon. But, out of the ashes of Babylon arose another power, that of the Chaldeans, under whom the ancient glory of that city seemed to revive for a time. Nebuchadrezzar, the greatest ruler of this last dynasty, reigned for over fifty years, from 612 to 561 B.C. After him Babylon rapidly dwindled and fell a prey to more vigorous invaders from the east, the Medes and the Persians (539 B.C.). Nebuchadrezzar is now remembered principally for two reasons: (1) he invaded Judah and brought the Jews as captives to Babylon (this was the famous Babylonian captivity of the *Bible*); (2) he built the Hanging Gardens of Babylon which the ancient Greeks counted among the Seven Wonders of the World. He also beautified Babylon with architecture. But of this nothing now remains but the Ishtar Gate and heaps of crumbling ruins.

26. Life in Assyria:

Among the makers of Mesopotamian history, during thirty centuries, we have principally mentioned the Sumerians, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians. Of these we have indicated, at least broadly, the contributions to civilisation made by the first two. The greatness of the Assyrians, as might have been noticed, was in the spheres of war and government. Professor Hearnshaw has called them the Prussians of antiquity. Up to their day, he has observed, there had been no

such fighting machine as their army. "Never before had there been so highly centralised an administration, or so effective an exploitation of subject peoples."

Nineveh was in its hey-day from 722 to 606 B.C. But only two hundred years later, when Xenophon marched past it with his famous Ten Thousand, it was in such a state of ruins that it was mistaken for the remains of a Parthian city. It was first discovered to the modern world, as already pointed out, by Layard in 1842. Excavations and researches since carried out warrant the reconstruction of a fairly full picture of ancient Assyrian life such as is drawn by Mr. Lewis Spence in his "Splendours of Nineveh and Khorsabad." (*Wonders of the Past, II,* 769-86), from which the following excerpt may be read with interest. Describing the palace of Sennacherib, he observes that its brilliant paintings and sculptures present a vivid panorama of Assyrian life and customs as they appeared in the middle of the seventh century before Christ:

"But they also constitute a pictorial record of the imperial expansion of the Assyrian power, and delineate with skill and painstaking fidelity the dress, occupations, and characteristic features of subject races. Bas-reliefs of free and masterly execution retain for us the atmosphere of the Babylonian swamp-country of twenty-five centuries ago, the primitive inhabitants of which are depicted paddling about in their crazy coracles of skin and wickerwork, or sheltering among the reeds in hiding from the pursuing Assyrians. Or, the sculptor transports us to the highlands of Kurdistan, with their brawling mountain torrents and rude hill-forts, from which hungry tribesmen swarm down upon the rich low-lands. Long caravans of hapless prisoners are seen trudging along the well-laid military roads to Nineveh, shouldering the loot which they were compelled to carry, and dragging their children after them. The national costumes of these are sketched or chiselled with the minutest care, and these representations have enriched our knowledge of the customs of the ancient East as nothing else could possibly have done....

"The new streets, some of which linked up the great gateways of the city, swarmed with cosmopolitan crowds representative of the subject races of the Assyrian empire. Merchants from Phœnicia and Elam sat at their canopied stalls, selling the dyed wools of Palestine, or strange pottery from the Mediterranean isles. Syrians sold fans of ostrich plumes, and Persians and Egyptians the cosmetics and perfumes for which there was a never-failing demand in Nineveh. The envoys of tributary principalities brought gold-dust and ivory

to the temples, whose priests acted as the national bankers and money-lenders. Soldiers were seen on every hand—hard-bitten captains with fantastically curled false beards, and horsehair plumes waving about their brass helmets, cavalrymen on prancing horses, silent spearmen, Roman in their discipline and bearing."

27. Sumerian Civilisation:

Such pictures of ancient life in the Mesopatamian world could be cited from each one of its three principal zones: Sumer, Babylon, and Assyria. Although they differ in certain details the civilisation they represent is essentially the same. In Sumer and Babylon, for example, on account of their alluvial soil, they had necessarily to build with mud bricks which could not endure, while in Assyria they had plenty of stone for construction and have consequently left more lasting memorials. But the character of their architecture is everywhere the same; it is poor as compared with that of Egypt. The *ziggurat* with its straight lines and sharp corners typifies the stiffness of its monotonous style. The Mesopotamians lacked the refinement and aesthetic sense of the Egyptians, though their achievements in the practical arts and sciences were equally great. Even here, the non-Semitic foreigners of Sumeria led, and the Semitic Babylonians and the mixed Assyrians only followed. The Sumerians were inventive, the Babylonians practical, and the Assyrians sordid, cruel and unoriginal. All that was best in the so-called Babylonian civilisation was due to the Sumerians. The Babylonians had the instincts of traders and made capital out of what they borrowed. The Assyrians, who were rough soldiers, sensuously enjoyed what they robbed and perished in the flames of Armageddon.

First, the art of incising cuneiform characters on clay-tablets, which, in the absence of other remains, has preserved so much of their civilization for us, was neither Babylonian nor Assyrian, but Sumerian. Through the latter it was transmitted, in a modified form, to the Medes and the Persians. "He who shall excel in tablet-writing shall shine like the sun" was a maxim found inscribed on a tablet discovered in one of their ancient school-houses. Their education appears to have principally consisted in the mastery of this script (which comprised about 300 signs or syllables, not alphabet), mathematics and religious lore. They had no literature worth mentioning. It contained but one epic, viz., the legend of *Gilgamesh*, and for the rest they had grammars and dictionaries, even histories

of a sort (without sense of chronology like our Hindu *Purānas*), and business records. Their most valuable document for us is, however, the Hammurabi Code which throws considerable light on their social life and customs. Even the bedrock of this Babylonian code, as already noticed, was Sumerian.

28. Science and Religion:

Next to their script and laws, the world owes to the Sumerians-cum-Babylonians the first beginnings in mathematics and astronomy. "Babylonian records from as early as 3800 B.C.", Mr. Westaway says, "imply that even then the varying aspects of the sky had long been under expert observation. The temple towers made excellent observatories. The stars were grouped as we know them now at least as early as 2800 B.C. It was early discovered that the sun pursued amongst the stars practically the same path as the moon and planets; and this path was divided into 30° divisions among the belt of twelve constellations forming the Zodiac. The advantage of the easily factorizable number, 360, was evidently recognized."[9] Their records, he further observes, made an easy jumping-off ground for the Greeks. They had no instruments, though they invented a water clock (clepsydra) and they used a sun-dial. They could predict an eclipse, correct within an hour, though not to the minute as now. "The division of our month into four weeks, of our clock into twelve hours (instead of twenty-four), of our hour into sixty minutes, and of our minute into sixty seconds, are unsuspected Babylonian vestiges in our contemporary world."[10] This division into sixties was so current among the Babylonians that they measured out their units of value in fractions of sixty: thus 60 *shekels* made a *mina*, and 60 *minas* made a *talent*. (A *shekel* contained half an ounce of silver).

The close connection between science, art, and religion is illustrated in the construction of the great *ziggurat* at Borsippa, known as "The Stages of the Seven Spheres." Each of its seven storeys was dedicated to one of the heavenly bodies and marked out by a symbolic colour: the lowest was black, the colour of Saturn; the next was white, the colour of Venus; the third was purple, of Jupiter; the fourth blue, of Mercury; the fifth scarlet, of Mars; the sixth silver, of the Moon; and the seventh gold, of the Sun. Beginning from the top, they represented the days of the week. As the *ziggurat* was their

9. *The Endless Quest*, p. 23.
10. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, I, 257-8.

temple as well as observatory, the priests were their scientists. Under such auspices astronomy naturally shaded off into astrology. The necromancy of divination by observation of the heavenly bodies was further reinforced by the scrutiny of the livers of sacrificial animals.

29. Mesopotamian Art:

In the field of art the Mesopotamians were poor even as imitators. They seem to have learnt little from their south-western neighbours, the Egyptians. The glazed tile was their only legacy to the Persians. Their love of blazing colours for decoration showed their vulgar tastes. No doubt they were handicapped by lack of local material on which to work; but even where it was available, as in Assyria, their execution, except in animal sculpture, was crude and heavy. Few Babylonian works of art have survived that might enable us to judge properly. Rare finds like the inlaid dagger, lyre, bull's head, ornaments, etc. discovered by Woolley at Ur, serve to indicate that the Sumerians excelled in the art of the goldsmith. But so far as stonework is concerned, judging from available evidence, this civilisation produced little of abiding value. The description of Nineveh by Mr. Lewis Spence, cited earlier, appears, in the light of actual specimens, greatly overdrawn so far as the artistic aspect is concerned. It is true that "the chief glory of the Mesopotamian craftsman were the wonderful engraved gems which have been found in such profusion," and that "as he gained in skill and confidence he produced work which can almost compare with that of the best modern lapidaries." But when it came to handling larger subjects, the Babylonians strangely bungled. As Mr. Spence has admitted, "The heavy and luxurious cloaks and mantles in which the Chaldeans wrapped themselves rendered a vogue of the nude in art impossible, and thus gave the Sculptor no opportunity for the representation of that most noble of all subjects, the human form divine. Thus cut off from that anatomical study of the human body which is the basis of artistic excellence, the Babylonian sculptor, like the school-boy with slate and pencil, too often composed his figures as though they consisted of garments to which heads, arms and legs had been fortuitously attached."[11]

The real glory of the Mesopotamian (Assyrian) sculptor, however, was bas-relief of animals. Here he seemed to be in his own element, and produced his best which can challenge

11. "The Arts in Assyria and Babylonia," by Lewis Spence in *Wonders of the Past, II*, 645-58.

comparison with the best of its kind elsewhere. The Assyrian was at all times a savage with unredeemed brute instincts, and showed masterly understanding of the mere animal in art. Thus we have from him masterpieces of animal life in all its vivacious poses, of the nimble deer, the wild horse, and the noble lion.

30. Failure of Mesopotamian Civilisation:

Indeed, the failure of Mesopotamian civilisation may be attributed to its sensuous animality and want of appreciation of human values. Its keynote was in the words of the *Ecclesiastes*—"Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God now accepteth thy works. Let thy garments be always white; and let thy head lack no ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest, all the days of the life of thy vanity." A civilisation that could cherish no nobler ambition than this could not endure for long. Its callousness to human suffering is shamelessly flaunted in the numerous sculptures and inscriptions of the Assyrian monarchs. One reads: "From their hostile mouths have I torn their tongues, and I have compassed their destruction. As for the others who remained alive, I offered them as a funerary sacrifice;....their lacerated members have I given unto the dogs, the swine, the wolves....*By accomplishing these deeds I have rejoiced the heart of the great gods.*" Humanity could not thrive on such inhumanity.

The treatment of women was another rock on which Mesopotamian civilisation foundered. "In general," writes Mr. Will Durant, "the position of woman in Babylonia was lower than in Egypt or Rome, and yet not worse than in classic Greece or Medieval Europe." From Sumer, through Babylon, to Assyria, it shows progressive deterioration. At first there was exchange of gifts and dowry between both parties to a marriage. No marriage was valid without a contract. "If a man take a wife and a contract has not concluded," declares Hammurabi's Code (128), "then that woman is no wife." Woman possessed independent rights to property and could engage in business of her own. She was also given sufficient protection by the law. "If a man point the finger against a holy sister or a man's wife unjustifiably, that man shall be thrown before the judge, and his brow shall be branded." (H. C. 127). Divorce was permitted and regulated by law. "If a man divorce his spouse who has not borne him children, he shall give to her all the silver of the bride-price, and restore to her the dowry which she brought from the house of her

father; and so he shall divorce her." (H. C. 138). "If a man's wife, dwelling in a man's house, has set her face to leave,... has wasted her house, and has neglected her husband, then she shall be prosecuted...." (H. C. 141). A daughter had equal right to her father's property, as her brothers as is indicated by H. C. 180: "If the father has not given a dowry to his daughter,....then after the father has gone to his fate, she shall take out of the possessions of the paternal house the portion of one son. She shall enjoy it during her life. What she leaves behind is to her brothers." But in course of time woman was reduced to helplessness and slavery. Priestly domination here, as in other directions, led the way to demoralisation and decline. In the name of Ishtar, the goddess of love, shameless orgies of immoral sensuality were sanctified and enjoyed. Temples became hotbeds of vice and legalised prostitution. War too brutalised men. Herodotus says, when the Babylonians were besieged, they strangled their wives, "to prevent the consumption of their provisions." The Assyrians were more coarse grained. But, as in Babylon, so in Nineveh, refinement only meant effeminate degeneracy: "Young men dyed and curled their hair, perfumed their flesh, rouged their cheeks, and adorned themselves with necklaces, bangles, ear-rings and pendants." After the Persian conquest, greater degeneracy followed; with lack of self-respect came lack of self-restraint and oppression as well. As one tablet mourns:

"Men exalt the work of the great man who is skilled in murder.

They let the strong take the food of the poor;

They strengthen the mighty;

They destroy the weak man, the rich man drives him away."

Though the Mesopotamian civilisation disappeared in course of time, it was not without leaving valuable foot-prints on the sands of time. "Their civilization, however," writes Hearnshaw, "lives still in our law, our astronomy, our calendar, our divsions of time, our weights and measures, and our mode of reckoning by dozens. To them, too, we seem to owe the use of wheels, levers and pulleys; and possibly the cultivation of wheat." In the words of Webster: "After 3000 B.C. civilisation began to be *diffused* from its Egypto-Babylonian centres.... By 500 B.C. the best of what the Egyptians and Babylonians had thought and done became the common possession of the Near East."

POINTS FOR STUDY

13. Comparison between the Geography of Egypt and Mesopotamia: effects on History.
14. Egyptian Monuments are stone-built; Mesopotamian Monuments are brick-built: reasons for the difference.
15. Racially Egypt was more homogeneous; causes of the medley in the "Fertile Crescent."
16. Differences between the Art of the Nile and Euphrates-Tigris valleys.
17. Communications and contacts: internal and external.
18. Difference between "hieroglyphics" and "cuneiform" writings.
19. Economic conditions in Mesopotamia compared with those of Egypt.
20. Character of the Code of Hammurabi: illustrations.
21. Characteristics of the Sumerians, Babylonians (Semite), and Assyrians.
22. Scientific achievements of the Egyptians and Mesopotamians.

ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Epochs	Places	Personalities	General
c. 4500 B.C.		Kish		Beginnings
3500 B.C.	Sumerians	Larsa Lagash Ur. Nippur, Uruk,		Built Ziggurats: temple-observatories.
2772-17 B.C.	Semites or Semitics	Babylon = *Bab-Ili*, the Gate of God	Sargon King of "Akkad and Sumer."	Worshippers of God Madruk or Merodach.
2123-2080B.C.			Hammurabi who gave the world's earliest Code of Law (280 sections). Conquered Elam and Assyria.	Built up also an efficient and just administrative system.
1750 B.C.	Ended			

1300-626 B.C.	Assyrians	Ashur on the Tigris	Sargon I	Kassites and Hittites invaded before the Assyrians.
722-05 B.C.		Nineveh = Dur-Sharukin or Sargonburg	Sargon II Fought against Hittites of Cappadocia, Armeans of Syria, and Babylonians of Mesopotamia.	
705-681 B.C.			Sennacherib Great fighter murdered his own son.	Mentioned in the Bible (Old Test.)
668-26 B.C.			✓Assurbanipal (Sardanapalus) Conquered Egypt.	Library of 30,000 clay tablets.
626-561 B.C.	Chaldeans	Babylon (rebuilt)	Nebuchadrezzar Invaded Judah and brought the Jews captive to Babylon.	✓ Hanging Gardens of Babylon: One of the "Seven Wonders". Ishtar Gate now in ruins.
539 B.C.	Medes and Persians	destroyed	The Chaldean Empire	

CHAPTER IV

INDUS CIVILISATION

31. India 5000 years ago.
32. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.
33 Model Town-planning.
34. Utilitarian Architecture.
35. Skeletons help Historians.
36. Life in Stone, Metal and Clay.
37. A Peaceful Civilisation?
38. History on Seals.
39. Relics of Gaiety.

Judging by the domestic architecture, the seal-cuting, and the grace of the pottery, the Indus civilization was ahead of the Babylonian at the beginning of the third millennium (c. 3000 B.C.)—V. G. CHILDE.

31. India 5000 years ago:

Our survey of human history has so far revealed to us two great tracts of land, viz., Egypt and Mesopotamia in the "Near East," where well over 5000 years ago man had attained to a surprising state of civilisation. They were both civilisations thrown up, as it were, by the fertilising waters of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris. We now come nearer home and discover an equally-fascinating culture, even more marvellous, in several respects, than what we have witnessed farther West. Indian history, until fifteen years ago, was begun with the coming of the Aryans, about 1500 B.C. But the discovery of a more ancient civilisation on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries, made in recent years, has pushed back our history by not less than 2000 years. The excavations carried on since 1922 at Mohenjo-daro (25 miles south of Larkana, in Sind), and at Harappa (about 400 miles further north, in the Montgomery District of the Punjab) a little earlier, have disclosed the remains of a civilisation contemporaneous with the earlier stages of that of Egypt and Mesopotamia, if not of even greater antiquity.

Here, for the first time, we come to a chapter of history

where nothing may be said about kings and conquerors, empires and armies, but everything about the people, their habits and customs, their arts and religion, etc. It is the history of peace rather than of war, unlike that of Assyria and Babylonia or even Egypt. We have here no Dynasties or dates to commit to memory, and no strange names to remember. It is one even picture of man as man, and his doings undisturbed by the inhumanities of war and imperialism. If there were kings in the Indus valley, we know nothing about them. It is just possible that the people of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa governed themselves without the expensive luxury of monarchs. If this were so, we have in them our earliest self-governing communities, which were not village republics, but autonomous city-states. Considering the early history of Sumer this does not seem unlikely.

32. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro:

A close examination of both the sites has disclosed wonders more valuable to human history than the treasures of Tutankhamen's tomb, found in that same year. The work of Dayaram Sahni at Harappa, in 1921, and R. D. Banerji at Mohenjo-daro, in 1922, brought to light for the first time indications of this buried civilisation of 5000 years ago. It is unfortunate that after ten years' persistent excavation the work had to be suspended, in 1931, for financial reasons, when the world's curiosity had been roused to a pitch but not fully satisfied.[1] Yet the zealous labours of Sir John Marshall, Ernest Mackay, K. N. Dikshit and others of the Archæological Department of the Government of India, during this short period, succeeded in unravelling the essential features of that civilisation. The complete decipherment of its inscribed seals and tablets such as those of Sumer and Babylonia, which are now engaging scholars, will, no doubt, lead to a fuller knowledge of the Indus culture; but the other remains that have been carefully studied up till now give us a sufficient idea of life in the Punjab and Sind during the third millennium B.C. The digging up of other sites in that area, like Chanhudaro, Amri, Rupar, Nal, etc., has established beyond doubt that that culture was not confined to Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. On the contrary, the attempt to trace the various finds to their original sources has revealed far-reaching contacts. For example, the gold used in Mohenjo-daro (with its peculiar admixture of silver) could only have come from Mysore, and its semi-precious amazon-stones from the distant Nilgiri hills.

1. The work was again taken up, in 1935, by the School of Indic and Iranian Studies (U.S.A.) and its Report was published in 1936.

A comparison of its pottery, seals and other articles with those of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Crete has not only suggested the range of its intercourse with the contemporary world in the West, but also led some into the belief that the proto-Sumerian culture might have owed its inspiration to India. "If so," asks Professor Childe, "had the Sumerians themselves come from the Indus, or at least from regions in its immediate sphere of influence?"

Harappa, on an old bed of the Ravi river (near Harappa Road Station), was probably the larger of the two cities. But its ruins, being quarried for bricks during successive ages, has been reduced to comparative insignificance. Mohenjo-daro ("the City of the Dead") lay undiscovered until recent years on account of its obscurity. The ruins are at a distance of a little over seven miles from Dokri railway station, and cover a square mile of ground, comprising two principal mounds, the larger of which is 1300 yds. long and 670 yds. wide, and the smaller 440 yds. by 330 yds. Unlike Sumer and Babylon these two cities were built entirely of burnt red bricks and have consequently better endured the ravages of time. The spade of the excavator has here unearthed layer after layer of buildings superimposed one over another like the nine cities of Troy. These strata of civilisation represent at least two ages: the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic. The implements, weapons and utensils are made either of flint, polished stone, copper or bronze. Gold, silver, and alloys like electron have also been found, besides inferior metals like tin and zinc, but there is no trace of iron either at Harappa or Mohenjo-daro. The last named metal did not exist in Sumer, was very rare in Babylon, and was used for weapons only by the Assyrians at a very late age. Hence, scholars have found in this a clue to the age of the Indus civilization. But, on that account, we are not to suppose that it was a very primitive culture. The people of Mohenjo-daro, as well as those of Harappa, were used to cosmetics, fine jewellery and a high standard of living as indicated by their excellent habitations and furnishings.

33. Model Town-planning:

The city of Mohenjo-daro was a model of town-planning. Its broad streets, with straight rows of buildings, running due north and south, with cross-roads cutting at right-angles and running due east and west, may be seen even to-day. The main street was 33 ft. wide and the others rarely less than 18 ft. broad. There was, besides, a net-work of lanes, equally straight in their construction, separating the several blocks of

buildings from one another. As a rule, individual houses never touched each other, but were always separated by alleys which provided the only access to them. The only defect in their construction, according to modern ideas, was that no doors or windows existed on the side facing the road. This must have given the roads a dull and monotonous appearance. Ventilation was admitted through openings into a court-yard within. Houses were invariably built on raised platforms and generally possessed an upper storey. This was necessitated by the constant danger of floods from which the city suffered several times. In larger houses there was a porter's lodge at the entrance, and usually the ground floor was used by servants, and for kitchen, bath, etc. The living rooms were all upstairs. Every house had its own well in the centre of the courtyard as may be witnessed even today.

Drainage that might stand examination at the hands of modern sanitary engineers was the great speciality of the builders of Mohenjo-daro. Each house had a well constructed sink from which the water was drained off into the underground sewers in the streets. Archæologists have marvelled at the skill with which the whole system was planned and constructed. It is obvious that such co-ordination between domestic and public construction, as we witness at Mohenjo-daro, could not have been possible without an efficient municipal administration. But how exactly this was organised we have no means of knowing now.

That the Indus people were punctilious about cleanliness is evidenced not only by their perfect drainage system, which has no parallel anywhere in the world until we come to our own times, but also by their provision for private as well as public bathing. Apart from the carefully constructed bathrooms in their domestic architecture, we have in Mohenjo-daro public baths of a type found nowhere before the days of the Roman Empire. The Great Bath excavated by Sir John Marshall, in 1925-6, is considered the most interesting building yet discovered at Mohenjo-daro. It was built entirely of burnt brick and measured 39 ft. 3 ins. by 23 ft. 2 ins. A paved walk, about 15 ft. across, surrounded the top of the bath, enclosed within a wall which separated it from another cloistered path, 7 ft. wide, and a series of chambers, intended for the bathers, and built all around. A large well in a room in the vicinity fed this reservoir, while a hole in its bed let out the used water through a well constructed culvert. Dr. Mackay thinks that "the presence of the great bath and the smaller bathrooms strongly suggests that bathing was a ritual of the people of Mohenjo-daro and that both priests and laymen had

regular ablutions to perform at stated times of the day."[2] But this is only a surmise. What is known about the religion of the Indus people has been deduced from their seals and amulets, and no trace has been found of temples or separate places of worship.[3]

34. Utilitarian Architecture:

There are huge buildings in some parts of the city, but their use is uncertain. For instance, on the northern side is a structure about 242 ft. long and 112 ft. wide, with walls over 5 ft. thick. A little to the south of it is another large straggling building, about 220 ft. long and 150 ft. wide, with walls of equal thickness. "Possibly it combined the residence of the governor with the administrative offices of the city." In another quarter has been found a spacious hall, some 85 ft. square, whose entire structure indicates that it must have been used as a market square with lines of permanent stalls along its aisles. Such huge buildings also existed at Harappa where, in spite of systematic brick-robbing carried on through the centuries, a great store-house, about 168 ft. by 134 ft., divided into several compartments, is still standing. The foundations of its walls are at places 9 ft. thick.

But in spite of their great capacity for building, the Indus people appear to have been strangely unimaginative. Their pillars were all square, the only variation being a slight tapering upwards in some cases. Though the construction of round pillars and perfect arches was known to the contemporary Mesopotamians, with whom they were certainly familiar, they never copied the variation in style. The depressing monotony of blind walls along their roads was relieved only by the admission of corner-houses which must have served them as public restaurants as ours do in modern cities. But there was no ornamentation anywhere in the Mohenjo-daro architecture, if we except a little corbelling, here and there, over doors and windows. Drab utilitarianism could go no further! To them the Egyptians, or even Babylonians, must have appeared extravagant. In the utter absence of grave-furniture or foundation deposits it is doubtful whether the people of Mohenjo-daro stretched their imaginations beyond the 'now' and the 'here.' We should look into other materials for a fuller appreciation of their living and ideas.

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2. *The Indus Civilization*, p. 58.

3. Read "Religion of the Indus Valley People" by A. D. Pusalkar, in the *Modern Review*, Dec. 1936, pp. 697-703 (Illustrated).

35. Skeletons help Historians:

The art of the archaeologist has imparted life to the dry bones in the valley, and, out of the scanty materials yet available, reconstructed a wonderful picture of the past. These materials, besides brick and mortar, consist of a few skeletons, urns, pottery, utensils of copper and bronze, weapons, jewellery, toys, and above all a number of most interesting seals, amulets, etc. It is from these last that most valuable inferences regarding the Indus people have been drawn.

The number of skeletons discovered is not more than fourteen, two of them being of women and two of children; ten are of adult males, one of which is truncated. They were not all found in a single place. Some were lying in the streets, some in the rooms, but none in a regular tomb. Thus, it is plain that all of them were victims of some sudden calamity, and did not die a natural death. The all but complete absence of tombs indicates that the disposal of the dead in the Indus valley differed from the practices of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The contents of the few urns discovered show that 'partial' burial,[4] after cremation or other disposal of the dead, was also in vogue, at least among some. The prevailing mode must have been cremation as is still the custom among most Hindus. Although the population of Mohenjo-daro must obviously have been cosmopolitan, the specimens above referred to have been assigned by scholars to one or other of the following four racial types; Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian, and Alpine. The maximum height of the male skeletons was 5 ft. 4½ ins. and of the female not more than 4 ft. 4½ ins. Many of the doorways in Mohenjo-daro are less than six feet above the floor.

36. Life in Stone, Metal and Clay:

There are not many specimens of the art of the sculptor in Mohenjo-daro. But the few that have been discovered are of considerable interest and merit. In the opinion of Sir John Marshall, some of them represent work of which "a Greek of the 4th century B.C. might well have been proud." Two figures of dancing women and two mutilated male statuettes have attracted much appreciation. Two of them are in grey stone, one in steatite decorated with hard white paste and red ochre, and one is a bronze. Though they may not be portraits, their value to the historian lies as much in the ideas

4. Some urns have been found to contain only the skull and a few other bones.

they suggest as in their artistic merit. The female figurines represent an ancient art, that of dancing; and the bronze one illustrates the feminine passion for ornaments, which in this case consist of a whole armful of bracelets and bangles. The male steatite figure shows a close trimmed beard and well-dressed hair kept in position by a fillet rare to the sex. Other evidence indicates that, like the Sumerians and Babylonians, men in Mohenjo-daro often kept the beard but shaved the upper lip. Numerous razors of various sizes and shapes have been discovered, though not scissors. They are all of copper or bronze, of which latter material even mirrors were made.

37. A Peaceful Civilisation?

Their weapons were simple, and axes, maces, spears, bows and arrows practically exhausted their armoury. Only two copper swords, or dirks, not more than 18½ ins. long, have so far been discovered. "Swords of so early a date are extremely rare at any site," writes Dr. Mackay; "at present the only specimen to be compared with them is one lately discovered at Tell-el-Ajjul in Palestine by Sir Flinders Petrie, and assigned by him to the period of the Old Kingdom of Egypt, a period which is approximately that of Mohenjo-daro."[5] Perhaps the main danger to which Mohenjo-daro was exposed for centuries was the river in flood, and against this no armoury could serve.[6]

They seem to have been a peaceful community of traders on the whole, and their food consisted chiefly of wheat, barley and dates, besides fish from the river. They also domesticated the cow, the buffalo and the goat for milk and other purposes. On their seals we have representations of these and other animals. Of bulls there were two varieties: the humped and the plain. They knew the tiger but not the lion; the elephant and the rhinoceros frequently appear; but strangely there is no trace of the ubiquitous 'ship of the desert', the camel. Asses must have been in use, but the horse was unknown.

Their pottery ranged from the crude and primitive to the sumptuously glazed and finished. It was usually coloured red with black designs, either geometrical or floral. A few specimens have animal or even human figures. The glazed variety compared well with the best of its kind in the contemporary world. There were also huge jars of baked clay for storage

5. *The Indus Civilization*, p. 127.

6. More recent excavations have, however, revealed the existence, at Harappa, of what appear to be heavy fortifications. See *Ancient India*: Bulletin of the Arch. Survey of India, No. 3. January, 1947.

purposes. Besides these pottery-work were put to a variety of other uses: there were pottery drain-pipes, candle-stands, spindle-whorls, mouse-traps, bird-cages, toys and even bracelets. Stone vessels were rare, but specimens of extraordinary interest have been found: one of them is a flat-based tumbler, only four inches in height, made of a very rare jade-green crystal, "a material at the present time to be found no nearer to Mohenjo-daro than Mysore." In fact, as mentioned already, a careful comparison of archæological notes has revealed the widespread contacts of the Mohenjo-daro people with their contemporary world, but chiefly with Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Crete.[7]

38. History on Seals:

The Indus people produced a vast quantity of inscribed seals and amulets, even like those of Sumer and Babylon, which have given rise to much speculation on the part of scholars. It will be long, however, before the Indus script is deciphered with the certainty of either the hieroglyphic of Egypt or the cuneiform of Babylonia. Meanwhile we must be content with a description of some select tablets that do indicate the ideas of their authors. In the absence of a better medium the people of Mohenjo-daro tried to record their thoughts in the only manner known to their age, viz., through pictographs inscribed on either clay or stone tablets. Until they are all definitely deciphered we cannot even say for what purpose they were intended. But we are told by competent authority that these seal-amulets are "the most successful artistic achievement of the inhabitants of the Indus valley, and the numbers of them which have come to light make it fairly certain that they were carried by practically the entire population of both cities.

"These amulets which are invariably made of steatite," writes Dr. Mackay, "range in size from half an inch to just over two and a half inches square, although the most common sizes run from 0.7 to 1.2 inches. There are two main types, the first square, with a carved animal and inscription, the second rectangular, with an inscription only; and while the former have a small perforated boss at the back to take a cord, the latter are convex on the reverse side, with the hole run-

7. For further light regarding this point, read Dr. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, Ch. VIII entitled "Chronology and Connections with other Countries," p. 191 ff. Also "Chronology of Pre-historic N. W. India" by Stuart Piggott, in *Ancient India*: Bulletin of the Arch. Survey of India, N. 1. January, 1946.

ning through the seal itself at right angles to its length."[8]

There are on these seal-amulets all sorts of quaint figures which, on comparison with the gods and goddesses of Egypt and Mesopotamia, seem to represent the deities of the Mohenjo-daro people. The simplest, and by now the most familiar, of them is the figure of a humped bull of enormous size. Another seal, which has aroused the keenest interest, represents a nude three headed deity with horns, seated in what might be described as the *yoga* pose. Round about this central figure are a number of animals—a rhinoceros, an elephant, a tiger, a buffalo and two deer. Sir John Marshall has found in this the prototype of *Pasupati* or *Siva* as Lord of Beasts. This suggestion has led to the liveliest speculation, and the identification of *Pārvati* or *Durga* in the ubiquitous Mother Goddess of the Indus people. This latter is represented, also as a horned deity, seated under a *Pīpal* tree, with a devotee, also horned, kneeling in obeisance, while a goat with a human face looks on with evident interest. At the bottom of the seal are seven maidens with long pigtails, wearing a sprig of the sacred tree on the head, standing in a row. These illustrations, taken out of the many, should suffice to indicate both the nature of the seals and the speculations they have given rise to. Other Hindu symbols that have been traced in the seals are those of the *linga* and the *swastika*. Evidences of tree, serpent and river worship have also been discovered at *Mohenjo-daro*. We should guard ourselves, however, against accepting all these hypotheses as established truths. Further researches may confirm or demolish these inferences.

39. Relics of Gaiety:

The least ambiguous of all the finds which reflect the mind of the Mohenjo-daro people are their jewellery and toys. Whatever mysteries might surround the doings of the male human being, the genuine love of women for jewels and of children for toys seem to represent the simple and abiding truths of human life. Mohenjo-daro jewellery is made from all substances from pottery to ivory, and from bronze to silver and gold. There are girdles and necklaces, bracelets and bangles, as well as ear and nose ornaments. Finger rings are also plentiful. Fillets of the type found on the steatite statuette, referred to already, are common, and seem to have been worn by men as well as women. It is also of special interest to note that anklets found in Mohenjo-daro are of the

8. Stone drills with which the beads were perforated have been found at Chanhu-daro.

same type as appear on a figure in a fresco at Cnossus in Crete. Likewise, some of the beads discovered here, especially the "etched carnelian" variety, have their replicas in the Royal Tombs of Ur unearthed by Sir Leonard Woolley. No less than twenty-three different varieties of precious or semi-precious stones used for ornamental purposes have been discovered. They have been worked upon with a skill that reveals an advanced stage of craftsmanship. A noteworthy example is that of the carnelian beads of cylindrical shape, each five inches long, used in a girdle. "The care taken to polish the interior of each bead so that no white marks should mar the semitransparent stone," says Dr. Mackay, "marks a very high stage of craftsmanship." In the matter of jewellery, therefore, the women of Mohenjo-daro were as well served as those of Sumer or Egypt. They proved their loyalty to the craftsmen, and to their own sex, by burying their jewels in caskets or vessels when they were threatened with annihilation. For this modern historians ought to be very grateful to them.

Of toys for children there has been found a great variety, from the crudest clay models to the highly finished bronze-ware. The animal models, especially, are of considerable interest. A bronze buffalo and the glazed figure of a monkey, in particular have attracted much attention. A few toy birds, one that was used as a whistle, miniature clay-carts, little scale-pans of pottery, etc. have also been discovered. A tiny clay donkey found in the Indus valley has a nodding head manipulated with a string. While the children played with these, and excellent marbles that might make a schoolboy of today jealous of his confrère of 5000 years ago, the elders of Mohenjo-daro amused themselves with board-games, as is evidenced by the numerous dice found in the Indus valley. They are mostly cubical in shape and are made of either pottery or stone. Unlike our modern pieces, on which the sum of the opposite sides is always seven, the Mohenjo-daro dice have one opposite two, three opposite four, and five opposite six. There are also a few tabular dice made of ivory which are marked one, two and three on three sides only, the remaining sides having merely a few lines or other signs. "Games-men" of various shapes, some mistaken for the *linga*, have also been discovered. Other recreations were provided by hunting, cock-fighting, and dancing to the accompaniment of music. Some musical instruments such as the tambourine, harp and lyre, are discernible in the clay seals and other representations. Two specimens of dancing women have already been cited. Women of all classes, in addition, undoubtedly diverted themselves with spinning cotton yarn, as

is indicated by the very large number of spinning-whorls made of all substances, from pottery to bronze and ivory.

In the words of Sir John Marshall, by the discovery of the Indus civilization, "we have established the fact that in the third millennium before Christ, and even before that, the peoples of the Punjab and Sind were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a relatively mature culture with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of pictographic writing."

POINTS FOR STUDY

23. Pre-historic finds before the Indus excavations.
24. Discoveries of the Indus Civilisation.
25. Location of all places in the N.W. excavated since.
26. Chronology and Contacts of the Indus people with their contemporaries.
27. Ethnology of the Indus people—how ascertained.
28. Classification of the finds and inferences.
29. Government, Society, Religion and Art of the Indus region.
30. The fortifications and weapons of the Indus region.

CHAPTER V

THE CHILDREN OF ASIA

40. Children of Asia.
41. Antiquity and importance of China.
42. Golden Era of Chinese Culture.
43. The Chin reaction.
44. Han and Sung experiments in State Socialism.
45. Chinese contributions to Civilisation.
46. The Spirit of Chinese Culture.

✓What the Far East possesses in arts, literature and philosophy is almost wholly, directly or indirectly, the product of the Chinese genius—V. A. RENOUF.

40. Children of Asia:

The above observation is true mainly with reference to what European writers are accustomed to call the Far East. By this they imply the Mongolian peoples like the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. South-East Asia, comprising Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia, has been almost equally influenced by India and China. There was considerable intercourse between all these countries from very ancient times. We have also noted in the preceding chapter how the civilisation of the Indus valley was not developed in isolation, but had connections with the neighbouring tracts, particularly Mesopotamia. In the hinterland betwees India, China and Mesopotamia, is the Roof of the World or the Pamir plateau with Afghanistan and Persia below it and the head of the Arabian Sea. Beyond these towards the west are Mesopotamia, Arabia and Asia Minor. The last three countries, constituting South-West Asia, form a block of territory inhabited mostly by the various branches of the Semitic race, like the Hebrew or Israelites, the Phoenicians and the Arabs. The Fertile Crescent (Euphrates-Tigris valley) was the melting pot or confluence of three main streams of peoples belonging to the Mongolian, Aryan and Semitic races. The civilisations developed by each of these ethnic groups had distinctive features which it will be profitable to study separately from one another. They are all Children of Asia whose contributions

to human history have been both versatile and rich. We will deal with China in this chapter, reserving India and Asia Minor for the next two chapters. Iran or ancient Persia, though ethnically Aryan, developed westwards, and is consequently better treated along with Asia Minor than with India. Arabia belonging to the Semitic group—with the Israelites and the Phoenicians—will be dealt with later, as the cradle of Islamic culture.

41. Antiquity and importance of China:

The Chinese are one of the most tenacious people of the world. Their civilisation has a longer record of both unbroken continuity and originality in several respects than most others. China is as populous as she is vast: over 400,000,000 people inhabiting an area of 1,500,000 square miles. Like the other civilisations of antiquity witnessed by us so far, the Chinese civilisation, too, was made possible by the fertility produced by great rivers: the Yangtze-Kiang and Whang-Ho. The contacts between India and China were first made through the difficult pass created by the Yangtze river in Eastern Tibet. For centuries this remained one of the important trade-routes between the two countries.

The legendary history of China, even like that of India, goes back to thousands of years ago. As in our *Puranas,* so in the mythical traditions of China, there were men and rulers who lived fabulously long lives and had fantastic shapes. Pan Ku, for example, was the First Man, and he lived for 18,000 years; he hammered the world into shape, about 2,229,000 B.C. Fu Hsi invented the picturesque script of the Chinese, their calendar and musical instruments, besides laying down rules for marriage as a social institution, etc. He reigned from 2852-2738 B.C. His son Shen Nung (2737-2705 B.C.) was the Father of Agriculture, Commerce and Medicine. In sculpture the former is represented as having a serpent's tail and the latter an ox's head. Huang-Ti, known as the Yellow Emperor, ruled from 2697-2598 B.C. and introduced boat and vehicular transport, and invented the compass. Other things attributed to him are the Chinese dress, bow and arrow, coinage and the coffin! His queen was the founder of the silk industry.

The earliest Chinese historian, Su-ma Ch'ien, belonged to the first century B.C. Though he begins his account with the Yellow Emperor, we may regard Yu (2205-2197 B.C.) as a more important figure, as he was the founder of a dynasty called Hsia which means "civilisation". Their rule lasted over

a period of 439 years, from 2205-1766 B.C., counting 17 emperors. Great progress appears to have been made during the time of the next family of rulers known as the Yin or Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.). Their rule lasted during 644 years with 28 emperors. The arts and crafts of this age left their impress upon succeeding generations until at least the tenth century A.D. For, a book produced in that century contains illustrations of the then extant bronze vessels of the Shang period, and recent excavations in Honan have also revealed objects of artistic interest made from jade, tortoise-shells, and deer-horn, with writings in the archaic Shan script. "The characters were painted on bamboo, wood or bone. Some of the poems found in the *Book of Odes* are attributed to the Shang period, and are therefore the most ancient remains of the nation." (Soothill) The dynasty came to an end after Chou Hsin whose court was marked by the display of the greatest luxury as well as degradation. A revolution was brought about by Fa who became the founder of the next dynasty known as the Chou.

42. Golden Era of Chinese Culture:

The 867 years of Chou rule (1122-255 B.C.) constituted the Golden Era of Chinese history. During this period no fewer than 37 emperors belonging to this family reigned over China. Though the rulers were regarded as celestial appointees, they selected their officials with great care. They were subjected to an examination in archery, horsemanship, ceremonials, music, writing and reckoning. The benign character of their rule may be judged from the number of schools and infirmaries which they are said to have founded all over their dominions. "When we read the *Chou-Li*, a book of the record of the Chou official rites and governmental system," writes Tan Yun-Shan (a modern Chinese scholar), "we cannot but admire the ability and spirit of our ancestors. Improvement was made in a most remarkable manner in all branches of civilisation and culture." Among the saints and savants of this epoch Confucius, Lao-tze and Mencius became world-famous. "It was a period of free thinking and learning—a real efflorescence of Chinese culture." From the economic and social points of view this is described as the Age of Feudalism. We will revert to these aspects after completing the political history of China, which may be brought down to 1279 A.D. when the Sung dynasty was overthrown by the Mongols. Before that event and the end of the Chou dynasty, China as a whole, was ruled over by three other oustanding

dynasties, viz., the Han (206 B.C.—219 A.D.), the Tang (618-907 A.D.), and the Sung (960-1279 A.D.). The gaps between these were filled up by other minor ruling houses which may be dropped out as inconsequential for our purpose, with the exception of the Chins.

43. The Chin reaction:

Towards the close of the Chou period, the country was divided into seven provinces, Chin being the most powerful among them. Chen, the governor of Chin, overthrew the Chou dynasty and established himself as the first emperor of the new Chin dynasty after whom the country has taken its name. Chen conquered all the provinces, abrogated the feudal system which had prevailed until then, and extended the empire over Japan in the east and Annam in the south. His son Shih Whuang-Ti (246-210 B.C.) was a strong militarist who is remembered to this day as the builder of the Great Wall of China which extends over a distance of 1500 miles, protecting the western and northern borders of that extensive country. It possesses 10,000 watch-towers and bears the inscription: "This martial barrier of all under heaven". As against this monumental construction, which is one of the Wonders of the World, Shih Whuang-Ti revealed his true character as an enemy of culture by the destruction of all the works of Confucius and other philosophers that he could lay his hands upon. It is even related that he actually caught hold of scholars and built them alive into the structure of the Great Wall. No fewer than 460 learned men appear to have been thus cruelly immured while several others were forced to work on the monstrous construction. This created such a strong revulsion of feeling against that tyrant that people rose in revolt and made short work of the Chins. The Han dynasty which rose on its ruins was founded by Liu-Pang who was the leader of the revolt against Shih Whuang-Ti.

The greatest contribution of the Chin dynasty to China—apart from its having bestowed the name—was the creation of a strong governmental system covering the whole country. "That system", observes a recent writer, "was based upon one officially supported political, social and economic theory. Cultural unity was, therefore, made an essential concomitant of political unity. The succeeding dynasty was, as we are to see, to make important changes in the details of the system of the Chin."

44. Han and Sung experiments in State Socialism:

The Han dynasty which ruled for four centuries (206 B.C.-219 A.D.), was one of the most remarkable that ever held the destiny of China in its hands. It extended the boundaries of China in all directions and substantially created China Proper as we find her today. It established an efficient and benevolent administration which anticipated by several centuries the modern socialistic theories of government, and carried them out in actual practice. It filled the surrounding lands with Chinese colonists and thereby carried the culture of China to the remotest corners of Asia. It consolidated the empire of China and kept out the barbarians from its soil for centuries. It wiped out the remnants of feudalism that had survived even the autocracy of the Chins, revived the humaner principles of Confucius, and demonstrated how even under imperial sway government could work essentially in the interests of the governed. This was largely the achievement of two remarkable men: Wu-Ti (140-87 B.C.) and Wang Mang (8-23 A.D.). The former was a farmer who became a village official and ultimately founded an imperial dynasty which by its distinctive services to the people gave China her second —and truly popular internal name—of "Country of the Han."

Under Han rule, official appointments were made strictly on merit and not on account of birth; and a system of public examinations was devised by which the fitness of the candidates was tested. "The examinations were in accord with the Confucian principle that the realm must be governed by the most worthy." As a result of this, the power of the hereditary princes and nobles was curtailed, and a progressive economic policy was followed. Coinage, salt and iron were made government monopolies, and irrigation projects were taken in hand. Commerce was regulated by the State through governmental purchase of the staples when prices were low and their sale when the prices rose high. Transport was likewise controlled, and measures were taken to protect the people from the ravages of floods from the treacherous rivers of China. All incomes had to be registered with the government and pay a tax of 5 per cent. Wang Mang, too, followed the same principles and further extended their application. He tried to reduce the inequalities in the possession of wealth by the redistribution of lands equally among all the farmers, and the fixing or regulation of prices of commodities. He provided State loans to needy peasants, without charging interest, and aimed at the creation of a better and happier society. For this purpose he encouraged the study of the works of Confucius and other ancient classics.

It is not necessary for us to follow up in detail the history of the Tang and Sung dynasties (618-1297 A.D.). Their vicissitudes of fortune are more of internal than external interest. From the point of view of contributions to world history, we may observe that the experiments in State Socialism started by the Hans did not end with them. Their good work was carried forward at least by some of their successors. Among these we can find room only for a few. Tai Tsung (627-49 A.D.) of the Tang dynasty conquered more territory, maintained the efficiency of the civil service, and encouraged learning. He was also a very tolerant ruler. Islam was introduced in China during his reign, in 628; so also was Christianity in 635. Tai Tsung welcomed both. Tai Tsu (960-76) of the Sung dynasty was a great soldier, but he too improved the administration along the Confucian principles. The greatest of the Sung administrators, however, was Wang An-Shih (1021-86), who was only a minister. "The State," he said, "should take the entire management of commerce, industry, and agriculture into its own hands, with a view to succouring the working classes and preventing them from being ground into the dust by the rich." He created a Board of Statistics and introduced conscription. He was of the opinion that famines were caused, not by the wrath of God, but by natural causes. These ideas were far too advanced for his age, and China fell into great confusion for the nonce on account of the Mongol invasions.

45. Chinese contributions to Civilisation:

It is not easy to summarise the great contributions made by China to human progress. Here we will mention only the most outstanding ones which have made China famous all over the world. It is well known that the mariner's compass, gunpowder, paper, printing, glass, silk, tea, china-ware, and soya beans came from China. It is not so well-known that the Chinese were the first to introduce money-economy by State regulation. The transformation from barter to exchange through money was necessitated by the development of trade during the Chou period and after. In 221 B.C. barter was prohibited by the State. The current coins were round in shape with a square perforation in the middle. Counterfeiting was dealt with severely. Banking was practised on a large scale in the 5th century B.C.

The Chinese are among the most artistic people in the world. They developed painting as a part of calligraphy or beautiful writing. The Chinese script which is essentially pictorial leant itself to this kind of treatment. It contains

about 40,000 pictographs of which not more than 600 are considered basic. The average Chinese masters 3000-4000 signs and utters 700 monosyllabic sounds. Apart from books and scrolls, they used bamboo (introduced from India), and silk as material on which to paint. Excellent specimens of sculpture have come down from the Shan and Chou periods. Further progress in this branch of art was made with the introduction of Buddhism. Bronze, jade and ivory were used for this purpose with great skill. The Great Wall of China seems almost the last word in massive construction. Though its purpose was utilitarian, "its grandeur, simplicity and homogeneous beauty command attention." Shih Whuang-Ti (3rd century B.C) who conceived of this also built a palace which was regarded as a world-wonder. Most of Chinese architecture is wooden unlike the brick and stone that we have witnessed in other countries so far. It is picturesque rather than massive, and seems to be in greater harmony with the surroundings than any other architecture. A critic has noted: "The total effect of the greatest of Chinese architecture was that of repose, balance and massive power. It comported with a great enduring civilisation. Yet it was designed to fit in with the natural surroundings and not to contest with them or to overpower them.....In China man erected no Tower of Babel by which to mount to heaven and show himself equal with the gods."

46. The Spirit of Chinese Culture:

We observed at the outset that Chinese civilisation is marked by originality and remarkable survival value. Among their numerous inventions cited earlier, the use to which they put gun-powder is characteristic of the people: they used it for fireworks instead of human destruction. The vastness of their country seems to have given the Chinese very wide mental horizons as well. Attached to their families and ancestors they have been accustomed to look upon the entire world as one family. They have become a very tolerant nation paying little attention to racial and religious differences. Culturally, in spite of the vastness of their country, they are the most homogeneous. H. A. Davies has observed that in China it is considered disgraceful to be a soldier; at any rate this was quite true of ancient China. The Chinese have always been great respectors of learning; hence, scholars hold the highest place in Chinese society. Their literature reflects an attitude of 'sweet reasonableness', optimism, simplicity and peace. Though they had among them great mystics like Lao-Tze (born c 570 B.C.), Confucius (born c. 551 B.C.)—contemporary of the

Buddha (563 B.C.)—a very practical philosopher, influenced the Chinese mind and conduct more than anyone else. A few quotations from the Chinese classics will provide a fitting close to this brief survey of Chinese civilisation and culture.

Lao-tze was a mystic and very little is known of his life. His teachings go under the name of Taoism, derived from the Tao or Law of Harmony through Love and In-action. "To those who are good, I am good, and to those who are not good I am also good; thus all get to be good." The essence of his ethic is contained in the following simple verses:

"Tao is great,
The earth is great,
The king is also great.
These are the Great Three in the Universe,
And the king is one of them.

Man models himself after the earth;
The earth models itself after Heaven,
The Heaven models itself after Tao;
Tao models itself after Nature.

* * * *

"Cultivated in the individual, Virtue will become genuine;
Cultivated in the family, Virtue will become abundant;
Cultivated in the village, Virtue will multiply;
Cultivated in the state, Virtue will prosper;
Cultivated in the world, Virtue will become universal."

Information about Confucius, even like his teachings, is more definite. He was born in the province of Lu (modern Shantung) in 551 B.C., and he died in 479 B.C. He commenced his career as a teacher when he was twenty-two years of age. Later he was appointed governor of a town by the Duke of Lu. He described himself as a "transmitter and not an innovator." In his sixty-fifth year he wrote: "I am a man who in his eager pursuit of knowledge forgets his food, and in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on." This attitude is typically Chinese. "The higher type of man," he said, "makes a sense of duty the groundwork of his character, blends with it in action a sense of harmonious proportion, manifests it in a spirit of unselfishness, and perfects it by the addition of sincerity and truth. Then indeed is he a noble character.... The higher type of man seeks all that he wants in himself; the inferior man seeks all that he wants from others." Confucius did not bother himself about gods and things of the after-

world: "So long as thou dost not know life," he declared, "how canst thou know death? So long as thou art not able to serve men, how canst thou serve the spirits?" "I do not expect to find a saint today; if I find a gentleman I shall feel satisfied." Unlike Lao-tze, who would repay evil with good, Confucius as a practical philosopher said: "Repay kindness with kindness; but repay evil with justice". According to him, for everyone called to the government of nations and empires, there are nine "cardinal directions to be attended to:

1. Cultivating his personal conduct.
2. Honouring worthy men.
3. Cherishing affection for, and doing his duty toward his kindred.
4. Showing respect to the high ministers of the State.
5. Identifying himself with the interests and welfare of the whole body of public officers.
6. Showing himself as father to the common people.
7. Encouraging the introduction of all useful arts.
8. Showing tenderness to strangers from far off countries.
9. Taking interest in the welfare of the princes of the Empire."

For more than 2000 years the philosophy of Confucius moulded and dominated the Chinese mind.

It is tempting to go on with the Chinese philosophers, but we shall conclude with only one more: viz., Mencius. He was a contemporary of Plato and Aristotle in Greece, having lived between 372-289 B.C. He was to Confucius what Plato was to Socrates. "A great man" according to him, "is one who has not lost the child's heart". "He who attends to his smaller self becomes a small man; and he who attends to his greater self becomes a great man." Mencius was a great believer in democracy and the equality of all men. "The sense of mercy is in all men," he said; "the sense of shame is in all men; the sense of courtesy and respect is in all men; the sense of right and wrong is in all men....The sages are of the same species as ourselves." The contributions of Mencius to democratic thought, in his *Book of History*, have been thus summed up by Lin Yutang:

One: that all men are equal. Two: that in a state, "the people are the most important....and the ruler is the least important." Three: that decisions of promotion and punishment are to be based, not on what the government officials say, but on what all the people say. Four: that government must be for the welfare of the people, and the king must share

his pleasures (parks and music) with the people. Five: that the relations of the ruler and the people are reciprocal. Six: that, consequently, the right to revolt is vindicated. Briefly, Mencius considered that the emperor ruled the country with a "mandate from Heaven", but forfeited it as soon as he misruled. The emperor rules because the people accept him; he cannot transfer the empire to anyone else at his pleasure.

POINTS FOR STUDY

31. Main geographical divisions and races of Asia.
32. "The Renaissance owed almost as much to China as to Greece." (Hearnshaw).
33. Comparative chronology of Ancient China and other countries, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India.
34. Ascertained contacts between China and India: Routes.
35. Influence of Geography on Chinese History.
36. Dynasties of China and their relative importance.
37. Outstanding personalities of ancient China.
38. Original contributions of China to (a) Government, (b) Science, (c) Thought.
39. "The Chinese have discovered, and have practised for many centuries, a way of life which, if it could be adopted by all the world, would make all the world happy." (Bertrand Russell)

ANCIENT CHINA

(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Epochs	Emperors	Other Notables	General
2,229,000 B.C.	Legendary	Pan Ku		First Man—lived 18,000 years, created the world.
2852-2738 B.C.	Semi-historical	Fu Hsi		Inventor of Script, Calendar, etc.
2737-2705	„	Shen Nung		Agriculture, Commerce, Medicine.
2697-2598 B.C.	Dawn of History	Huang-Ti= Yellow Emperor		Transport by boats, compass, coinage, silk industry, etc.
2205-1766 B.C. 2205-2197	Hsia dynasty (439 years)	Yu		Name of dynasty=civilisation 17 emperors.
1766-1122	Yin or Shang (644 years)			Honan excavations have revealed Shang relics. 28 emperors.

1122-255 B.C.	Chou (867 years)		Confucius, (551-479 B.C.) Lao-tze, Mencius (570 B.C.) I (372-289 B.C.)	Golden Era of Culture. 37 emperors.
255-206 B.C. 246-210	Ch'in dynasty	Chen and Shih Whuang-ti	Li Ssu, minister	Built Great Wall, destroyed Confucian literature.
206 B.C. 219 A.D. 140-87 B.C. 8-23 A.D.	Han dynasty	 Wu-Ti Wang Mang		Confucian revival: Socialist experiments in administration. Nationalisation of land and equal distribution.
618-907 A.D. 627-49 A.D.	Tang dynasty	Tai Tsung		Expansion of empire and improvement of Civil Service.
960 A.D. 1279 1021-86	Sung dynasty	Tai Tsu	Wang An-shih, minister	State to manage Commerce and Industry.

CHAPTER IV

ANCIENT INDIA

47. Characteristics of Indian Culture.
48. The Mingling of Aryan and Dravidian.
49. Outline of Political History.
50. Administrative Organisation.
51. Social and Economic Life.
52. Buddhism and Brahmanism.
53. Art and Literature.
54. Greater India.

"Whatever the reason, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thoughts and peoples, to create, in fact, unity out of diversity."—C. E. M. JOAD.

47. Characteristics of Indian Culture:

The history of India is unique in several respects. It is as old as China, Egypt and Mesopotamia, but at the same time more varied and richer than all of them put together. In an earlier chapter we have given evidence of the antiquity of Indian civilisation as revealed by the archaeological excavations in the Indus valley. From its extraordinary town-planning, drainage and sanitary arrangements, as well as the brick-built houses of its ordinary citizens, we noticed its advanced standard of living and democratic character of government. The paucity of weapons and armour disclosed also the presumably peaceful character of its people. It was an urban and an essentially secular type of civilisation. Though a few images—of Pasupati and the Mother Goddess—have been discovered, no existing structure suggests a temple or public place of worship. The next phase of India's civilisation seems to start abruptly with the advent of the Aryans. They brought into India a different type of culture, which, to begin with, was sylvan and rural rather than urban. Unlike that of Mohenjo-daro it was not utilitarian but religious and philosophical. Its relics are not of brick and mortar but a vast and magnificent literature which has been admired by scholars all over the

world for its beauty as well as profundity of thought. How were the two stages of our civilisation correlated? The transformation appears to have come about sometime in the third millennium B.C. Did the Aryan immigrants destroy the old urban civilisation in the Indus Valley, or did they only come after that had disappeared and been long forgotten? References in the *Rigveda* to the destruction of castles and cities by Indra are supposed, by some scholars, to allude to the annihilation of the Mohenjo-daro civilisation at the hands of the Aryans. However, this cannot be said with certainty in the present stage of our imperfect knowledge. We also do not know for certain whether the non-Aryan 'dasyus' referred to in the *Rigveda* were the Indus people or the Dravidians found in other parts of India. Were the latter two identical or different? The problem is not yet solved. What we can state with greater confidence is that the culture of India is a composite product of many elements, Aryan and non-Aryan, including not only those of Mohenjo-daro and the Dravidians, but also several others like the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Hunas, Turks, etc. Though it is not easy to isolate the different elements and mark them out, we may note the occasions of their impacts and the resulting synthesis.

48. The Mingling of Aryan and Dravidian:

The first of these impacts on a large and ascertainable scale was between the Aryans and the Dravidians. The latter name is here applied to all the peoples of India who already existed in this land and came into hostile or peaceful contacts with the Aryans. If we may link up the Aryan immigrations into India with Mohenjo-daro on the one hand and the Iranian and Hittite evidence on the other, we might place the Vedic period of our history approximately in the second millennium B.C., i.e. 2000-1000 B.C. We shall meet with the Iranians and the Hittites in the next chapter. Suffice it here to note that the *Avesta* of the Iranians was coeval with the earlier hymns of the *Rigveda*, and a Hittite inscription of about 1400 B.C. found in Goghas-Keui Cappadocia (Kurdistan) mentions Aryan names like Indra, Varuna, Mitra and so on. The Dravidians were not barbarians, as the Vedic Aryans described them but they had developed a civilisation of their own when they were overwhelmed by the Indo-Aryan invasions. They lived in fortified settlements and worshipped deities other than those of the Aryans. While the Aryans personified the forces of nature like the sun, moon, lightning, winds, sky, etc., and adored the bright ones of heaven, the Dravidians were supposed by them to worship rivers, stones, serpents, trees,

animals, spirits and the phallus (linga). The 'dasyus' according to them ate uncooked food, and were 'fireless and non-sacrificing'. But out of the long conflicts between the two races, carried on mostly in the Indo-Gangetic valley, arose the Hindu civilisation of later times which bore the marks of its dual parentage. It was neither purely Aryan nor purely Dravidian, but a synthesis of the two. In the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha, the last was of Dravidian origin. Krishna, 'the dark', also suggests a similar genesis. It will not also be far-fetched to find in Maruti the 'monkey-god' and Ganesha the 'elephant-god' illustrations of the Aryo-Dravidian synthesis connected with the Vedic *marut* and *Ganpati*. Hinduism reveals a mixture of these two cultures in social customs as well religious practices and beliefs. Nevertheless, it is no exaggeration to say that the Aryan proved to be the dominating partner. The universal influence of Sanskrit and Brahmanism bear testimony to the extent of the Aryan triumph.

49. Outline of Political History:

The political history of ancient India begins later than her cultural history. Until 323 B.C. when Chandragupta founded the great Maurya empire, we have no definite and dated records from which we might construct a clear political map of India. The Aryans were at first organised in tribes which fought among themselves as well as with the Dravidians. Out of these fights emerged a number of kingdoms whose extent and boundaries can be ascertained only very vaguely from the literature of the times. We can roughly say that the centre of power during the Vedic age (2000-1000 B.C.) was the Punjab during the Epic period (1000-500 B.C.) it was the 'Middle Country'—approximating with the present U.P.—and later it was Magadha or Bihar. This suggests the gradual expansion and consolidation of the Aryans moving from the land of the Five Rivers in the west towards the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra in the east. That phase culminated in the Epic age—of which we have portrayals in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—when the Aryans penetrated also into the southern peninsula. The exile of Sri Ramachandra and the war against Lanka are symbolic of this southward expansion; while in the Mahabharata war princes from all parts of India appear to have participated. Much of this history, however, is shrouded in legends.

From external sources we learn that the Persian empire of Darius (521-486 B.C.) extended up to the west bank of the

Indus. When that empire was destroyed by Alexander the Great of Macedonia (359-323 B.C.) the Greeks penetrated as far east as the Indus valley in 326 B.C. The establishment of the first great Indian empire by Chandragupta Maurya, in 323 B.C., was due to the reactions started by these foreign incursions. The Maurya empire reached its greatest extent in the time of Asoka (273-237 B.C.) when it covered the whole of India down to Mysore in the south and Afghanistan in the north-west; in the other directions the sea and the Himalayas up to Assam formed its boundaries. This empire was as well organised as it was vast in extent. We get to know about it from the *Artha-sastra* (a contemporary work on statecraft) and from the accounts left by Greek visitors like Magasthenes, as well as from the numerous edicts of Asoka which are scattered about the entire country. Not only was the municipal administration well developed in this time, but the empire as a whole was well protected and governed on principles of tolerance and humanity unparalleled in any part of the world. Hospitals were maintained even for animals, and all were treated according to the noble teachings of the Buddha, even as China was ruled according to the principles of Confucius. Asoka fulfilled Plato's ideal of the State in which 'kings are philosophers and philosophers kings'. As H. G. Wells has put it: "From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and..India..preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne".

After Asoka, his successors were overwhelmed by a wave of Brahmanical reaction on the one side and barbarian invaders on the other. Yet his spiritual conquests were such as could not be easily lost. In his XIIIth Edict Asoka wrote: "His Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind and joyousness. And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty —the conquest by the Law of Piety—and this again has been won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues—where the Greek (Yona) king named Antiochos dwells, and north of that Antiochos to where dwell the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander: and in the south the realm of the Cholas and Pandyas, with Ceylon likewise—and here too in the king's dominions, among the Yonas, and Kambhojas, and Pitanikas, among the Andhras and Pulindas,—everywhere men follow His Sacred Majesty's instruction in the Law of Piety".

Among the foreigners who held sway over the western

parts of northern India, but who came under the spiritual influence of Buddhism, were the Greek Menander (180-160 B.C.) and the Kushan Kanishka (c. 120-162 A.D.). Menander was converted at the end of a vigorous argument by the Buddhist monk Nagasena, according to the *Milinda Pannha* (Questions of Menander). Kanishka who was a Central Asian Scythian became celebrated as the "Asoka of Mahayana". He convened a Great Council of Buddhists which recorded the transformation which the original faith of the Buddha had undergone since, owing to foreign and Brahmanical influences. Nagarjuna and Asvaghosha were two of its great teachers. *Mahayana* made of the Buddha an *avatar* of God and used Sanskrit as its medium of expression. These changes served to reduce the gulf between Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism; consequently, the latter ceased to exist in India as a separate religion.

India mounted another wave of glory under the Guptas who ruled over the heart of Hindustan for about a hundred and fifty years from 320-470 A.D. Samudragupta, its second ruler, effected the conquest of nearly the whole of India, and got an inscription recording his triumphs placed on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad. He was as accomplished in the arts of peace as with those of war, as his coins illustrate. His successor Chandragupta II, popularly known by his title of 'Vikramaditya' (Sun of Prowess), saw not only the zenith of the Gupta empire but also the Golden Age of Hindu civilisation. In his time, Fa Hien—a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim—toured through the Gupta empire (405-411 A.D.) and recorded his impressions of what he saw. We shall refer to him again in a later section. The glory of the great Guptas ended with Skandagupta (455-70 A.D.) when the country was once more overrun by hordes of Central Asian barbarians. These were the Hunas, eastern cousins of the Huns who destroyed the Roman empire in Western Europe about the same time. The creation of a fresh order out of this chaos in northern India was the work of Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647 A.D.).

The forty odd years of Harsha's reign marked the sunset of ancient Indian civilisation. Harsha was the contemporary of Muhammad the Prophet of Islam. We shall witness in a subsequent chapter the rapid conquests effected by the followers of Muhammad in the course of the next century on the continents of Europe, Africa and Asia. They reached India in 712 A.D. and occupied Sind and Multan. For a time their further progress was successfully stemmed, among other causes, by the creation of a strong political bulwark through the establishment of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire in Hindus-

tan. This takes us into the medieval times which will be dealt with in another chapter. How titanic the task of maintaining the security of India had become under Harsha may be inferred from the fact that his army contained 60,000 elephants and 100,000 horses, apart from the infantry forces. According to the Tibetan historian Taranath, Harsha maintained embassies in Persia and China. We obtain authentic glimpses of India in the time of Harsha from the writings of Hiuen Tsang who toured in this country from 635-643 A.D.

50. Administrative Organisation:

In spite of the vastness of the country and interruptions caused by periodical foreign invasions, India possesses a valuable record of administrative organisation. Apart from the democratic municipal system indicated by the relics of Mohenjo-daro, the Aryans began with a tribal polity which developed into monarchy only owing to the exigencies of their history in India as elsewhere. Even later, the king, like all his subjects, was subordinate to *Dharma,* and was assisted by a body of advisers constituting the *Mantri-Parishad.* Their decisions were subject to ratification by a *Mahasabha* of the people. Instances of these are found in the Epics as well as inscriptions. In the Buddhist age there were a number of republics still existing as testified to by Greek visitors of the time of Alexander and others. The following verse from the *Rigveda* is typical of the spirit of democracy which then prevailed:

"Assemble, speak together, let your minds be all of one accord. The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind; so be your thoughts united."

In the days of imperial expansion, political rituals like the *Rajasuya* and the *Asvamedha* were elaborated. The last prominent record of this sacrifice is contained in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, already alluded to. The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya describes the political system of the Maurya empire. It deals with details of policy as well as administrative organisation and interstate relations, etc. According to it: "In the happiness of his subjects lies the happiness of the king; in their good is his own good, and not in what is pleasing to himself. He must find his pleasure in the happiness of his subjects". We know that Asoka actually ruled by this principle. Vincent A. Smith has observed that "Fa Hien's incidental observations taken as a whole indicate that the Gupta empire, at the beginning of the fifth century, was well governed. The government let the people live their own lives without

needless interference; was temperate in the repression of crime, and tolerant in matters of religion. The foreign pilgrim was able to pursue his studies in peace, wherever he chose to reside, and could travel all over India without molestation". That the tradition was maintained down to the days of Harsha in the 7th century AD. is borne out by the testimony of Huen Tsang:

"As the administration of the government," he writes, "is founded on benign principles, the executive is simple. The families are not entered on registers, and the people are not subjected to forced labour. The crown-lands are divided into four parts: The first is for the carrying out of the affairs of State; the second, for paying the ministers and officers of State; the third, for rewarding men of genius; the fourth, for giving alms to religious communities. In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the services required of them are moderate. Everyone keeps his worldly goods in peace, and all till the soil for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce travel to and fro in pursuit of their calling. Rivers and toll-bars are opened to travellers on payment of a small sum. When the public works require it, labour is exacted, but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done".

The village communities which were democratically organised looked after most aspects of day-to-day administration. Of this we have detailed descriptions in the literature as well as inscriptions, particularly in South India. They conducted elections, audited public accounts, maintained roads, tanks, temples, etc., looked after the policing and educational needs of the local people, and organised public entertainments.

51. Social and Economic Life:

Society in India was originally organised on sound principles, but in the course of centuries it deteriorated. The Vedic Aryans lived simple lives to begin with as a pastoral and agricultural community. In course of time the *varna* or colour distinction between the Aryan and Dravidian came to be applied to vocational classes which tended more and more to be hereditary. The life of the individual was regulated according to the needs of the age of a person: the first stage was one of education and discipline (*brahmacharya*), the second of household duties—the rearing up of a family and hospitality—(*grihasta*), the third of retirement from active worldly life (*vanaprastha*), and the fourth of *sanyasa* or

dedication to the highest spiritual attainment. Collectively, society was divided into four classes of Brahmana (intellectual leaders), Kshatriya (rulers and fighters), Vaishya (producers and distributers of wealth), and shudra (servants). The relations between these were quite elastic in the Vedic times; but in later ages, they became very rigid and exclusive, owing to taboos on food and marriage. Thus, the caste system, with all its harmful effects, came into existence.

The principles of division of labour and hereditary specialisation, up to a certain stage, was conducive to economic progress. Each vocational group was organised in guilds or corporations which discharged the triple functions of co-operative societies, technical schools and insurance companies. For a long time they worked well like the caste-system. They organised the production and distribution of wealth, through industry and trade all over the country and abroad. Commercial intercourse with the Mediterranean countries, China and South-east Asia was maintained. While this added considerably to the prosperity of India, the Roman historian Pliny complained of the drain of gold and silver from the Roman empire owing to its expenditure on eastern luxuries. Indian handicrafts were world famous for their excellent quality. Roman coins have been found in fairly large quantities in South India, reminding us of the ancient trade. It is important as well as interesting to remember that this rich and vast intercourse with distant foreign peoples was rendered possible by the development of ship-building in India. Ships were constructed to carry not merely articles of luxury like spices, silks, and other precious commodities, but also animals like horses, camels and elephants. Foreigners for a long time admired the skill of the Indians in producing ships which were large as well as strongly built.

Social and economic life is so interdependent that vast changes in the one inevitably affect the other. This is well illustrated in the history of ancient India. Just as the simple economy of the Vedic times developed into the complex economic organisation of the succeeding ages, important social changes also took place at different stages in the growth of Indian civilisation. It is convenient to sum up these transformations in the two terms 'Buddhism' and 'Brahmanism'.

52. Buddhism and Brahmanism:

Buddhism is a philosophy and way of life preached by the Buddha during the sixth century B.C. in India. "Buddha" or the Enlightened One was the title conferred upon Gautama

(c. 563-486 B.C.), a prince of the Sakya clan which ruled at Kapilavastu (in Nepalese Tarai). He renounced his inheritance and devoted himself to spiritual realisation which resulted in his founding Buddhism. Its central teaching is *Ahimsa* which implies not merely non-violence but also positive love for all living creatures.[1] It was a reaction against the cult of violence practised by the followers of the Vedic religion which involved animal sacrifices like the *asvamedha.* Under the influence of the *Brahmanas* the original simplicity and purity of the Vedic faith had been lost. Elaborate ritualism on the one side, as laid down in the *Brahmanas,* and mysticism as developed in the *Upanishads*[2] on the other, left the ignorant masses spiritually in the lurch. The Vedic language was no longer spoken or understood by the many, and hence priests and scholars who specialised in its study interpreted the ancient scriptures in a manner that was of little use to the common man. Buddhism and Jainism (another like reaction represented by Mahavira) inculcated *Ahimsa* or active kindness towards all, and laid stress on Right Thinking, Right Feeling and Right Action, rather than religious ceremonial, as the true means of *Nirvana* or salvation. They adopted Pali and Ardhamagadhi—the dialects spoken by the masses—as the medium through which to propagate their teachings, instead of the old Sanskrit which was the language of only the learned. We have already noted the influence of this reformist movement on great rulers like Asoka, Menander and Kanishka. Buddhism went beyond the borders of India, and through China, influenced the major part of Asia. Though, today, it has all but vanished from the land of its birth, it has the largest following of any of the entire world. "If to this day, from Kandy in Ceylon to Kamakura in Japan, the palcid face of Gautama bids men be gentle to one another and love peace," writes Professor Will Durant "it is partly because a dreamer, perhaps a saint, once held the throne of India." It is also to be remembered that the teachings of Confucius and Lao-tze—of which we read

1. "For never in this world does hatred cease by hatred; Hatred ceases by Love: this is always its nature."—Dhamma-pada.

2. Here is a typical extract from the Upanishads: "Five householders led by Uddalaka approached king Asvapati who asked each of them: 'Whom do you meditate on as the Self?' The first answered: 'Heaven'; the second, 'Sun'; the third, 'Air'; the fourth, 'Ether'; the fifth, 'Water'. And the king replied that each of them worshipped only a part of the Truth: 'Heaven is the head, the sun the eye, the air the breath, the ether the trunk, the water the bladder, and the earth the feet of the central Reality which is the World Soul."

Though sublime in its conception it could not be popularly assimilated.

in a previous chapter—contributed as much to bring about this result. In the opinion of Dr. Hu Shih—a great living historian of China—Budhism broke down the fatalism of both Confucianism and Taoism and taught the Chinese "the indestructibility of the soul." Great Indian teachers like Kumarajiva and Bodhidharma went and preached in China and Japan, and they influenced great rulers like Tai Tsung (627-650 A.D.) and Shotoku Taishi (573-621 A.D.): and attracted renowned Chinese scholars like Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang as pilgrims to India.

In spite of this stupendous success abroad Buddhism declined in India, and its place was taken by revived Brahmanism. This process was no doubt a longdrawn one; nevertheless it is possible to point out a few outstanding landmarks in the gradual transformation of India from the Buddhist to the the Brahmanical way of life. The first triumph of the latter was marked by the political revolution brought about by Pushyamitra Sunga who, in the second century B.C., overthrew the last of the Mauryas and seated himself on the throne of Magadha. He performed an *ashvamedha* (horse sacrifice) denoting his adherence to the pre-Buddhist Brahmanism. Another famous prince to celebrate his victories in the same fashion, as we have noted, was Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty. This was in the fourth century A.D. Hinduism as we know it today came to take its final shape during this period. Its social structure was defined by the *Dharmasastras* of Manu and Yajnyavalkya; its religious practices brought into being a number of magnificent temples;and its philosophic outlook was enunciated by the great Shankaracharya. Sectarian differences like those between the Saivas and the Vaishnavas arose which in course of time gave birth to the *bhakti* movement of medieval India.

53. Art and Literature:

Ancient India made very valuable contributions to Art and Literature. Apart from the attention paid to music as evidenced by the *Sama-veda,* and to dance like *Bharata-natya* which is still popular, concrete manifestations of the sense of Art may be illustrated with reference to painting and architecture. The most famous specimens of the former are found in the frescoes of Ajanta, Bagh, Sigiriya, etc. Both, from the points of view of colour and form they are unique and very striking. More than a thousand years old now, they yet provide motifs and continue to inspire modern Indian artists today. In the realm of architecture, despite the destruction

wrought by the ravages of time as well as the vandalism of man, there are magnificent monuments scattered all over the country. The Buddhist Stupa of Sanchi and the great temples of Sarnath and Bodh-Gaya, the Jain temples of Mount Abu and Satrunjaya, and the marvellous excavations of Ellura and Mahabalipuram, representing the Hindu architecture, are among the most noted. Further progress in this field was made during the centuries following, particularly in the south, as evidenced by the exquisite carvings in the temples of Belur and Halebid in Mysore, and the stupendous temples of Madura, Kanchi and other places of religious importance in the Tamil country. Iconography or the art of making images formed another important department in which ancient India produced excellent results. The Jaina colossi and Buddhist images are world famous along with the bronzes of South India.

Ancient Indian literature was marked by variety as well as depth; it is equally noted for its vastness and antiquity. The *Rigveda* is not only one of the oldest books in the library of the world, but it is the first piece of scientific composition produced by man. In grammatical literature there is nothing older or more perfect than what the Indians produced in the centuries preceding the Christian era. Indian mathematics began in the Vedic age and registered great advances in succeeding times. Aryabhata, Bhaskaracharya and Lilavati are still honoured by astronomers and mathematicians. The Cipher and the decimal notation were Indian inventions. Algebra was introduced into the world by India through the Arabs. In medicine and surgery India produced the works of Charaka and Sushruta, respectively; they bear testimony to the remarkable achievements made through experimental research in these two fields of curative science. But the highest achievements of the Indians, by universal acknowledgment, were made in philosophy. Schopenhauer acclaimed the *Upanishads* as having provided him with the "solace of my life and the solace of my death." Max Muller proclaimed the glories of the culture embodied in our literature enthusiastically to the West in glowing terms. The *Ramayana,* the *Mahabharata,* the *Bhagvad-Gita* and the dramatic and poetical works of Kalidasa rank with the best in the world's literature in all languages.

54. Greater India:

These remarkable achievements were not confined to the geographical tract known as India. Their influence was felt

in other parts of Asia as well. The spread of Buddhism to China and Japan has already been referred to. Not only the religion but the entire culture of India was transplanted into Malaya, Indo-China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. There, during the first millennium of the Christian era, colonies of Indian merchants, missionaries and settlers were founded. Out of them grew up several kingdoms over which ruled Indian princes. They carried with them all the traditions of their Motherland: political, religious and social. Their political achievement culminated in the rise of the empire of Sri Vijaya which flourished from the fifth to the tenth century A.D. According to the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing: "In the fortified city of Sri Vijaya Buddhist priests number more than 1000, whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist, just as in India; the rules and ceremonials are not at all different." King Suryavarman, who ruled in Kambhuja (Cambodia) about 1002 AD., described himself as belonging to the *Suryavamsa* and observed the *Saka* era. An inscription of his time states: "His feet are the *Bhashyas* of Patanjali, his hands are the *Kavyas,* his organs are the *Shad-darshanas,* and the *Dharmasastras* are his head." No better illustration of the permeation of Hindu culture might be cited. Another prince, named Jayavarman VII, like Asoka, built several *arogya-salas* (for men and animals) and declared in an inscription: "The physical pain of the patients became with me a pain of the soul." Monuments such as those of Borobudur and Angkor Vat proclaim to this day the deep and widespread influence of Indian culture and civilisation in so remote a corner of Asia. Their architecture and sculptures have their prototype in India.

POINTS FOR STUDY

40. Antiquity of Indian Civilisation.
41. Synthesis in Indian Culture.
42. Character and contents of Vedic Literature.
43. Difference between the period of composition of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and the Epochs described therein.
44. The Buddhist Age: example of a non-violent revolution.
45. Comparison of *Hinayana* and *Mahayana.*
46. Foreigners and their influence on Indian civilisation.
47. Significance of the Maurya Empire: organisation and ideals.
48. Assessment of the Gupta Age as a "Golden Age".
49. Greater India: extent and character.
50. Indian contributions to Art, Literature, Science.

ANCIENT INDIA
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Epochs	Places	Personalities	General
3500-2500 B.C.	Indus Civilisation	Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, etc.		Town-planning, drainage, seals, democracy.
2000-1000 B.C.	Vedic Age	Aryavarta		Hittite, inscription of 1400 B.C. in Cappadocia mentions Indra, Varuna, Dashruth.
1000-500 B.C.	Epic Age	Bharatavarsha		Aryanisation of India, Complex civilisation.
563-486 B.C.	Buddhist Age	Kapilavastu	Gautama the Buddha and Mahavira	Reaction against sacrifices, mysticism, caste and sacerdotalism.
521-486 B.C. 359-323 B.C.	Foreign invaders	West Punjab	Darius Alexander	Persian influence. Greek influence.

323 B.C. 273-237 B.C.		Magadha Pataliputra	Chandragupta Maurya Asoka	First historic empire. Law of Piety.
185 B.C.			Pushyamitra Sunga	Brahmanical reaction.
180-160 B.C. c. 120-162 A.D.	Yavanas Kushanas	Punjab	Menander Kanishka	*Milinda-pannha.* Mahayana.
320-470 A.D. 405-411 A.D.	Guptas	Hindustan	Chandra Gupta, Samudra Gupta, Vikramaditya Fa Hien	Golden Age of Hindu civilisation: Greater India. Tours India.
606-647 A.D.			Harshavardhana Hiuen Tsang	Last phase of Hindu India.

CHAPTER VII

SEMITIC AND ARYAN

55. Corridor of Eur-Asia.
56. The Hebrews or Israelites.
57. The Armaeans and Phoenicians.
58. The Hittites.
59. The Medes and Persians.
60. Persian Religion and Culture.

"All the Near Eastern World, about to die for a thousand years, prepared to lay its heritage at the feet of Greece."
— WILL DURANT.

55. Corridor of Eur-Asia:

Few other regions of the earth have left the tread of civilisation in its formative stage like Mesopotamia and its neighbouring lands. The valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers —constituting the Fertile Crescent—are in the heart of this hinterland between Asia and Europe. The mountainous tract lying between Kashmir and the Caspian Sea provided a natural bulwark on its eastern side which prevented, for long centuries (before the Christian era), the maelstrum of Mongolian tribes from bursting into this cradle of early civilisation. If we might describe this eastern zone as the Indo-Caspian Belt, it was the nursery which bred the Indo-European race during the period of its diffusion, east and west, from its Caspian homes. An imaginary line drawn from the Caspian Sea in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south would divide this corridor into two parts—the western holding within it Asia—Minor and Mesopotamia, and the eastern including Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan. While the latter portion was almost exclusively held by the Medes and Persians who were Aryans, the former or western division was shared between the Semitic Hebrews, Armaeans and Phoenicians, and the Aryan Hittites and Persians, particularly towards the north (Cappadocia). As each of these two distinctive groups of people made its own special contributions to the development of human civilisation, we shall deal with the Semitic and Aryan cultures separately.

56. The Hebrews or Israelites

The Hebrews or Israelites were an important branch of the Semitic race. The modern Jews and Arabs—now fighting fiercely for the possession of Palestine—belong to the same ethnic stock, though they developed along divergent lines later in history as we shall witness. The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (of the time of Amenhotep III) speak of the *Khiberu* or *Hiberu*. They were wandering tribes originally inhabiting Arabia. Some of them had settled down very early in Egypt. But, having suffered great hardships in the time of the Pharaoh Thuthmose III and Hatshepsut (c. 1479-47 B.C.), they migrated into Palestine, under the leadership of the prophet Moses. That great deliverer who saved "the chosen people of God" is thus referred to the Bible (Exodus):

"And the Lord said to him: I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have heard their cry; because of the rigour of them that are over the works. And knowing their sorrow, I am come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians: and to bring them out of that land into a good and spacious land, into a land that floweth with milk and honey, to the places of the Canaanite, and Hittite, and Amorrhite... For the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me; and I have seen their affliction, wherewith they are oppressed by the Egyptians. But come, and I will send thee to Pharao, that thou mayest bring forth my people, the children of Israel out of Egypt."

It is evident from the above that the new country (Palestine) into which Moses led the Hebrews was already the home of other peoples like the Canaanites and Hittites, etc. A conflict arose between the original inhabitants and the newcomers which ended in the creation of a united kingdom composed of the Canaanites and the new Israelite immigrants. Their patriarchal organisation of society and the law of Moses, based upon the Code of Hammurabi which we have noted before, provided the basis for the union of all the Israelites. Their chief cities were Samaria in the north and Jerusalem in the south. 'War begat the King' and their first kings were Saul, David and Solomon. The evils of monarchy had been anticipated and the Israelites had been warned by their patriarch Samuel in no uncertain terms:

"This will be the right of the king that shall reign over you. He will take your sons, and put them in his chariots, and will make them his horsemen, and his running footmen to run before his chariots. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your best oliveyards, and give them to

his servants. Moreover he will take the tenth of your corn, and of the revenues of your vineyards, and give his eunuchs and servants. Your flocks also he will tithe, and you shall be his servants. And you shall cry out in that day from the face of the king, whom you have chosen to yourselves: and the Lord will not hear you in that day, because you desired unto yourselves a king."

Although during the heyday of the new monarchy the Israelites forgot this prophecy, its truth came home to them in the days of its decline. Saul 'the Lord's anointed' fell fighting against the enemies of the Israelites, and David, who was next chosen, also died after forty years: 'And he died in a good age, full of days, and riches, and glory. And Solomon his son reigned in his stead' (1015-975 B.C.).

"And the Lord Magnified Solomon over all Israel: and gave him the glory of a reign, such as no king of Israel had before him."

Solomon too reigned for another forty years, but they were the 'fateful forty' for Israel. After him followed disaster. By about 586 B.C. Jerusalem itself was destroyed by the Chaldeans under Nebuchadrezzar and the Israelites were led in captivity to Babylon. But Solomon is still remembered for his proverbial wisdom, wealth and wives. The Lord, says the *Book of Kings*, once appeared to Solomon in his dream and said: 'Ask what thou wilt that I should give thee, and he having asked for nothing more than 'an understanding heart to judge thy people, and discern between good and evil', the Lord, mightily pleased, declared:

"Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life or riches, nor the lives of thy enemies, but hast asked for thyself wisdom to discern judgment, behold I have done for thee according to thy words, and have given thee a wise and understanding heart; insomuch that there hath been no one like thee before thee, nor shall arise after thee. Yea and the things also which thou didst not ask, I have given thee: to wit, riches and glory, so that no one hath been like thee among the kings in all days heretofore.."

Out of the riches that the God of Israel had bestowed upon him, Solomon built a great golden temple for his glory: 'For the house which I desire to build, is great: for our God is great above all gods'; and for that purpose 'he numbered out seventy thousand men to bear burdens, and eighty thousand to hew stones in the mountains, and three thousand six hundred to oversee them.' Here were sacrificed every day

rams and oxen without number—'For the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God.'

Some of the wealth Solomon expended also on his own pleasures and glorification. He took to himself the modest number of "seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines." He also beautified his capital of Jerusalem and strengthened its fortifications. He divided his kingdom into twelve districts, for administrative purposes, ignoring the tribal boundaries to weld his clannish people into a single nation. He financed his government by mining precious metals and levying a poll-tax upon all his subjects, besides creating state monopolies of trade in yarn, horses and chariots. He also imported articles of luxury—like "ivory, apes and peacocks" —from distant countries like India. But it was all a nine days' wonder; for on the tenth day came death and devastation: 'vanity of vanities, and all is vanity!'

The oppressions of the poor on which the luxuries of the rich were raised find an echo in the denunciations of the Prophets which still ring in our ears as we read through the pages of the *Old Testament*:

"Forasmuch, therefore, as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them... Woe to them that are at ease in Zion,... that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that chant to the sound of the vial, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments...

"The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people and the princes thereof; for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor?... Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth... Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless. And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the desolation which shall come from afar? To whom will ye flee for help, and where will ye leave your glory?"

The threatened doom and desolation came in the shape

of conquest by the Assyrians and the Babylonians. The Hebrew monarchy which had been founded by Saul, in c. 1050 B.C. ended its existence as a kingdom, in 586 B.C. with the Babylonian captivity. The Israelites won back their liberty and were restored to Palestine by the rising power of the Persians (Iranians) whom we shall presently describe. The Hebrews were an essentially religious people according to their way of thinking. They made no contributions to either science or art. Their religion forbade their making "graven images" of God. They recognised other gods besides their own dread and jealous *Yahaveh* who, however, was for them *the God* above all gods. From this, in course of time, they worked up to the humane monotheism of the *New Testament* which depicts God as holy and just, compassionate and loving,—the Universal Father whose care is over all peoples and races, and not merely over His 'chosen people' like the Israelites. "This idea of God and His character", says one writer, "was the best element in the bequest which the ancient Hebrews made to the younger Aryan world of Europe, and is largely what entitles them to the pre-eminent place they hold in the history of humanity."

We shall witness in a later chapter how Christianity was born among the Hebrews. The *Old Testament* of the Bible, particularly, is a Jewish product; but the *Talmud* is more exclusively the sacred book of the Hebrews. "It embodies the wisdom of the finest thinkers of Jewish people. It is to the Jews what the *New Testament* is to the Christians, an authoritative word. It is almost a library in itself, including a record of debates and decisions, poetry and philosophy, and wisdom and mysticism, that cover more than 800 years. It has had a profound influence on the Jewish people."

57. The Aramaens and Phoenicians:

The Armaeans and Phoenicians were of the Semitic race, like the Hebrews. They were noted as carriers of trade—the former by land and the latter by sea—rather than for anything creative of their own. Damascus was the most important centre of Armaeic activities; they carried on trade between Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Egypt. They are credited with having supplanted the cuneiform and hieroglyphic writing by the alphabetic. The Aramalic dialect developed into the international language of the Levant; and that too was the language which Jesus spoke.

1. Philip van Ness Myres, *General History*, p. 53.

The Phoenicians were better known to the ancient world as their activities were spread over a wider area. Their land was enclosed between the Lebanon mountains and the Mediterranean sea, but they created ports wherever they traded. Tyre, Sidon and Byblos on the Syrian coast, and Carthage, Cadiz and Marseille in the western Mediterranean were some of their famous trading centres. They also established garrisons in Malta, Sicily, Corsica, etc. The following account of the Phoenicians given by Winwood Read, in his *Martyrdom of Man,* provides a graphic picture of their activities:

"The Phoenicians from fishermen became pirates, and from pirates traders, from simple traders they also became manufacturers. Purple was always the fashionable colour in the East, and they discovered two kinds of shell-fish which yielded a handsome dye ... When they sailed along the shores of that savage continent and came to a place where they intended to trade, they lighted a fire to attract the natives, pitched tents on shore, and held a six days' fair, exhibiting in their bazar the toys and trinkets manufactured at Tyre expressly for their naked customers, with purple robes and works of art in tinted ivory and gold, for those who like the Greeks were more advanced. At the end of the week they went away, sometimes kidnapping a few women and children ... But in the best trading localities the factory system prevailed; and their establishments were planted in the Grecian Archipelago and in Greece itself, on the marshy shores of the Black Sea, in Italy, Sicily, the African coast and Spain ... They offered to every country something which it did not possess. They roused the savage Briton from his torpor with a rag of scarlet cloth, and stirred him to sweat in the dark bowels of the earth. They brought to the satiated Indian prince the luscious highly sweet wines of Syria and the Grecian Isles in goblets of exquisitely painted glass. From the amber resin gatherers of the Baltic mud to the nutmeg spices growers of the equatorial groves, from the mulberry plantations of the celestial Empire to the tin mines of Cornwall and the silver mines of Spain, emulation was excited new wants were created, whole nations were stimulated to industry by means of the Phoenicians."

The antiquity of such activities may be determined from the fact that the Tell-el-Amarna tablets mention Tyre as already of great importance in the fifteenth century B.C. and it was also flourishing under Hiram I, a great friend of Solomon, in the tenth century B.C. The Phœnicians are mentioned in the Bible, and the ancient Greeks believed they owed their

alphabet and weights and measures to them. Perhaps the earliest specimen of Phœnician writing is that found on a bronze cup of King Hiram I (c. 960 B.C.). It is alphabetic as distinguished from the pictographic writing of Egypt and the phonetic script of Babylon. The Armaeans of upper Syria who taught the use of the alphabet and pen and ink to the Assyrians, and made their language the *lingua franca* of Western Asia, themselves learnt it from the Phœnicians. Our own Indian scripts, both Sanskrit and vernacular, are equally supposed by some to have been originally derived from their writing. "These strange symbols are the most precious portion of our cultural heritage." We gave them ivory, cotton fabrics and our spices in exchange. The introduction of these and pen, ink and paper into Europe are attributed to the Phœnicians.

58. The Hittites:

We have already met with the Hittites in their conflicts with Egypt and Assyria. They had captured Babylon as early as the twentieth century (1925) B.C. The fear of their constant incursions had converted the Assyrians into a militarist state. Egypt weakened under its idealist Pharaoh, Akhnaton (1376-62 B.C.), had felt their power. Under Shubbiluli-uma (c. 1385-45 B.C.) the Hittites had sallied forth from Khatti (modern Boghaz-keui) and made themselves masters from the Armenian mountains to the confines of Sinai. However, the irresistible Rameses II (c. 1300-1234 B.C.) compelled them to come to terms, and, after the battle of Kadesh (c. 1295 B.C.), even entered into a marriage alliance with their king Mursil. This was due to the growing power of Assyria, on the one hand, and on the other, to the increasing menace of fresh Indo-European tribes pressing from the north and east. Only the massive ruins of Carchemish, recently excavated by the British Museum Expedition, now remain to remind us of their vanished power. "The decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions is one of the puzzles of modern archæology."[2]

In the preceding chapter we referred to a Hittite inscription of about 1400 B.C. at Boghas-qeui in Cappadocia, in which the names of Aryan gods like Indra, Varuna and Mitra occur. Scholars are not yet agreed as to whether all the

2. Read "Carchemish of the Hittites" by Leonard Woolley and "The Hittites: Vestiges of a Vanished Empire" by J. Garstang, in *Wonders of the Past*, II, 727-46 and 827-41. A Hittite Ruin of 1600 B.C.—The interior of a new palace is described by Sir Leonard Woolley in *The Times* (Weekly Edition) June 16, 1938, p. 5. (Illustrations, p. 28).

peoples going under the name of "Hittites" were Aryans. Some of them certainly used a dialect which belongs to the Indo-Aryan group of languages. Their inscriptions have been found in hieroglyphic, cuneiform as well as other scripts not yet finally deciphered. But the excavations of Carchemish and its neighbourhood, in northern Asia Minor, speak in no uncertain voice of the greatness of the vanished Hittite civilisation. In the opinion of archæologists the history of the Hittites goes back to at least the time of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2800 B.C.). Their architecture was both massive and realistic, and it influenced that of the Assyrians who came after them. The Hittite masons built so solidly that they used blocks of stone measuring 15 ft. by 4½ft. "laid without mortar but so accurately joined that even today one cannot drive a knife-blade between the stones". Though they buried their dead in stone cists in the earlier days, later they cremated them. One of their sculptures representing the Lord of the Beasts reminds us strongly of 'Pasupati' found inscribed on the seals of Mohenjodaro already referred to. The most important contribution of the Hittites to later civilisation was the use of iron which they introduced in Asia Minor about 1200 B.C. According to Professor J. Garstang: "Notwithstanding all the difficulties of interpretation, the general nature of the new (Hittite) documents is now apparent. They include treaties with foreign countries, including Egypt, Mitanni and the Amorites, treaties of alliance or confederacy with states within the Empire, generally prefaced with an historical narrative, royal decrees and speeches, summaries of campaigns and diplomatic correspondence with foreign powers, including Egypt and Babylon. as well as, numerous documents, inventories and registers of property, patents of nobility, prayers, oracles and soothsayers, formulae, descriptions of ritual and festivals, military regulation, both administrative and technical including detailed instructions about the construction of camps, the height of ramparts, the depth of ditches, and the length of palisades, and guard duty on the frontiers or in fortresses; lastly, catalogues of books indexed by the names of the authors."

59. The Medes and Persians:

The Medes and the Persians, as pointed out before, were both Aryans. The Greeks made no distinction between the two. But we might compare their relations to those of the Canaanites and Israelites of Palestine. The Medes had their capital at Ecbatana and the Persians at Susa and then at Persepolis. Their Saul was Cyrus (c. 550-29 B.C.), their David Cambyses (529-22 B.C.) and their Solomon Darius (521-486

B.C.). The Medes had joined with other powers in bringing about the destruction of Nineveh of the Assyrians in 606 B.C. (612 according to some). Cyrus absorbed the Medes and, in 538 B.C., destroyed Babylon, liberated the Hebrews and enabled them to repatriate to their dear Zion or Palestine, and overthrowing Croesus, the proud ruler of Lydia on the West coast, extended Persian dominion for the first time to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean (546 B.C.). These conquests brought the Persians into direct contact with the Hellenic world. This, as we shall see in a later chapter, was frought with very great consequences to the history of human civilisation. By 543 B.C. most of the cities of Ionia were incorporated in the Persian Empire, and under Cambyses (529-22B.C.), even Egypt was absorbed. But the greatest ruler of this dynasty was, however, Darius (521-486 B.C.), who, during the thirty-five years of his memorable reign, built up the most magnificent empire of antiquity before the days of Alexander, Asoka and Augustus.

Cambyses had been an erratic monarch and ended his life by suicide. This event was signalised by a simultaneous revolt in the provinces of the empire. Darius subdued them with the ruthlessness which was characteristic of the age. For instance, the pacification of Babylonia was attended with the Crucifixion of 3000 of its leading men. But after this "he put off the armour of war, became one of the wisest administrators in history, and set himself to re-establish his realm in a way that became a model of imperial organization till the fall of Rome. His rule gave western Asia a generation of such order and prosperity as that quarrelsome region had never known before." He divided his empire into twenty "satrapies" or provinces, viz. Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Lydia, Phrygia, Ionia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia, Assyria, the Caucasus, Babylonia, Media, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, the Punjab up to the Indus, Sogdiana and Bactria. All these provinces were connected by an excellent road system, and a postal service was established to keep the Great King informed of all that transpired. The "eyes and ears" (informers) of Darius were everywhere. The imperial army was composed of divisions representing all the "satrapies", each with its own national colours, arms and mode of fighting. But recruitment was enforced by a very severe law. Though punishments were barbaric the administration of justice was well organised. There were interpreters called "speakers of the law" to explain legal intricacies to litigants, and arbitration was encouraged. Delay in the execution of justice was prevented by prescribing a term to every case, and unjust

judges were flayed alive. Bribery was a capital offence for both the giver and the receiver. With all this, trial by ordeal also existed side by side, and punishments included poisoning, impaling, crucifixion, hanging, stoning, burning alive, smothering with hot ashes, etc. Taxation was also enormous. But as Professor Will Durant has observed:

"Despite these high charges for its services, the Persian empire was the most successful experiment in imperial government that the Mediterranean world would know before the coming of Rome—which was destined to inherit much of the earlier empire's political structure and administrative forms. The cruelty and dissipation of the latter monarchs, the occasional barbarism of the laws and the heavy burdens of taxation were balanced, as human governments go, by such order and peace as made the provinces rich despite these levies, and by such liberty as only the most enlightened empires have accorded to subject states. Each region retained its own language, laws, customs, morals, religion and coinage, and sometimes its native dynasty of kings. Many of the tributary nations, like Babylonia, Phœnicia, Palestine, were well satisfied with the situation, and suspected that their own generals and tax-gatherers would have plucked them even more ferociously. Under Darius I the Persian Empire was an achievement in political organization: only Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines would equal it."[3]

Like Napoleon's later, the imperialistic ambition of Darius, however, over-reached itself. The result was a fateful contest with Hellas which we shall describe later. Here we must have a glimpse of the Persian religion and the state of culture in Western Asia.

60. Persian Religion and Culture:

The Persians, being Aryans, had much more in common with the Vedic Indians than with the Hebrews described above. Their sacred book was the *Avesta*, written in the *zend* language, and closely resembles the *Rig-Veda*. The Iranians, to give them their proper name, began as a pastoral people like their Indian cousins, the Vedic Aryans, and later considered agriculture their primary occupation in life. But unlike the latter, they seem to have reached a monotheistic faith quite early and believed in *Ahura-Mazda* who possessed "Light, Good Mind, Right, Dominion, Piety, Well-being and Immortality." Their great Prophet Zarathushtra conceived of the world in dualistic terms "as the stage of a conflict, lasting

3. *The Story of Civilisation*, I, 363-4.

twelve thousand years, between the god Ahura-Mazda and the devil Ahriman." Purity and honesty were the greatest of the virtues, and would lead to everlasting life; the dead must not be buried or burned, but offered to dogs or to birds of prey.

They also worshipped the sun and fire as the visible symbols of God. Like Christ and Buddha after him, Zarathushtra taught:

"That nature alone is good which shall not do unto another whatever is not good unto its own self.

Man's duty is threefold: To make him who is an enemy a friend; to make him who is wicked righteous; and to make him who is ignorant learned."

This simple and noble religion was, however, soon clothed and embroidered by the *Magi*, or the Persian priesthood, with occult and theological garments, but the worship of the Sun (*Mithra*) continued and spread even under the Roman Empire. The former word is preserved in our "magic" and the latter practice in the celebration of Christmas which was originally a solar festival celebrating the triumph of the sun marked by the winter solstice (22nd December) when the day begins to grow longer.

The Iranis and Parsis of today are the sole survivors of the old faith. Little beyond their *Avesta* and other sacred books, their worship of the sacred fire, and their practice of allowing the dead to be devoured by vultures, exists to remind us of the ancient Iranians or Persians. The ruins of their great palaces at Persepolis, destroyed later by Alexander the Great, and the Behistun inscription of Darius,[4] are other mementoes of their vanished glory. Persian art was not original, and borrowed much from Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. But the *ensemble* "made Persian architecture individual and different—an aristocratic taste ... refined the overwhelming columns of Egypt and the heavy masses of Mesopotamia into the brilliance and ele-

4. Dr. Breasted writes: "This impressive monument is the most important historical document surviving in Asia ... the Great King published his triumph in the three most important languages of this eastern region and placed the record overlooking a main road at Behistun where the men of the caravans passing between Babylon and the Iranian Plateau would look up 300 ft. and see the splendid monument, 35 ft. high and 50 ft. wide." Sir Henry Rawlinson, after heroic efforts, deciphered its script (1835-47). *The Conquest of Civilisation*, p. 200.

gance, the proportion and harmony of Persepolis." In the final assessment, we might say with Professor Hearnshaw, first, that the Persian Empire was "organised for peace rather than for war; it lived by commerce not by brigandage; it ceased altogether from those annual raids which had made Assyria for centuries a terror to the Orient. Secondly, it was tolerant in religion; its lofty faith enabled it to see the soul of good in the cult of all the subject peoples; its attitude to the Jews was typical of its wise liberality throughout all the provinces of its wide dominion."[5]

POINTS FOR STUDY

51. Historical importance of South-West Asia.
52. Main branches of the Semitic people and their contributions to civilisation.
53. Archaelogical discoveries of Asia Minor.
54. The Indo-European family: Race and Language.
55. Organisation of the Persian Empire.
56. Comparison between Hebrew and Persian religions.
57. Art in Asia Minor: Hittite, Assyrian and Persian.

5. *A First Book of World History*, p. 71.

SEMITIC AND ARYAN
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
2800 B.C.	Cappadicia (Kurdistan)	Sargon of Akkad	Hittite antiquity coeval with Sargon.
1925 B.C.	Babylon		Hittite conquest of Babylon.
c. 1400 B.C.	Khatti (Boghaz-qeui)		Inscription mentions Indra, Varuna, Mitra.
c. 1385-1345 B.C.	Shubbiluli-uma		
1300-1234 B.C.	Egypt	Rameses II	Defeated Hittites at Kadesh (1295 B.C.)
	Carchemish		Hittite excavations in Kurdistan.
1200 B C.			Iron introduced in Asia Minor by Hittites.

1479-47 B.C.	Palestine	Moses	Contemporary of Hatshepsut of Egypt.
1015-975 B.C.		Solomon	Noted for 'wisdom, wealth and women'.
586 B.C.	Jerusalem	Nebuchadrezzar	Chaldean destruction of Israel.
960 B.C.	Tyre, Sidon, Byblos	Hiram I	Armaeans and Phoenicians: carriers of antiquity: alphabet, weights and measures: pen, ink and paper.
	Ecbatana		Capital of the Medes.
606-12 B.C.	Nineveh		Medes overthrow the Assyrians.
550-29 B.C.	Susa	Cyrus	Persian Empire over South-West Asia.
529-22 B.C.		Cambyses	
521-486 B.C.		Darius	

CHAPTER VIII

PROGRESS IN ANTIQUITY

61. Universal Progress.
62. Stages of Human Advancement.
63. Material and Spiritual elements.
64. Social Organisation.
65. Good and Evil results.
66. The Heart of Asia.

If the old-world notions appear to us fantastic, let us at least recognize their imaginative quality as all to the good. Something was there in the mind of the race to cry "Forward," though no man knew exactly whither.

—R. R. MARETT.

61. Universal Progress:

There is such a phenomenon as Progress and it is Universal; call it culture, civilisation, or by any other name. There may be setbacks here and there, or retrogression now and again in the long course of human history. But with all these, Man has evolved out of the brute-creation. He has risen above the mere animal. He has ever toiled to make his lot better than his inheritance in every age. And, whatever may be his ultimate Destiny, an eternal urge keeps him striving after Utopias. The Vision beckons and recedes before our faltering steps. Yet Faith keeps us steadfast on the thorny upward path. This is one of the fundamental human traits which are universally true. There is no West and East here. Man, the universally progressive creature, is the one subject of World History. The Sun may shine on only one side of the globe at a time but no part of the earth is left in darkness for ever.

In the foregoing pages we confined ourselves to lands and peoples generally known as Oriental: India, China, Persia, Asia Minor and Egypt. The history of civilisation in the rest of the ancient world is yet to be fully discovered. It is not right to assume that what has not been brought to light does not or did not exist. The continent of America, for example, did not exist for the Europeans until Columbus discovered it

for them at the close of the 15th century A.D. Even then that New World was considered to have been inhabited by uncivilised men—the "Red Indians". Nevertheless more recent discoveries by modern archæologists have established the fact that there was an ancient civilisation in Central and South America which did not compare badly with the other civilisations of antiquity. In a brief survey like ours it is not necessary to dwell at any length on those remote evidences of human progress far removed from the countries more familiar to us. We may, however, indicate a few of their salient characteristics, in order to show how Man revealed similar traits all over the world.

The Mayas of Mexico and the Incas of Peru have left behind them monuments which may be dated from at least the third century B.C. Those monuments are noted for their massiveness as well as sense of perspectives. They built pyramids, not for burying the dead, but as bases on which to erect their Sun and Serpent temples. One of their remarkable structures made of stone and brick measures 330 feet in length and 87 feet in breadth, with a central height of 40 feet. The Sun Pyramid of Mexico is 750 ft. square and 216 ft. high. They had a clever way of joining huge blocks of stone by a system of re-entrant angles which fitted them into one another so well that, after 2000 years or more, and despite the frequent earthquakes of South America, they are found lying today for miles "as true as when the stones were first laid, with no mortar to hold them." Indeed, this is the more remarkable as we know that they had not discovered the use of iron, and worked with tools of stone, copper and bronze. Archæologists struck with wonder have remarked that they handled huge blocks of stone as if they were pebbles! They constructed aqueducts for conveying water over long distances, and observatories to fix the calendar which indicated the degree of advancement they had achieved. They had a Calendar Stone, with astronomical markings, which weighed about 40 tons—a single solid block of porphyry. Their year of 365 days—each day in which had a special name—was divided into 18 months of 20 days each, the remaining five being regarded as unlucky. "The Mayan mathematical system had the zero, but instead of a decimal system they used a vigesimal, nineteen numbers and a zero." They had a literature, but, unfortunately, when the Spaniards conquered them, they were barbarously destroyed. One of their folk-songs orally preserved ended with the lines:

"All the earth is a grave, and naught escapes it;
Nothing is so perfect that it does not fall and disappear.

That which was yesterday is not today;
And let not that which is today trust to live tomorrow."

62. Stages of Human Advancement:

The genesis of culture is a problem which is surrounded with much obscurity. Before intelligible records become available we have necessarily to depend upon surmise. All that is written about the pre-historic ages is a reasonable conjecture based upon such relics as primitive tools and skeletons dug out by the archæologists. Naturally, even among experts, there is no unanimity of opinion as to the conclusions to be drawn from the relics of pre-historic antiquity. Often the peculiarities of an entire race are to be imagined from a single skull like that of the Java or the Peking man. Similarly, the extent of territory over which a culture must have spread is to be inferred from the scattered remains of a like nature such as flint, stone, copper, bronze and other artifacts. If, for instance, copper, bronze, or gold articles are found in a place which has no natural deposits of copper, tin, or gold, it is to be understood that there must have existed some contact or intercourse between the particular land where such relics have been discovered and the nearest country or countries having those metals. The age of pre-historic finds is determined from various circumstances, such as the depth at which a skeleton or implement is found, the material of which a tool is made, the technique of its manufacture, etc. A number of experts like the geologist, the anthropologist and the archæologist, have to put their heads together to decide the chronology. Even then the age or period will be approximately indicated and not accurately fixed. Greater certainty is reached only in the historic period where we have written records and even dated inscriptions. A comparative study by specialists has yielded certain fairly settled conclusions which should suffice for our purposes.

Man (*homo sapiens*) has not lived on this planet since eternity. He has evolved out of the animal kingdom through roughly calculable ages. In the earlier stages of his physical and mental evolution he was hardly to be distinguished from the anthropoid apes. Then he gradually developed the characteristics and features now belonging to him. His permanently erect posture and gait gave him two fore limbs with which to defend himself and work. More than this his superior brain enabled him to understand more things than his animal forbears could. The first mark of this was the capacity to communicate with his own kind through intelligible sounds.

The ability to remember them crystallised those sounds into language, spoken but not as yet written. But what a miraculous gift this! "In the beginning was the Word. The Word was with God. The Word was God." By virtue of this single faculty man became at once a social and organising creature. His next great invention was the tool. Monkeys have been known to use a stick or even to contrive a ladder with two steps in order to reach a coveted object, but to man alone belongs the unlimited power to invent. Man is, therefore, not merely a tool-*using* but pre-eminently a tool-*making* animal. We have noted how his career has been marked out in stages according to the material and technique of this implement-making: the Old Stone Age, the Middle Stone Age, the New Stone Age, and the Metal Age; the last being again subdivided into Copper, Bronze, and Iron Ages. The technique of implement-making included improvement in the efficiency of instruments as well as the finish and refinement of their form. The former aspect developed the scientific and the latter aspect the artistic faculty in man. Sometime in the Palæolithic Age itself man also made the discovery of artificially kindled fire. This served him, no doubt, as one of his most powerful tools, but it also appeared to illumine his soul as much as it banished the primeval darkness; it touched and enlivened his imagination as much as it warmed his body and roasted his meat. It could keep off the wild beasts, nay destroy and consume them; so could it cremate the body of his dead companion. But this not so early. Yet terrestrial fire was little different from the lightning that singed the trees or even set a whole forest ablaze. Was that again very different from the blazing luminary in the sky? The sun perhaps was the distant source of all fire, warmth, life itself! Here were religion and philosophy born. This accounts for the universality of the Sun-cult. To the Egyptian he was *Amon-Ra* or *Aton,* the Pharaoh himself was the son of the Sun. To the Zoroastrian again he was the visible symbol of *Ahura-Mazda,* the source of life, light and righteousness, and the enemy of death, darkness and the demon *Ahriman.* To the Indo-Aryan he was *Savitar, Aditya, or Sūrya,* the quickener of all life and intelligence. Hence from Akhnaton to Akbar and our own times sun-worship has played a prominent role. In Europe it assumed the form of *Apollo* and *Mithra* worship among the Greeks and the Romans respectively, and in India it gave rise to the belief in *Surya-vamsha* or the solar dynasty of rulers. Religion thus born was later mystified, elaborated and perverted by priests and prostituted by princes.

63. Material and Spiritual elements:

It will be noticed from the above account of the fundamental discoveries of earliest man that progress in antiquity was both material and spiritual. These two broad traits have characterised human history in all ages. We shall follow them out briefly through all the stages of man's advancement in antiquity in the rest of this chapter.

If necessity is the mother of invention her children are twins; for all inventions have a dual aspect—material and spiritual. By material we here mean those things which are visible and tangible, and by spiritual those that are invisible and intangible but cognisable by intellect or imagination. For example the body is physical and material, while vitality, mind, and imagination are spiritual. The history of man is an account of these dual aspects of his life. It is a history of inventions pertaining to his material as well as spiritual wants. The two are inseparable.

Wants may be further classified into primary and secondary. Primary wants are those without the satisfaction of which we can hardly live. Secondary wants are those for which we develop a craving after the primary wants have been satisfied. In the first category come food, clothing, shelter, and perhaps sex; in the latter, religion, art and other luxuries. Every phase of our civilisation is connected with one or other of these human needs. Hence civilisation is described as the multiplication and refinement of wants.

There is an essential difference between man and the lower animals in the way they seek to satisfy their respective wants. Man is an inventive animal, whereas, all other creatures are dependent on what nature supplies them. In the beginning man also got his food, clothing and shelter directly from nature, without his inventive transformation. Then he picked up berries or fruits, grubbed roots, or chased his prey and hunted; lived in the natural shelter provided by trees and caves, in a state of nature, and satisfied his appetites like the other animals. But with the dawn of his inventive intelligence his life was at once lifted above the beasts of the jungle, and he became the potential lord of the earth and nature. In a sense he became the master of his destiny, that is to say, within the limits of his power of organisation.

64. Social Organisation:

From being a food-hunting individual man became member of a food-producing community. Henceforth he is

definitely marked out as a social animal. But his herd instincts were nobler than those of other animals. Sex and speech knit him into a family—the nucleus of larger social organisations like clan, tribe, race, nation and state.

The family was either patriarchal or matriarchal. In the former the eldest male progenitor, and in the latter the eldest female, played the dictator. Conduct was controlled by the supreme governor of the family while natural affections engendered, secured and cemented group loyalties. The clan was a large family and the tribe an enlarged clan. At the dawn of the historical period we already find settled communities with some sort of organised government,—patriarchal, matriarchal, monarchical, republican, or theocratic. They are organised for peace as well as for war.

Law was largely derived from custom or tradition, and was greatly influenced by religious ideas and beliefs. It was, in course of time, crystallised into codes like those of Hammurabi, Moses and Manu, or rationalised and interpreted by great teachers like Zoroaster, Confucius and Buddha. The epochs during which the various prophets appeared in Egypt Mesopotamia, Palestine, Persia, India, and China indicate that progress had been arrested by some tyranny, obsession or lopsided development. Thus Akhnaton came to deliver Egypt from her monstrous gods and goddesses; Hammurabi and Moses gave the Babylonians and Israelites just the law that suited their times; Confucius delivered China from the obscurantism of Lao-tze; and Buddha did the same in India from the tyranny of Brahmanism; while Zoroaster was Persia's saviour from a Magi-ridden society.

The greatest evil of the world of antiquity was slavery. It continued as a recognised institution in the Graeco-Roman society and was not abolished until the last century in Europe and America. But, while in later times a slave who tried to repudiate his master could be put to death, the code of Hammurabi, severe though it was in other respects, declared: 'If a slave shall say to his master "Thou art not my master," he shall be prosecuted as a slave, and his owner shall cut off his ear.' (H. C. 282) 'If a man has bought another man's slave, male or female, in a foreign land, and when he has come into the midst of the country, the master of the slave recognises his male or female slave, then, if they are children of the land, he shall give them their freedom without price.' (H. C. 280) Another indication of the comparative humanity of Hammurabi's Code was its recognition of the rights of women. We have already cited a few instances of this in a previous chapter. Here we may add one: 'If a woman hate

her husband, and say, "Thou shalt not possess me," the reason for her dislike shall be enquired into. If she is careful, and has no fault, but her husband takes himself away and neglects her, then that woman is not to blame. She shall take her dowry and go back to her father's house.' (H.C. 142) But the law was characteristically severe where she was proved guilty: 'If she has not been careful, but runs out, wastes her house, and neglects her husband, then that woman shall be thrown into water.' (H. C. 143).

The Babylonian code is also remarkable for its regulation of prices and wages as well as the conduct of public servants: 'If a man has hired an ox for threshing, 20 *qa* of corn is its hire; if an ass has been hired for threshing 10 *qa* of corn is its hire; if a man hire cattle, wagon, and driver, he shall give 180 *qa* of corn per diem'; etc. (H. C. 268, 269, 271). 'If a man hire a workman, then from the beginning of the year until the fifth month he shall give six grains of silver per diem. From the sixth month until the end of the year he shall give five grains of silver per diem.' (H. C. 273). 'If a doctor has treated a freeman with a metal knife for a severe wound, and has cured the freeman, or has opened a freeman's tumor with a metal knife, and cured a freeman's eye, then he shall receive ten *shekels* of silver; if the son of a plebeian, he shall receive five *shekels* of silver; if a man's slave, the owner of the slave shall give two *shekels* of silver to the doctor.' (H. C. 215-17). But woe to the doctor who failed in his operations: 'If a doctor has treated a man with a metal knife for a severe wound, and has caused the man to die, or has opened a man's tumor with a metal knife and destroyed the mans' eye, his hands shall be cut off; if a doctor has treated the slave of a plebeian with a metal knife, for a severe wound and caused him to die, he shall render slave for slave.' (H. C. 218-19) It is interesting to note that the same law applied to even veterinary doctors: 'If a doctor of oxen or asses has treated either ox or ass for a severe wound, and cured it, the owner of the ox or ass shall give to the doctor one-sixth of a *shekel* of silver for his fee; if he has treated an ox or an ass for a severe wound and caused it to die, he shall give the quarter of its price to the owner of the ox or the ass.' (H. C. 224-25)

But the code of Hammurabi was, on the whole, too crude and severe even like that of the better known law of Moses. 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' was the principle underlying both: 'If a son has struck his father, his hands shall be cut off; if a man has destroyed the eye of a freeman, his own eye shall be destroyed; if he has broken the bone of

a freeman, his bone shall be broken.' (H. C. 195-7) It was also based upon a class system and therefore invidious: 'If he has destroyed the eye of a plebeian, or broken a bone of a plebeian, he shall pay one *mina* of silver; if he has destroyed the eye of a man's slave, or broken a bone of a man's slave, he shall pay half his value.' (H.C. 198-9). But for all this, that it was just within its own ethic is obvious from the clause which says, 'If a man has struck another man in a dispute and wounded him, that man shall swear "I did not strike him knowingly," and he shall pay for the doctor.' (H. C. 206).

65. Good and Evil Results:

When society was so organised it already possessed infinite potentialities for good as well as evil. The history of antiquity is one long illustration of this. On the one hand it could build up huge empires like those of the Pharaohs in Egypt, Darius in Western Asia, and Shih Huang-ti in China: on the other it could employ thousands of men to toil and sweat to raise such curious monuments like the pyramids of Egypt and the Great Wall of China. They are monuments as much of the tyranny of ancient monarchs as of the engineering skill that they could command. But such concentration of power has never been an unmixed evil. While it kept the peace over long stretches of time and territory, civilisation flourished and put forth some of its best flowers. And not the least of the benefits derived by us from the vanity and superstitions of the ancient world are the rich treasures bequeathed by it to posterity in the shape of astonishing relics and monuments. We should indeed be grateful to the people of the past for burying their dead, embalming their corpses, and storing their graves with the choicest articles of their use. But for these practices much of ancient life would have crumbled to dust and ashes long ago. The vanity of the builders of the pyramids, the sphinxes, and the magnificent temples of Luxor and Karnak, has provided the richest quarries for the historian. But for their proud inscriptions and carvings we should have remained ignorant of the great and numerous contributions to modern civilisation made by Egypt. Had Hammurabi not cared to inscribe his wonderful code on the diorite pillar discovered near Susa (and now placed in the Louvre Museum), our knowledge of ancient society would have been poor indeed.

Though wars were frequent in the ancient world, most of the countries whose history we have traced in the preceding

chapters, with the exception of Assyria, were definitely organised for peace. Hence their great contributions to human progress in all directions. Assyria however, was forced by her peculiar situation to organise herself for war. She converted herself into a military state and soon became the earliest imperialistic power in Asia. Her citizens were compelled to live like the Spartans and Prussians later, and inevitably sacrificed the humaner values in life. While they invented Iron weapons and battering rams to destroy fortresses, they failed miserably to live as cultured men. Their art, as pointed out earlier, could not rise to a level where it could depict human subjects with sympathy and success. They lived a very brutal life and, perhaps, therefore could represent in sculpture and painting the animal world with marvellous truth and animation. Otherwise the luxuries of Nineveh were all borrwed. The Assyrians were human parasites. They sucked the blood of surrounding civilisations, destroyed the arts of peace, and pampered themselves to death. So fell Nineveh.

66. The Heart of Asia: 11/3/25

In contrast to militant Assyria we find in India, China, Persia, and Palestine the non-militaristic "Heart of Asia." Though at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa India seemed to be city-minded and thought in terms of brick and mortar, her genius was essentially sylvan. Her *Vedas* and *Upanishads* are her own, while in all else she was a sharer in the common civilisation of antiquity. It is difficult to associate Buddha and Asoka with any other country but India. They peculiarly respresented in their actual living what may be described as the Indian attitude towards life:

> "Seeking nothing, he gains all;
> Foregoing self, the Universe grows "I":
> If any teach Nirvāna is to cease,
> Say unto such they lie."

China was not unworldly. Her culture was marked by a quiet charm. She glorified the domestic virtues and found salvation in ancestor-ship. Her genius was both practical and artistic. She gave to the world her exquisite porcelain, paper, silk-fabrics, mariner's-compass, printing press, and gun-powder. But her representative men were Lao-tze and Confucius who taught respectively non-aggression and a self-reliant morality. The Great Wall typified her perseverance and isolationism. Persia was again different, being neither metaphysical nor exclusive nor quietist. She was eminently

constructive and tolerant. She borrowed the imperial ideas of the Assyrians but humanised them. Worshipping the Sun she became the torch-bearer of enlightenment in the East. On the whole, like her prophet Zoroaster, she stood on the side of *Ahura-Mazda* as opposed to *Ahriman.* She created order in a chaotic world, and established a road-system that became the permanent channel of intercourse between the East and the West. The restoration of the Israelites to Palestine, after their Babylonian captivity, was her greatest gift to Europe; for it was the restored Hebrews that produced Christ. She also provided Rome her imperial model, and to the world the first demonstration of Asia's weakness and Europe's strength. But before she fell Persia had endowed her successors with the rich legacy of her eclectic culture garnered from Asia and Africa.

That culture, in the words of Professor Breasted, "gave the world the first highly developed practical arts, including metal work, weaving, glass-making, paper-making, and many other similar industries. To distribute the products of these industries among other peoples and carry on commerce, it built the earliest seagoing ships and it made the first roads and bridges. It first was able to move great weights and undertake large building enterprises—large even for us of to-day. The early Orient therefore brought forth a great group of inventions surpassed in importance only by those of the modern world. The Orient also gave us the earliest architecture in stone masonry, the colonnade, the arch, and the tower and spire. It produced the earliest refined sculpture, from the wonderful portrait figures and colossal statues of Egypt to the exquisite seals of early Babylonia. It gave us writing and the earliest alphabet. In literature it brought forth the earliest known tales in narrative prose, poems, historical works, social discussions, and even a drama. It gave us the calendar we still use. It made a beginning in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. It first devised the administrative machinery of a government, with paid officials efficiently organised to collect taxes and disburse government payments. It first produced government on a large scale, whether of a single great nation or of an empire made up of a group of nations. Finally, in religion the East developed the earliest belief in a sole God and his fatherly care for all men, and it laid the foundations of a religious life from which came forth the founder of the leading religion of the civilized world to-day. For these things, accomplished—most of them—while Europe as a whole was in a state of savagery or barbarism, our debt to the Orient is enormous."

POINTS FOR STUDY

58. Where was Civilisation born?
59. Importance of Race and Environment.
60. The value of Speech and Writing.
61. Means of subsistence and Progress: Hunting, Pasture and Agriculture.
62. Relationship between Economic, Social and Political Organisation.
63. The birth of Religion and Art: their place in human progress.
64. War and Peace in the early history of Man.
65. Oriental contributions to civilisation.

CHAPTER IX

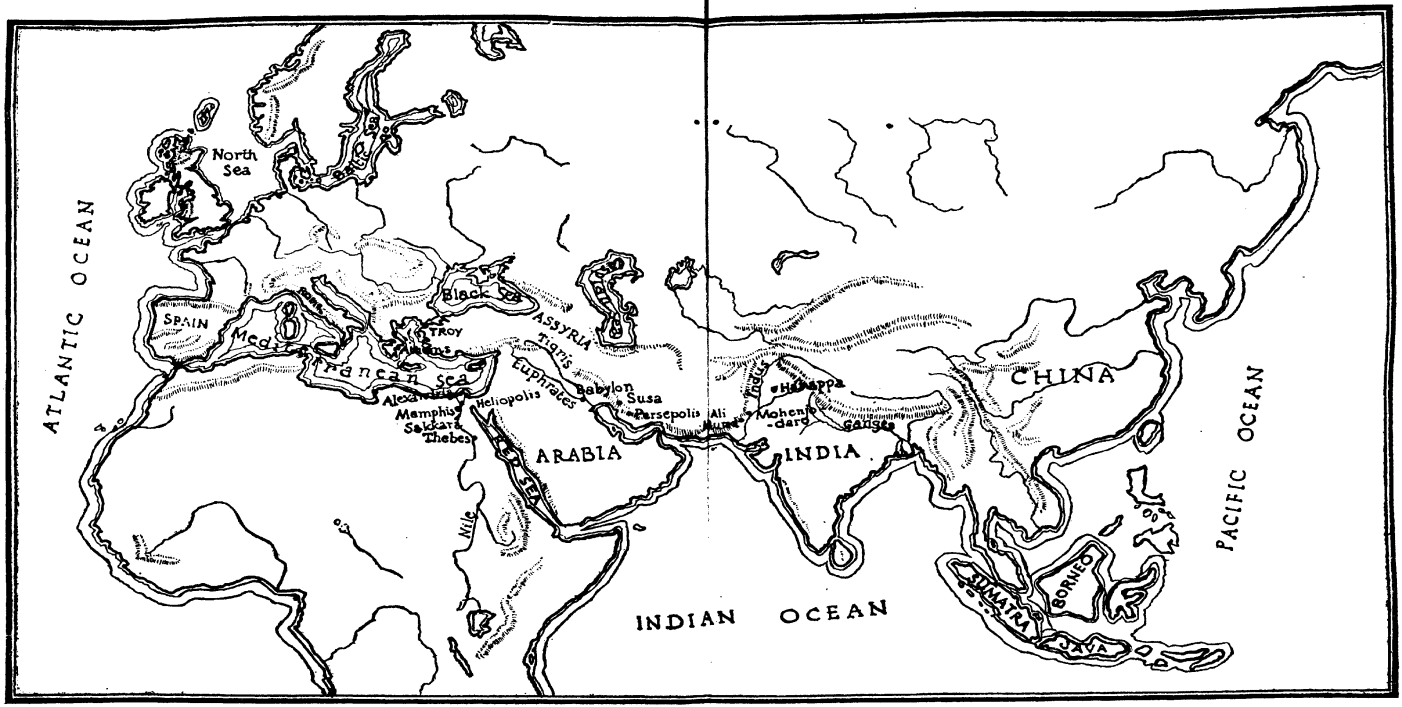
THE HELLENIC WORLD

67. Hellas the Transmitter.
68. The Aegean Civilisation.
69. Mycenae and Tiryns.
70. Homer's Troy.
71. Aryanisation of Greece.
72. The Birth of City-States.
73. The Greek Spirit.
74. The Law Givers.
75. Greek Democracy.
76. Athens vs Sparta.
77. Rice of Macedonia.
78. Alexander the Great.

For weal or woe, the Greek hand touched every phase of this civilisation of ours that was born in the Nearest East—and, touching, left a mark—G.A. DORSEY

67. Hellas the Transmitter:

The first European country to profit by contact with the civilisations of antiquity was Greece. That country has been so named after *Graeci* of the Romans. Even Homer, the earliest of Greek writers speaks only of Achæans, Argives, etc. but not of the *Greeks*. Hesiod refers to them for the first time as the *Hellenes* as distinguished from the *Barbaroi* or foreigners. That name was derived from their legendary ancestor *Hellen* (not to be confounded with Hellen of Troy in Homer's *Iliad*), after whom also the land came to be called *Hellas*. The Hellenic world in ancient times was larger than modern Greece, and its history did not begin with Homer. Homer composed or put together (like our own *Vyāsa* of *Mahābhārata*) his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—the *Bible* of Hellas—about a thousand years after the Hellenes settled down in the land named after them. They were Aryans whose migrations from the Caspian region, about 2000 B.C., have been referred to before. Hence they were the Western cousins of



THE ANCIENT WORLD

the Indo-Aryans, the Persians, and the Hittites already described. Their immigrations into the Aegean (Eastern Mediterranean) world were preceded by an earlier culture which has been variously known as the Aegean, Cretan, Minoan or Mycenœan civilisation. This was the window through which light from the Orient first illumined the Occident.

68. The Aegean Civilisation:

The missing links between the Asiatic (including African) and European civilisations were discovered in the buried cities of Troy, Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Cnossus, by Heinrich Schliemann and Sir Arthur Evans, in 1870 and 1900 respectively. The former was an American born German grocer who was shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, but later amassed a fortune all of which he invested in his hobby of seeking for Homer's Troy. The latter was an English archæologist. Their excavations have done for European history what Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have done for India. Prior to their wonderful discoveries Greek history was begun with Homer; now it goes back to about 3600 B.C. Insted of following the order of their discoveries we shall describe them here in their true historical sequence: Cnossus, Mycenæ Tiryns, and then Troy.

Cnossus is on the island of Crete which is centrally situated in the Eastern Mediterranean, thus forming a link between Asia, Africa and Europe. The excavations carried out on this island, by Sir Arthur Evans and others after him, have revealed a number of sites the chief of which are Cnossus and Phæstus. They represent a civilisation which was contemporaneous with Egypt, Babylon and Mohenjo-daro, and had spread as well over the mainland of Greece as across the Aegean to Troy in the north-east and Sicily in the west. For this reason it is called the Mediterranean or Aegean civilisation. It is also called Cretan on account of its island centre, and Minoan because of its legendary connexion with King Minos who had his home in Crete. Its extension to Mycenæ accounts for its being also known as Mycenæan. Sir Arthur Evans has divided it into three main periods with three further sub-divisions in each of them: The Early Minoan (3600-2100 B.C.); the Middle Minoan (2100-1600 B.C.); and the Late Minoan (1600-1200 B.C.). Without entering into technical details we might acquaint ourselves with the salient features of this culture. We have here to depend

largely upon archæological evidence, as we did in the Indus valley, for, although a large number of inscribed seals and tablets have been found in Crete they have not yet been deciphered.

The most valuable of the Cretan discoveries is the Palace of King Minos. It covers an area of six acres and contains the oldest throne found anywhere in Europe. Its Hall of the Double Axes is notable for the prominent use of the "double axe" which appears to have been the religious and royal symbol of the ruling house of Cnossus. But the most remarkable feature in the construction of the palace is its sanitary drainage. Sir Arthur Evans says, "As an anticipation of scientific methods of sanitation, the system of which we have here the record has been attained by few nations even at the present day." Buried under the floor of the palace in some rooms were a number of huge jars which bore marks of their having been used for storing olive oil as well as other precious articles. "It is by a minute study of its pottery, its porcelain, its gems, inlays, alabaster, frescoes, inscribed tablets, and religious emblems," writes Mr. A. H. Smith, "that its owner and excavator has done more than any other man to restore to the world a whole buried civilization hitherto hardly guessed at or imagined."[1] The frescoes and painted pottery of Crete are extremely interesting both on account of their artistic excellence and the light their designs throw on the dress, ornaments, and ideas of the Cretan people of about five thousand years ago. The best example of Minoan art, however, is an ivory and gold statuette of the Snake Goddess (c. 1500 B.C.), about 6½ inches high. Its costume, consisting of a low-cut tight fitting bodice a waist-compressing gold belt, and a full skirt with five flounces, is quite modern looking. Crete appears to have been but a province of the Egyptian Empire of Thuthmose III, in the fifteenth century B.C., as one of his officers bore the title of "governor of the islands in the midst of the sea" (i.e. the Aegean).

69. Mycenae and Tiryns:

In the Middle Minoan period, or a little later, the Cretan culture reached its height and spread even over the mainland of Greece. The remains of this culture have also been discovered at Mycenæ and Tiryns (c. 1600-1200 B.C.) as pointed out above. The labours of Dr. Schliemann (1870-80) were rewarded with a golden harvest and the "golden Mycenæ" of

1. For a fuller account read his article on "The Palace of Minos at Cnossus" in *Wonders of the Past*, II, 711-25.

Homer was found to be literally crammed with the yellow metal. Its amazing contents of "gold vessels, gold rings and necklaces, embossed and intricately decorated gold fittings and platings for furniture and clothing of which the perishable parts are dust or splinters, revealed not only a wealth of complicated design, but a whole style of art, with traditions and ideals of its own . . . unrelated (at the time of its discovery) to any comparable finds."[2] The remains of Mycenæ and Tiryns have disclosed two types of tombs described by archæologists as the "shaft tombs" and the "beehive tombs". In one of the latter was found the "Treasury of Atreus" father of the Homeric hero Agamemnon. The people of Mycenæ and Tiryns, unlike those of Cnossus, built like giants, and cyclopean walls surrounded the two cities. Perhaps this was necessitated by their situation. While the Cretans could defend themselves by means of a strong fleet, those of the Argolic plain, where Mycenæ and Tiryns are situated, had to protect themselves by means of heavy fortifications, especially on account of their vast accumulations of gold. As at Cnossus so in the Argolic cities the palaces contained frescoes and other *objects d'art* graphically, portraying for us the life of a bygone age. A pair of lions carved on a huge monolith, symmetrically posed on either side of a central pillar, in heraldic design, was found at the entrance of one of the palaces. But among the more interesting relics of this culture must be mentioned the wonderful sword blades, inlaid with gold and electron, found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, and the still more exquisite golden cups of Vaphio discovered later in the Spartan plain but belonging to the same artistic epoch. Apart from the high refinement of their craftsmanship, the scenes of hunting lions, deer, etc., and the snaring of wild bulls, in which even women appear to have participated, indicate a love of healthy and vigorous life of out-door adventure among the predecessors of the ancient Greeks.

70. Homer's Troy:

By far the greatest interest, however, attaches to the excavations on the Hissarlik mound, as that contained beneath it the famous City of Homer's *Iliad,* viz., Troy. Its situation on the bridge between the Euxine (Black Sea) and the Mediterranean, on the one hand, and the land route from Asia to Europe, on the other, made Troy the Pānipat of opposing peoples and civilisations. Xerxes led his Persian hosts

2. "Golden Mycenæ" by J. L. Myres, in *Wonders of the Past.* II, 861-73.

against the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. by that route, and Alexander the Great marched into Asia in the fourth century B.C. also by the same road. The Greeks of historical times knew the place as Ilion, and the Romans called it Ilium. Nine superimposed layers representing various strata of civilisation (like those of Mohenjo-daro), ranging from the prehistoric period to the ascendancy of Rome have been disclosed under the hill of Hissarlik where also stood Homer's Troy. In the words of Andrew Lang:

"The sacred keep of Ilion is rent
By shaft and pit; foiled waters wander slow
Through plains where Simois and Scamander went
To war with gods and heroes long ago."

Like the indications of the Biblical Tower of Babel and of the story of the Flood found in Mesopotamia, the discoveries of Troy and Mycenæ have served to put the earliest legends of Hellas on unmistakable archæological foundations. This is the great service rendered by the adventurous Heinrich Schliemann to Homer and to history. The "treasure of Priam" was not less valuable than the "treasury of Atreus." Now placed in the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin, it "consisted of large copper or bronze bowls, of bronze tools and weapons, of many silver vessels and of a large hoard of gold jewellery of a characteristic and primitive kind. It included diadems with pendent chains and basket-like earrings with rosettes and twisted wires,"[3] etc. The *Iliad* describes but the events of a few days out of the ten years' siege of Troy; but in it

"The city is built
To music, therefore never built at all,
And therefore built for ever."

Homer was not the author of the *Iliad* but only its compiler in the form in which we find it today; while the *Odyssey*, which describes the adventures of one of the heroes (Odysseus) of the Trojan war, also bears marks of different authorship. But both belong to the *Homeric cycle* of legends enshrining in immortal form the people's memories of historical happenings and 'battles long ago'. Their value for us is, therefore, both historical and literary. The Hellenic epics, like our own *Ramayana* and *Mahābhārata*, constitute a picture gallery full of vivid portrayals of ancient life. The civilisation they represent is the interlude between Mycenæ and Athens. We witness in them the Aegean world in the Bronze Age (c. 1500-700 B.C.).

3. A. H. Smith, "Troy: The City Sung by Homer," in *Wonders of the Past*, I, 323-31.

71. Aryanisation of Greece:

The ancestors of the Greeks came into the Aegean world and largely displaced the Mediterranean peoples about the same time as the Aryans in India. They came in dribblets at first and then flooded the "Greek" peninsula, the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, and even the western littoral of Asia-Minor. They comprised several tribal groups of which the Achæans and Dorians were the most important. The former concentrated in Attica, where they evolved the Athenian culture, and the latter in Laconia (Peloponnesus) which became famous under the leadership of Sparta. But the immediate effect of the Greek invasion was the destruction of the Aegean civilisation which is symbolised in the fall of Troy. It is significant that an account of it has come down to us, not from the Greeks of the mainland, but through the Ionic bard of Asia-Minor. Ionia was the inheritor of the Oriental civilisations and the inspirer of the historic Hellenic culture of Athens and Sparta. "The Greeks did not grow a civilisation of their own," says H. G. Wells; "they wrecked one, and put another together upon and out of the ruins." The originality of the Greeks, however, lay in improving upon their inheritance and transforming it beyond recognition.

The early Greek invaders were, like the Indo-Aryans, a pastoral people. They dealt with the natives in the same manner as their confreres in India. Their ideas and institutions to start with were similar. They both worshipped the gods of Nature (Zeus, Apollo, Pan etc.) and were tribally organised under their patriarchs. But nothing could be more dissimilar than the later developments of the Greeks and the Indians. The former became rational, scientific and practical, while the latter remained emotional, religious, and metaphysical. Hence to us the study of Greek history is peculiarly instructive. "Their outer political history, indeed," says Professor Gilbert Murray, "like that of all other nations, is filled with war and diplomacy, with cruelty and deceit. It is the inner history, the history of thought and feeling and character, that is so grand." We shall rapidly survey the former aspect of Hellenic life and then turn to their contributions to human civilisation and progress.

72. The Birth of City-States:

The excavations of Troy and Cnossus have somewhat authenticated two "events" in the legendary history of Hellas: (1) the capture of Troy itself from the pre-Hellenic (either

Hittite or Mediterranean) rulers of the north-eastern Aegean; and (2) the overthrow of the rulers of Cnossus by Theseus of Athens who is said to have slain the Minotaur in the labyrinth built by Dædalus in the palace of Minos. Both these belong to the period when the Greeks were ruled over by kings. Kingship came to an end in Greece (with the exception of Sparta) about the middle of the eighth century B.C. The Greeks lived, not in large kingdoms or empires, as in Egypt and Asia, but in small city-states. This is largely accounted for by the peculiar geographical features of Hellas, but was equally due to the fissiparous national traits of the people themselves and their passion for liberty. The king was among them no more than a *primus inter pare* (first among equals). Hence, with the growing importance of the nobles, it was easy to either eclipse or totally supersede the king who would always be most jealously watched in a Liliputian world like the Greek city-state.

The immediate successors of the monarchs were the *Eupatridœ* or nobles who, after a spell of aristocratic rule, gave place to "tyrants". They were mostly benevolent autocrats like Peisistratus of Athens. Owing to the widespread nature of this political change all over the Greek world during the sixth century B.C. that period is known as the Age of Tyrants (600-500 B.C.). We shall asses their contributions to Greek history later. Meanwhile it is to be remembered that the Persian empire under Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius had been extended to the Mediterranean littoral of Asia-Minor and that had included the Greek colonies in that region. In 500 B.C. the liberty loving Greeks of Asia-Minor rebelled against Persia, and were supported by Athens and Eretria. This drew upon Hellas the whole might of the Great King Darius. For a time it appeared as if the tiny city-states of the Hellenes would all be brought under the Persian yoke. Darius swept like an avalanche over the Greek colonies and crushed their cities (496-494 B.C.) one after another, and, though one of his expeditions was wrecked off Mt. Athos in 492 B.C., he equipped another in the course of the next two years and appeared before Eretria and Athens in 490 B.C. But the Greeks, for once, joined together and put forth their greatest might against the invader. The result was the great victory of the Greeks over the Persians at *Marathon*—one of the most epoch-making triumphs in World History. "If the Greeks had been defeated on that occasion," writes Professor Hearnshaw, "the whole course of man's cultural development would have been different." The credit is due to the courage of Miltiades and the genius of Callimachus who thus became the saviours of

European freedom. Ten years later Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, made a still more heroic effort to punish the Greeks, but all in vain. The battles of Salamis (480 B.C.), Platæa and Mycale (479 B.C.) confirmed the verdict of Marathon for all time. In the enthusiastic words of Professor Bury, "It was as if on that day the gods had said to them (i.e. Greeks)—'Go on and prosper' "; or as Creasy put it, "It secured for mankind the intellectual treasures of Athens, the growth of free institutions, the liberal enlightenment of the western world, and the gradual ascendancy for many ages of the great principles of European civilisation."

73. The Greek Spirit:

The history of Hellas from the defeat of the Persians to the rise of Macedonia (479-338 B.C.) constitutes one of the brightest epochs in World History; it was certainly the most glorious period in the history of the Greeks. It was the age "which gave to the world the immortal dramas of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, which saw the erection of the masterpieces of Athenian architecture, the creation of the gems of Hellenic sculpture, and the formulation of the Greek philosophy by Socrates and his disciples." The work of the Greek spirit may, indeed, be followed, as suggested by Mr. F. S. Marvin, in three distinct but parallel streams,—their fight for freedom, their realisation of beauty in drama and the plastic arts, their foundation of science by the earliest scheme of laws in mathematics and astronomy[4] etc.

An eminent constitutional historian[5] of Greece has observed that "The central idea and what may be called the spirit of Greek history is its constitutionalism." The extraordinary emphasis the Greeks themselves laid on politics (which indeed is a Greek word: from *polis* = city) may be seen from Isocrates' description of the constitution as "the soul of the state". Aristotle went further and declared that "the constitution is the state." Almost all the Hellenic city-states passed through the Aristotelian cycle of governmental forms: monarchy, aristocracy and politæ punctuated respectively by tyrannis, oligarchy and democracy. In all the history of antiquity we have not come across such a variety in forms of government. While monarchy was the predominant type, whether in small kingdoms or huge empires, the world before Greece in the centuries succeeding the eighth B.C. had not known a non-monar-

4. *Old and New*, p. 79.
5. A. H. J. Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, p. 1.

chial administration except perhaps in the aristocratic republics of Buddhist India. But in Greece the political cycle seemed to run its round with almost the inevitability of the seasons in the year. The progressive character of the Greek people is nowhere better illustrated than in this constitutional sphere. That was one of their greatest gifts to posterity. In this connexion the following remarks by Professor Zimmern are worthy of thoughtful attention:

"The first valuable contribution the Greeks made to political study was that they invented it. It is not too much to say that, before fifth-century Greece, politics did not exist. There were powers and principalities, governments and subjects, but politics no more existed than chemistry existed in the age of alchemy. An imitation of an idea, as Plato has taught us, is not the same as an idea; nor is the imitation of a science the same as a science. Rameses and Nebuchadrezzar, Crœsus the Lydian and Cyrus the Persian, ruled over great empires; but within their dominions there were no politics because there were no public affairs. There were only the private affairs of the sovereign and his ruling class. Government and all that pertained to it, from military service and taxation to the supply of women for the royal harem, was simply the expression of the power and desire of the ruler. The great advance made by Greece was to have recognized that public or common interests exist and to have provided, first for their management, and secondly for their study. In other words, the Greeks were the first to rescue the body politic from charlatans and to hand it over to physicians."[6]

74. The Law Givers:

We have space in this little volume only for one illustration of this political transformation. As noticed before, there were kings in Athens like Theseus. They were the priests, judges and military commanders of the Athenians. But about the middle of the eighth century B.C., as in other parts of Greece, they were gradually superseded by an Aristocracy. The greatest service rendered to the Athenians by the aristocrats was to give them a code of laws. Their first law-giver was Draco (c. 621 B.C.). His code, like that of Hammurabi and Moses, was very drastic. It was therefore considerably modified later (c. 594 B.C.) by another nobleman named Solon. He was a "reconciler" of opposing interests. His greatest reforms

6. Read "Political Thought" in *The Legacy of Greece,* edited by R. W. Livingstone.

were (1) the emancipation of the heavily indebted peasantry by his famous moratorium known as *seisachtheia* "which removed the burdens from the bodies of the masses, and was the first step in the establishment of a popular constitution in which their minds might have free play;" and (2) the creation of a mixed type of government which nevertheless laid the foundations of democracy by giving the people the right to sit in judgment over the magistracy. The magistrates (public officials) were popularly elected in Athens and assumed office after they had taken an oath of integrity before the *heliœa* or people's court; at the end of their term of office they were again subject to scrutiny by *heliœa* and, perhaps, punishment by the *Araeopagus*. Solon also made it obligatory on parents to teach their children some trade, failing in which they might not legally expect to be maintained in their old age by their children. By such salutary reforms Solon paved the way for a more perfect Democracy. But before this could be realised Athens had to pass through the *tyrannis* of Peisistratus (560-527 B.C.)

Peisistratus, like Draco and Solon, was also a nobleman. He established his *tyrannis* only to rescue his countrymen from the chaos which followed the death of Solon. Although he concentrated all power in his own hands and those of his family, he utilised his dictatorship for the glorification of Athens. He encouraged agriculture, industry, commerce, and the arts. Taxation under him was very light (being 1/25 of the produce) and the people found employment in the great architectural works which the "tyrant" undertook in order to beautify Athens. Peisistratus also systematised the celebration of national festivals like the Dyonisiac, and instituted the practice of singing on such occasions the natonal epics like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. He built a fleet of about fifty triremes and seized the mouth of the Hellespont (Dardenelles) on account of its strategic importance for trade. Judging from this and other like examples, Dr. Breasted has observed: "The Age of the Tyrants was therefore one of the great epochs of the world's history. Under the stimulus of the keen struggle for leadership in business, in government, and in society, the minds of the ablest men of the time were wonderfully quickened, till they threw off the bondage of habit and entered an entirely new world of science and philosophy. The inner power of this vigorous new Greek life flowed out in statesmanship, in literature and religion, in sculpture and painting, in architecture and building,"[7] etc.

7. *The Conquest of Civilization*, pp. 331-32.

But, in Athens, liberty was valued more than anything else in life, and the successors of Peisistratus were not tolerated for long. Of his sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, one was assassinated and the other fled to the Persians and treacherously helped them against his own countrymen. Though the murderers of Hipparchus, Harmodius and Aristogiton, were immortalised by the Athenians as their saviours, by setting up their marble statues at the Araeopagus, they had soon to face the Persians; with what results we have already described. Cleisthenes, one of the heroes of the Persian wars, took Athens one stage forward towards Democracy. He remedied the defects of the Solonian constitution, and made it more broad based. But his greatest innovation was the institution of what the Greeks called *ostracism* (from *ostrakon*=a potsherd). This was a plebiscite by which a person who was likely to assume autocratic authority within the state was sent into exile for a period of ten years, if at least 6,000 citizens desired it by recording their votes on potsherds. The person so ostracised did not lose either his civic rights, property, or honour, all of which he could enjoy unaffected on his return. It was merely insurance against *tyrannis*.

An interesting story is told by Plutarch about Aristides, a popular leader, who was once ostracised. He met an illiterate peasant who wanted to record his vote nevertheless. That peasant desired Aristides to write on the potsherd the name of the person (Aristides) he (the peasant) wished to see ostracised. On being asked the reason Aristides was told by the peasant, "The name of Aristides is so much on the lips of men, that I am sick of hearing it." Nevertheless Aristides did as he was bid and went into exile!

In the opinion of Greenidge, the claim of Cleisthenes as a reformer rests on "the abolition of certain conditions which are unfavourable to any form of established government. The break up of the clan-organisation, the fresh local unions which banished old associations and substituted new ones in their place, and the introduction of ostracism, were all means of getting rid of disturbing causes. Thus the creations of Cleisthenes were permanent, and were the starting-point for all further development. The Cleisthenian constitution was the unalterable basis on which the future ultra-democratic changes rested, and in this sense, but in this sense only, Cleisthenes was the founder of the Athenian democracy."

75. The Greek Democracy:

The blossoming of Athenian democracy after the overthrow of the Persians was only one aspect of the flowering of

the Greek genius. Under the aegis of Athens it was destined to make wonderful progress in all directions. The rise of the Progressive Party, first under the leadership of Themistocles, and then under Pericles (than whom Hellas produced no greater statesman) marked the high water level of Greek achievement (460-429 B.C.). To appreciate the full measure of this greatness it is necessary for us to study its background a little. Greece was very much disunited, and Athens tried to unite her; Greece was culturally backward, and Athens raised her to the pinnacle of a glorious civilisation.

We have pointed out before how both the geographical features of Hellas and the clannish character of the Greeks conspired to divide Greece into a number of tiny city-states. Each such city-state was no bigger than one of our districts in India, and its population not more than 280,000. Of these nearly three-quarters lived in the countryside and only one quarter occupied an urban centre like Athens. The town of Athens grew up around a fortified citadel known as the Acropolis. Its rendezvous was provided by a market-place, a temple of the goddess Athene, and the Pnyx where the free citizens met in 'parliament' for the discussion of public affairs. Besides these there was the Araeopagus where the elders met as a High Court for the trial of grave offenders. Of the 280,000 people of Attica (the province of Athens) hardly 50,000 were enfranchised citizens. For about 100,000 were slaves, 20,000 were foreigners, and the rest were women and persons below eighteen years of age,—all of whom were not entitled to exercise the franchise. None but a person whose father and mother were both Athenians could ever aspire to become a free citizen. So rigid was this rule that even so eminent an Athenian leader like Pericles was thereby prevented from marrying Aspasia, the woman he loved. This really reduced Athenian democracy to an aristocracy or an oligarchy, and made the Athenians very parochial. Sparta, Thebes, and other city-states were no better. On account of this Greece before the Persian wars was a world divided against itself. Its only bonds of union were cultural.

The universal popularity of Homer's epics among all the Hellenic tribes contributed to their national cohesion. The common gods of the Hellenes were indeed given 'a local habitation and a name' by Homer. They were gathered together into a Pantheon on Mount Olympus (their Kailas) under the presidency of Zeus (their Indra). They were periodically summoned to participate in the national (Pan-Hellenic) games which came to be described as the Olympiads. Once every four years all the Greeks and their gods gathered together in

sacred places like Delphi which became famous throughout Hellas for its Oracle. The 'truce of god' was proclaimed all over the Greek world to enable people to come in safety to attend the Olympic games. Here the festivities started with the pouring of libations to the gods who were invoked to bless the celebrations. There were races of all kinds, wrestling matches, throwing the disc, wielding the javelin, exhibitions of physical strength and perfection of form, etc. The winners were crowned with a vine or olive wreathe, which attained the distinction of a Nobel prize of our time; and they were feted for days together at public expense. Athletes in ancient Greece enjoyed the celebrity of Cinema 'stars' in modern America. But once the Olympiad was over, the Greeks returned to their respective city-states and resumed their old rivalries and hatreds.

76. Athens vs. Sparta:

One important cause of this unhealthy spirit among the Greeks was their colonial system. When the mainland of Greece was over-populated they were obliged to seek new homes in the islands and on the surrounding Mediterranean shores. But colonies once established tended to develop into independent city-states. Often quarrels arose between the mother and daughter cities, as in the case of Corinth and Corcyra, Sparta and Syracuse. Sometimes the rivalry was commercial, at other times either political or racial, as between Athens and Sparta. The two great cities of Hellas—one Achæan and the other Dorian—competed for the hegemony of Greece until both got entangled in a suicidal war (known as the Peloponnesian War, 431-404 B.C.). To know how this came about it is necessary to follow (1) the development of Athens after the Persian wars, and (2) the growth of the rival power of Sparta in the Peloponnesus. The former was strong at sea and the latter only on land. In some respects the Athenian adventure looked like the British, though it differed from it in others. In point of cultural growth and temperament Athens was like France and Sparta like Germany or rather Prussia. On the whole the Peloponnesian War is of special interest as foreshadowing the endless struggles of Europe in later times, just as the Persian Wars indicated the first trial of strength between Asia and Europe.

In the Hellenic war of liberation from the menace of Persia Athens had taken the leading part. She therefore naturally assumed the role of Protector in the post-war period as well. For this purpose she organised a league of Hellenic

cities known as the Delian League. It was so named because of its headquarters on the island of Delos which was centrally situated. But from the first, Athens dominated the Delian League as Britain over the League of Nations in our time. Very soon she transformed the League into an Empire. Membership and its obligation to contribute in cash towards its maintenance were at first voluntary. Then they were made compulsory. Drastic measures were adopted to coerce recalcitrant cities. Within twenty years the League treasury was removed from Delos to Athens. In return for policing the Aegean the Hellenic cities had to pay a very heavy price. But as the dangers of foreign invasion became less the members of the League showed increasing reluctance to bear the Athenian yoke. Sparta exploited this discontent to create her own hegemony in preference to that of her rival. This brought on the Peloponnesian War which ended in the prostration of Athens in 404 B.C.

Sparta had played an inglorious part on the whole in the history of Hellas. Her character and outlook were altogether different from those of Athens. Athens stood for a high and noble culture; Sparta for coarse militarism. Athens was the champion of freedom and democracy; Sparta was conservative and ever the refuge of oligarchy. Athens had borne the brunt of the Persian attacks; Sparta was tardy and fitful in her support. Her noblest sacrifice was that of Leonidas and his heroic followers at Thermopylæ during Xerxes' invasion; but she wiped out that heroism by inviting the Persian again in the course of her struggle against Athens and delivering up the Ionian cities of Asia-Minor to the tender mercies of the Persians. The Spartans indeed were nothing if not brave, but their national weakness was lack of patriotism. It was due to this that they overthrew Athens at the battle of Aegospotami (405 B.C.) with Persian help. But for Hellas the supremacy of Sparta meant the substitution of King Stork. "The sentimental complaints against Athenian supremacy were changed for the positive injuries of Spartan tyranny." The outcome of it all was another revolt of the subordinate cities, another interference by the Persian, and the humiliating Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.) by which it was proclaimed that

"King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the Islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, shall belong to him. Further, that all the Greek cities, small and great, shall be autonomous, except Lamnos, Imbros, and Scyrus, which shall belong to Athens as aforetime. If any refuse to accept this peace, I shall make war on them, along with those of the same purpose, both by land and sea, with both ships and money."

77. Rise of Macedonia:

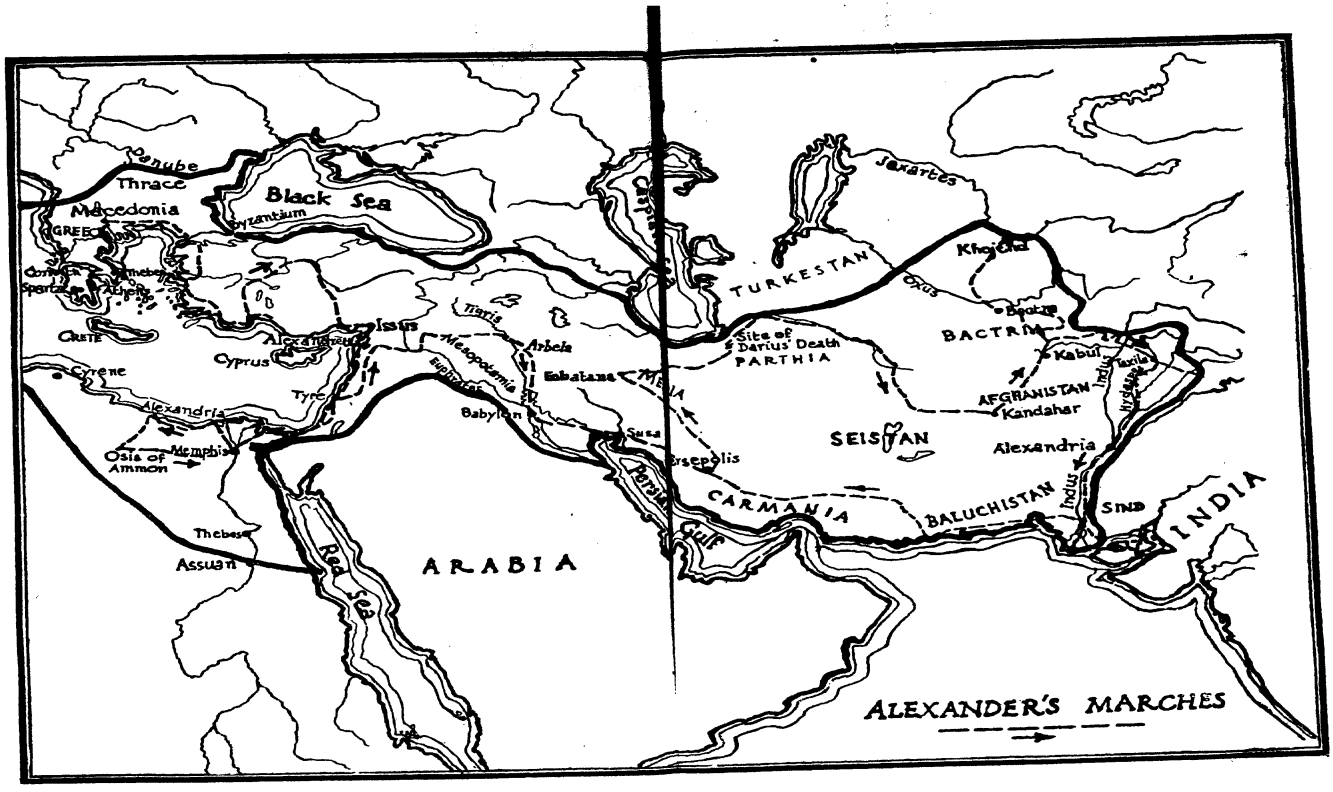
In the meanwhile a third power was rising in the North. That was Macedonia. In her anxiety to crush Athenian dominion Sparta had encouraged the Macedonians even as she had invited the Persians. Under her two gifted rulers, Philip and Alexander (359-323 B.C.), Macedonia subdued both Sparta and Athens under a common yoke, likewise conquered the whole of Hellas, and even achieved a glory which the Hellenes in their best days had not dreamed of. What Napoleon Bonaparte was to do for France over two thousand years later, that Alexander the Great did for the Hellenes and their culture in the fourth century B.C.

Before Xenophon and his famous 'Ten Thousand' (405-399 B.C.) participated in the civil war in Persia between the two sons of Darius II (Artaxerxes and Cyrus), no large body of Hellenic troops had penetrated into the Fertile Crescent. But that historic event proved to be not only an epilogue to the invasion of Xerxes, but also a prologue to the conquests of Alexander. Philip of Macedon, whose military incursions into Greece had occasioned the historic Philippics of Demosthenes, was destined to be followed by his more famous son Alexander.

78. Alexander the Great:

Alexander before his death at the early age of thirty-three years, in 323 B.C., made himself immortal by his meteoric conquests covering the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. In 335 he crushed Thracians, razed Thebes to the ground, and led the Greeks against the Persians; defeating the Persians under Darius III at Issus, in 333, he subdued Phœnicia, Damascus, Gaza, Jerusalem, in 332, and was also crowned King of Egypt where he founded the first and most famous of the several cities named after him. A year later (331) he again defeated Darius at Gaugamela (Arbela), and conquered Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana and Persepolis. Overrunning the whole empire of the Persians by 327, Alexander was in the valley of the Indus in 326. Every Indian schoolboy is aware of his encounter with Porus of Taxila, and the forced retreat of the Yavanas, on account of their war-weariness from the valley of the Hyphasis or Beas. Alexander was at Susa back again in 325, where he received the embassies from Carthage, Italy, and Western and Northern Europe; and while he was about to start on a fresh campaign, died in July 323 B.C.

The career of Alexander, meteoric though it was, is one of the most brilliant episodes in World History. He was no less a statesman than he was a general; in short he was a man



THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER

with a mission. He was the first European to marry Asiatics as a matter of deliberate policy; and this example was followed by over 10,000 in the rank and file of his army. Likewise he enlisted Asiatic youths in his army, and showed how excellently they could fight under Macedonian training. "Before the end of his reign he had 30,000 Hellenised orientals at his disposal, and between them and the Macedonian veterans a perfect equality was made to prevail." He was equally eclectic in the admission of oriental deities into his pantheon; may be he did this for political purposes, even as Napoleon afterwards did in Egypt. But above all he was a champion of Hellenism in the world beyond the bounds of Hellas, and the carrier of oriental civilisation to European lands. Seventy cities, each called Alexandria after its reputed founder, commemorated him, and survived as centres for disseminating his ideas.

"They were organised on the Hellenic model with a large measure of local autonomy; the language of the administration was the matchless tongue of Athens; they became centres of a commerce which linked Asia and Europe in the closest bonds of economic unity . . . . They were cosmopolitan cities wherein not only were inter-Hellenic differences ignored, but wherein East and West met in terms of equality and fraternity. Above all, they were cities where the new rationalism of the Greeks came into contact with the ancient mysticism of the Orient; where the asceticism of Buddhist India mingled with the athleticism of Olympia; where the Jews of the dispersion found themselves in company with the philosophers of the Academy and the Porch; where Hellenism was joined in marriage to Hebraism, and where the two in fruitful union became in due time the parents of the Christian civilizaton."[8]

POINTS FOR STUDY

66. Pre-historic Greece and contemporary civilisations.
67. Archæological excavations in the Mediterranean world.
68. Hellenic Greeks and the Indo-European family.
69. Geographical influence in Greek history.
70. Greek contributions to Politics.
71. Law-Givers and Tyrants of Greece.
72. Characteristics of the Leadership of Athens, Sparta and Macedon.
73. Importance of Alexander's conquests.

8. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *A First Book of World History*, pp. 85-6.

ANCIENT GREECE
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Epochs	Places	Personalities	General
3600-1200 B.C.	Aegean civilisation	Crete, Cnosses, Mycenae, Tiryns, Troy	Minos	Evans discovered Palace of Cnossus; Schliemann discovered Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns.
1100 B.C.	Aryans		Aryan imigrants	
c. 1500-700 B.C.	Bronze Age	Eastern Mediterranean	Homeric heroes and heroines	Ionian poet Homer: *Illiad* and *Odyssey*.
600-500 B.C.	Age of Tyrants and Law-Givers	Athens Sparta	Peisistratus Lycurgus Solon	Ionian and Dorian characteristics.

496-479 B.C.	Persian invasions	Marathon Salamis Thermopylae	Darius, Xerxes: Miltiades, Themistocles, Leonidas	Greek triumph over Persians gives fillip to Greek genius.
469-399 B.C. 460-29 B.C. 427-347 B.C. 385-322 B.C.	Age of Pericles	Athens	Socrates Pericles Plato and Aristotle	Most glorious epoch of Greek civilisation.
359-23 B.C.	Rise of Macedon	Macedonia	Philip and Alexander	Expansion of Greek civilisation.
326 B.C.		Indus		Alexander in the Indus valley.

CHAPTER X

THE MIRACLE OF GREEK CULTURE

79. The Double Miracle.
80. Ionian and Dorian.
81. The School of Hellas.
82. Two Great Historians.
83. Athenian Ideals.
84. The War Fever.
85. Greek Philosophers and Scientists.
86. Greek Art.

In spite of many differences, no age has had closer affinities with Ancient Greece than our own; none has based its deeper life so largely on ideals which the Greeks brought into the world.—R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

79. The Double Miracle:

The ancient Greeks wrought a double miracle: (1) by transmuting the bronze culture of their pre-Persian-War days into the most marvellous polychromatic civilisation of the Periclean Age; and (2) by transforming the 'barbaroi' of Europe, through Macedon and Rome, into the creators of a new and progressive civilisation. The latter process, being like a 'slow motion picture,' may be easily traced through the succeeding periods of history; but the former was a quick spiritual or psychological miracle which is more difficult to understand. Obviously Greece experienced in the fifth century B.C. that exhileration which comes to nations in their youth when they have successfully tided over a great crisis. It came in later times to England after the defeat of the Armada, to America, (U.S.A.) after the War of Independence, to France in the first flush of the Revolution, and Japan after her triumph over Russia, etc. 'The power of Athens grew,' Herodotus tells us, 'and here is evidence and there is proof of it everywhere that liberty is a good thing. While the Athenians were despotically governed, they were not superior in war to any of their neighbours, but when they got rid of their despots, they far surpassed them. This shows that in subjection they did not exert

themselves, but they were working for a master, but when they became free each individual keenly did his best on his own account.' But the seeds of greatness were already there even before the overthrow of the Peisistratidæ and the Persian wars. The civilisation of the Ionians of Asia-Minor was, indeed, a brilliant sunrise, "an overflowing of the delight in life, in beauty, in the exercise of all the faculties, which for a time dominated Greece itself." In the century before the Persian wars of 500-480 B.C., writes Professor Percy Gardner, "Greece, both Ionian and Dorian, was throwing out fresh shoots of life in every direction, breaking through the crust of archæic convention, producing a new standard of excellence, in poetry, in philosophy, in history, in art. In every province, morals, intellect, imagination, Greece was striking out, to the right and left. And in the century after the Persian wars, she reaped the full harvest of her splendid sowing, and produced the masterpieces which have remained ever since memorable, to the study of which each generation recurs, and whence it learns of what human nature is capable."[1]

80. Ionian and Dorian:

The two chief exponents of this Greek culture were the Dorians (Sparta) and the Ionians (Asia-Minor); but their meeting place was Athens. It reached its climax during the thirty years of Pericles' rule, but also continued to bear its golden fruit long after. Alexandria, in Egypt, gathered in the whole harvest before chaos came again.

First, of course, comes Homer. Though Ionic born, he is Pan-Hellenic, universal. He was the inspirer of Virgil, Dante and Milton, in literature, and of all the Greeks in life. Alexander of Macedonia sought to live like Achilles. The *Odyssey* was recommended, by the German philosopher Herbart, as 'the first connected reading book for children, combining, as it does, so many strands of interest—geography, history, a good story and poetry, beautiful even in translation.' Homer both mirrored and inspired the Greeks in every sphere of life, so that, as one writer has put it, "If not itself a fact, the Trojan War became the cause of innumerable facts". Its tales were recited by Greek historians, dramatised by Greek poets, cut in marble by Greek sculptors, and depicted by Greek painters on the walls and porticoes of Greek temples. "They thus constituted a very vital part of the education of every Greek and afforded the inspiration of many a great and worthy deed." Homer

1. See *The Legacy of Greece* p. 354.

was to the Greeks what Vyāsa, Vālmiki, and Manu are to the Hindus. He gave shape to, though he did not create, their gods, their laws, and their aspirations.

Though the Greeks were not without a mythology, full of gods and goddesses, the outstanding quality of their religion was its humanism. The Greek deities were only supermen and super-women, magnified human beings. The Greek more than the Egyptian religion truly reflected the idea attributed to the latter: "The gods live as I; I live as the gods.' In other words, the Greeks humanised their gods and strove to make human life divine.

"Heaven-born, the soul a heavenward course must hold;—
Ideal Form, the universal mould."

Just as in religion they turned more and more from mythology to such noble and practical ideals, so in philosophy the Greeks tried to realise the concept so pithily put in Keats' famous lines:

"'Beauty is truth, truth beauty'—that is all
Ye know on earth and all ye need to know."

They looked at life as a whole and steadily, and strove to live most earnestly and intensely. Hence their philosophy did not, like our own, lose itself in metaphysics; it derived its strength from science rather than religion. 'Truth, Goodness, Beauty' was as symbolic of Hellenic idealism as 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' has been that of modern France. This triple ideal of perfection the Greeks persistently sought to realise in the individual as well as in society, in literature as well as in the plastic arts, in philosophy as well as in science. We find illustrations of this in the self-centred life of the Spartans no less than in the noble universalism of the Athenians.

The Spartans were pure Dorians, but they were surrounded on all sides by a non-Dorian population whom they tried to keep in perpetual subjection. Hence, like the Assyrians, they were obliged to develop military qualities at the cost of everything else. Their state was a military camp, and Spartan society an army of occupation. From a very tender age every Spartan had to submit himself to lifelong military discipline of a very rigorous character. Even young women had to undergo physical training like young men. A weakling had no chance to survive among the Spartans. Consequently, Herodotus tells us, 'No men were braver than the Spartans taken singly, and when they unite they are the noblest of mankind. For though they are free they are not free in all things: They have one master and that master is the Law, whom they fear far more than your subjects fear you' (i.e. Xerxes). That Law

was given to the Spartans, according to tradition, by Lycurgus (c. 800 B.C.). He fixed their political constitution which is described by Greenidge as a "dynastic obligarchy." It made the Spartans very conservative. They had two Kings at a time, so that one might always act as a check upon the other. Besides, they had a Council of elders and an Assembly. But their effective governing body was a cabinet of five Ephors. Socially the Spartans were divided into three classes: (1) the *Spartiates* who were pure Dorians; (2) the *Perioeci* who were hybrids; and (3) the *Helots* who were slaves. Only the first name enjoyed the full privileges of free citizenship which included the right to bear heavy armour and to serve in the best ranks of the army. The Spartiates were forbidden to engage in commerce, industry or agriculture. Their duties were exclusively military. All other work was to be done by the Helots. The extreme nature of the Spartan discipline, which has made it proverbial, may be gathered from two facts, viz. their distrust of the influence of gold on character, and their restraint on speech. They were to use only iron currency, and even at the table they were to sit 'silent as statues.' In the words of Plutarch, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value; and the language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words"—hence *laconic*, from Laconia wherein stood Sparta.

Sparta, however, had not always been under such a mechanical spell. "Discoveries made in 1906-9 suggest that from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C. Sparta had some sort of an art of its own showing traces of Asian influence in its pottery —a little later Sparta concluded an alliance with Croesus, King of Lydia, and Bathycles, an artist of Magnesia in Ionia, was treated with honour in Sparta."[2] It was especially in architecture that the Dorians left their permanent impress. Here, as in body building, the Spartans imparted strength to the flimsy grace of Ionia. In the words of Professor Gardner, "'It is precisely the Dorian ideas of discipline, of measure, of self-control, which entering into the art of Greece made it a noble and continuous development, instead of a mere brilliant flash." He is also of opinion that the Athenians of the early fifth century B.C. imbibed Dorian manners, Dorian dress, Dorian art;[3] but in the light of the anti-Spartan spirit of Periclean Athens, it seems certain that this must have been a short-lived influence.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
3. *Ibid.* p. 368.

81. The School of Hellas:

The true miracle of Greek culture was undoubtedly performed by the Athenians. It was they that had freed Hellas from the menace of Persia, given the Hellenes and the world abiding lessons in democracy, and bequeathed to posterity invaluable treasures of art and literature such as few others have produced. Athens was indeed the cultural capital of Hellas. The greatest of the Greek poets, philosophers, historians, orators, artists and scientists, were either Athenians or admirers of Athens. With a legitimate pride, therefore, Pericles in the fifth century B.C. considered Athens the School of Hellas.

But we must, in this brief survey of Hellenic culture, merge Athenian and Spartan, Ionian and Dorian, into a single stream, and look upon the Greeks as a whole. Their national mind is successively reflected, in literature, first in the epics of Homer and Hesiod, then in the lyrics of Pindar, Sappho and a host of others, and finally in their immortal dramatists like Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes. As Mr. Livingstone has pointed out, "These divisions reflect the development of the national mind. Epic is the offspring of its childhood, delighting in stories for their own sake; lyric, of which the essence is the expression of personal feelings, represents its adolescence, the age of emotion, conscious of itself and at moments touched by reflection; drama is its manhood, facing the problems of the world and life with all the forces of a full-grown mind." The Greek genius was rich in creativeness and had an instinct for system. Whether in literature or in other forms of art its notable features were (1) humanism, (2) simplicity, (3) balance and measure, (4) naturalism, (5) idealism, (6) patience, (7) joy, and (8) fellowship.[4] Two samples of the Greek manner and outlook may be here cited. A moonlit scene is thus described by Sappho the greatest woman poet of Hellas:

> "The stars about the lovely moon
> Fade back and vanish very soon
> When round and full her silver face
> Swims into sight, and lights all space."

The following lyric of Anacreon inevitably reminds us of Shelley's "Love's Philosophy":

> "The black earth drinks the falling rain,
> Trees drink the moistened earth again;
> Ocean drinks the streams that run
> Only to yield them to the sun;

4. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

And the sun himself as soon
Is swallowed by the thirsty moon.
All Nature drinks: if I would sip,
Why dash the goblet from my lip?"

Interesting as the lyric poets are, to get into real touch with the true mind of Hellas we must go to the mature dramatists. Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.), first of the three tragedians, was a poet as well as a soldier. He fought at Salamis and Marathon, as well as wrote great dramas like the *Agamemnon,* the *Libation-Bearers,* and the *Furies.* Indeed, he seems to have valued his participation in the war of liberation more than his poetry, for his epitaph simply records that 'Aeschylus fought the Persians.' Sophocles (496-406 B.C.) also lived during the same exciting period, and wrote his immortal tradegies like the *Philoctetes* and the *Oedipus.* Matthew Arnold speaks of him as one.

"Whose even balanced soul
Business could not make dull nor passion wild;
Who saw life steadily and saw it whole;
The mellow glory of the Attic stage."

But 'the most tragic of the poets', as Aristotle describes him, was Euripides (480-406 B.C.). He wrote several plays of which the *Medea,* the *Bacchae,* the *Trojan Women,* the *Electra,* and the *Alcestes* are the best known. He is still appreciated because he had something in him akin to 'the temper of the present day.' His mind was peculiarly free from the superstitions of his age, though he freely made use of legendary themes in his dramas. His perspicuous rationalism is visible in the following lines from the *Heracles:*

"Say not there be adulterers in heaven,
Nor prisoner gods and gaolers. ....
God, if he be God, lacketh naught. All these
Are dead unhappy tales of minstrelsy."

Or again when he says, in the *Hippolytus.*

"No man has tasted another life, because the things under us are unrevealed, and we float upon a stream of legend."

The heroism of Greek womanhood in the hour of crisis is thus brought out by Euripides in *Iphigenia:*

"I have chosen death: it is my own free choice.
I have put cowardice away from me.
Honour is mine, now. O mother, say I am right!
Our country, our own Hellas, looks to me:
On me the fleet hangs now, the doom of Troy,
Our women's honour through the years to come.

My death will save them, and my name be blest,
She who saved Hellas! Life is not so sweet
I should be craven. You who bore your child,
It was for Greece you bore her, not yourself.
Think! Thousands of our soldiers stand to arms,
They man the waiting ships, they are on fire
To serve their outraged country, die for Greece:
And is my one poor life to hinder all?
Could we defend that? Could we call it just?
No: take it, conquer Troy!—This shall be
My husband and my children and my fame.
Victory, mother, victory for the Greeks!
Barbarians must never rule this land,
Our own land! They are slaves, and we are free."

Aristophanes (446-385 B.C.), the comedian, was the arch-scoffer of the age that followed the death of Pericles when Athens was governed by Cleon the tanner, Eucrates the rope-maker, and Hyperbolus the lamp-maker. The travesty of democracy, that carried Athens from disaster to disaster, called forth from Aristophanes rollicking humour combined with a fantastic imagination and beautiful lyric poetry. In his the *Clouds,* the *Frogs,* the *Birds* and other plays we have entertaining cartoons of wonderful vivacity. The following contrast between the sturdy ideals of the Spartan youths and the emaciated Athenian Sophists will be read with peculiar interest by Indian students:—

"If then you'll obey and do what I say
And follow with me the more excellent way,
Your chest, shall be white, your skin shall be bright,
Your arms shall be tight, your tongue shall be slight,
And everything else shall be proper and right.
But if you pursue what men nowadays do,
You will have, to begin, a cold pallid skin,
Arms small and chest weak, tongue practised to speak,
Special laws very long, and the symptoms all strong
Which show that your life is licentious and wrong."

82. Two Great Historians:

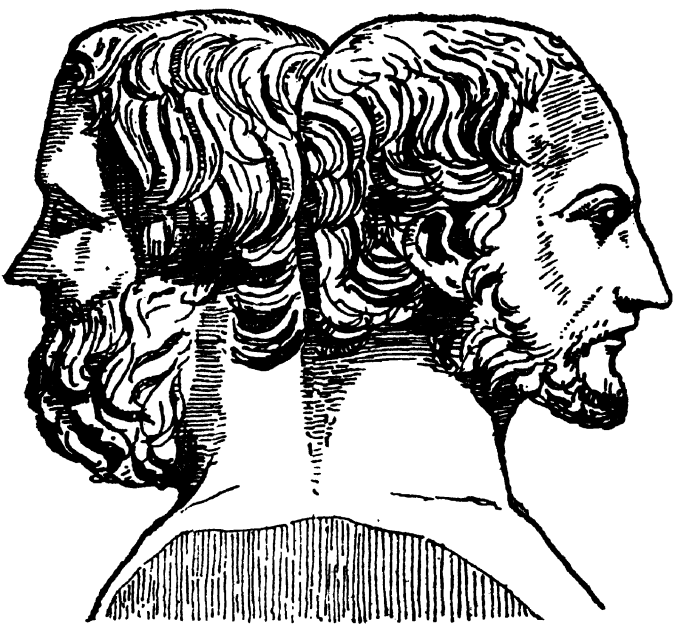
Turning to the historians of Hellas, we shall content ourselves with two examples, viz. Herodotus and Thucydides. Though the former has been described as the Father of History his writings are full of fanciful stories. He should be considered rather as the first great traveller who has left in writing a considerable body of information regarding the countries and peoples he visited or heard of which is useful

to historians. He was born at Halicarnassus in Asia-Minor in 484 B.C. and died in 425 B.C. The object of his writing was 'that the great and wonderful deeds done by Greeks and Persians should not lack renown.' He called it 'history' which literally means 'inquiry'. But he candidly states, 'I am bound to report all that is said, but I am not bound to believe it.' His account of India may be cited as a sample:

"Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus (Kabul?), northward of the rest of India, they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are charged with the getting of the gold; for in these parts all is desert by reason of sand. There are found in this sandy desert ants (?) not so big as dogs but bigger than foxes; the Persian King has some of these, which have been caught there. These ants make their dwellings underground digging out the sand in the same manner as do the ants in Greece, to which they are very like in shape, and the sand which they carry forth from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, a male led camel on either side to help in draught, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, careful that when harnessed she has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens besides.

"Thus and with teams so harnessed the Indians ride after the gold, using all diligence that they shall be about the business of taking it when the heat is greatest; for the ants are then out of sight under ground. Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not at midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market-closing. Through these hours it is hotter by much than in Hellas at noon, so that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time. At midday the sun's heat is wellnigh the same in India and elsewhere. As it grows to afternoon, the sun of India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset it is exceeding cold.

"So when the Indians come to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the sand and ride away back with all speed; for, as the Persians say, the ants forthwith scent them out and give chase, being, it would seem, so much swifter than all other creatures that if the Indians made no haste on their way while the ants are mustering, not one of them would escape. So they loose the male trace-camels that they led one at a time (these being slower than the females); the mares never tire, for they remember the young that they have left. Such is the tale."



Herodotus and Thucydides
They represented two views of History.
For proper appreciation read pages 136-140.

Of Thucydides Macaulay wrote with greater justification, "He is the greatest historian that ever lived." He was born in Athens about 471 B.C. and primarily wrote an account of the Peloponnesian War in which he personally fought. His history is of unique value both on account of its contemporary character, and also because Thucydides, though an active participant, writes with an impartiality that might indeed serve as a model for all historians. "He did not take his pen to celebrate," says Professor Bury; "his aim was to understand—to observe critically how the empire behaved in the struggle which was to test its powers." 'My history', he himself prophetically wrote, 'is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten.' He was not a mere chronicler, but a real and scientific historian: 'I have described nothing', Thucydides says, 'but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry'. No greater praise could be bestowed upon so early a writer than that given by Professor Zimmern: "Let those who deny that Thucydides was a sociologist . . . . . re-read his account of the evolution of Greek society from the earliest times to his own day. Let those who cry up anthropology examine into his treatment of legend and custom, and his power, untrained in Seminar or Institute, to use it as sociological evidence. Let the geographers . . . . refresh their minds by recalling those brilliant sallies in geographical thinking, in which he explains some of the features of early Greek settlement and city-building. It is not only orthodox history, of the school of Ranke, of which Thucydides is the father and inspirer: there is not one of the many movements which have sought to broaden out historical study in recent years, from Buckle and Leplay and Vidal Lablache down to the psycho-analysts of our own day and of tomorrow, who will not find in Thucydides some gleaming anticipation along the path of their own thought."[5] Selection is difficult from such a versatile writer. But how much in advance of his times Thucydides was may be gathered from such wise observations as: "I have remarked again and again that a democracy cannot manage an empire, but never more than now . . . . You should remember that your empire is a despotism exercised over unwilling subjects, who are always conspiring against you; they do not obey in return for any kindness which you do them to your own injury, but in so far as you are their masters; they have no love of you, but they are held down by force . . . . Dullness and modesty are a more useful combination than cleverness and licence;

5. Cited in *The Pageant of Greece*, pp. 201-2.

and the more simple sort generally make better citizens than the more astute. For the latter desire to be thought wiser than the laws; . . . . whereas the others, mistrusting their own capacity, admit that the laws are wiser than themselves.' It is to be remembered that these admonitions came, not from a partisan demagogue, but from a patriotic citizen soldier of Athens who was anxious to see that the Athenians did not act 'contrary to our own better judgment.'

83. Athenian Ideals:

No better testimony, apart from Thucydides' own services as a soldier, could be given than the memorable description of his city he put into the mouth of Pericles:

"Our government is not copied from those of our neighbours: we are an example to them rather than they to us. Our constitution is named a democracy, because it is in the hands of not the few but the many. But our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes, and our public opinion welcomes and honours talent in every branch of achievement, not for any sectional reason but on grounds of excellence alone. And as we give free play to all in our public life, so we carry the same spirit into our daily relations with one another . . . . Open and friendly in our private intercourse, in our public acts we keep strictly within the control of law. We acknowledge the restraint of reverence; we are obedient to those in authority, and to the laws, and more especially to those which offer protection to the oppressed and those unwritten ordinances whose transgression brings admitted shame. Yet ours is no work-a-day city only. No other provides so many recreations for the spirit—games and sacrifices all the year round, and beauty in our public buildings to cheer the heart and delight the eye day by day.

"Our military training too is different from our opponents The gates of our city are flung open to the world. We practice no periodical deportations, nor do we prevent our visitors from observing or discovering what an enemy might usefully apply to his own purposes. For our trust is not in the devices of material equipment, but in our own good spirits for battle. So too with education. They toil from early boyhood in a laborious pursuit after courage, while we, free to live and wander as we please, march out none the less to face the self-same dangers. Indeed, if we choose to face danger with an easy mind rather than after a rigorous training, and to trust rather in native manliness than in state-made courage, the

advantage lies with us . . . . Here as elsewhere, then, the city sets an example which is deserving of admiration.

"We are lovers of beauty without extravagance, and lovers of wisdom without unmanliness. Wealth to us is not mere means for display but an opportunity for achievement; and poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge, but a real degradaton to make no effort to overcome. Our citizens attend both to public and private duties, and do not allow absorption in their own various affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's. We differ from other states in regarding the man who holds aloof from public life not as 'quiet' but as useless; we decide or debate, carefully and in person, all matters of policy, holding, not that words and deeds go ill together, but that acts are foredoomed to failure when undertaken undiscussed. For we are noted for being at once most adventurous in action and most reflective beforehand . . . . In a word I claim that our city as a whole is an education to Greece, and that her members yield to none, man by man, for independence of spirit, manysidedness of attainment, and complete self-reliance in limbs and brain."

84. The War Fever:

The war fever of Thucydides' days in Hellas is so well characterised by him, and in such universal terms, that it may be taken as a correct description of the situation in some parts of the world today: 'Revolution brought upon the cities of Hellas many terrible calamities, such as have been and always will be while human nature remains the same, but which are more or less aggravated and differ in character with every new combination of circumstances. In peace and prosperity both states and individuals are actuated by higher motives, because they do not fall under the dominion of imperious necessities; but war, which takes away the comfortable provision of daily life, is a hard master and tends to assimilate men's characters to their conditions. When troubles had once begun in the cities . . . . the meaning of words had no longer the same relation to things, but was changed by them as they thought proper. Reckless daring was held to be loyal courage; prudent delay was the excuse of a coward; moderation was the disguise of unmanly weakness; . . . . Frantic energy was the true quality of a man . . . . The seal of good faith was not divine law, but fellowship in crime . . . . Any agreements sworn to by either party, when they could do nothing else, were binding as long as both were powerless. But he who on a favourable opportunity first took courage, and struck at his

enemy when he saw him off his guard . . . . congratulated himself that he had taken the safer course, and also that he had overreached his enemy and gained the prize of superior ability . . . . Striving in every way to overcome each other, they committed the most monstrous crimes; yet even these were surpassed by the magnitude of their revenges which they pursued to the very utmost, neither party observing any definite limits either of justice or public expediency . . . . Thus revolution gave birth to every form of wickedness in Hellas . . . . An attitude of perfidious antagonism everywhere prevailed; for there was no word binding enough, nor oath terrible enough to reconcile enemies. Each man was strong only in the conviction that nothing was secure; he must look to his own safety, and could not afford to trust others . . . . when men are retaliating upon others, they are reckless of the future, and do not hesitate to annul those common laws of humanity to which every individual trusts for his own hope of deliverance should he ever be overtaken by calamty; they forget that in their own hour of need they will look for them in vain.'

85. Greek Philosophers and Scientists:

The greatest victim of the 'Age of Unreason' in Athens was Socrates (469-399 B.C.), deemed of all men of his time 'the wisest and justest and best' as Phædo described him. He was condemned to drink hemloc (poison) for 'corrupting the youth' of Athens by which was meant that he puzzled them out of their self-complacency and disturbed the 'sophists'. The sophists were teachers or professors who undertook to train young men in all matters, from shoe-making to war and metaphysics. It is said about one of them (Hippias) that 'He introduced into his discourses such subjects as geometry, astronomy, music and rhythm. He lectured too on painting and sculpture. At Sparta he spoke about the genealogy of heroes, about colonising, and about heroic deeds; for the Spartans, with their political ambitions, enjoyed such subjects. He went on more missions than any other Greek, representing his country, Elis, and in his speeches and lectures never belied his reputation. Indeed he made large sums of money and received the citizenship of many states great and small.' Though originally 'sophist' meant 'wise', now the word has a contemptuous meaning; for Plato denounced them as covetous pretenders who presumed to know many things only to make money. Perhaps this was partly due to their condemnation of Socrates, who was Plato's master. Socrates tore up their masks and showed to the people that they were not half so

wise as they pretended. Socrates considered that knowledge was the road to virtue, and that true knowledge was 'self-knowledge'. He had begun life as a soldier, but lived as a philosopher, and died a martyr. "I would rather die having spoken after my manner," he said, "than speak in your manner and live."

Among the disciples of Socrates were Xenophon (434-354 B.C.) and Plato (427-347 B.C.). The former is chiefly remembered for his *Anabasis* in which he has described the celebrated 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand' (in 401 B.C.) referred to before. The latter is considered by Europeans the Father of Philosophy, even as his disciple, Aristotle (385-322 B.C.), is reckoned the Father of Science. Aristotle was also the teacher of Alexander the Great. Plato wrote several *Dialogues* of which those entitled the *Republic* and the *Laws* are the most valuable. In them he has outlined an ideal society which, according to him, must be ruled by 'philosopher-kings': 'Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and rulers of this world have the spirit of philosophy, until political power and wisdom are united, until those commoner natures, who pursue either to the exclusion of the other, stand aside, states will never have rest from their evils—no, nor, I believe, will the human race; then only will this state of ours have a possibility of life and behold the light of day.'

Aristotle, though trained in Plato's idealist school—the *Academy* which endured during 800 years—, was himself a great realist. Plato was a poet-philosopher; Aristotle was a philosopher-scientist. The greatness of Plato lies in the loftiness of his vision; that of his disciple in his practical outlook and versatility. In the words of Mr. Livingstone, "Aristotle covers a field wider than the modern writer can command. He belongs to that finest and rarest type of human intellect in which the great humanist and the great man of science meet. On logic, moral philosophy, politics, metaphysics, psychology, physics, zoology (including embryology), poetry, the technique of speaking and writing, he wrote epochmaking works, which governed thought for more than a thousand years, some of which serve as text-books to the present day. Neither before nor since has any human being covered so many fields of knowledge."[6]

The Greeks were essentially scientific in their outlook; they were more rational-minded than all other people before them. Hence their great achievements in the more exact fields

6. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

of knowledge. In this sense they were gifted with a mathematical genius. Even their idealistic philosopher, Plato, made no small contribution to the study of mathematics; while Pythagoras, Archimedes, Euclid and Diophantus are still considered the cornerstones of that subject. Much advance has certainly been made since, but the foundations of almost every branch of science are Greek. The psychology of this outlook may be illustrated by three quotations:

(1) 'The real philosopher is marked by the feeling of wonder, which is the only source of philosophy', said Plato.

(2) 'Doubtless the contemplation of the heavenly bodies fills us with more delight than we get from the contemplation of lowly things; for the sun and stars are born not, neither do they decay but are eternal and divine', declared Aristotle. 'But the heavens are high and far off, end of celestial things the knowledge that our senses give us is scanty and dim. On the other hand, the living creatures are nigh at hand, and of each and all of them we may gain ample and certain knowledge if we so desire. If a statue please us, shall not the living fill us with delight; all the more if in the spirit of philosophy we search for causes and recognize the evidences of design? Then will Nature's purpose and her deep-seated laws be everywhere revealed, all tending in her multitudinous work to one form or another of the Beautiful.'

(3) 'Nothing happens', Leucippus noted, 'without a cause, but everything for a reason and by necessity.'

It was this sense of wonder and the keen urge to understand the 'design' of Nature, through the investigation of the causes of things, that made the Greeks pioneer scientists. Though Aristotle is called the Father of Science he was by no means the earliest. Before him was Thales (c. 625 B.C.) of Miletus, chief of the Seven Wise Men of Ionia, and the first geometer of Greece. Then there was Pythagoras, at the close of the sixth century (530 B.C.), and Hippocrates of Cos in Ionia, in the fifth century (460 B.C.), to name only the greatest. Pythagoras is considered 'one of the most original figures in Greece and indeed in human history.' He was the first to maintain that the earth and the heavenly bodies are spherical in shape, and the first to give a scientific explanation of the different pitch of musical notes. To his school also we owe abstract mathematical concepts like point, line, surface, and magnitude, etc. He was, too, a believer in the transmigration of souls and the mystical theory of numbers.

Hippocrates was a great doctor. His surviving works are a wonderful record even for the medical profession of today.

They contain model description of cases and directions for surgical operations such as the preparation of the room, the management of light, the scrupulous cleanliness to be observed, the care and use of the instruments, the decencies to be observed, the general method of bandaging, the use and abuse of splints, the care of the patient, etc. The following remarkable observations of Hippocrates, regarding prognosis, diagnosis and clinical practice, are hard to improve upon:—

"We form our opinion with regard to illness on our knowledge of the general character of all, and the particular character of each, on our knowledge of the complaint, the patient, the treatment applied, and the person applying it—for these have a favourable or unfavourable effect. We take into account climate in general, and the particular season and locality; the patient's habits, way of life, occupation and age; his words, ways, silence, thoughts, sleep or its absence, dreams (their character and occasion), picking, scratching, tears, paroxysms, discharges, sneezing, sickness. We note the number and character of the successive changes and developments of the illness towards a crisis or a fatal termination; we observe perspiration, coldness, rigor, cough, sneezing, hiccup, breathing, hæmorrhage. These and their results are what we must bear in mind."

The oath administered by Hippocrates to his pupils continues to be the gospel of the medical profession even today all over the world:

"I swear . . . . I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous. I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; nor will I aid a woman to produce abortion. With purity and holiness I will pass my life and practise my Art. Into whatever houses I enter, I will go there for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every act of mischief and corruption; and above all from seduction . . . . Whatever in my professional practice—or even not in connection with it—I see or hear in the lives of men which ought not to be spoken of abroad, I will not divulge, deeming that on such matters we should be silent. While I keep this Oath unviolated, may it be granted me to enjoy life and the practice of the Art, always respected among men, but should I break or violate this Oath, may the reverse be my lot."

In the course of a few pages of this little volume it is not possible to give more examples. But we cannot conclude this

chapter without referring to some of the great men of science who followed Aristotle. They included among them Archimedes (287-212 B.C.) and Eucleides (300 B.C.). Of the former's work in all branches of mathematics, Sir Thomas Heath, in his *History of Greek Mathematics,* has observed that it represents "a sum of mathematical achievement unsurpassed by any one man in the world's history." He invented, for instance, arithmetical terminology to express numbers up to one followed by 80,000 million million ciphers. In physics he discovered the way to determine specific gravity, as everyone knows, and was the inventor of the whole science of hydrostatics. About the *Elements* of Euclid it has been said that "No work presumably, except the *Bible,* has had such a reign; and future generations will come back to it again and again as they tire of the variegated substitutes for it and the confusion resulting from their bewildering multiplicity." Among mechanical inventions, the Alexandrian mathematician Heron (c. 1st Cent. A.D.) speaks of some eighty devices in his *Pneumatics.* They include among them an automatic machine for minting coins, a hydraulic organ, a self-trimming lamp, an odometer, mechanical birds that sing, a trumpet sounded by hydraulic means, and interesting anticipations of the steam and fire engines.[7]

In the days of the decline of Greece, after the death of Alexander the Great, the place of Athens as the School of Hellas was taken by Alexandria in Egypt. It possessed a wonderful library collected by the Ptolemies in the Royal Museum (or House of the Muses) which had its own lecture halls, exhibition rooms, and living quarters for the philosophers, scientists, and artists who resided in that institution. It is said that there were no less than half a million papyrus rolls in that Museum. They were cut into 'books' by Callimachus, its first librarian, who also prepared a catalogue, of both titles and authors, running into one hundred and twenty sections. That Library was unfortunately destroyed by fire during the days of Cæsar and Cleopatra (October 48—June 47 B.C.).[8]

86. Greek Art:

In this rapid sketch of Greek culture we have not spoken of Greek Art beyond making occasional references to it. The subject would demand a volume for itself; nor can it be adequately appreciated without vivid illustration. Yet Art was of the very essence of life to the Greeks. They had a passion

7. For details see *The Pageant of Greece,* pp. 434-6.
8. Breasted, *The Conquest of Civilization,* pp. 471 and 587.

for perfection. Truth, Beauty, Goodness were for them synonymous. They tried to realise these in the individual, as well as in society. The harmonious cultivation of body, mind and soul was their ideal. For this they held their athletic competitions; for this they made endless experiments in political organisation; and for this they built up their Academy and the Lyceum. But the genius of the race found no better medium for self-expression than in sculpture, painting and architecture. "What the Greeks did," writes Sir Reginald Bloomfield, "was to formulate a rhythmical architecture, in which each part stood in a definite and considered relation to the whole, so that even in their ruined state these Doric temples give an irresistible impression of a great idea, a great architectural epic, in which each detail, however, beautiful, was subordinated to the unity of the conception as a whole." These remarks very well bring out the spirit of Greek Art in general. As Professor Gardner has well said, "In the types of the gods which were produced when Greek Art was at its best we have a series of supermen and superwomen who represent the highest and best to which mortals can hope to attain, types embodying the highest perfection of body and mind. The influence of those types has gone in from century to century, never in the darkest ages wholly forgotten, and serving at all times to redeem human nature from foulness and degradation. All through the history of art they have been acting as a raising and purifying element."[9] The sincerity, patience and earnestness of the Greek artists may be illustrated by two examples: Protogenes, a Greek painter, spent seven years on a single figure, and he would have spent seven more if he had thought that thereby he could have improved it. "The idealism of the Greek artist," says Mr. Frank Rutter, "consisted in getting the very best he could from nature and putting it together in the most beautiful way. He always wanted models, and the more models he could get the greater were his resources for creating composite beauty. Thus we are told that when the painter Zeuxis was commissioned to paint a figure of Helen of Troy for the people at Croton, he made it a condition that he should have opportunities of studying the forms of the most beautiful maidens in the city. From the models offered him by the city, he selected five for more detailed study, and so great was the reverence for art in those days that the names of these five were handed down in honour to future generations by the historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus."

9. *The Legacy of Greece*, p. 360.

POINTS FOR STUDY

74. Importance of Freedom for Culture.
75. Lessons of the comparison between Ionian and Dorian.
76. Character and Contents of Greek Literature.
77. Nature of History: illustrations from Herodotus and Thucydides.
78. The Age of Pericles.
79. The Idealism of Socrates and Plato.
80. Greek contributions to Science.
81. Greek ideals and achievements in Art.

CHAPTER XI

ROME AS REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE

87. Romans and Greeks compared.
88. The Birth of a Republic.
89. The Path of Conquest.
90. "Carthage must be Destroyed".
91. Expansion: East and West.
92. Internal Reactions.
93. Cæsar seizes Power.
94. Imperial Rome.

> While it was the Greek genius which, in its latter days, rose to conceptions of the unity of humanity, it was the Roman genius which translated those conceptions,.... into an organized system of life.—EARNEST BARKER.

87. Romans and Greeks compared:

The appeal of Roman history is of a different order from that of Greece or of any other country about which we have read so far. In a sense, Rome was the least original of the great centres of civilisation; she was, as Asquith described her, 'a great intermediary'. Or in the words of Nieburh, "As rivers flow into the sea, so does the history of all the nations known to have existed previously in the regions round the Mediterranean terminate in that of Rome." The first thing to be noted is that, more than in the case of Athens and Sparta, we speak of *Roman* civilisation instead of Italian. This is because, unlike Greece, wherein there were many centres of culture, in Italy during historic times there was no city equal in importance to Rome. We shall soon see how Rome was, more than a capital, the very soul of Italy. She began like Athens as a very small town (not more than five miles in extent in any direction) but ended by founding an empire which was the largest and best organised till then witnessed in the world. While the Greeks failed to unify themselves, on account of their fissiparous tendencies, Rome had a genius for organisation. As Virgil sang:

"Let others earn the courses of the stars,
Map out the sky, or plead with subtle skill,
Or mould us living faces from the marble:
Thou, Roman, shalt remember how to rule,
Lay down the laws of Peace, and teach her ways,
Pardon the fallen, overthrow the proud."

The traditional date of the foundation of Rome by the half legendary Romulus and Remus is 753 B.C. But the real history of Rome must be commenced with her conversion into a republic in 509 B.C. Like Athens, Rome passed from monarchy to democracy through oligarchy, even as she did later from democracy to empire. And just as the Greeks were the inheritors of the earlier Aegean civilisation, so were the Romans the successors of the Etruscans whose culture about 1000 B.C. was as advanced as that of their contemporaries in the Eastern Mediterranean region. The Romans and their fellow Latins or Italians were Aryans like the Greeks and belonged to the same race as the Indo-Aryans and Iranians. Agriculture was their national occupation. "When our forefathers," wrote Cato later, "would praise a worthy man, they praised him as a good farmer and a good landlord; and they believed that praise could go no further." Naturally they valued cattle as much as the Vedic Aryans did in India. Their standard of value was *pecus* (cattle) from which they called property *pecunia,* from which again we have the English word 'pecuniary' pertaining to wealth. The Roman gods were the western duplicates of the Greek and Vedic deities; the greatest of them was *Jupiter* (the Greek *Zeus* and the Vedic *Dyauspitar*). Their social organisation was also a replica of the Greek and Vedic Aryans. It was patriarchal with the *paterfamilias* (head of the family) having powers of life and death over all the members of the family. Politically Rome was a city-state to begin with. It gradually absorbed the surrounding townships and tribes. Rome of the Seven Hills secured dominion first over all Latium and then over all Italy; further it was led step by step to extend its power over Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Africa, Spain and Gaul in the West, and over Illyrium, Macedonia, Greece, Asia-Minor, and Syria in the East. "The time was to come when, one man being at the head of the State, all these countries and more were to be combined into one great Empire, in which all free inhabitants possessed equal rights of citizenship. But for a long time the peoples of the countries external to Italy remained in the position of conquered subjects, retaining indeed certain local freedom and in many cases even their native rulers, but being really subject to men of another race, who

ruled and did not amalgamate with them." In this respect they anticipated the British.

The Roman Republic was transformed into an Empire when in 27 B.C. Cæsar Octavian became Princeps and Pontifex Maximus. It continued to flourish during the next two centuries until the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. Another three centuries passed before it was overthrown by the barbarians in 476 A.D., but during this latter period it was already in its decline owing to internal dissensions and other causes. Yet Rome had a full millennium to herself in which to develop her civilisation which was to leave its permanent legacy to the modern world. Before we can apprise this we must briefly survey her history.

88. The Birth of a Republic:

As the native history of the Greeks began with the legends of Homer, so that of the Romans also commenced with their legendary kings who were supposed to have been seven and ruled from 753-509 B.C. They were 'Romulus, the founder of Rome; Numa, the law-giver; Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, both conquerors; Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder; Servius Tullius, the re-organiser of the government and second founder of the state; and Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty tyrant whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.' During this royal period Rome was built, its surrounding marshes were drained and reclaimed to form the *forum* or market square with its Comitium or meeting place for the political assemblies of the people, and the original clans were reorganised for administrative and military purposes on a more rational basis. According to Roman tradition it was Servius Tullius who, like Solon and Cleisthenes in Athens, broke through the tangle of racial tribes and redistributed the people in artificial groups deriving their status from the wealth they possessed. The army too was re-organised in units of one hundred soldiers each, called *centuria*, and assembled on the Campus Martius (or Field of Mars) just outside the city-walls. The people were broadly divided into two classes, the aristocratic *Patricians* and the ordinary Plebeians. Their political distinction was like that between the Eupatridæ of Athens or the Spartiates of Sparta and the lesser Greek citizens. While the former formed the privileged order, the latter had only duties to perform with hardly any rights. But being admitted into the army, both the patricians and the plebeians combined together and overthrew the tyranny of the kings, in 509 B.C., about the

same time that *tyranny* was brought to an end in Athens and the other cities of Greece.

To safeguard their liberty the Romans appointed two magistrates (like the Spartan kings) called at first *praetors* or leaders and then *consuls* or colleagues. They had equal authority and each could curb the other. They were accompanied by a bodyguard of twelve men who carried with them a peculiar type of rods, called *fasces,* from which the modern "fascists" derived their name. The *fasces* were symbols of authority and power. The consuls were elected and their term of office was only one year. If the state was faced with any serious danger or crisis they appointed a *Dictator* who had unrestricted power, but only for six months, like the "ordinance" rule of our governors. As in the case of the Athenian magistrates, though a Roman consul was immune from prosecution while in office, he could be tried when out of it for offences committed during his official term. Besides, there was a class of supervisors of the administration, known as the *Tribunes,* who could protect citizens against unjust treatment by the consuls.

At first the consuls were invested with all kinds of authority: they led the Roman armies, administered justice, and held charge of the public treasury. In course of time the last function was taken away from them and assigned to new officers called *Quaestors.* They were assisted by two *Censors* whose duty it was to keep lists of the citizens, to assess taxes, to determine the rights of voting, and to look after the daily conduct of the people. There was also a council of elders known as the *Senate* (from *senex*=old man) which was the "Witanagemot" of the Roman Kings. Under the Republic it played a more important part. Only the patricians were represented in it. None but a patrician could also be elected as consul of any other high official. The plebeians had a place only in the *Comitia Tributa,* or assembly of the tribes, which was presided over by the tribunes. This, together with the *Comitia Centuriata,* or the army assembly, even more than the Senate, became in course of time, the real legislature of the Roman State. But the Senate continued to be a powerful cabinet of experienced statesmen who guided and controlled the popular assemblies. In the words of Professor Breasted, the Roman Senators "formed the greatest council of rulers which ever grew up in the ancient world, or perhaps in any age." But their aristocratic government plunged Rome for a time in civil strife which ended only in 450 B.C. with the publication of the

"Laws of the Twelve Tables" and the assertion of equality between the patricians and the plebeians. In order to achieve this result the plebeians had to secede from Rome twice; once in 494 B.C. and again in 451 B.C. By a series of enactments the plebeians secured equality as legislators (449 B.C.), right of marriage with patricians (445 B.C.), right to appointment as consuls (444 B.C.), and as censors (443 B.C.). The charter of their liberties was guaranteed by the most solemn oaths. The tribunes, who were to be the permanent guardians of the plebeians, were to be elected by them, and their persons were to be sacrosanct. "Anyone interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties or doing him any violence was declared an outlaw whom anyone might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night and day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge." Yet another, and the last, measure adopted for the "equalisation of the orders" was the Licinian Law of 367 B.C. After this the son of a plebeian peasant might hope to rise to the highest office to which a patrician nobleman could aspire. Thus invigorated with fresh blood the Republic of Rome entered upon a career of aggrandisement that soon made it the mistress of the western world.

89. The Path of Conquest:

The united Romans had two forces to contend with in Italy and two rivals to conquer outside. The former two were the Etruscans and the Latin tribes; the latter two were the Greeks of Magna Graecia (Sicily and the heel and toe of Italy) and the Phœnicians of Carthage. After a ten years' siege (405-395 B.C.) the Romans captured Veii, the stronghold of the Etruscans, and made Etruria a part of their domain. The Latin tribes, being the kinsmen of the Romans by race, had been at first treated as "allies." But they were greatly dissatisfied with the inferiority which was attached to them by the Romans. Hence they revolted often at the instigation of the Etruscans. This led to a series of wars known as the Samnite Wars (340-290 B.C.). In the course of this struggle, all the continental enemies of the Romans, like the Etruscans, the Sammites and the Gauls, made common cause and organised a formidable league. But two terrible defeats, in 338 B.C. and 295 B.C., demonstrated to the world the growing strength of Rome. Thereafter the City of the Seven Hills became the capital of Italy. The Romans established their own colonies in the midst of the conquered people, thereby driving a wedge

between them. They also treated the vanquished on different terms, so that they might not combine on account of common grievances. But the Italians were pacified by granting them social equality and allowing them to maintain their own armies, though they were denied other political rights and privileges.

The Greeks had settled on the coasts of southern Italy and the neighbouring islands long before Rome was founded. Among their colonies the most prosperous were Tarentum on the mainland and Syracuse on the island of Sicily. The strength of these settlements may be gauged from the fact that, in the year of Salamis (480 B.C.), the Syracusans had defeated the powerful Carthaginians in the Western Mediterranean. In the course of the Peloponnesian War Athens had also met with a disaster in her Syracusan expedition (413 B.C.). But with the consolidation of Italy under Roman leadership, the Greeks could not do much. In the days following the Hellenic conquests of Alexander the Great, their position in Italy was no longer tenable. Their effort to save themselves by calling in Pyrrhus of Epirus across the Adriatic proved futile (280-275 B.C.). Rome had triumphed over all since its foundation in 753 B.C. The whole of Italy was by now 'a kind of federation in which each city had its own alliance with the leading one, and no alliance with any other. Each had its own government and administered its own law, but placed all its military resources at the disposal of the Roman government. The fighting power of the future was to be Italy under Roman leadership, and all questions of foreign policy were decided by Rome alone. There was no general council of the whole confederacy. The Roman Senate controlled an ever-increasing mass of detailed and varied business, having to deal with Latins, Italians of the old stocks, Etruscans, Greeks and Gauls.'[1]

90. "Carthage must be Destroyed":

We must now turn to the epic struggle between Rome and Carthage for the mastery of the Western Mediterranean world. It lasted for over a century, from 264 to 146 B.C., and ended in the complete annihilation of the Phœnician power. It is represented in Roman history by the three Punic Wars: 264-241; 219-202; and 149-146 B.C. As the result of the first Punic War the Phœnicians were crippled at sea and Rome occupied the islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia. But the Carthaginians were too strong to be dislodged from the West-

1. W. Warde-Fowler, *Rome*, p. 53.

ern Mediterranean. They tried to consolidate their position by occupying the Iberian peninsula and making that a base of operations against Rome. The leaders of this great *coup* (the Second Punic War) were Hamilcar Barca, his son Hannibal, and son-in-law Hasdrubal. The first and the third lived only through the first phase of the struggle. Hannibal was destined to lead against Rome one of the most brilliant, though futile, military campaigns recorded in history. He took his army of about 100,000 men and some elephants *via* Spain and the southern coast of France, across the Alps, into Italy; won over the Gauls who were settled in the Po valley; surprised city and camp in the peninsula; and moving with lightning rapidity inflicted a series of defeats upon the Italian and Roman armies. The most disastrous of these was the battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.) where the Romans were butchered like the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat, and not a family was found in Rome but mourned the death of some of its members. But the Romans did not despair. Thanks to the dash of one of their brave consul-generals, Claudius Nero, the shrewd strategy of another great commander, Scipio Africanus, and the "Fabian tactics" of a third general Fabius, Hannibal, after twenty years' incessant fighting in a strange land seething with enemies, and himself cut off from all hopes of reinforcements, fell away again and again 'like a sea-wave spent and broken on a rocky shore.' Finally, Carthage itself being endangered by the valiant Scipio's attacks, the intrepid Phœnician was obliged to leave Italy to its fate and fly for the defence of his mother city. There he was defeated in 202 B.C., at the battle of Zama, and had to seek safety in exile. Carthage had to relinquish Spain to the conqueror, besides paying an indemnity of 10,000 talents (£2,400,000), and promising never to wage war against anyone without the permission of Rome. This last condition proved the hardest of all to fulfil, especially as Rome was determined to undo her foe even when fallen. Though Carthage recovered her commercial prosperity in the course of the next fifty years, Rome unchivalrously provoked the Numidians to attack the Phœnicians, and when Carthage tried to defend herself, charged her with waging war without the permission of Rome. Under this pretext the perfidious Romans once more attacked the helpless Carthaginians, razed their city to the ground and, to confirm its annihilation, ploughed the ruins, and pronounced a curse against its revival, as the Mughals did later at Chitor. This was the Third Punic War (149-146 B.C.). Imperious Rome had already set her hands on universal dominion as we shall presently see. In the view of the Imperial historians there was nothing to regret in the des-

truction of Carthage. The pathetic tale is vividly recounted by Winwood Reade in *The Martyrdom of Man* wherein we are told:

"The fall of the Carthaginian empire is not a matter for regret. Outside the walls of the city existed hopeless slavery on the part of the subject, shameless extortion on the part of the officials. Throughout Africa Carthage was never named without a curse. In the time of the mercenary war, the Moorish women, taking oath to keep nothing back, stripped off their gold ornaments and brought them all to the men who were resisting their oppressors. That city, that Carthage, fed like a vulture upon the land. A corrupt and grasping aristocracy, a corrupt and grasping populace, divided between them the prey. The Carthaginian customs were barbarous in the extreme. When a battle had been won they sacrificed their handsomest prisoners to the gods; when a battle had been lost the children of their noblest families were cast into the furnace. Their Asiatic character was strongly marked. They were a people false and sweet-worded, effeminate and cruel, tyrannical and servile, devout and licentious, merciless in triumph, faint-hearted in danger, divinely heroic in despair."

Consequently the coast where Carthage stood became a browsing ground for cattle, a field of blood. Julius Cæsar later founded a New Carthage, but not on the accursed spot. When recently the city walls of the old Phœnician capital were disinterred, they were found to be covered with a layer of ashes from four to five feet deep, filled with half-charred pieces of wood, fragments of iron, and projectiles. Carthage went the way of Troy and Nineveh! 'Africa became a province of the Roman Empire.'

91. Expansion: East and West:

In the meanwhile the attention of Imperious Rome had already been drawn towards the East. The adventures of Pyrrhus of Epirus on behalf of Magna Graecia have already been referred to. Besides, Hannibal had tried to strengthen himself by forming an alliance with the equally ambitious Philip of Macedon (a successor of Alexander the Great). Similarly, Philip himself had entered into a compact with Antiochus of Syria (another of Alexander's inheritors) with a view to invading Egypt which was under the Ptolemies (the third of the inheritors of Alexander's empire). Rome overthrew all these one after another. Philip of Macedon was defeated on the field of Cynoscephalæ (Dogs' Heads), in 197

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B.C.; Antiochus was routed at Magnesia in 190 B.C.; and the great Achæan League was overthrown by the utter destruction of Corinth, in 146 B.C. "Greek liberty was of course ended," as Breasted has observed, "and, while a city of such revered memories as Athens might be given greater freedom, those Greek states whose careers of glorious achievement in civilization we have followed were reduced to the condition of Roman vasslas."[2] The same results followed wherever the Roman legions and cohorts went. We cannot do more than state the results in this brief outline. In the East, Pergamum was conquered, in 133 B.C.! Crete, in 67 B.C.; Cilicia and Syria, in 64 B.C.; Cyprus, in 58 B.C.; Egypt in 30 B.C. In the West, Spain had already been subjugated in the course of the Punic Wars (154-133 B.C.). Likewise, Cis-Alpine Gaul, in the North, was made into a Roman province, about 81 B.C.; and about the middle of the first century (58-50) B.C. Julius Cæsar carried on his famous campaigns in the north as far as Britain. Thus, by the beginning of the Christian era, when Rome developed into an Empire, she was already mistress of the Mediterranean world from Spain in the West to the Euphrates in the East, and from the Sahara in the South to Britain in the North, her northeastern boundary running along the Rhine-Danube line. This vast Empire endured in prosperity until Rome herself was overwhelmed by the barbarians after the death of Marcus Aurelius, the last of the great emperors. Between 200 and 250 A.D. that Empire was already tottering. Constantinople, which was to be the seat of the Eastern Empire, was founded in 330 A.D. The Western Empire practically came to an end when a barbarian kingdom was set up in Italy itself, in 476 A.D. By 500 A.D. Gothic kingdoms were established in Spain and Italy, a Vandal kingdom arose in Africa, a Frankish kingdom in Gaul, and a Saxon kingdom in Britain. With this brief summary of the external history of Rome, we must now turn to her more instructive internal life.

92. Internal Reactions:

The reactions of the brilliant and extensive conquests of the Romans proved fateful for their future. They created problems difficult of solution both internally and externally. The conquered provinces of the far-flung Empire were entrusted to military governors with armies of tax-gatherers who battened on their enormous spoils and corrupted the entire imperial organisation. Although they carried Roman civilisation to distant parts of Europe (as Britain for example), con-

2. *The Conquest of Civilization*, p. 547.

structed roads, built bridges, baths and villas, the selfishness of adventurous and ambitious generals made *Roman* a byword for venality and a term of reproach. "O venal city," cried Juggurtha, King of Numidia, "thou wouldst sell thyself if thou couldst find a purchaser." The Empire became a huge farm for breeding slaves and feeding idle and luxurious Romans. This made the Romans both selfish parasites and callous brutes. They at first denied to others the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens living within the imperial capital. But the revolt of the Italian cities,known as the Social War (91-89 B.C.), compelled the Romans to extend full citizenship, at any rate in theory, to all the Italians. However, in practice, the active exercise of the vote and other privileges remained a monopoly of those who lived in Rome, for the Romans never conceived of representative government despite their republicanism. This resulted in great inequalities, and power and wealth accumulated in the hands of a few, while the many remained impotent and discontented. In the second century B.C. two noble Romans, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (who were brothers) attempted to reform this system by redistributing wealth, but they had to die as martyrs for all their efforts to reduce inequalities. When Tiberius was elected tribune, in 133 B.C., he told the people, "The beasts that prowl about Italy have holes and lurking places, where they may make their beds. You who fight and die for Italy enjoy only the blessings of air and light. You fight and die to give wealth and luxury to others. You are called the masters of the world; yet there is no clod of earth that you can call your own." He proposed to redistribute the public lands among the "have nots" and thus incurred the enmity of the "haves." When he attempted to get himself re-elected in order to enable him to give effect to his reforms, he was slain by the Senators who heartily hated him. His brother Gaius, elected tribune in 123 B.C., tried to walk in his footsteps and met with the same fate. In their anxiety to help the poor the Gracchi had instituted an evil practice that was to cost the Romans dear before long. Bread was to be made available to the poor people in Rome at less than the market price. But soon this turned out to be an instrument of corruption in the hands of unscrupulous rivals contending for power. Finally, free distribution of bread at public cost became a bait for catching votes. Other soul-destroying entertainments were added when bread alone proved insufficient to enlist the support of the parasites. Such was the ultimate demoralisation that the ancient struggle between the Patricians and Plebeians was renewed in a new form in which the issues

were decided by the naked sword and other inhumanities. Military commanders took the place of statesmen and reformers and Rome was plunged into the most brutal civil strifes. Matters, indeed, were carried to excess when Marius and Sulla (87-82 B.C.) tried to exorcise each other with their huge armies inebriated with victories in the provinces. Both were great generals, and both tried to "proscribe" the supporters and sympathisers of the other, which meant a war of mutual extermination and the institution of a "reign of terror" worse than France was to experience during the Revolution.

Such a state of chaos in the capital of the Empire was bound to have far-reaching reactions. One of the entertainments to which the Romans had got accustomed during these bloody days was the brutal contest of the *gladiators*, or armed men fighting each other to death. Thus thousands of people, especially slaves, criminals and desperadoes, came to be 'butchered to make a Roman holiday.' When they were wounded and disabled their half-living bodies were dragged to a corner of the arena by means of long iron hooks to make room for others. Special schools were established to train gladiators and slaves were compelled to prepare themselves for the holocausts. This tyranny became so unbearable to the victims that 150,000 of the slaves and other malcontents rose in revolt (War of the Gladiators, 73-71 B.C.). But such was the military might of Rome that their insurrection was crushed, though it took three years of hard fighting to do so.

Another notorious example of the demoralising effects of the Roman imbroglio was the tyranny of Verres, the governor of Sicily in 70 B.C. For three years he plundered and ravaged the island with impunity, sold all the offices in his giving, confiscated all *objects d'art* for which he had a special liking, and had the temerity to confess that two-thirds of his loot was intended to purchase the judges and lawyers in Rome if he was unable to escape impeachment otherwise. But thanks to the brilliant oratory of Cicero (the Demosthenes of Italy) Verres had finally to seek safety in exile. It is difficult to omit the following sample from the prosecution:—

"I come now to what Verres himself calls his passion; what his friends call his disease, his madness; what the Sicilians call his rapine; what I am to call it, I know not....First of all, O judges, suffer me to make you acquainted with the description of this conduct of his; and then, perhaps, you will not be very much puzzled to know by what name to call it. I say that in all Sicily, in all that wealthy and ancient province,.... of such exceeding riches, there was no silver vessel, no Corin-

thian or Delian plate, no jewel or pearl, nothing made of gold or ivory, no statue of marble or brass or ivory, no picture whether painted or embroidered, that he did not seek out, that he did not inspect, that, if he liked it, he did not take away.... I will say that he has left nothing in anyone's house, nothing even in the towns, nothing in public places, not even in the temples, nothing in the possession of any Sicilian, nothing in the possession of any Roman citizen; that he has left nothing, in short, which either came before his eyes or was suggested to his mind, whether private property or public, or profane or sacred, in all Sicily....Oh, for the good faith of gods and men! What is the meaning of all this? What a cause is this! What impudence is this!"

The impudence of acquisitive cupidity was not confined to Roman officers like Verres, however. The pirates of the Mediterranean took the fullest advantage of the dereliction of those in authority. After the destruction of Carthaginian power in the Western and the Hellenistic power in the Eastern Mediterranean, Rome was too much engrossed in her internal squabbles to keep the turbulent elements she had let loose under proper control. In these circumstances piracy became rampant all over the Mediteranean world. Corsairs infested the high seas and ravaged the shores as well. But a young artistocratic general soon arose in Pompey who, being invested with dictatorial powers over the Mediterranean and all its coasts up to fifty miles in the interior, succeeded in the course of three strenuous years (67-64 B.C.) in completely stamping out piracy everywhere. Pompey followed up this success by overthrowing the Greek general Mithradates who had thrown out in the East as great a challenge to Roman supremacy as Hannibal had done before in the South. But while Roman armies were thus busy abroad, a great conspiracy was hatched at home by a desperate citizen named Catiline who tried to seize power by murdering the consuls and senators and plundering the city. Once again the great orator Cicero arraigned the traitor before the Senate and the latter was slain in the course of a desperate struggle in Etruria (62 B.C.).

93. Caesar seizes Power:

It is clear from the above narrative that things were moving fast in the history of Rome,—in fact too fast for the old constitution to grapple with. What with internal and external troubles and dangers it was becoming more and more plain that only a strong Dictatorship could save the situation. This came in the shape of the so-called First Triumvirate of Cæsar,

Crassus, and Pompey (60 B.C.). At first this combination derived strength from the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the reputation of Pompey. But they did not hold together for long. The old story of the deadly rivalry of Marius and Sulla threatened to repeat, especially between Cæsar and Pompey. We have before referred to the extension of the Roman Empire in the North and in the East. When Cæsar returned from his great victories over the Gauls, Cicero declared with utmost animation. "Let the Alps sink; the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed." But events were to prove that not even the Alps could prevent the barbarians from pouring into Italy once her Cæsars fell or were rendered impotent. Meanwhile Rome and Italy passed through some of the most momentous events recorded in history.

When Cæsar crossed the Rubicon the die was cast, not only for Cæsar, but also for Rome. The battle of Pharsalus in Thessaly (48 B.C.) between the two rivals bestowed the laurels on Cæsar. *"Veni, vidi, vici"* (I came, I saw, I conquered) was literally true of Cæsar's triumphs everywhere except against Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, who ensnared him during the greater part of the year following Pharsalus (47 B.C.). Cæsar was now virtually the uncrowned king of the Roman dominions. The Senate made him perpetual Dictator in 44 B.C. and conferred on him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the title of Pontifex Maximus and Imperator. Coins were struck in his name and with his effigy. His statue was placed along with those of the seven kings of early Rome, though thrice the royal crown was offered him and thrice he refused to wear it. The reason for this was that "Cæsar had been from his youth associated with the Popular party, and had been early familiarised with the idea of realising democratic ideas by the autocratic rule of a popular leader such as Marius and Cinna had been. The inversion of the constitution by which a supreme Senate ruled confronted him as them, and the innovation of Cæsar was not the inauguration but the crystallisation and legalisation of a supreme personal authority, to which the Senate should act in its original relation of adviser at request. That this was Cæsar's aim can hardly be doubted, whatever the name one may give to the new position he created."[3]

We have not the space here to describe or discuss the great and versatile abilities of Julius Cæsar. "He was a man

3. H. Hardinge, *Julius Cæsar*: Soldier, Statesman, Emperor, p. 79.

of consummate and many-sided genius, almost equally great as soldier, administrator, legislator, politician and man of letters." But Rome appears to have been too jealous of her benefactors and saviours to allow them to live and serve for long. So Cæsar was murdered, like the brothers Gracchi, in the midst of his great work on the 15th March 44 B.C. by a band of misguided republicans. No better appreciation of the man and his work can be given than the following from Mommsen:

"A thorough realist, he never allowed the images of the past or venerable tradition to disturb him; with him nothing was of value in politics but the living present and the law of reason....A born ruler, he governed the minds of men as the wind drives the clouds, and compelled the most heterogeneous natures to place themselves at his service....His talent for organisation was marvellous....He was monarch; but he never played the king. Even when absolute lord of Rome, he retained the deportment of the party leader; perfectly pliant and smooth, easy and charming in conversation, complaisant, towards every one, it seemed as if he wished to be nothing but the first among his peers....He is perhaps the only one among the mighty men of the earth, who in great matters and little never acted according to inclination or caprice, but always without exception according to his duty as ruler, and who, when he looked back on his life, found doubtless erroneous calculations to deplore, but no false step of passion to regret... He is, in fine, perhaps the only one of those mighty men who have preserved to the end of his career the statesman's tact of discriminating between the possible and the impossible, and has not broken down in the task which for nobly gifted natures is the most difficult of all—the task of recognising, when on the pinnacle of success, its natural limits....Such was this unique man, whom it seems easy and yet is so infinitely difficult to describe....The secret lies in its perfection. In his character as a man as well as in his place in history, Cæsar occupies a position where the great contrasts of existence met and balance each other. Of the mightiest creative power and yet at the same time of the most penetrating judgment; no longer a youth and not yet an old man; of the highest energy of will and the highest capacity of execution; filled with republican ideals and at the same time born to be a king; a Roman in the deepest essence of his nature, and yet called to reconcile and combine in himself as well as in the outer world the Roman and the Hellenic types of culture—Cæsar was the entire and perfect man....Thus he worked and created as never any mortal did before or after him; and as a worker and creator he still after wellnigh two thousand

years, lives in the memory of the nations—the first, and the unique, Imperator Cæsar."

94. Imperial Rome:

The assassination of Julius Cæsar inaugurated a fresh struggle between his supporters and enemies, and it seemed for a time that Rome was ever to be the victim of rival generals. A Second Triumvirate was formed by Cæsar's step-son Octavian, and his two other officers, Antony and Lepidus. In 42 B.C. they overthrew Brutus and Cassius, the murderers of Julius Cæsar, in the battle of Philippi. But the victors could not agree among themselves. Though for a while Antony and Octavian divided between themselves the eastern and western dominions of Rome, no lasting settlement could be reached without the triumph of the strongest. The battle of Actium, in 31 B.C., finally declared in favour of Octavian. Antony, like Julius Cæsar, fell a prey to the wiles of Cleopatra, and, in the words of Shakespeare, 'That triple pillar of the world' was 'transformed into a strumpet's fool.' Unable to bear the triumph of their enemy, like Brutus and Cassius before them, Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide. Octavian thereafter became the sole master of the Roman world. He assumed the name of his great uncle, Cæsar, and the titles of *Princeps* (first among equals) and *Imperator* (Sovereign), and the Senate conferred upon him the additional distinction of being called *Augustus* (the auspicious)—the name by which he came to be most familiarly known. With him began the real Roman *Empire* as distinguished from the Roman *Republic*. Augustus ruled as Emperor from 31 B.C. to 14 A.D., and his reign became one of the most glorious epochs in World History. Before proceeding to assess its contributions to civilisation, however, we must briefly describe the rest of the imperial history of Rome.

The Roman Empire endured for about five hundred years before it was overthrown by the barbarians (476 A.D.). But it was already divided into the Eastern and Western Empires in 364 A.D. and had ceased to be glorious after the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. There was a fitful revival under Diocletian in 284 A.D. when the Principate established by Augustus was converted into a genuine monarchy. But the forces of disruption were so great that even Diocletian was obliged to abdicate in 305 A.D. Indeed within a few months of Diocletian's abdication there were no less than six rival emperors contending for supremacy, until the great Constantine emerged out of the chaos, in 323 A.D. Apart from politi-

cal and civic strife, the long period, during which the Empire was a-dying was marked as well by the rise and persecution of Christianity. At last in 330 A.D. Constantine made peace with the Church, adopted a tolerant policy towards Christianity and founded a "New Rome" at Byzantium and christened it Constantinople.

The greatest of the Emperors were Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antonius Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Diocletian, and Constantine. It is not necessary for our purposes to deal with them individually. Collectively they represented a system. There was little extension of territory beyond the limits indicated earlier in this chapter. But of consolidation and better organisation of power there was much in successive reigns. Little by little the authority of the Emperor tended to become absolute. Augustus had thought it prudent to couch his authority in republican forms. Under him the Assembly still elected the magistrates, though in fact no one could hold office without the Emperor's approval; the Senate still discussed, though the Emperor's voice was decisive in clinching matters; the magistrates continued to act, but according as the Emperor directed them. With the lapse of time, however, even outward forms more and more came into line with actual reality. A regularly graded Civil Service dependent upon the will of the Emperor took the place of the elected magistracy. The Senate was practically superseded by a Privy Council of great officials. From top to bottom the government of the Empire was entirely carried on by one man with the help of a dependent bureaucracy. Under such a system a certain uniformity prevailed all over the Empire. Law, taxation, and citizenship tended to be the same everywhere. Before the days of her decline commenced, that is during the first two centuries of her imperial history, Rome rendered the most conspicuous services to human civilisation. In the words of Professor Hearnshaw: "She established a world-peace; she linked her vast dominions together by a network of splendid roads; she maintained an unparalleled system of law and justice; she developed an extensive commerce; she erected in all her provinces magnificent pubic works; she preserved the culture of the Hellenic East; she educated the barbarians of the Celtic West. The subject people accepted her beneficent rule with gratitude, rejoiced in the tranquillity and security which she bestowed, and came to regard Roman citizenship and imperial office as the supreme goal of their ambition. Following the example of Alexander, she broke down the barriers of race and religion which hitherto had divided men; fused Greek and barbarian into a single polity; brought East and West to-

gether and impressed upon the civilised world a consciousness of unity which even to the present day has never been wholly lost."[4]

POINTS FOR STUDY

82. Individual and National traits of the Greeks and Romans: their importance in History.

83. The City-States of the Greeks and Romans: Liberty in Greece and Rome.

84. Roman, Athenian and Macedonian Imperialisms.

85. Climax of Phoenicians at Carthage: Hannibal.

86. Conditions favouring the growth of the Roman Empire.

87. Importance of Julius Caesar.

88. Imperial Organisation of the Romans: nature and effects.

4. *A First Book of World History*, p. 102.

CHAPTER XII

THE LEGACY OF ROME

95 Character of the Romans.
96. The Crucifixion of Christ.
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Alike in literature, in art, in philosophy, and in religion, Rome built the bridge over which many of the best thoughts and the finest models of antiquity found their way into the Medieval and thence into the Modern World.—H. H. Asquith

95. Character of the Romans:

In the rapid sketch presented in the previous chapter we concentrated on giving a fair idea of the rise and growth of Rome as a *republic* and as an *empire*. Though a distinction is often made by historians between the two, really Rome was an Empire while yet she was a Republic. But imperialism and republicanism could go ill together and she had gradually to give up the latter for the sake of the former. How this came about more markedly after the death of Julius Cæsar we had already witnessed. From Augustus to Diocletian was a process of transformation in which the Roman Republic became the Roman Empire. Another feature in this, which is worthy of notice, is the development of a city-state into a

vast dominion. Athens had made an attempt in that direction, but failed. The success of Rome is to be explained with reference to the character of the Romans. In this chapter we shall make a closer study of those people and their civilisation.

The Romans were unlike the Greeks in most respects. But though they lacked the versatility of the Hellenes, they had a genius for construction and organisation. Hence they were content to develop such virtues as were useful in building up a great society, and for the rest borrowed from their more gifted neighbours. In art, science, philosophy, the Romans made few contributions of any distinctive merit; but in law, military organisation, government of different peoples, and other practical matters there have been few to equal them. Consequently, we shall find that the Romans, though lacking in intellectual and imaginative faculties, particularly in that grace which lends charm to life, made their own contributions to civilisation as men of action. H. G. Wells is a little too uncharitable to them (his lack of sympathy being born of his socialistic bias) when he roundly declares, "The reputation of Rome has flourished through the prosperity of her heirs. The tradition of Rome looms far greater than the reality." The defects of any people should not blind us to their virtues. 'The evil that men do lives long after them; and the good is oft interred with their bones.' But the duty of the historian is to present both aspects in their true proportions.

The transformation of the Republic, or rather the City-State, into the Empire of Rome, indeed, shares this double character. In its capacity to outgrow itself the City of the Seven Hills revealed its greatness; in its inability to preserve its democratic constitution, while Rome expanded into an empire, the republic betrayed its limitations. In the gradual extension of Roman citizenship to the non-Roman Italians at first, and then to the non-Italian provincials, irrespective of race, the Romans proved their essential statesmanship; but, in the perpetuation of slavery and their incapacity to prevent the tyranny of the rich over the poor, they were no more successful than most other people including the modern. In creating the conditions which made *Pax Romana* almost universal over their world the Romans gave us the first lessons in efficient imperial organisation; while in their failure to make those conditions secure for all time, they demonstrated the inherent weaknesses of dynastic rule. Thus the Romans were both an example to be copied and a warning to be noted by future imitators. Good

emperors and had succeeded each other at Rome almost with the sequence of day and night; but with one marked tendency, namely, that as winter approached the nights became longer.

96. The Crucifixion of Christ:

We acquainted ourselves a little, in the last chapter, with the long summer days of the Augustan Principate. Here we shall note the character of the longer winter nights of the evil rule of some of the worst emperors as well. The glory of the reign of Octavian with its many-sided achievements, was hardly shared by the other emperors who followed. During the first half-century of the Principate flourished the Golden Age of Latin literature. Under the patronage of Augustus and his great minister Maecenas lived Virgil, the Homer of Italy, who composed the immortal *Aeneid,* Horace who wrote his famous odes, Livy his inimitable history, and Ovid his charming *Metamorphoses.* In architecture, Augustus found Rome brick and left it marble. He built temples, theatres, baths and aqueducts, some of which have survived to this day. But the greatest event of his reign, though unnoticed at the moment, was the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem. The glory of this obscure child was soon to eclipse all the grandeur of all the Roman emperors for all time. But for the nonce, during the two hundred years after Augustus (15 A.D. to 213 A.D.), Emperor worship was supreme, and the followers of Jesus had to suffer continued persecution. This dark tale began with the crucifixion of Jesus himself by order of the Roman governor Pontius Pilate in the Roman province of Judaea, in the reign of Tiberius, the adopted son and successor of Augustus (14-37 A.D.). This is not the place to dwell at length upon the personal history of Christ, as Jesus came to be called after his martyrdom at Calvary. He was born in the year 4 B.C. on 25th December which day is still being celebrated every year by Christians all over the world to commemorate the birth of the Son of God. He was executed in his thirty-third year on a Friday which is now annually celebrated as Good Friday. To this we need here add no more than the fact that while both Pilate and Tiberius are hardly known to any but the readers of Roman history, Christ is not merely remembered but worshipped by millions to this day in various parts of the world.

Tiberius was followed by even worse successors,—perhaps worse men have not been rulers anywhere. Caligula (37-41 A.D.) was depraved to the point of insanity. Claudius (41-54 A.D.), his successor, was great as a ruler, though he was

personally subject to the rule of wicked women and was finally murdered by his own wife, Agrippina, the mother of the notorious Nero. He is remembered for his conquest of Britain and the admission of Gallic nobles to the Roman Senate and other high offices. In defence of his generous policy towards provincials he asked, "What other cause was there of the downfall of Sparta and of Athens, states once powerful in arms, save this,—that they closed their gates against the conquered as aliens?"

The less said about Nero (54-68 A.D.) the better. In spite of having for his tutor a philosopher like Seneca, he turned out to be the vilest of tyrants. He murdered both his mother, Agrippina, and his tutor, Seneca, and finally himself committed suicide. But before doing this he lighted his gardens with live human beings for candles, and setting fire to his own capital city, fiddled in evident pleasure over the bonfires singing a song of his own composition entitled the *Sack of Troy*.

> The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall
> And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk.
> (*Iliad*, VI. 448.)

Nero was the last of the Julian emperors, so named after Julius Cæsar. After a short interlude of inglorious emperors, followed the Flavian Age (69-96 A.D.), during which Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, son of Vespasian. More than a million Jews are said to have perished in this destruction. The reign of Titus (79-81 A.D.) was marked by the eruption of the Vesuvius resulting in the destruction of the famous cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Pliny the naturalist lost his life here. Recent excavations have revealed the wonderful treasures buried under lava and ashes nearly 1800 years ago. We have two remarkable letters extant, written by a nephew of Tacitus, and still another by the younger Pliny, containing graphic accounts of eye-witnesses to the calamity.[1] The debris, being now clear, has yielded to the archæologist whole villas, amphitheatres, paintings, and sculptures in a marvellous state of preservation. Professor Amedeo Maiuri, carrying on the work for Sr. Mussolini's government, discovered at Herculaneum, in May 1927, many a building with "the object and household utensils that form the natural equipment of a dwelling. In this way, a cupboard in a humble room still has on its shelves the modest domestic vessels which used to be kept in it, and the platter with a few dates and a few nuts

1. See *Wonders of the Past*, I, 352-71.

which a careful housewife had put on one side for the frugal meal of the next day; in the shade of an *atrium* there is still standing the portrait-bust of the owner of the dwelling; in the *tabernae* and in the storage *cellae* are still the remains of goods unsold or unconsumed—grain, barley, lentils, beans, bread and biscuits."[2] The layer of mud, lava and ashes varied from 39 to 92 feet in depth.

Titus was followed by Domitian (81-96 A.D.) whose reign was marked by 'the second persecution of the Christians', the first having taken place under Nero. Domitian was so detested for his wickedness that the Senate ordered his infamous name to be erased from the public monuments.

97. Five Good Emperors:

Then came the Five Good Emperors,—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (96-180 A.D.). Of these, Trajan, who was a Spaniard, is remembered for his conquests of Dacia (Roumania), Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia. Under him the Roman Empire extended to its widest reaches, and enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity that lasted till the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. Hadrian spent more than fifteen years of his reign in making tours of inspection in all parts of the Empire, particularly fixing and fortifying its frontiers. The massive wall that he built in North Britain (between the firths of the Tyne and the Solway) to keep off the Picts and Scots, still forms an imposing landmark in that country. The last dispersion of the unfortunate Jews from Jerusalem also took place in the time of Hadrian (135 A.D.). More than half a million of 'the chosen people of the God of Israel' perished in the struggle and the survivors were driven into exile. The reign of the two Antonines (138-180 A.D.) was felt to be too short on account of its happiness and prosperity. If there was fighting and pestilence it was confined to the northern and eastern frontiers. Indeed, as Myers writes:

'It is probably true that, embracing in a single view all the countries included in the Roman Empire, the second century of the Christian era marks the happiest period in their history... The cities of the Eastern countries, as well as hundreds of similar communities in Spain, in Gaul, in Britain, and in other lands of the West, were enjoying, under the admirable municipal system developed by the Romans, a measure of local self-government probably equal to that

2. Ibid., II, 787-93.

enjoyed today by the municipalities of the most advanced of the countries of modern Europe. This wise system had preserved or developed the sentiment of local patriotism and civic pride. The cities vied with one another in the erection of theatres, amphitheatres, baths, temples, and triumphal arches, and in the construction of aqueducts, bridges and other works of a utilitarian nature. In these undertakings they were aided not only by liberal contributions made by the emperors from the imperial treasury but by the generous gift and bequests of individual citizens... Scores of majestic ruins scattered throughout the lands once forming the ancient Empire of Rome bear impressive testimony not only as to the populousness, culture, and enterprise of the urban communities of the Roman dominions but also as to the generally wise, fostering and beneficent character of the earlier imperial rule."[3]

98. Other Noteworthy Emperors:

After Aurelius, the Empire fell on evil days. The emperors became more and more dependent on the rabble and the army. For nearly a century after Commodus (192-284 A.D.) they were chosen by the military and are hence described as the "Barrack Emperors." The army went even to the extent of offering the Empire to the highest bidder. We need not follow the dark annals through all their records of crime and shame. Out of this turmoil only three names are worthy of being rescued; they are Caracalla, Diocletian and Constantine. The first (211-217 A.D.) for granting full Roman citizenship to all freemen in the Empire; the second (284-305 A.D.) for making one last and heroic effort to save the Empire by converting it into an absolute monarchy; and the third (306-337 A.D.) for terminating the era of persecuting the Christians by giving them state recognition and himself becoming the first imperial convert to the Cross.

99. Persecution of Christians:

Here it is convenient to say a few words about the persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire. The original religion of the Romans was a sort of nature and spirit worship, especially the spirits of the ancestors. They looked upon *Jupiter* as the special protector of Rome, upon *Juno* as the guardian of women, upon *Minerva* as the goddess of wisdom, and upon *Mars* as their favourite god of war. They also

3. *General History*, pp. 291-93.

worshipped household deities like *Vesta,* the goddess of the hearth, and *Lares* or spirits of the ancestors. In course of time they admitted Eastern gods and goddesses, like Mithra and Isis, into their pantheon. Religious matters were managed by a college of pontiffs of whom the head was the *Pontifex Maximus.* This office was later conferred upon the Emperors who misused their power to institute Emperor-worship as the national religion. The Jews, who believed in 'the one and only God,' were peculiarly opposed to this Roman faith; hence their persecution. Christianity being born among the Jews also came to share their fate. But in an Empire where many suffered on account of the oppression of the richer classes the new teachings of Christ found a ready appeal, and consequently spread rapidly. This alarmed the Roman governors who looked upon the novel creed as a "contagious superstition that had seized not cities only but the lesser towns also, and the open country," as Pliny reported. The considerate Emperor, Trajan, from whom Pliny sought a declaration of policy towards the Christians sent him the following advice:—

"You have adopted the right course in investigating the charges made against the Christians who were brought before you. It is not possible to lay down any general rule for all such cases. Do not go out of your way to look for them. If they are brought before you and the offence is proved you must punish them, but with this restriction, that when the person denies that he is a Christian, and shall make it evident that he is not by invoking the gods, he is to be pardoned, notwithstanding any former suspicion against him. Anonymous informations ought not to be received in any sort of prosecution. It is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and is quite foreign to the spirit of our age."

But not all Emperors were so lenient towards the Christians as was Trajan. They were persecuted even by the philosopher Emperor Marcus Aurelius. While they suffered most perhaps under wicked Emperors like Nero, Tacitus has the following illuminating commentary upon the state of affairs:—

"The emperor inflicted the most exquisite tortures on these men, who under the vulgar appellation of Christians, were already branded with deserved infamy. They derived their name and origin from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius had suffered death by the sentence of the procurator Pilate. For a while this dire superstition was checked; but again it burst forth, and not only spread itself over Judaea, the first seat of the mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome, the common asylum which receives and protects

whatever is impure, whatever is atrocious. The confession of those who were seized, discovered a great multitude of their accomplices, and they were all convicted, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city (of which they had been accused by Nero) as for their hatred of human kind. They died in torment, and their torments were embittered by insult and derision. Some were nailed on crosses, others sewn up in the skins of wild beasts and exposed to the fury of dogs; others again, smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero were chosen for the melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with a horse race and honoured with the presence of the emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer. The guilt of the Christians deserved indeed the most exemplary punishment, but the public abhorrence was changed into commiseration from the opinion that these unhappy wretches were sacrificed not so much to the public welfare as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant."

100. Roman Ideals:

The Romans were at all times 'Pagans suckled in a creed outworn'. 'Getting and spending' they 'laid waste their powers'. Though 'virtue' is a Roman word, the Romans were no less sinful than the 'Oriental Carthaginians' against whom they sinned. In their best days their ideal in life was *vir fortis et strenuous*—a man of strong courage and active energy; at their worst they were both brutal and effeminate. When Cato was censor, in the second century B.C., a Senator was dismissed for kissing his wife in the presence of their daughter, during daytime; in the years of imperial luxury they preferred a licentious life and evaded the responsibilities and restraints of marriage. 'A race of hardy breed', Virgil wrote, 'we carry our children to the streams and harden them in the bitter icy water; as boys they spend wakeful nights over the chase, and tire out the whirlwind, but in manhood, unwearied by toil and trained to poverty, they subdue the soil with their mattocks, or shake towns in war.' In those Spartan days they worshipped *virtus, pietas, gravitas, continentia, industria* and *diligentia*. But it is essential to note, as Warde-Fowler has pointed out, "that this hard and practical turn of the Roman mind was in some ways curiously limited. It cannot be said that they excelled either in industrial or commercial pursuits. Agriculture was their original occupation, and trade-guilds existed at Rome very early in her history; but the story of their agriculture is rather a sad one, and Rome has never

become a great industrial city. Their first book about husbandry was translated from the Carthaginian, and their methods of commerce they learnt chiefly from the Greeks."[4] Like that of the Assyrians theirs was a parasitical and not a productive economy. Though the Romans were more constructive than the Assyrians, internally Rome battened like Nineveh and earned the wages of sin.

101. Roman pomp and luxury:

In the second century B.C. Paulus, who conquered Macedon, brought nearly two millions into the Treasury, and enabled Rome to dispense with a property tax. In the last century of the Republic, the East and the Mediterranean were rifled more systematically; every general or politician in difficulties turned to Asia or Egypt. All the vast treasures that had been hoarded in palaces and temples in Syria, Palestine, Pontus, Sicily, and the rich countries of the East, tumbled into the lap of Rome. Besides the bullion she received from these conquests, Rome acquired the mines of Spain, the territory of Carthage in Africa, the Crown lands of the King of Macedon; she drew tithes from Sicily, and tribute from her other provinces. Besides, she had a rich world commerce. We learn from Gibbon that the most remote countries of the world were ransacked to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome:

'The forests of Scythia afforded some valuable furs. Amber was brought overland from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube, and the barbarians were astonished at the price which they received in exchange for so useless a commodity. There was a considerable demand for Babylonian carpets and other manufactures of the East; *but the most important branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and India.* Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of a hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar or the island of Ceylon was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival. The return of the fleet to Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January, and as soon as their rich cargo had been transported, on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had descended that river as far

4. *Rome*, pp. 13-14.
5. J. L. Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, pp. 7-8.

as Alexandria, it was poured without delay into the capital of the empire.'

This wealth which poured in from all quarters was not put to any productive use, but expended in barbarous entertainment or effeminate luxury. The number of days which were annually given up to games and spectacles at Rome was sixty-six in the reign of Augustus. They were 135 under the Stoic Marcus Aurelius; and rose to 175 or more in the fourth century A.D. Under Augustus 3,500 wild beasts were killed at the public shows; under Trajan their number was 11,000, tame and wild. Nero had Roman ships loaded with sand for his wrestling grounds at a time when they should have been utilised for bringing corn for the famished. He also got roses worth thousands of Rupees for his bouquets, from Alexandria; while his queen, Poppaea, required the milk of 500 asses for her daily bath. "The failure to develop production," as Hammond has said, "involved, in the long run, the ruin of the Empire, for Roman civilization was not a light or an easy burden. The social life of Rome was pitched on a plane that demanded an exhausting expenditure. Every one knows the pictures of extravagance painted by the violent rage of Juvenal and the cold contempt of Tacitus. Lucullus who first showed Rome what easy and defenceless prizes lay in the East, is forgotten as a general and remembered only as the prince of spendthrifts. Pliny's statement that Rome paid nearly a million a year in specie for the Eastern luxuries needed by great ladies has often been cited. The debauching of the populace has filled the imagination of all later ages; corn is distributed first at a low price, then free; wine is added, then oil. Public games begin when the Republic has its first taste of plunder; rival politicians vie with each other in their display; the animals brought to be slaughtered come from a wider and wider area; presents are flung to the spectators; an ambitious general or politician makes his gladiators fight with silver swords. The achievements and habits of the Republic left to the Empire, that emerged from a long spell of exhausting civil war, the fatal legacy of this mass of extravagance. The Empire had to maintain a capital that was devouring its resources and municipal towns that copied the capital in their taste for rich display."[6] All this was but the demonstration of Cato's wise saying: "Adversity tames us, and teaches us our true line of conduct, while good fortune is apt to warp us from the way of prudence." The Romans, indeed, began as Stoics and ended as Epicureans. But the rare combination of these two philosophies enabled them for

6. *The Rise of Modern Industry*, pp. 13-14.

a time to enjoy life like Titans and to achieve great things,—things that have endured though their creators died nearly two thousand years ago. A few glimpses of the 'Grandeur that was Rome' might appropriately close this brief account of Roman civilisation.

102. The Grandeur that was Rome:

Hadrian's Empire had 20,000 walled towns with sewers, aqueducts, baths, paved streets, open squares, basilicas, temples, hippodromes and theatres. There were more than a score of cities with over 100,000 population. Of these Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, Capua, Aquilea and Treves were the chief. Rome itself possessed the most gorgeous baths, basilicas, squares and porticoes; and a dual population of living people and bronze or marble statues. Of this latter class there were about 400,000. There were in Rome also a number of museums, of which five were of jewellery alone, Nevertheless, the Romans were not creative artists. As Dorsey has put it: "The Romans did not have to create art, literature, or the drama; the Greeks had done it for them." In these matters the vanquished Greeks took their captors captive. The cultured Romans acquired their accomplishments from their Greek slaves who also served as their teachers. Greek was as much appreciated in the Empire as Latin. Even the legendary founders of Rome were somehow connected with the heroes of Homer. The greatest of Latin epics, Virgil's *Aeneid,* traced the lineage from one of the *Trojan* supermen, Aeneas. Marcus Aurelius, their greatest philosopher king, chose to write his *Meditations* in Greek.

Not until the first century B.C. did the Romans have any literature of their own comparable with that of Greece. That unique century, however, produced nine-tenths of the Latin literature that has come down to modern times. Cicero and Cæsar, Horace and Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Catullus and Lucretius lived and wrote in the first century B.C. It saw the close of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire. "It was the time of Rome's greatest prosperity and glory. Her legions had marched east and west, north and south, carrying their eagles to Asia, to the borders of the African desert, to the banks of the Danube, through Spain, Italy and England. Rome was the first world-empire, and it was when Rome was at the very apex of her glory that her literature was produced."

103. Roman Genius:

It is impossible, in this brief sketch, to give an adequate idea of all the positive achievements of the Roman genius.

For this, the least that we can recommend to the reader is *The Legacy of Rome,* edited by Cyril Bailey (Oxford University Press). However a few remarks may be offered here for guidance. The literature and architecture of the Romans may be chosen for illustration as they truly reflect the national character. "Roman virtue is no idle phrase," says Professor Mackail; "nor was it inappropriately that the Latin language and literature received, as a subject of study, the name of Humanity. No language, and no literature, ancient or modern, has given utterance with such steady gravity to the voice of the human soul, *magnanimitas* and *humanitas,* greatness of spirit and width of human feeling, are Latin words which express the two central qualities of the Roman character." Similarly, Mr. Rushforth says, "The reason why architecture developed so rapidly in the Roman Empire is that it was one illustration of the practical and constructive Roman genius; that which made them also good law-makers and good road-makers."

Though a race of eminently practical men, the Romans were not unappreciative of literary study. "Such studies," Cicero writes, "profit youth and rejoice old age; while they increase happiness in good fortune, they are in affliction a consolation and a refuge; they give us joy at home and they do not hamper us abroad; they tarry with us at night time and they go forth with us to the countryside." Cicero was himself the father of Latin prose with its stately structure. Besides being Italy's greatest orator he was also a great exemplar of essayists. It is truly said that his genius brought Greek thought within the compass of the Western mind. "European prose, as an instrument of thought, is Cicero's creation." Then there was Julius Cæsar, whose *Commentarii* are unique in European literature as being written by one of the greatest generals and statesmen who was also a writer of supreme genius. "Their succinct lucidity, their masterly simplicity, remain unrivalled. Written at high speed in the intervals of military campaigns amid the gigantic labours of organisation and reconstruction, they give, with an apparent ease which conceals consummate art, a justification of his own political career, and a picture of the Roman qualities which subjugated and settled the world."

104. Roman Historians:

Among historians, though Polybius (c. 204-122 B.C.) was the first, the greatest were Livy and Tacitus; the former a contemporary of Augustus (27 B.C.—14 A.D.), and the latter of

Domitian (81-96 A.D.). Livy was not merely a great historian but one of the greatest literary artists as well. In his *Historiae ab Urbe Condita* (Records of the City from its foundation) he has canonized Rome as the Eternal City and perfect Commonwealth. More than anything else he has embodied, in a series of living pictures, the national character of the Romans: 'the sanctity of the pledged word, the subordination of personal ambition to civic duty, the practical sagacity, the temperate wisdom, the exalted patriotism, through which a single city became mistress of the world and moulded the world into the fabric of single citizenship.' Tacitus, from whom we have quoted already, is considered the last of the 'classical' historians. Besides writing *Germania,* a frank history of the Empire from the death of Augustus to the death of Domitian (14-96 A.D.), he wrote a biography of his father-in-law, Agricola (the conqueror of Britain), which 'in its grace, restraint, and delicate beauty has been a model, striven after but unapproached by all subsequent writers of biographies.' The great Plutarch, whose parallel lives of the Greeks and Romans are famous, was a contemporary of Tacitus. Though he wrote in Greek, the Romans showed their appreciation of him by erecting a statue of Plutarch under which they inscribed the following lines:—

> 'Chaeronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise
> Does martial Rome this grateful statue raise,
> Because both Greece and she thy fame have shared,
> (Their heroes written, and their lives compared).
> But thou thyself could never write thy own;
> Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.'

105. Roman Philosophers:

Among the philosophers of Rome the greatest were Seneca (Nero's teacher), Epictetus (Nero's slave), and Marcus Aurelius (the Emperor). They were all influenced by the Hellenised Phoenician philosopher Zeno, the founder of Stoicism (4th century B.C.). According to him 'the whole Universe was only one Substance, one *Physis,* in various states, and that one Substance was Reason, was God.' Reason, God, Nature were all synonyms for the intelligible and homogeneous essence of the Universe. *Omnes homines natura aequales sunt,* before the law of Nature all men have an equal status. This was the basic ideal of the Roman State, the Eternal City.

" 'What else is Nature but God,' asked Seneca, 'a divine, being and reason, which by his searching assistance resideth

in the world, and all the parts thereof?' Never say in reply to the question, 'To what country do you belong,' said Epictetus, 'that you are an Athenian, or a Corinthian, but that you are a citizen of the world... He who has observed with intelligence the administration of the world, and has learnt that the greatest and the supreme and the most comprehensive community is that which is composed of men and God, ...why should not such a man call himself a citizen of the world, why not a son of God, and why should he be afraid of anything which happens among men?' And Marcus Aurelius declared, 'If thou workest at that which is before thee, following right reason seriously, vigorously, calmly, without allowing anything else to distract thee, but keeping thy divine part pure, as if thou shouldst be bound to give it back immediately; if thou holdest to this, expecting nothing, fearing nothing, but satisfied with thy present activity according to nature, and with heroic truth in every word and sound which thou utterest, thou wilt live happy. And there is no man who is able to prevent this."

In the field of education, the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian will ever rank as a great classic. "It was the rediscovery of this work in the fifteenth century," says Mackail, "which opened the age of the great educational movement of the later Renaissance; and to Quintilian modern educational theorists, as modern teachers might well do likewise, perpetually turn for restatement of first principles, for analysis of educational methods and planning of school courses, and, above all, for a sane and high view of the meaning and function of education."[7]

106. Roman Poets:

We have before referred to the great poets of the Augustan Age. Here we might add a few illustrations from their writings. First comes Virgil, of course. Even to the great Dante he was 'the master'. He added a new music to the Latin language in his *Eclogues*. Dryden describes his *Georgics* as 'the best poem of the best poet'. It is a piece of consummate art, a pastoral of surpassing merit, in which the poet presents 'in language of liquid and faultless beauty, the picture of a Golden Age attainable in the actual world, the ideal of a life at peace with itself, with mankind, and with Nature.' From his *Aeneid*, Virgil's masterpiece, we shall only quote his famous prophecy of the coming of Christ:

> Come are those last days that the Sibyl sang:
> The ages' mighty march begins anew.

7. *The Legacy of Rome*, p. 335.

Now comes the Virgin, Saturn reigns again:
Now from high heaven descends a wondrous race.
Thou on the newborn babe—who first shall end
That age of iron, bid a golden dawn
Upon the broad world—chaste Lucian, smile: etc.

Horace in his *Odes, Satires,* and *Epistles* has bequeathed to the world a great handbook of 'good sense, good temper, and practical wisdom.' His art is as exquisite as his appeal is wide. A few lines will make this clear to any reader:

Happy the man, and he alone,
Who master of himself can say,
Today at least has been my own,
For I have clearly liv'd today:
Then let tomorrow's clouds arise,
Or purer suns o'erspread the skies.
.. ..

Far wiser is it to endure
Those ills of life we cannot cure.
.. ..

Fill high the goblet! Envious Time
Steals, as we speak, our fleeting prime.
Away with hope! Away with sorrow!
Snatch thou today, nor trust Tomorrow.
.. ..

Dare to be wise; begin, for, once begun,
Your task is easy; half the work is done.
And sure the man, who has it in his power
To practise virtue, and protracts the hour;
Waits like the rustic, till the river dried:
Still glides the river and will ever glide.
.. ..

Hold fast, contented evermore,
The way of Peace, the Golden Mean:
That bounded space which lies between
The sordid hut and palace hall.

We must be content with only one more reference, and that about *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius. In this unique poem the poet has attempted with great success the gigantic task of comprehending the whole system of the universe in verse of enduring value. "It is the work," writes Mackail, "of an intellect and imagination of the first order, of a scientific insight and an ethical elevation unequalled in the ancient world

and hardly reached atferwards by any single writer. Lucretius wrote with a direct moral purpose, to disburden mankind of fear, to dispel the darkness of superstition and ignorance by the light of truth which is also the source of goodness and the soul of beauty. The scientific laws of the material universe are to him one with the laws of life and conduct. He is abreast of modern thought in his grasp of the principles and function of science. He anticipates some of the most important discoveries of the nineteenth century and of our own day in physics, in chemistry, in the theory of light and the doctrine of atoms: most remarkably perhaps in anthropology, and the history of the process by which civilization was created, and will finally—so he teaches—run its course and be resumed into the elements out of which it was built up. The pre-historic world and primitive man are to him an open book. But it is in his moral temper that he is greatest and of most enduring value. No nobler ideal of a pure and simple life, no higher message of stretch and consolation, has ever been conceived and uttered. He may be called the Roman Milton, and the Epicurean philosophy takes in his hands the austere beauty and grave nobility which Milton gave, once for all, to our own Puritan theology. Both have a majesty unsurpassed in poetry, and a fire of genius which fuses intractable material; and if Milton is more consummate in the technique of his art, Lucretius is unequalled in his poignant humanity."[8]

107. Science and Art:

In Science and Art, as pointed out before, the Romans borrowed and adapted more than they created. Nevertheless their work in these directions was not negligible. Here, as in all other things, the Romans emphasised the practical and utilitarian rather than the purely intellectual and aesthetic. They were great lovers of nature and the countryside which figure prominently in their literature, science and art; but, even here, their accomplishment was rather poor. Of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia,* Gibbon rightly observed that it was but a register in which he deposited the discoveries, the arts and the errors of mankind.' Seneca confused philosophy with science. Yet the two were considered indispensable during the Middle Ages. In medicine the Romans availed themselves of the great gifts of Hellas. They cared much for hygiene and sanitation. The *Law of the Twelve Tables,* for instance, forbade burial within the city walls. Their advanced sanitary

[8] *The Legacy of Rome,* pp. 341-42.

arrangements are still to be seen even in distant outstations like Tingad in Algeria. A fine monument to the Roman care of public health and its organisation is found in the remains of the fourteen aqueducts of Rome which supplied the citizens with 300,000,000 gallons of potable water daily. Julius Cæsar conferred citizenship on all who practised medicine in Rome 'to make them more desirous of living in the city and to induce others to resort to it.' Under the Empire a definite public medical service was constituted. A statute of Antoninus (160 A.D.) laid down that the smallest towns may have five physicians who were to enjoy immunity from taxation. The larger towns were to have as many as ten doctors. Their duty was particularly to attend to the needs of the poor. The code of Justinian urges them to give this service cheerfully rather than the more subservient attendance on the rich. The army medical department was equally well organised. Trajan's column in Rome represents the actual administration of first aid by Roman military surgeons. "The great contribution of Rome to medicine—and it is a very great one," writes Mr. Charles Singer, "is the hospital system."[9]

The same practical genius showed itself in the field of architecture. The great buildings, aqueducts, and bridges erected by Roman engineers bear testimony to their technical knowledge. The structural stability of much of their work still surviving has impressed even modern engineers and architects from all parts of the world. Their greatest achievements were the 'arch' and 'vault' which enabled them to span large openings and enclosed spaces. "It is hardly too much to say," writes Mr. Rushforth, "that Rome was the first city in the world to have a great secular architecture." It is also, he points out, "the architecture of humanism, the source from which our secular public building has sprung." The two outstanding features of Roman architecture which have most influenced later builders are solidity of construction and magnificence of conception. "The new government palaces at Delhi, the latest public buildings in London such as the County Council Hall and the Port of London Offices, and, we may add, no less those of America, have alike been faithful to the precepts of Roman architecture."[10]

108. Law and Latin:

But neither science nor architecture, however, were the peculiar creations of the Romans. Their most distinctive and

9. For interesting details read *The Legacy of Rome*, pp. 292-96.
10. Ibid., p. 396.

lasting contributions to European civilisation have been in the realms of law and language. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* compiled under Justinian (527-565 A.D.) has supplied the foundations to the legal systems of Italy, Spain, France, Germany and the other European countries.

"Even the Common Law of England, which has been adopted by the United States, owes some of its principles to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The law of Rome, because of this widespread influence, is justly regarded as one of her most important gifts to the world. The Romans carried their language to the barbarian countries of the West, as they had carried it throughout Italy. The Latin spoken by Roman colonists, merchants, soldiers, and public officials was eagerly taken up by the natives who tried to make themselves as much like their conquerors as possible. This provincial Latin became the basis of the so-called Romance languages—French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian—which arose in the Middle Ages. Our English language, though in the main derived from the speech of the Teutonic invaders of Britain, contains so many words of Latin origin that we can scarcely write a sentence without using some of them. The language of Rome, as well as the law of Rome, has enriched the intellectual life of mankind."[11]

POINTS FOR STUDY

89. Roman contributions to Politics.
90. Roman contributions to Philosophy.
91. Roman contributions to Literature.
92. Roman contributions to Art and Architecture.
93. Roman contributions to Material Progress.
94. The Age of Augustus, the Antonines, etc.
95. Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Theodoric.
96. The birth of Christianity.
97. The Persecutions.

11. Webster, *History of Mankind*, pp. 163-64.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DARK AGE IN EUROPE

109. Decline and Fall.
110. The Barbarian Flood.
111. Alaric and Attila.
112. The Vandals.
113. Theodoric the Great.
114. The Eastern (Roman) Empire.

"It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic empire....But when experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law....I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power which it was beyond my power to supersede." —ATHAULF

109. Decline and Fall:

The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is the title of a monumental work by Edward Gibbon, which has been very highly appreciated ever since it was written in the eighteenth century. According to Freeman, "That wonderful man monopolised, so to speak, the historical genius and the historical learning of a whole generation, and left little, indeed, of either for his contemporaries....Whatever else is read, Gibbon must be read too." We have described in the preceding two chapters the great doings of the Roman people and their legacy to the modern world. But that glory did not endure in all its parts more than five hundred years since Julius Cæsar and Augustus. The causes of its decline and fall were both internal and external to the Roman Empire. In the words of Gibbon, in the later centuries, "The limits of the Roman empire still extended from the Western Ocean to the Tigris, and from Mount Atlas to the Rhine and the Danube....The form was still the same, but the animating health and vigour were fled. The industry of the people was discouraged and exhausted by a long series of oppressions. The discipline of the legions, which alone, after the extinction of every other virtue, had propped the greatness of the state, was corrupted by the ambi-

tion, or relaxed by the weakness of the emperors. The strength of the frontiers, which had always consisted in arms rather than in fortifications, was insensibly undermined; and the fairest provinces were left exposed to the rapaciousness or ambition of the barbarians, who soon discovered the decline of the Roman empire."

110. The Barbarian Flood:

The earliest of the barbarians from whom the Romans had to protect themselves were the Gauls. They had invaded Italy from across the Alps as early as 390 B.C. and sacked the city of Rome after having routed the Romans in the battle of Allia. "It would be impossible," says one writer, "to picture the consternation and despair that reigned at Rome when the fugitive brought to the city intelligence of the terrible disaster. It was never forgotten, and the day of the battle of the Allia was ever after a black day in the Roman calendar. The sacred vessels of the temples were buried; the eternal fires of Vesta were hurriedly borne by their virgin keepers to a place of safety in Etruria; and a large part of the population fled in dismay across the Tiber." Though the situation was retrieved for the time being by the bravery of the patrician general Camillus, Rome was yet to see the worst of the barbarian invasions. Such was the terror that the first sack of Rome by the Gauls caused among the Romans, that for a long time they believed in a prophecy, declared in the Sibylline Books, that a portion of Roman territory must needs be occupied by the barbarians. Hoping that thereby the prediction would be sufficiently fulfilled to satisfy Fate, they caught hold of two Gauls and buried them alive in a public square of the city. But the Gauls, nevertheless, came again in larger numbers in 225 B.C. However, the Romans succeeded in beating off their attacks and even pursuing them into the plains of the Po where they also captured the city of Milan. Beyond the Alps other barbarians, the Teutons and the Cimbri, were pressing even the Gauls. Between 113 and 101 B.C. they boiled over into northern Italy, but were annihilated by Marius who thus became the "Saviour of his country." Nearly fifty years later (58-51 B.C.) Julius Cæsar carried Roman arms into the very homes of the barbarians and conquered them. So glorious were his victories that the Romans declared, as pointed out earlier, "Let the Alps sink; the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed." Yet, even the Alps could not keep away the barbarians for all time. Before we proceed further with their story, we might have a glimpse of the barbarians as described by Cæsar in his account of the Gallic Wars.

"Their whole life," he writes, "consists in hunting and the pursuits of war; from their childhood they devote themselves to toil and hardihood. Those who are slowest to outgrow their boyhood receive the greatest praise among their friends; they think that this fosters growth and develops strength and sinews....They do not occupy themselves with agriculture, and live chiefly on milk, cheese and flesh.

"No one has any definite amount of land or private boundaries, but the magistrates and chief men meet together yearly and assign to families and clans as much land as they think fit, and where they think fit, and where they think and a year after compel them to move on to another place....

"They think it the greatest glory to states that their boundaries should be waste, and that they should have wildernesses around them as widely as possible. They think it is a sign of valour that their neighbours should be driven out and retire from their lands and that no one should dare to settle in their vicinity; and that at the same time this renders them safer, as the fear of sudden inroads is removed. When a state goes to war, either on the defensive or offensive, magistrates are chosen to preside over that war with the power of life and death. In peace they have no common magistrates, but the chief men of the districts and cantons administer justice among their fellows and settle disputes. Robbery has no discerdit attached to it when it is done outside the boundaries of each state, and they declare that it is practical with a view to exercising the young men and making them less slothful....

"There was a time in the former days when the Gauls surpassed the Germans in valour, invaded them unprovoked, and, owing to pressure of population and want of land, sent colonies across the Rhine....Nowadays the Germans continue in the same state of need and endurance as of old, and live and dress in the same way, while the Gauls have grown accustomed to be overcome in battle, and now that they have frequently been vanquished do not put themselves on a level with the Germans in valour."

Even in the best days of the Empire the strength of the Germans was so great that Augustus had to lose ten Roman legions fighting against them on the Rhine. With the decline of imperial power, the barbarians, in addition to their occasional raids, also steadily effected a peaceful penetration of the provinces. In spite of the improvement of the defences and the better organisation of the Empire under Trajan and Hadrian (both of non-Roman origin) the barbarian incursions continued. Trajan, a Spaniard, was a warlike emperor. Tak-

ing the offensive against the German tribes he created a military outpost in the province of Decia across the Danube. Nevertheless Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic Emperor, had to die fighting against the barbarians. When the Empire fell on evil days, and Roman Emperors became puppets in the hands of the army or scheming women, the Germans took advantage of the increasing chaos. By an irony of fate at the same time the "Edict of Caracalla" bestowed the Roman citizenship on everyone within the Empire, including the barbarians who had settled within its borders. This made the Empire more vulnerable, and under Aurelian (270-305 A.D.) it was found necessary to refortify Rome itself against the inundation. In his struggle against a rival, Septimius Severus (an African from near Carthage) had destroyed the fortifications of Byzantium and thereby opened the floodgates in the East to the torrent of barbarian invasions (193-211 A.D.). In the reign of Decius, who was proclaimed Emperor by the Eastern legions (249-251 A.D.), the Goths adopted a forward policy, crossed the Danube with two huge armies, and laid waste the Balkans, Thrace and Macedonia. The Emperor Decius himself was killed while trying to stem the barbarian tide. Aurelian (270-275), his successor, was an Illyrian peasant and a soldier of some ability. He drove the Vandals beyond the Danube, cleared Lombardy of the Alemanni, and defeated the Goths on the Danube. Diocletian, (284-305 A.D.) appointed two *Augusti* and *Cæsars*, one each in the West and in the East, for the better defence and government of the vast Empire, and Constantine (306-337 A.D.) rebuilt Byzantium (rechristening it Constantinople). The last of the Emperors of ability was Theodosius (379-395 A.D.). He reduced the Goths to submission for the time being, but found it necessary to divide the unwieldy Empire between his two sons, Honorius and Arcadius, after him.

111. Alaric and Attila:

However, nothing could save the Roman Empire permanently. The expedient of division proved a remedy worse than the disease. Hard pressed by still other barbarians (the Huns), the Visigoths (Western Goths) on the Lower Danube begged for admission into the Empire for protection. Their request was granted on the condition of their accepting Christianity. Within a few years the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths) made a similar demand, and soon the Empire was flooded with the barbarians. They were even admitted to high office, both civil and military. For instance, the great general Stitlicho, in the reign of Honorius, was a Vandal. For a time he valiantly fought against his own tribesmen and other barbarians and

won great victories for the Empire. Yet he was suspected of collusion and barbarously executed together with the wives and children of 30,000 barbarian soldiers in the legions. Rome had soon to pay for this heavily, as the Goths under their famous leader Alaric ravaged the country and sacked the imperial city (410 A.D.). The sudden death of Alaric alone saved the other parts of the Empire from a like fate, for the nonce. But another threat came from Attila the Hun (known as "the Scourge of God") in 452 A.D. Deflected from China by the building of the Great Wall, the Mongolian hordes had found their way into India and Europe. "Their numbers, their ferocity, their horsemanship, their archery, the fury of their onslaughts, made them terrible and for a time irresistible." Diverted from Gaul (France), by their defeat at the battle of Chalons in 451 A.D., the Huns turned into Italy. There they freely despoiled and destroyed cities like Verona, Milan and Padua; and Rome was just saved on account of the bold appeal of Pope Leo I. Attila then left Italy only to die in Hungary a year later (453). The proud barbarian who boasted that grass never grew where his horse's hooves had trod was buried in a triple coffin of gold, silver, and lead, though "the place of his sepulture no man knoweth to this day." Here it is interesting to note the following description of the Huns as they appeared to Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary Roman soldier.—

"The people called the Huns, barely mentioned in ancient records, live beyond the Sea of the Azof on the border of the Frozen Ocean, and are a race savage beyond all parallel.... They all have closely knit and strong limbs and plump necks: they are of great size, and low legged, so that you might fancy them two-legged beasts, or the stout figures which are hewn out in a rude manner with an axe on the posts at the end of bridges.

"They are certainly in the shape of men, however uncouth, and are so hardy that they neither require fire nor well savoured food, but live on the roots of such herbs as they get in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm rapidly by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses. They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid them, as people ordinarily avoid sepulchres as things not fit for common use. Nor is there even to be found among them a cabin thatched with reeds; but they wander about, roaming over mountains and the woods, and accustom themselves to bear frost and hunger and thirst from their very cradles....

"There is not a person in the whole nation who cannot remain on his horse day and night. On horse back they buy and sell, they take their meat and drink, and there they remain on the narrow neck of their steed, and yield to sleep so deep as to indulge in every variety of dream. And when any deliberation is to take place on any weighty matter, they all hold their common council on horseback. They are not under kingly authority, but are contented with the irregular government of their chiefs, and under their lead they force their way through all obstacles.

"None of them plough, or even touch a plough handle, for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their waggons, which they make their homes; in fact they seem to be people always in flight."

112. The Vandals:

After Attila, the Hun, Rome had to suffer from the depredations of the less considerate Vandal, Genseric, in 455. Pope Leo once again appealed the invader to spare the city, but in vain. 'For fourteen days and nights the city was rifled of its treasures, including the golden candlesticks that Titus had taken from the Temple of Jerusalem, and in the Vandal ships that carried away the spoil 30,000 Roman citizens were borne into slavery.' Twenty-one years later (476) Romulus Augustulus (the Little Augustus), the last of the Western Roman Emperors, was driven out by another German leader, Odoacer, and Italy became a barbarian kingdom. The principal Nordic kingdoms that arose out of the ruins of the Western Roman Empire were (1) of the Visigoths in Spain (410 A.D.); (2) of the Vandals in North Africa (439 A.D.); (3) of the Lombards and Ostrogoths in Italy (439 A.D.); (4) of the Franks in France under Clovis (481-511 A.D.); (5) of the Burgundians in the Rhone valley; and (6) of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in England (455 A.D.). Of their monarchs, the greatest, on the continent of Europe, were Theodoric the Great, King of the Ostrogoths, and Clovis, King of the Franks.

113. Theodoric the Great:

Acting in the name of the Eastern Roman Emperor, Theodoric defeated Odoacer in three battles (489-490 A.D.) and set himself up as the "King of Italy" with Ravenna as his capital. In five years Theodoric had made himself the most powerful man in the world, though the tasks before him were enormous. There were a quarter of a million Goths in Italy amongst people of a different race and religion; internal peace was to be

restored, the country reconstructed, and trade and industry resuscitated. Moreover, Theodoric's hostile neighbours were to be taught to recognize and respect the new kingdom. All these things Theodoric did well, and proved himself a great and just ruler as well as a valiant soldier. Lands in north Italy ravaged by invaders were repopulated, their inhabitants ransomed from captivity in foreign lands and restored to their homes which were rebuilt for them. Estates were taken and divided among the Goths and Romans in such a way that quarrels rarely broke out. His taxation was just and considerate and a careful watch was kept on all tax-gatherers so that nobody was overcharged. When the people of Pavia and their crops were destroyed in 496 by flood, Theodoric remitted two-thirds of their taxation.

In addition to caring for the well-being of the country people, Theodoric also tried to restore some of the splendours and shows of ancient Rome. Gifts of bread were made to the poor, so that crowds again congregated at the circuses to see the games and shows. Rome once more became gay, and the old privations were almost forgotten. Old works of art were restored to their original places, and rewards were offered to those who could reveal the hiding-places of those which had been stolen. Builders, sculptors, and artists were encouraged, and other Italian cities, like Verona and Ravenna, became almost as splendid as Rome itself.

Theodoric also made Italy prosperous by fostering trade and industry. Iron mines were opened in Dalmatia and gold mines in the South of Italy. People were encouraged to drain marshes and valuable and fertile tracts were created. Transport was improved by the building and improvement of roads, and security given to the merchants by the restoration of a sound system of coinage and a uniform standard of weights and measures. Theodoric forbade the export of corn from Italy, and speculators who bought and sold at enhanced prices were severely punished. In this way Italy became once more a land of plenty.

Though himself a Christian, Theodoric allowed people of all religions to worship as they pleased. Though he himself belonged to the Arian sect of Christianity, he did not persecute members of the Orthodox Church, believing that persecution could make many hypocrites, but no sincere believers. His treatment of the Jews was most considerate. In those days the Jews were persecuted because of their religion and nationality, but Theodoric forbade this and punished with death all who were guilty of it. Those who destroyed the syna-

gogues had to rebuild them at their own expense, and in Ravenna, Christians who could not pay for the damage they had done were publicly whipped. "Theodoric well deserves the name of a statesman," writes Mr. Priestley, "for in thirty years he built up in Italy the most glorious state since the days of the Emperor Augustus. Within Italy it was said that a gold piece might be left for a year and a day by the roadside without being stolen, and beyond its confines the name of Theodoric carried honour with it to the very edges of civilized Europe where the Livonians and Scanzians on the Baltic shores still traded in amber and sables as the Goths had done of old."[1]

114. The Eastern (Roman) Empire:

Of Clovis and his successors we shall read in another chapter. Here we should say something about the Eastern Empire of Constantinople. We have already noted how the vast and unwieldy Roman Empire was split into two after Theodosius the Great (379-395 A.D.), and how also the Western Empire was extinguished by the barbarians under Odoacer in 476 A.D. Constantinople had been founded by Constantine in 330 A.D. Arcadius and Theodosius II, successors of Theodosius the Great, ruled from this city from 395 to 450 A.D. Though the Western Roman Empire was overthrown by the barbarians, both Odoacer and Theodoric were content to rule as Kings of Italy nominally subordinate to the Eastern Emperors. We need not follow the history of all the weak rulers of Constantinople, who, as in the last days of Rome, were puppets of the army and intriguing women. The only noteworthy achievement of this period was the codification of the Roman Law undertaken by Theodosius II and completed under the great Justinian (527-565 A.D.). It is important because from it we derive our knowledge of the legislation of the early Christian Emperors, and also because the *Corpus Juris Civilis* or the Justinian Code became the basis for medieval law including that of some of the barbarians like the Burgundians, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. Justinian also attempted to consolidate his Empire by strengthening its defences in the East as well as by subduing Italy. Though he appeared to succeed in both these directions, especially with the help of great generals Balisarius, Mundo and Narses, the Byzantine Empire could not hold Italy for long. Even on its own Eastern borders new dangers soon began to appear. The Avars, another Asiatic people like the Huns, burst into Europe, and for over two hundred years after the death of Justinian ter-

1. E. Priestley, Builders of Europe: The Middle Ages, p. 34.

rorised both Central Europe and the Byzantine Empire; wars with Persia continued from disaster to disaster; the Bulgarians broke down every barrier and flooded the Balkans; finally, the aenemic Empire could not hold its own against the frenzied followers of the new faith which had appeared in Arabia, viz. Islam. But with varying power and prosperity, the Empire of Constantinople continued until its fall in 1453 A.D. "The long life of the Byzantine Empire," observes Professor Webster, "is one of the marvels of history. Its vitality seems the more remarkable, when one considers that it had no easily defensible frontiers, contained many different people with little in common, and on all sides faced hostile states. The empire lasted so long, because of its vast wealth and resources, its despotic centralized government, the strength of its army, and the almost impregnable position occupied by Constantinople, the capital city....By resisting the advance of the invaders, the old empire protected the young states of Europe until they had become strong enough to meet and repulse the hordes of Asia. This service was not less important than that which had been performed by Greece and Rome in the contests with the Persians and the Carthaginians."[2]

POINTS FOR STUDY

98. Causes of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: external and internal.
99. The Barbarians: leaders and tribal organisation.
100. Barbarian contributions to European Civilization.
101. Foundation of the Byzantine Empire: its significance.

2. Hutton Webster, *History of Mankind,* pp. 241-242.

ANCIENT ROME
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Epochs	Places	Personalities	General
1,000 B.C.	Etruscan	Etruria		Pre-historic culture of Italy.
753 B.C.	Legendary	Rome	Romulus & Remus	Founders of Rome.
509 B.C. 494 B.C. 451 B.C. 367 B.C.	Republican			Plebeins secede twice to secure rights. Licinian Law: equalisation of the orders.
405-395 B.C. 340-290 B.C. 264-146 B.C.	Conquests	Etruria Carthage Sicily Corsica Sardinia	 Hannibal Scipio Africanus	Siege of Veil. Samnite war. Three Punic Wars: Phoenicians overthrown.
216 B.C.		Cannae	Fabius	Romans butchered by Hannibal.
202 B.C. 146 B.C.		Zama Carthage		Hannibal's defeat. Destruction of carthage.
197-30 B.C.	Eastern	Macedonia Corinth Pergamum Crete Cyprus Syria & Egypt		All these added to the Roman Empire.

154-133 B.C. 81 B.C. 58-50 B.C.	Western and Northern conquests	Spain Gaul Britain	Julius Caesar	
133-123 B.C.	Reforms	Rome	Tiberius & Gaius Gracchus	
91-89 B.C.	Social War			
87-82 B.C.		Rome	Marius & Sulla	Reign of Terror.
73-71 B.C.	War of Gladiators			
60 B.C.	First Triumvirate		Pompey Crassus Caesar	
48 B.C.		Pharsalus		Caesar defeats Pompey and becomes Dictator.
44 B.C.	Ides of March			
42 B.C.	Second Triumvirate	Philippi Actium	Octavian Brutus Cassius	Octavian & Antony Cleopatra.
31 B.C.-14 A.D.	Empire—Age of Augustus			Octavian First *Imperator*
14-37 A.D.			Tiberius	Successor of Octavian
37-68 A.D.			Caligula & Nero	Wicked emperors.
98-138 A.D.			Trajan & Hadrian	Great warriors.
161-180 A.D.			Marcus Aurelius	Great philosopher.
211-17 A.D.			Caracalla	Grants Roman citizenship in the Provinces.

Dates	Epochs	Places	Personalities	General
284-305 A.D.			Diocletian	Last effort to hold the Empire under absolute monarchy.
306-37 A.D.			Constantine	First Roman Emperor to become Christian.
390 B.C.	Barbarians	Rome		First attacked by Gauls.
101 B.C.			Marius	Drove out Gauls from Italy
58-51 B.C.			Julius Caesar	Carried war into Gaul.
270-75 A.D.	Vandals and Goths	Danube	Aurelian	Vandals & Goths driven beyond the Danube.
306-37 A.D.		Byzantium= Constantinople	Constantine	Bulwark of the East against Asiatic hordes.
379-95 A.D.			Theodoric	
410 A.D.	Goths	Rome	Alaric	Sack of Rome.
452 A.D.	Huns		Attila	Sack of Rome.
476 A.D.			Odoacer	Extinguished the Western Roman Empire.

CHAPTER XIV

TOWARDS A BETTER ORDER

115. Two New Forces.
116. The Frankish Empire.
117. Charles the Great.
118. Holy Roman Empire.
119. Papal Supremacy.
120. Concordat of Worms.
121. The Sway of the Cross.
122. The Power of the Church.
123. The See of St. Peter.
124. The Monastic Orders.
125. Missionary Work.
126. The Crusades.

Over against the Greek world ruled from Byzantium, and the Saracen world governed from Bagdad and Cordova, is the vast territory of Latin Christianity stretching from the Ebro to the Carpathians acknowledging rule of the Frankish Empire and the Pope of Rome. H. A. L. FISHER

115. Two New Forces:

The fall of the Roman Empire is characterised by Gibbon as "the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind." We have described in the last chapter how the Dark Age followed or rather synchronised with that catastrophe. Europe took long to recover from the protracted agony of the barbarian invasions. They poured into Europe from the North and the East and seemed to destroy the entire order created by Rome. The division of the Roman Empire was a sign of weakness rather than a measure of administrative convenience. The Western Empire was virtually extinguished, as we have noticed, in 476 A.D., when Odoacer drove away Romulus Augustulus. The Eastern Empire survived, at least in outward appearance. for another thousand years (1453) no doubt. But in reality the whole of Europe was sunk in chaos. It was owing to this weakness that Islam in

the course of a century, could develop into the mightiest power in the Mediterranean as we shall see in the next chapter. However, all this was only a temporary relapse. The effective resistance offered to the Arabs at Tours (732) in the West and at Constantinople (717) in the East indicated the reviving strength of Europe. The two active agents in the recovery of Europe were the barbarians and Christianity. We shall see in the course of this chapter how Europe was moving towards a better order in all phases of her life.

116. The Frankish Empire:

The most successful of the barbarians in the West were the Franks. They dominated the whole of Western and Central Europe from the fifth to the ninth centuries, and were instrumental in bequeathing to Europe traditions of unity and orderly government originally derived from Rome. They occupied the territories now differentiated as Germany, Austria, and France, which at that time formed parts of the common Frankish Empire. Then there was neither French nor German, but only West Frank and East Frank. The greatest of their rulers was the celebrated Charlemagne or Charles the Great (768-814). He deserved the title, as we shall see, more than most others in history. His ideal was not mere conquest, but organisation and enlightenment as well. He was a worthy friend of the great Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid about whom we shall read later.

We need go no farther back into the history of the Franks than Charles Martel, who drove away the Arabs at the battle of Tours (732). Some have regretted that the Arabs did not win in that famous engagement. For instance, Professor Robinson says, "had they been permitted to settle in Southern France they might have developed science and art far more rapidly than did the Franks,"[1] But the verdict of subsequent history has been unmistakable. Had the Muslims instead of the Christians (for the Franks had become Christians by then) been victorious at Tours, the character of European civilisation would certainly have been different.

Charles Martel died in 751. He had been virtually ruler over a vast territory, though nominally he was only "Mayor of the Palace" under the effete Merovingian kings. His son and successor Pepin was therefore anointed by Pope Stephen

1. J. H. Robinson, *The Ordeal of Civilization*, p. 81.

and recognised as king "by the grace of God." This inaugurated the Carolingian dynasty of which Charlemagne was the greatest ruler. In return for the Papal recognition Pepin had been called upon to rescue the States of North Italy from the domination of the Lombards. Their restoration to the sovereignty of the See of St. Peter was the beginning of the "Roman Question,"—one of the naughtiest problems created by the Medieval Ages. Its confirmation was secured when Charles the Great was actually crowned, under very similar circumstances in 800, by Pope Leo III. The Pope had been accused of high crimes, by his domestic enemies, and beaten and imprisoned. Charles who was Leo's most powerful supporter restored and exonerated him. His reward was his coronation as "Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the Great peace-loving Emperor of the Romans." The legacy of this pompus heritage to Europe was an age-long dispute between Pope and Emperor for hegemony over the faithful. To this aspect of that epoch-making event we shall revert later. Before doing so we must assess the work of Charlemagne himself.

117. Charles the Great:

During his long reign Charles had to lead several hard campaigns against the Danes, Saxons, Slavs, Avars, and Lombards. In subduing or breaking them he was creating order out of the chaos of the Dark Ages. But, however arduous, this was not his greatest or noblest work. In the words of Professor Fisher:

"He was bold yet deliberate, genial and yet exact, popular and yet formidable. A vast appetite for animal enjoyment was combined in him with the cardinal gifts of statesmanship, a spacious vision, strong common sense, a flawless memory, and a tenacious will. It was part of his strength that he attempted nothing impossible, and asked no more of his people than they were able to accomplish. To his Frankish warriors he was the ideal chief, tall and stout, animated and commanding, with flashing blue eyes and aquiline nose, a mighty hunter before the Lord. That he loved the old Frankish songs, used Frankish speech, and affected the traditional costume of his race—the high-laced boots, the cross-gartered scarlet hose, the linen tunic, and square mantle of white or blue—that he was simple in his needs, and sparing in food and drink, were ingratiating features in a rich and wholesome character. Yet in the habits of daily life he was a Frank to the marrow; in all matters pertaining to culture and religion he was prepared to obey the

call and extend the influence of his Roman priests....It is one of the highest titles of Charlemagne to fame that he used his great authority to promote the revival of intellectual life on the illiterate continent of Europe...What is important to notice is the new place which, with the advent of Charles, learning and education are made to take in the life of the court and the country, the concentration of foreign men of learning round the person of the king, the travelling academy or school of the palace which follows him even on his campaigns, the equal terms with which he associates with his scholar friend, his strong insistence on literacy as a qualification for a clerical career and for preferment in the church, the establishment of diocesan and monastic schools, and the encouragement given to the multiplication, correction and gathering together of books. ...The earliest copies of twelve of the great Latin classics are due to the scribes of the Carolingian Renaissance."[2]

According to another writer, "with Charlemagne the building of the modern world begins." With him the long spell of barbarism and anarchy seemed to have come to a close. His *capitularies* or statutes revealed his masterful administrative abilities, and his personality was powerful enough to regulate the conflicting interests between the religious and secular powers; while the cultural and intellectual interest of Charles indicated a revival, not only of ordered government, but also of civilisation. But his Empire could not escape from the bane of all strong monarchies, viz. weak successors.

118. Holy Roman Empire:

We need not study in detail the events that followed. Charlemagne was succeeded by his son Louis the Pious, and he by his three sons Lothaire, Charles, and Louis,—but not without a war of succession. At the treaties of Verdun (843) and Mersen (870) the vast dominions of Charlemagne were divided into three kingdoms. Charles got the West-Frankish territories (constituting modern France), and Louis the East-Frankish territories (comprising modern Germany). To Lothaire was left the hinterland which has ever since been the bone of contention between France and Germany. The former was thoroughly Latinised and the latter remained Teutonic. Meanwhile the whole of the Frankish dominions were tending to be more and more disrupted, until a fresh effort was made towards union under the leadership of Otto the Saxon (East Frank or German).

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2. H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe*, pp. 156-161.

This was the beginning of the famous "Holy Roman Empire" (962). It lasted, in anything like its original idea, only three centuries; but centuries of continual struggle between Pope and Emperor, during the first of which (962-1056) the Emperor prevailed, and during the last two—the period of the Crusades (1056-1254)—the Pope triumphed. After this, though the imperial title was retained by Teuton monarchs, the Empire in its original form was at an end.

From the point of view of the restoration of order in Europe, which is the only viewpoint significant for us here, the dynastic history of Otto's successors may be very briefly told. The outstanding figures are those of Henry IV (1056-1106) and Frederick Barbarosa (Red Beard, 1152-1190), though the latter belonged to a different family,—the Hohenstaufen. The reigns of both were marked by the titanic struggle with the Popes. Frederick failed where Henry had at least partially succeeded. The two together indicate the trend of medieval European civilisation.

Otto the Great like Charlemagne had received the imperial crown from the Pope (962). But unlike Charles the Great his relations with the head of the Roman Church were fraught with dire consequences. They reached a climax under Henry IV and continued to trouble Europe for several generations. Briefly put, the German monarchs considered themselves thereafter as Roman Emperors no less (or perhaps even more) than German kings. This made them concentrate on dominating over Italy instead of maintaining orderly government in their own country. While such a policy resulted in postponing the day of German unification, it also set to Europe one of its toughest problems. Feudal anarchy throve in Central Europe while the Emperors distracted themselves with futile quarrels with the Popes. The cause of the struggle, though it might appear trivial now, was considered most vital by both parties in those times. In effect it was the question whether the Pope or the Emperor should be regarded as supreme in Christendom. Both were trying to arrogate to themselves the myth of a bygone age, viz. the ideal of Theocracy.

119. Papal Supremacy:

There may be little doubt about the secular sovereignty of the Emperor and the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope. But unfortunately society, especially in medieval Europe, was incapable of such dichotomy. Each party was desirous of exclusive authority and none appeared to accept a compromise. Indeed, conflict was inevitable owing to overlapping jurisdic-

tions, and an impartial tribunal was lacking. Under the circumstances the logic of Pope Gregory VII seemed arrogant and presumptuous in the eyes of Henry IV and his supporters, and irreproachable in the eyes of the orthodox. 'He explained, kindly but firmly, to William the Conqueror, that the papal and kingly powers are both established by God as the greatest among the authorities of the world, just as the sun and moon are the greatest of the heavenly bodies. But the papal power is obviously superior to the kingly, for it is responsible for it; at the Last Day Gregory would have, he urged, to render an account of the king as one of the flock entrusted to his care.'[3]

The difficulty was not one of merely accepting theoretical claims to superiority but of enforcing actual authority in the field of administration. The Church had acquired vast estates through gifts from the faithful, and these were administered by the bishops and other Church dignitaries. Though it was the practice for these officials to be elected, as holders of property it was of utmost interest to the king as to who was elected. There were also a number of bishops and archbishops who were armed noblemen holding lands on feudal terms, and hence subject to their overlord the king. Some priests had become so worldly-minded that they married and got interested in making provision for their families. The practice of "simony" or selling spiritual offices "for a consideration" had also come into vogue. The king therefore naturally thought that the cloak of clericalism could not give immunity from temporal obligations. Nay, in the heat of rivalry, he even claimed appointing authority, from the bishop to the Pope himself. Thus the right of "investiture" became the crux of the quarrel. Were the Church officials to be invested with authority by the Pope or the Emperor? The Pope rebutted the claims of the Emperor by attempting to appoint the person of his own choice to the imperial office. The dispute soon degenerated into a series of unseemly attacks and counter-attacks by both parties. Each tried to win over to himself the allegiance of the adherents of the other party. Gregory declared Henry excommunicated and deposed; Henry got the German clergy to deny the authority of Gregory. Rival Popes and Emperors were sought to be set up. On one occasion Henry in a penitent mood humiliated himself before the Pope at Canossa and admitted himself in the wrong. But the reconciliation was only temporary. Tempers again flared up, and finally Henry besieged Gregory in his very palace, and the greatest of the medieval Popes died with the words

3. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

"I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile," on his lips.

120. Concordat of Worms:

This was only the climax and not the end of the struggle. However, a workable compromise was reached under Henry V (1106-25) and Pope Paschal II. By the Concordat of Worms (1122) the controversy over investitures in Germany was settled. The Emperor rencunced his claim to invest the clergy with the religious emblems of the ring and the crosier, and promised not to interfere with Church elections. But the elections were to be held in the Emperor's presence and the bishop or abbot elected was to hold the fiefs and administrative powers under the Emperor, which was symbolised by a touch of the sceptre.

But matters again reached a crisis when Frederick Barbarosa (1152-90) came to the throne. He was the most famous of the medieval Emperors after Charlemagne. He was ambitious to restore the glory and power of the Roman Empire, and claimed to be the successor of the Cæsars as well as of Charlemagne and Otto the Great. He declared that his office was bestowed upon him by God no less than was the Papal See. This brought him into conflict with the Pope. The old struggle revived. But the flourishing towns of North Italy (about which we shall learn more later) were now on the side of the Church. They hated the German Emperor no less than the Pope did. They formed a powerful union known as the Lombard League to oppose Frederick, and refused to pay taxes to a foreign ruler from across the Alps. At the end of a series of expeditions all that Barbarosa succeeded in achieving was to make the Lombard League merely acknowledge his overlordship, leaving its members free to act as they liked.

As a counterpoise to the defection of the Northern cities, Frederick tried to secure a hold upon South Italy by marrying Constance, the heiress of Naples and Sicily, to his son. But the Pope being the feudal lord of these cities, this introduced a fresh complication into the struggle. Finally, worn out by some forty years of fighting in Germany and Italy, Frederick sought to divert himself by going on a Crusade. This proved his last venture, for he lost his life on his way to the Holy Land.

Meanwhile, his son (who had married the heiress of South Italy) too was carried away by fever, leaving an infant heir to the troublesome inheritance. This was Frederick II (1212-

50). Though he developed into a contemptible figure, he possessed marvellous ability and extraordinary energy. "He drew up an elaborate code of laws for his southern realms and may be said to have founded the first modern well-regulated state, in which the king was indisputably supreme."[4] In his earlier years he was the contemporary of Innocent III, one of the greatest of the Popes. Though he had been brought up under the Muslim culture of Sicily (the island was under the Saracens from 827-1060) Frederick II had promised Innocent III to go on a Crusade sometime. In the fulfilment of this undertaking Frederick proved eminently successful, for he actually brought the Holy City (Jerusalem) under Christian rule and was himself declared its king. But this was a short-lived triumph. The Popes were not to be appeased. Their rivalries once again revived, and Frederick like Henry IV was excommunicated and deposed. After his death, in 1250 Sicily was lost to Hohenstaufens. The Pope bestowed the island upon its French conquerors under Charles Anjou, the brother of St. Louis. This ended the German attempt to revive the glories of the Roman Empire. Europe, particularly Central Europe, continued to welter in anarchy, though German kings pompously proclaimed themselves Emperors. A confused group of duchies, counties, bishoprics, archbishoprics, abbacies, free towns, and all manner of feudal estates, asserted each its practical independence of the nominal kings. There was to be no imperial way yet out of the chaos of the Middle Ages.

MEDIEVAL EUROPE

121. The Sway of the Cross:

Throughout the Middle Ages in Europe there was only one unifying force and that was the Roman Catholic Church. It was the one central light which continued to shine brightly through the medieval darkness. It triumphed over all obstacles and became the only refuge of civilisation where everything else seemed to succumb to the barbarians. It survived the shock of the Hunnish invasions from the East as well as the German and other invasions from the North. It outlived the Roman Empire, both Western and Eastern, and became the champion of European society, religion, and culture when they were threatened by the rise of the Islamic power, from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries. In spite of schisms and defections it has survived to this day as one of the most potent forces coming down to the modern world from the past. Such a tenacious movement in human history deserves to be studied

4. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

with close attention, though such a study may be beset with some difficulties.

The principal difficulty is, of course, of partisan views. It is not easy to deal with the history of Christianity without knocking against some orthodox or heretical sentiments. However, religious controversy is no part of our scheme, and, as we did with Islam so also here, we shall concern ourselves rather with the positive contributions of the Church as a whole than dabble in doctrinal polemics.

We have already referred to the birth of Christianity and its fortunes under the Roman Empire. From being an obscure and bitterly persecuted Jewish sect, it had come to be a well established, universal, and civilising force in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. The landmarks in its victorious career were the conversion of Constantine among the Roman Emperors, and Clovis among the barbarian monarchs. Already, in 311 A.D., the Emperor Galerius had issued a decree placing Christianity on a basis of legal equality with the Roman faith, but Constantine's personal conversion gave it a new prestige. In this respect the baptism of the West Frankish king Clovis in 496 rendered a similar service to Christianity in Western Europe. As it had happened with many another prince the conversion of Clovis had been preceded by that of his wife. The pagan husband had pledged to Jesus Christ that he would become a faithful Christian if he was victorious over his enemies; and the Cross had triumphed.

122. The Power of the Church:

By the code of Theodosius, which was completed in 438, the Christian Church had been specially protected. As a mark of respect for the sacred character of the Christian clergy, they were exempted alike from some irksome public duties and taxes to which all other citizens were liable. They were also allowed to receive bequests which made the churches rich, and the Emperors themselves provided magnificent buildings for them. But what gave them prestige as well as power was the privilege of trying their own law cases in their own Church courts. In the field of religion this proved a powerful weapon in the hands of the Church, and later gave rise to many abuses and oppressions. In England, for example, even rogues and charlatans sought the protection of the Church and tried to evade the clutches of the public law, in the days of Henry I and Henry II. On the other hand the Church came to exercise the right of trying and punishing "heretics", which

gave rise to the hateful persecutions of the Inquisition. "Whoever separates himself from the Church," St. Cyprian had declared as early as the third century,[5] "is separated from the promises of the Church....He is an alien, he is profane, he is an enemy; he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If anyone could escape who was outside the Ark of Noah, so also may he escape who shall be outside the bounds of the church."

123. The See of St. Peter:

St. Paul and St. Peter, "the two most glorious apostles," may be considered the founders of the Catholic Church even as Jesus Christ was the founder of the faith. In the estimation of Lord Birkenhead, "Of all men who may claim to have changed the course of the world's history, St. Paul must surely take the first place. He altered the basic ideas of Western civilization: the whole of our history bears the marks of that busy career of impassioned teaching which the Jewish tentmaker undertook after his conversion to faith in Jesus Christ."[6] About the importance of St. Peter we have the testimony of Christ Himself: "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Peter was the First Pope (Latin, *papa=father*) or Bishop of Rome. Both on this account and because of the prestige that Rome enjoyed throughout Europe as the imperial capital, the See of St. Peter became naturally the Head of the Roman Catholic (Universal) Church. It was for this reason that the Emperor Valentinian III, in 455, officially confirmed the supremacy of the Pope over Christendom. He made the decrees of the Pope binding on all other bishops and required imperial governors to enforce them. When, in 476, Odoacer extinguished the Western Roman Empire, the Pope's prestige was further enhanced. The Church of Rome became the sole bulwark of civilisation against the rising tide of barbarism. 'The Eastern emperor was far away, and his officers, who managed to hold a portion of central Italy around Rome and Revenna, were glad to accept the aid and counsel of the Pope. In Rome the Pope watched over the elections of the city officials and directed the manner in which the public money should be

5. He died in 258 A.D.

6. *Turning Points in History*, p. 21.

spent. He had to manage the great tracts of land in different parts of Italy which from time to time had been given to the bishopric of Rome. He negotiated with the Germans and even gave orders to the generals sent against them.'[7]

We witnessed in the previous chapter how the Popes had grown powerful enough to crown the Emperors. One of the greatest among them was Gregory VII, the Pope who declared Henry IV excommunicated and deposed. Under his successor the Hohenstaufens were similarly treated. Indeed with Gregory, as Robinson has put it, we leave behind us the Rome of Cæsar and Trajan and enter upon that of the Popes. In the centuries that followed, the Popes were supreme, though they called themselves merely the servants of the servants of God.

124. The Monastic Orders:

Next to the Popes, who were the head of the official hierarchy of the Catholic Church, there was the unofficial army of monks who greatly influenced the shaping of Christian life in the Middle Ages. On account of their lives being very strictly regulated, they were called the "regulars," and the official clergy were distinguished from them as the "seculars" or persons still connected with the world (*saeculum*). Monasticism was a philosophy which considered the normal life in the world miserable and sinful, and therefore to be redeemed through severe discipline. It was, however, not peculiar to medieval Europe. It corresponds to the Hindu idea of *sannyāsa* and the Buddhist ideal of asceticism which was carried to excess by the Jains in India. It is better, some thought, to undergo voluntarily the maximum of suffering in this world and earn merit in Heaven, rather than sinfully enjoy here and earn the torments of hell later as the wages of sin. Though all may not agree in this the monasteries, in the Middle Ages, rendered an undoubted service to civilisation. They became the repositories of whatever was worthy of being saved from the wreckage of the past. "It would be difficult," observes Professor Robinson, "to overestimate the influence that the monks and other religious order exercised for centuries in Europe. The proud annals of the Benedictines, Fransciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits contain many a distinguished name. Eminent philosophers, scientists, historains, artists, poets and statesmen may be found in their ranks. Among those...are 'The Venerable Bede', Boniface, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Fra Angelico, Luther,

7. J. H. Robinson, op. cit., p. 60.

Erasmus—all these, and many others who have been leaders in various branches of human activity, were, or had been members of religious orders."[8] Only a brief account of their way of life may be here given.

Though the movement had begun much earlier, St. Benedict was the first, about 526 A.D., to draw up a regular constitution for his order, which became the model for most others that followed. He had his monastery at Monte Cassino in South Italy:

> He founded here his convent and his rule
> Of prayer and work, and counted work as prayer;
> The pen became a clarion, and his school
> Flamed like beacon in the midnight air.

According to the rules which he framed no one was allowed lightly to take the vows of the Order. One had necessarily to pass through a rigorous *novitiate*. The *abbot* or head of the monastery was to be elected by the *brethren* who were its members. Besides reading and writing—particularly copying old manuscripts—and constant prayers, the monks did all that was necessary for a self-supporting life such as growing their own corn and vegetables, cooking and washing, etc. The three vows which every monk had to take were obedience, poverty and chastity. But Benedict, like Buddha, recommended moderation in all things. He asked his followers to avoid excessive self-mortification which might destroy their health and come in the way of a truly spiritual life. The importance of the Benedictines may be gauged from the fact that they supplied no less than twenty-four Popes, and forty-six hundred bishops and archbishops. They also produced about sixteen thousand writers including among them men of great distinction. In the safe retreats of their monasteries they unostentatiously carried on very useful work but for which many of the most valuable treasures of the ancient world might have been irretrievably lost to us. According to one writer, "the monsateries were the schools, the libraries, the publishing houses, the literary centres, the hospitals, and the workshops of medieval times." They were also the inns and asylums to the weary travellers and the forsaken or careworn people.

125. Missionary Work:

Not the least important work done by the monastic orders was the spreading of the message of Jesus Christ. Gregory

8. J. M. Robinson, op. cit., pp. 62-3.

the Great had himself been a monk before he became Pope. Then he had been struck by the appearance of a few Angle lads brought to the slave market in Rome. When he became Pope one of the first things he did was to send a mission to England under Augustine, which resulted in the conversion of the English to the Christian faith. Another great example of the missionary work done by the monks was that of St. Boniface, in 718. He was an Englishman and he undertook at great personal risk to convert some of the remotest German tribes. He lived to be the Archbishop of Mainz in 732.

Still another type of monasticism was represented by the Franciscans and Dominicans. The former order was founded by the Italian St.Francis of Assisi,and the latter by the Spanish St. Dominic. The Franciscans laboured to serve 'the poorest, and lowliest, and lost'; while the Dominicans concentrated on fighting heresies. Both produced distinguished scholars like Thomas Aquinas (a Dominican) and Roger Bacon (a Franciscan), and both received recognition under Innocent III (1198-1216), the Pope who excommunicated and deposed King John of England. The spirit of the two orders may be represented in terms of the exhortations of their respective founders: "I, little brother Francis," declared the humble saint of Assisi, "desire to follow the life and poverty of Jesus Christ, persevering therein until the end; and I beg you all and exhort you to persevere always in this most holy life of poverty, and take good care never to depart from it upon the advice and teaching of any one whomsoever." The spirited Dominic declared, "I have exhorted you in vain, with gentleness, preaching, praying and weeping. But according to the proverb of my country, 'where blessing can accomplish nothing, blows may avail'. We shall rouse against you princes and prelates, who, alas, will arm nations and kingdoms against this land... and thus blows will avail where blessings and gentleness have been powerless." Francis may very well remind us of our gentle Tukārām, and Dominic of the sturdy Dayānand.

126. The Crusades:

Lastly, we must deal here with the Crusades. The gentleness of Jesus and Francis, indeed, could not prevail against the ruthless enemies of the Cross,—the Turks and Saracens. The menace of the militant Crescent demanded the spirit of Charles Martel, Dominic, and Peter the Hermit.

The Holy Places of Christianity, particularly Jerusalem, had long fallen into the hands of the Muslims. The tolerant

Arabs had been succeeded by the bigoted Turks, and pious Christian pilgrims could no more find immunity in the East. Jerusalem was occupied by the Seljuk Turks in 1076, and the effect was soon visible in the disgraceful treatment of the Patriarch of the Holy City. He was dragged through the streets by the hair, beaten and imprisoned, and released only on payment of a heavy ransom. Consequently Christian pilgrims flocked back to Europe spreading in every country harrowing tales of their persecution and misery. Peter the Hermit was the most celebrated among them. In the glowing words of Gibbon, "He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets and the highways; the Hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and to arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and the pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren and rescue their Saviour." The eastward flow of arms that this fervent appeal released from all parts of Europe is known as the Crusades. They continued with varying fortunes until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The history of these Crusades, though interesting in itself as a tale of adventures, must be summarily told here. They started in 1095 with the meeting of the great Council of Clermont under Pope Urban II. "It is the will of God" echoed through the frenzied crowds as they harangued in the open air, as no building could contain them. The First Crusade was composed almost entirely of Frenchmen. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless were among its leaders. A motley crowd of armed peasants formed the bulk of the "army of God" that relied more on the medieval belief in miracles than in their own power to win. Nevertheless, the miracle, though qualified, did happen, of capturing and losing Antioch on the way and finally reaching Jerusalem. This was due more to the weakness of the enemy than the strength of the Crusaders. Yet hardly a tenth of the 30,000 that had set out had the satisfaction of walking through the streets of the Holy City (1099). The captured territories were formed into the kingdom of Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon as its king. This king died in 1101 and the kingdom relapsed into feudal anarchy. The Holy Places had to be consequently defended by bodies of volunteers such as the Orders of the Templars, the Hospitalers, and the Teutonic Knights.

The Second Crusade was provoked by the massacre of 30,000 Christians at Edessa by the Turks in 1147. It was led

by Conard III of Germany and Louis VII of France, and yet it ended in a fiasco. Jerusalem was again captured by the brilliant Saladin in 1187. This called forth "the most famous of the long series of Crusaders," for it was led by the Emperor Frederic Barbarosa, Philip II of France, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England. Frederick was drowned, Philip and Richard quarrelled on the road to Palestine, and only the last remained till the final stage. Though minor conquests, like the taking of Cyprus and Acre, were effected, even Cœur-de-Lion fell far short of the cultured and brilliant Saladin in leadership.

The Fourth Crusade started in response to the appeal of Pope Innocent II (1202-4). Instead of directly concentrating on their main objective the misguided Crusaders attacked Christian places like Zara and Constantinople on their way. For the time being the so-called Latin Empire was established in the East. But Constantinople was again captured by the Greeks with the assistance of the Genoese, about sixty years later. They held it till 1453.

The remaining Crusaders were even more inglorious than those we have already described. The most memorable among them was the Children's Crusade (1212). The failure of many a Crusade was attributed to sinfulness of the Crusaders. So it was believed that an army of innocents would be certainly invincible: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength." No less than 20,000 children were mobilised for this infantile movement. But most of them partook of the mercy of God long before they could reach the Holy Land. Others were kidnapped and sold into slavery by unscrupulous Genoese and Venetian merchants. The remaining were sent back to their homes under safe custody by Pope Innocent III who took pity on them.

The clash of the Cross and the Crescent had been attended with great carnage on both sides. When Jerusalem was first captured by the Crusaders it lasted for a full week, and according to a French eye-witness, "under the portico of the mosque the blood was knee deep and reached the horses' bridles." Yet the direct results of two centuries of constant fighting were not, perhaps, worth more than a single campaign. The importance of the Crusades is, however, to be seen in their indirect but lasting effects. In the words of G. M. Trevelyan, "The Crusades were the military and religious aspect of a general urge towards the East on the part of the reviving energies of Europe. The prize that Europe brought back from the Crusades was not the permanent liberation of

the Holy Sepulchre or the potential unity of Christendom, of which the story of the Crusades was one long negation. She brought back instead the finer arts and crafts, luxury, science, and intellectual curiosity—everything that Peter the Hermit would most have despised."

The exact extent of the influence of the contact with the East brought about by the Crusades will ever remain a subject of controversy among scholars. In the following passage the maximum claim is sought to be summarised:—

'In the religious sphere they diminished the prestige of the Papacy, irretrievably affected monasticism, and encouraged the growth of heresy. In the social and economic sphere they led to a greater equality of classes, the growth of a free peasantry and of guilds of artisans, and the development of trade and industry. In the field of politics they were followed by the rise of the system of Estates, by a growing centralization of government, and by the appearance of written law and a regular judicial administration. In the great world of culture, philosophy developed its greatest thinkers after the Crusades and the connexion with the Arabs which they brought: even mysticism assumed a scientific character: the study of the ancient languages grew in extent and fertility: historiography and geography acquired a new vigour: a vernacular poetry arose: Gothic architecture succeeded: a Romanesque, and a finer taste appeared in sculpture and painting.'[9]

The rise and advancement of Islam which provoked the Crusades is described in the next chapter.

POINTS FOR STUDY

102. Relations between Emperors and Popes: their respective claims.

103. The growth of the German Empire from the Frankish kingdoms: importance to future Europe.

104. Distinction between the Religious and Political aspects of Christianity.

105. The Monastic Orders: their social work and contributions to European civilisation.

106. The nature of the Crusades: commercial and cultural results.

9. *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 51.

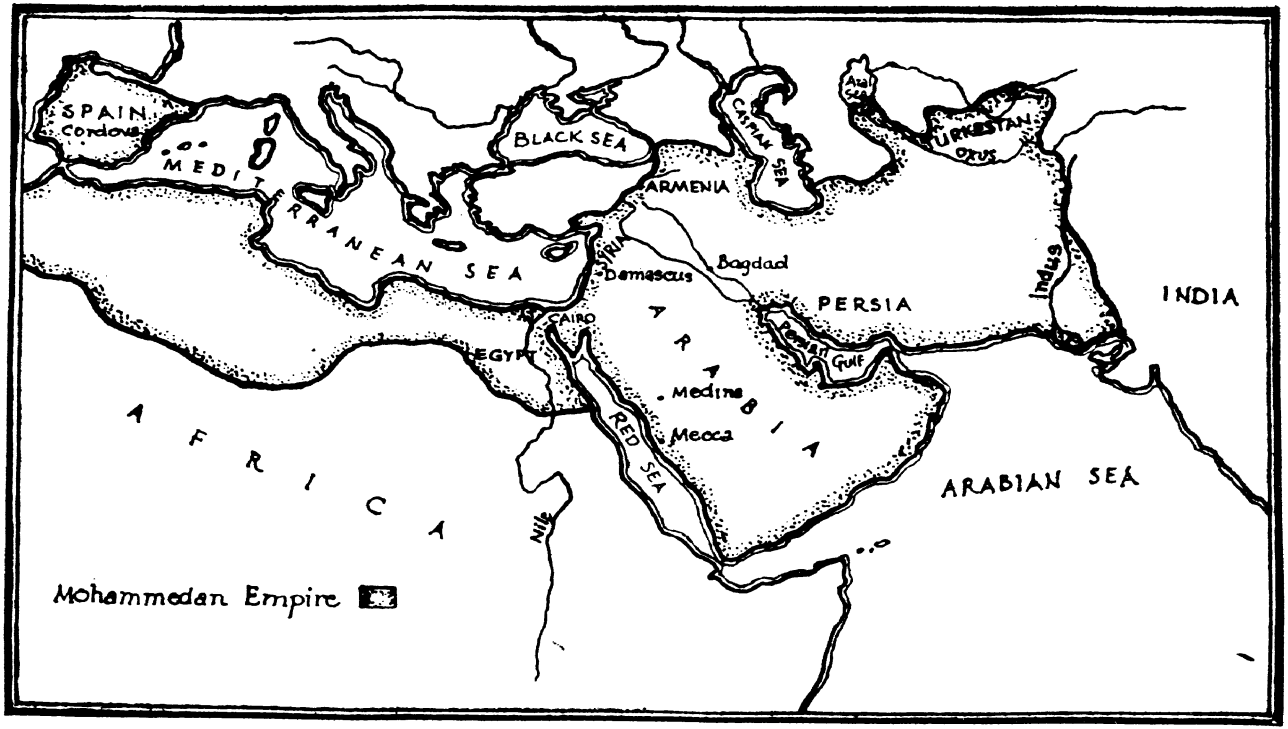
EUROPE IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
476 A.D.	Western R. Empire	Odoacer	Extinction of W. R. E. under Romulus Augustulus.
732 A.D. 717 A.D.	Tours Constantinople	Charles Martel	Arabs defeated. Arabs defeated.
768-814 A.D.	West & Central Europe	Charles the Great (Charlemagne)	Creation of the Frankish Empire.
843-870 A.D. 962 A.D.	Verdun Mersen	Lothaire, Charles, Louis Otto the Saxon	Division of Frankish Empire. Holy Roman Empire.
962-1056 A.D. 1056-1254 A.D.		(Struggle between Emperor and Pope) (Struggle between Henry VI and George VII)	Emperor prevails. Pope supreme.

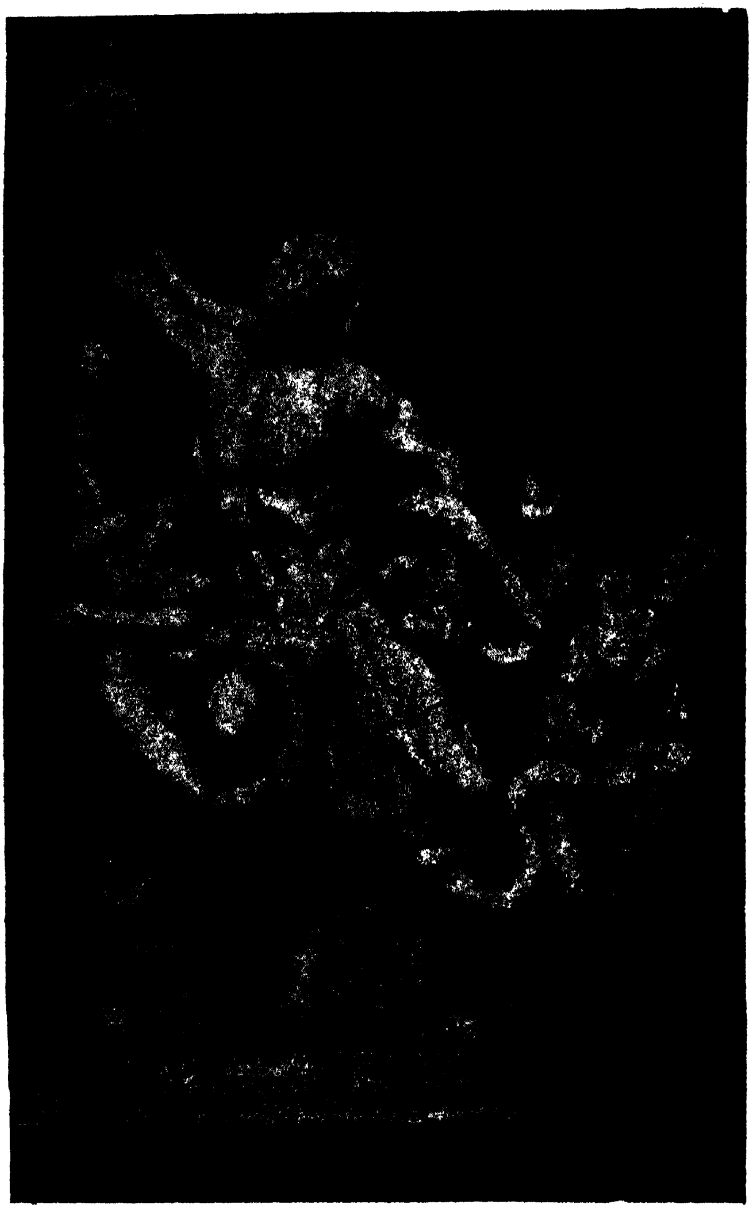
1122 A.D.	Worms	Henry V and Pope Paschal	"Concordat".
1152-90 A.D.		Frederick Barbarosa	
1212-50 A.D.		Frederick II	
1198-1226 A.D.		Pope Innocent III	Greatest of Popes.

THE CRUSADES

1076 A.D.	Jerusalem	Peter the Hermit	Occupied by Turks.
1095 A.D.	Clermont	Pope Urban II	Holds Council.
1099 A.D.			First crusade.
1147 A.D.	Edessa	Conrad III (Germany)	Turks Butchered.
		Louis VII (France)	30,000 crusaders.
1187 A.D.	Jerusalem	Saladin	J. captured by Turks.
		Richard Coeur de Lion	
1212 A.D.			Children's Crusade.
1453 A.D.	Constantinople		Captured by Turks.



THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM



LAOCOON

A fine piece of sculpture which very well symbolises the Ordeal of Humanity

CHAPTER XV

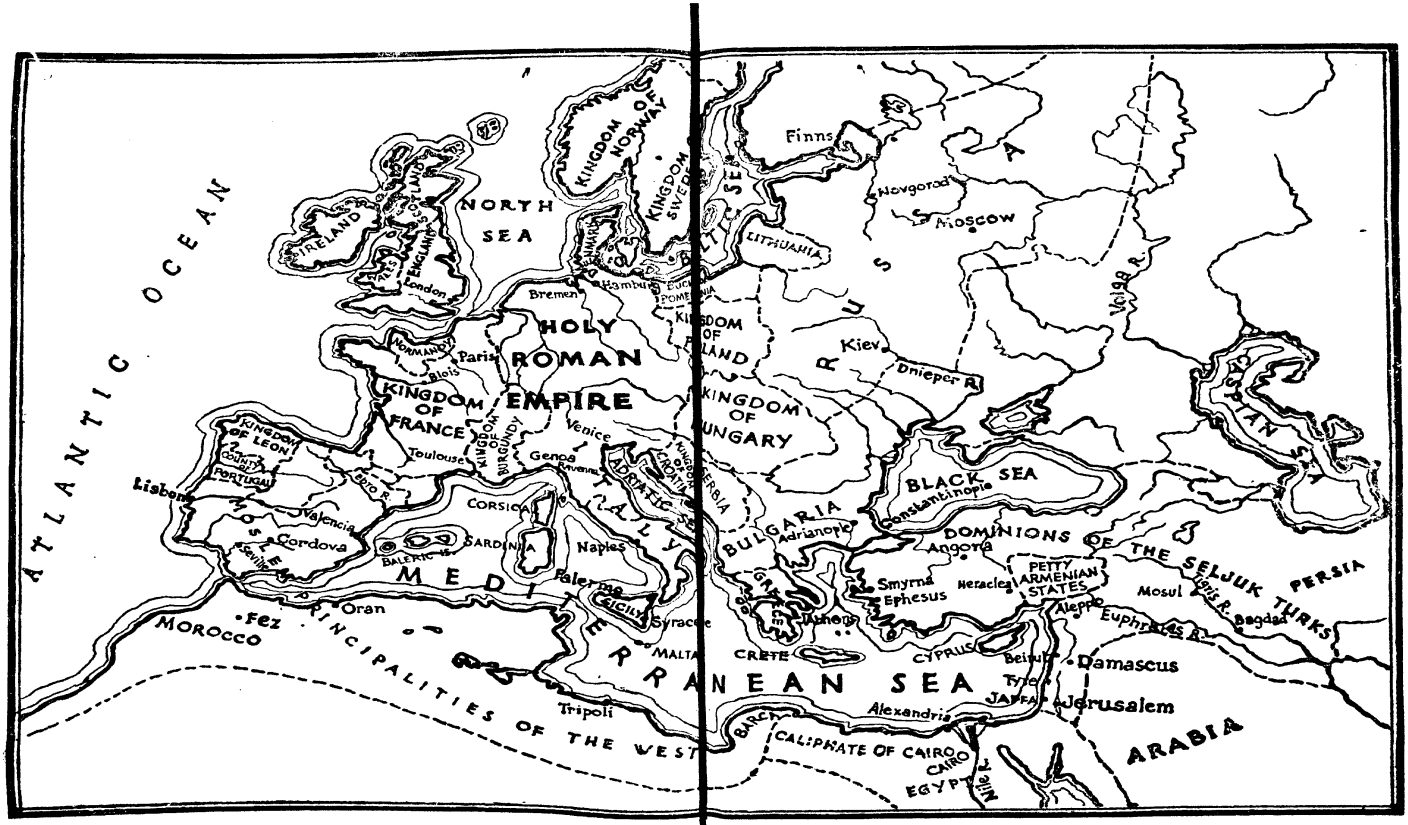
THE RISE OF ISLAM

127. Arabia produces a Prophet.
128. The Spirit of Islam.
129. Conquests of the Faith.
130. The Moors of Spain.
131. The Savants of Islam.
132. Contributions to Civilisation.

> Islam prevailed because it was the best social and political order the times could offer... It was the broadest, freshest and cleanest political idea that had yet come into actual activity in the world, and it offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind.
>
> —H. G. WELLS

127. Arabia produces a Prophet:

The transition from the Ancient World to the Modern is difficult to express in definite chronological terms. But the line, however arbitrary, must be drawn somewhere. In the history of Europe the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) is taken as a clear turning point. In the history of India, the commencement of Mughal rule (1526) is considered by some as a suitable stage from which to begin our 'modern' period. However, both these happenings in the history of the world had their beginnings in the Rise of Islam, which therefore may be taken, for all practical purposes, as the 'watershed' which divides the two streams in World History. Geographically, the home of Islam affords a corridor between Europe and Asia; while culturally also it shares the characteristics of more than one civilisation. Though Arabia played no direct part in the history of humanity so far traced by us, that peninsula was the reservoir from which the various branches of the Semitic race, the Babylonians, the Israelites, the Phœnicians, etc., moved out and vitally affected the course of human history. Arabia had also been, though only nominally, a province of several Empires in succession, viz., of Egypt, Persia, Macedonia, Rome and Constantinople. But it was now her turn to build up an Empire of her own which



MEDIEVAL EUROPE

'submission to God', and those who accepted this creed had above all to submit to the five disciples of the faith: (1) Belief in the *One* God and Muhammad as His Prophet; (2) the duty of praying five times daily; (3) giving alms to the poor; (4) fasting in the whole month of *Ramzan;* and (5) making a pilgrimage to Mecca. The teachings of Muhammad were collected in a volume called the *Koran.* This and the Hadis or 'traditions' constitute the scripture of the Muhammadans. The Prophet during his lifetime was both their spiritual leader and temporal ruler. Hence Islamic society to begin with was a *Theocracy.* Soon after Muhammad's death a dispute arose as to the succession. Some were for the Prophet's son-in-law Ali; others for electing the Caliph. The former, called the *Shiites,* were defeated; and the latter, known as the Sunni, triumphed. This rent Muslim society for all time into two hostile camps, though there are no fundamental differences of creed between them. Arabia represents the latter, and Persia former. In India there are representatives of both the sects. For the purpose of this history however, we might regard the Muslims as one homogeneous community.

The spirit of Islam in the early days, when the ferocious and fanatical Turks had not yet been converted, is well represented in the following words of Abu Bekr, the first Caliph, cited by Gibbon:

"In the name of the most mericful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. This is to acquaint you that I intend to send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God.

"Remember that you are in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way: let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries: and you will find another sort of people, that

belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns; be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Muhammedans or pay tribute."

THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM

With the conversion of the Turks and other savage peoples, Islam tended to follow more and more the closing part of this message rather than its nobler portions. The tribute exacted from the infidels was called the *Jiziya.* The Jews and the Christians were treated with consideration as 'the people of the Book' as Muhammad drew much of his own theology from their traditions. "We believe in God", declares the *Koran,* "and in what hath been sent down to us and what hath been sent down to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and in what was given to Moses and to Jesus and to the prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between them; and to Him we are resigned; and who so desireth any other religion than Islam, it shall by no means be accepted from him, and in the next world he will be among the lost." (iii. 78-79).

129. Conquests of the Faith:

The conquests of Islam were very rapid. They extended, in about a century, over the whole of Arabia, Asia-Minor, North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic, the Iberian peninsula, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Sind. This was partly due to the innate driving force of the new faith, and partly owing to the weakness of Europe and Persia. The Eastern Roman Empire under Heraclius and Persia under the Sassanian Khosroes II had exhausted each other by incessant war. They could offer no effective resistance against the new force. In the West, however, the Islamic thrust across the Pyrenees into Gaul was checked by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. In the East, already in 717 A.D. they have failed to carry Constantinople by storm, but in 737 at the battle of Kadessia Persia was subjugated. "At the close of the first century of the *Hegira,*" Gibbon observes, "the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." Though we may not enter into the chequered history of the Caliphate we must at least describe here its glory under the most famous of the Caliphs, viz. Haroun-al-Raschid of the *Arabian Nights,* who died in 809 A.D. In this time, according to Sir Mark Sykes,

"The Imperial Court was polished, luxurious, and unlimitedly wealthy; the capital, Bagdad, was a gigantic

mercantile city surrounding a huge administrative fortress, wherein every department of state had a properly regulated and well-ordered public office; where schools and colleges abbounded; whither philosophers, students, doctors, poets, and theologians came from all parts of the civilized globe... The provincial capitals were embellished with vast public buildings, and linked together by an effective and rapid service of posts and caravans; the frontiers were secure and well garrisoned, the army loyal, efficient and brave; the governors and ministers honest and forbearing. The empire stretched with equal strength and unimpaired control from the Cilician gates to Aden, and from Egypt to Central Asia. Christians, Pagans, Jews, as well as Moslems, were employed in the government service... Traffic and wealth had taken the place of revolution and famine... Pestilence and disease were met by imperial hospitals and government physicians... In government business the rough-and-ready methods of Arabian administration had given place to a complicated system of Divans, initiated partly from the Roman, but chiefly taken from the Persian system of government. Posts, Finance, Privy, Seal, Crown Lands, Justice and Military Affairs were each administered by separate bureaux in the hands of ministers and officials; an army of clerks, scribes, writers and accountants swarmed into these offices and gradually swept the whole power of the government into their own hands by separating the Commander of the Faithful from any direct intercourse with his subjects.

"The Imperial Palace and the entourage were equally based on Roman and Persian precedents. Eunuchs, closely veiled 'harems' of women, guards, spies, go-betweens, jesters, poets and dwarfs clustered around the person of the Commander of the Faithful, each, in his degree, endeavouring to gain the royal favour and indirectly distracting the royal mind from affairs of business and state.

"Meanwhile the mercantile trade of the East poured gold into Bagdad, and supplemented the other enormous stream of money derived from the contributions of plunder and loot despatched to the capital by the commanders of the victorious raiding forces which harried Asia Minor, India, and Turkestan. The seemingly unending supply of Turkish slaves and Byzantine specie added to the richness of the revenues of Irak and, combined with the vast, commercial traffic of which Bagdad was the centre, produced a large and powerful moneyed class, composed of the sons of generals, officials, landed proprietors, royal favourites, merchants and the like who encouraged the arts, literature, philosophy, and poetry as

the mood took them, building palaces for themselves, vying with each other in the luxury of their entertainments, suborning poets to sound their praises, dabbling in philosophy, supporting various schools of thought endowing charities, and, in fact, behaving as the wealthy have always behaved in all ages."[1]

The above description indicates a great change in the Arabs brought about by their successes. In the first place, the wild but simple Bedouins of the desert were now pampered with soul-destroying luxury. Secondly, the democratic spirit of the earlier days of Islam had given place to an insupportable autocracy. And thirdly, the Empire of the Crescent having grown to unwieldy proportions split up into several regional and dynastic kingdoms. The last blow to the tottering Caliphate of Bagdad came from the Turko-Mongolian invasions. The glorious capital of the Commander of the Faithful, proudly described by an Arab historian as "the eye of Iraq, the seat of Empire, the centre of beauty, culture and arts," was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258 A.D. Before that catastrophe Bagdad had been the cultural capital of the Middle East where flocked the great savants of all countries from East and West alike. Not the least important of these were from India, and in the opinion of Mr. E. B. Havell, "It was India, not Greece, that taught Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric ideals, and ispired its most characteristic expression in literature, art and architecture." Without being so partisan we might believe that the Arabs built up an electic civilisation drawing the best from the various parts of their far-flung dominions, and fusing everything in the fire of their new born zeal.

130. The Moors of Spain:

Bagdad, however, was not the only centre of Islamic culture. Cairo and Cordoba were of equal importance. Leaving the story of the further fortunes of Islam in the East to another chapter, we might here say something about Spain where the Arab civilisation outlived the misfortunes of the Abblasids in the East. The Arabs first established themselves in the Iberian peninsula in 711 A.D. Their leader Tariq gave to their landing place its name of *Jabal-ut-Tariq* (Gibraltar) or the Rock of Tariq. Though checked by the Franks in the north, their kingdom of Spain endured for five hundred years till the capture of its capital, Cordoba, in 1236 A.D. by the Christian king of Castile. Even then the Arab kingdom of

1. Cited by H. G. Wells in *The Outline of History.*

Granada in the South held out for another two hundred and fifty-six years when it was finally extinguished in 1492 A.D. During all these seven hundred and eighty years, the *Moors,* as the Muslims were called in Spain, organised a wonderful kingdom, "which was the marvel of the Middle Ages, and which, when all Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and strife, alone held the torch of learning and civilization bright and shining before the western world."

Cordoba itself in the tenth century is spoken of as "the most civilised city in Europe, the wonder and admiration of the world." It had seventy libraries and 900 public baths. Whenever the Christian rulers of Leon, Navarre or Barcelona required a surgeon, an architect, a dress-maker, or a singing-master, it was to Cordoba that they applied; while the *Madinatu-l-Zahar,* the summer palace in the vicinity of Cordoba struck the imagination of travellers as if it were the dream palace of the *Arabian Nights.* "It cannot be denied," writes Mr. J.B. Trend, "that while Europe lay for the most part in misery and decay, both materially and spiritually, the Spanish Muslims created a splendid civilizaton and an organized economic life. Muslim Spain played a decisive part in the development of art, science, philosophy and poetry, and its influence reached even to the highest peaks of the Christian thought of the thirteenth century, to Thomas Aquinas and Dante. Then, if ever, Spain was 'the torch of Europe'."[2]

131. The Savants of Islam:

In the field of philosophy alone two names are famous throughout Europe, viz., Avicenna and Averroes. The former whose real name was Abū 'Alī-al-Ḥusayn ibn Sīnā (980-1037 A.D.) was one of the greatest scholars of the Islamic world. Though primarily a philosopher he made valuable contributions to medicine and science as well. His *Canon of Medicine* was an encyclopædia dealing with general medicine, simple drugs, diseases affecting all parts of the body, special pathology and pharmacopoeia. It was greatly in demand in its Latin translation down to the seventeenth century. "Probably no medical work ever written has been so much studied," writes Dr. Max Meyerhof, "and it is still in current use in the Orient."[3] The name of Averroes was Abū 'l-Walīd ibn Rushd (1126-98 A.D.). "Averroism continued to be a living factor in European thought until the birth of modern experimental science."[4]

2. *The Legacy of Islam,* p. 5.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 330.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 275.

The Golden Age of Islamic science and medicine was from about 900 A.D. to about 1100 A.D. The *al-Ḥāwī* or 'Comprehensive Book' by Rhazes (c. 865-925 A.D.) may be cited for illustration. It is considered as perhaps the most extensive work ever written by a medical man. For each disease Rhazes first cites all the Greek, Syria, Arabic, Persian, and Indian authors, and at the end gives his own opinion and experiences, and he preserves many striking examples of his clinical insight. The following observations by him on small-pox and measles are interesting:—

"The outbreak of small-pox is preceded by continuous fever, aching in the back, itching in the nose and shivering during sleep. The main symptoms of its presence are: backache with fever, stinging pain in the whole body, congestion of the face, sometimes shrinkage, violent redness of the cheeks and eyes, a sense of pressure in the body, creeping of the flesh, pain in the throat and breast accompanied by difficulty of respiration and coughing, dryness of the mouth, thick salivation, hoarseness of the voice, headache and pressure in the head, excitement, anxiety, nausea and unrest. Excitment, nausea and unrest are more pronounced in measles than in small-pox, while the aching in the back is more severe in small-pox than in measles."[5]

The name of al-Bīrūnī (973-1048) is familiar to readers of early Muslim history in India. He came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni. But few, perhaps, realise the nature of his contributions to various branches of knowledge. Familiarly known as 'the master' (*al-ustādh*) he was a physician, astronomer, mathematician, physicist, geographer and historian. In physics his greatest achievement is the nearly exact determination of the specific weight of eighteen precious stones and metals. But, by far the most important of Muslim scientists of this age was Abū 'Ali al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen) of Basra (965 A.D.). Though his original work in Arabic, *On Optics,* is lost, it has survived in Latin translation. In it he opposes the theory of Euclid and Ptolemy that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision. He discusses the propagation of light and colours, optic illusions and reflection, with experiments for testing the angles of incidence and reflection. In examining the refraction of light-rays through transparent mediums "he comes very near to the theoretical discovery of magnifying lenses, which was made practically in Italy three centuries later, while more than six centuries were to pass before the law of sines was established by Snell and Descartes.

5. *The Legacy of Islam, pp.* 323-24.

Roger Bacon (13th century) and all medieval Western writers on optics—notably the Pole Witelo or Vitellio base their optical works on Alhazen's *Opticae Thesaurus.* His work also influenced Leonardo da Vinci and Johann Kepler.[6]

132. Contributions to Civilisation:

As often we have done in previous chapters we must reluctantly bring this chapter also to a close, with a sense of incompleteness. For a fuller survey of Muslim, particularly Arabic, civilisation we must refer the reader to *The Legacy of Islam* (*Oxford University Press*). In architecture they produced a wonder of the world like the Alhambra in Granada. In the minor arts too they made valuable contributions, too numerous to be described here. "In manufactures," one writer has pointed out, "they surpassed the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all the metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, and steel. They made glass and pottery of the finest quality. They knew the secrets of dyeing. They had many processes of dressing leather and their work was famous throughout Europe. They made tinctures, essences, and syrups. They made sugar from the cane and grew many fine kinds of wine. They practised farming in a scientific way. They had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers. They fitted their crops to the quality of the ground. They knew how to graft and were able to produce some new varieties of fruits and flowers. They introduced into the West many trees and plants from the East." They also built hospitals with trained physicians and nurses. They produced a number of versatile and profound scholars. They made permanent contributions to European science and vocabularies (e.g. words like *sofa, tariff, algebra,* etc.). Omar Khayyam who is celebrated as a Persian poet wrote in Arabic a book of the first rank on *Algebra.* Summing up the scientific contributions of the Arabs, Baron Carra de Vaux observes:

"They taught the use of ciphers, although they did not invent them, and thus became the founders of the arithmetic of everyday life; they made algebra an exact science and developed it considerably and laid the foundation of analytical geometry; they were indisputably the founders of plane and spherical trigonometry which, properly speaking, did not exist among the Greeks. In astronomy they made a number of valuable observations. They preserved for us in their translations a number of Greek works, the originals of which have

6. *Ibid.,* p. 334.

been lost....for which services we cannot be too grateful to them. Another reason for our interest in Arab science is the influence it has had in the West. The Arabs kept alive the higher intellectual life and the study of science in a period when the Christian West was fighting desperately with barbarism. The zenith of their activity may be placed in the ninth and tenth centuries, but it was continued down to the fifteenth. From the twelfth century every one in the West who had any taste for science, some desire for light, turned to the East or to the Moorish West. At this period the works of Arabs began to be translated as those of the Greeks had previously been by them. The Arabs thus formed a bond of union, a connecting link between ancient culture and modern civilization. When at the Renaissance the spirit of man was once again filled with zeal for knowledge and stimulated by the spark of genius, if it was able to set promptly to work, to produce and invent, it was because the Arabs had preserved and perfected various branches of knowledge, kept the spirit of research alive and eager and maintained it pliant and ready for future discoveries."

POINTS FOR STUDY

107. Islam, Christianity and Judaism.
108. The Caliphate: Shia and Sunni.
109. Conditions favouring the rapid conquests of Islam.
110. Racial composition of Islamic society: Effects.
111. How Europe saved herself from becoming Islamic.
112. Art and Architecture of Islam.
113. Islamic contributions to Science and Philosophy.
114. Islamic influence over Medieval Europe.
115. The *Quran* and its teachings.

THE RISE OF ISLAM
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
c. 570 A.D.	Mecca	Prophet Muhammad	Birth of Md.
622 A.D.	Medina		1st year of *Hijrah*.
711 A.D.	Spain		Conquest by Arabs.
712 A.D.	Sind		Conquest by Arabs.
732 A.D.	Tours	Charles Martel	Arabs defeated and prevented from entering France.
737 A.D.	Kadessia		Conquest of Persia.
809 A.D.	Baghdad	Haroun-al-Raschid	Most famous Caliph died.
865-925 A.D.		Razes	Arab scholar.
973-1048 A.D.		Al-Biruni	Muslim scholar who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to India.

1001-25 A.D. 980-1037 A.D.	Hindustan	Mahmud of Ghazni Avicenna (Abu Ali-Al-Husayn *ibn* Sina)	17 expeditions. Great Muslim scholar.
1056-1254 A.D.	Jerusalem		Crusades.
1126-98 A.D.		Abu'l-Walid *ibn* Rushd	Arab scholar.
1155-1227 A.D.	Baghdad	Chinghiz Khan	Overwhelms Islamic countries.
1226 A.D.	Delhi	Qutb-ud-din Aibak	Foundation of Sultanate in India.
1236 A.D.	Cordoba	King of Castile	Moors overthrown in Spain.

CHAPTER XVI

MEDIEVAL LIFE IN EUROPE

133. The Middle Ages.
134. The Feudal System.
135. The Growth of Towns.
136. Education and Learning.
137. Philosophers and Poets.

To-day the historian is interested in the social life of the past and not only in the wars and intrigues of princes.
—EILEEN POWER

133. The Middle Ages:

In two earlier chapters we saw how Europe—particularly Western Europe—was struggling to evolve order out of the chaos brought about by the fall of the Roman Empire. The catastrophe was the outcome of the internal weaknesses and the external attacks of the barbarians. Then an attempt was made to restore the Roman order by the secular agency of the Frankish Charlemagne and the German Otto and his successors who built up the Holy Roman Empire, and the spiritual agency of the Pope. While the success of the former was only temporary and local, the influence of the latter proved more lasting as well as widespread. The struggle for supremacy that ensued between the Empire and the Papacy only served to establish the prestige of the Church in a world left still anarchical by the failure of political authority.

The oustanding features of this period of transition from the ancient to the modern world are summed up in the word "Feudalism." There is greater agreement regarding its characteristic features than its chronological limits. But roughly we might consider the millennium from the fifth century A.D. to the fifteenth century A.D. as comprising the Middle Ages, of which the earlier half constituted the Dark Age of barbarian invasions and the later half that of medieval feudalism and chivalry. Having described the former already in an earlier chapter, here we shall concentrate upon the latter. We may note that feudalism was strongest during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Western Europe; then new forces and

tendencies began to manifest themselves. These culminated in the Renaissance of the fifteenth century which ushered in the modern times.

134. The Feudal System:

Feudalism was a very complex organisation of society based upon the holding of land-tenures with specified obligations of service. In the words of Bishop Stubbs, "It may be described as a complete organisation of society through the medium of land tenure, in which, from the king down to the lowest land-owner, all are bound together by obligation of service and defence: the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord; the defence and service being based on and regulated by the nature and extent of the land held by the one of the other. In those states which have reached the territorial stage of development, the rights of defence and service are supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges as well as defends his vassal; the vasal does suit as well as service to his lord. Ir states in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth, the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration is regulated by the same conditions. The central authority is a mere shadow of a name."

When the strong arm of the central authority had been palsied by the barbarian invasions at first, and then by the Normans and Danes in the North, the Slavs and Hungarians in the East, and the Saracens and Moors in the South, the spiritual influence of the Church alone was not sufficient to hold European society together. For the protection of life and property as well as the undisturbed conduct of normal social activity it was necessary to improvise a new system. This was secured by the distribution and localisation of all the functions of government, which also necessitated a like distribution of authority. However, it is necessary to point out that this reorganisation of society was spontaneous and natural, and not the result of deliberate planning by any great statesman. It was derived partly from Roman and partly from Teutonic sources.

In the provinces of the Roman Empire agriculture was carried on for centuries by free tenants known as the *coloni.* But during the period of confusion these *coloni* tended to depend more and more upon some strong local landowner, and virtually sold their independence in return for security. Likewise, the Teutonic custom of *Commending* oneself to a mighty chief, served to bring about a social system of depend-

ence and protection. The anarchy during the ninth and tenth centuries was so great that no price was considered too big to pay for security. Indeed, even in insular Britain, the daily prayer happened to be—"from the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us."

Land, which was the source of all wealth and power in those days, came to be divided and distributed for protection as well as cultivation. In theory it was owned by one supreme overlord, the king; in practice it was divided and subdivided and held by a gradation of landlords and tenants. The terms on which the estates or *fiefs* granted by the lord to the tenant or by the tenant to the sub-tenants (*vassals*), were of service, both military and civil. The *vassal* was to fight for his *lord* in times of war, and to cultivate the land for him in times of peace. The latter included not merely working on one's own farm, but also compulsory service in the master's *demesne* and other obligations such as *aids, relief,* etc. The contributions that the *vassal* was called upon to make towards the expenses of the marriage of the lord's daughter, or the accession to *knighthood* of the lord's son, constituted the "aids"; the fee that was to be paid by a tenant's heir for succession to the *fief* comprised the "relief." Besides these the vassal's holding was liable to *escheat* on failure of heirs or *forfeiture* for disloyal conduct. If the lord was taken captive in war by an enemy his vassals were to pay *ransom* for his release. When so required the tenants with their *retainers* were to render military service being fully equipped at their own cost. In short, the tenant was to be his land-lord's *man*: he was to live, work, and die for his master in return for such justice, protection, and privileges as the times and the tenure guaranteed to him.

In the absence of any effective central government, justice was administered by the feudal (from *feud=fief*) lord in his manorial court. The *manor* was his estate. On it stood his great castle or fortified residence. The surrounding lands were held by his tenants or subtenants. The former held from him directly; the latter through their intermediate superiors. Below all were the *serfs* and slaves who, indeed, formed the major portion of the population. The serfs were superior to the slaves, and were attached to the soil. They could not be killed or alienated with impunity. Lands were given to them for cultivation on very exacting terms. They could not forsake their farms and run away; but if they did and were not discovered for a year and a day they were free. They were to work on their master's farm for three days in the week throughout the year, except during Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Each serf was to give to his lord, in one typical

case, 'one bushel of wheat, eighteen sheaves of oats, three hens, one cock yearly, and five eggs at Easter.' Conditions varied, for better or for worse, in different places, but serfdom survived in Western Europe until the French Revolution (1789) and farther east until more recent times.

In those rough times there was no sovereign law that was universally recognised, except the *canon* law of the Church. In secular matters custom and tradition ruled. Ordeal and battle decided disputes which could not be otherwise settled. The accused person had very often to prove his innocence by ordeals of fire or water. In the last resort the disputants would be allowed to fight each other according to rules and justice was declared to be on the side of the victor; for it was considered to be the judgment of God.

Knight-errantry was a typical institution of the Middle Ages. It was governed by the highly developed code of chivalry. The free landlords took to it as the most honourable profession. The Crusades afforded a very congenial atmosphere for its development and refinement. Where no other just cause was to be found the knights fought each other for sheer entertainment. Individual jousts and group tournaments were very common in medieval times. They were the survivals of the Greek games and the Roman circuses. But unlike the brutal gladiators the knights mostly combated each other with blunt weapons when it was not a real fight. The barbarians were used to fighting on foot. But the contacts of the Saracens had established the superiority of the horse. The knight was a mounted warrior armed *cap-a-pie*. The term "chivalry" is itself derived from the French word for horse. A vivid portrayal of this medieval atmosphere is to be found in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

The feudal system, though it was the natural outcome of the circumstances obtaining in the Middle Ages and rendered good service then, was not without its defects. Private warfare was one of its most outstanding evils. This acted as the enemy of all established order. "The man's man was not the lord's man" was the principle which obtained in the continent of Europe. Hence, however powerful a lord might consider himself in theory, he could not in practice depend upon the co-ordinated loyalties of all who shared his lands. Very often the vassals proved stronger than their masters, and well integrated national kingdoms could not arise under such circumstances. To this England was the earliest exception. On account of her geographical isolation she could develop well along her own lines. The Normans under William the Con-

queror, profiting by continental experience, tried to counteract the feudal anarchical tendencies by insisting upon all classes of vassals that they could swear allegiance to their immediate superiors only "saving the faith that I owe to our lord the King". Yet the centrifugal forces continued to assert themselves, though with diminishing effect, until the establishment of the strong Tudor monarchy in the fifteenth century. On the continent feudalism was liquidated only gradually. It vanished, however, in the wake of the invention of gun-powder, the growth of commercial towns, and above all of the Renaissance. But it is not to be forgotten that in its own time it had functioned well "as a military measure to organise local defence; economically, to safeguard cultivation of the soil; and politically, to provide machinery for local administration of justce."[1] Its moral and cutural influences were also considerable. It gave courage to the barons in 1215 to extort the *Magna Carta* from King John of England, and its traditions of gallantry and romance inspired many a writer and poet to produce gems of romantic literature. It was the age of wandering minstrels and troubadours.

135. The Growth of Towns:

The growth of towns which gave a deathblow to feudalism was the dominating characteristic of the later Middle Ages. While feudalism throve in the rural parts urban centres developed a different kind of life. Here commerce and industry rather than agriculture were the decisive factors. Guilds and corporations of merchants, and manufacturers not only brought prosperity to the towns, but also imparted to them a spirit of independence. Under their ægis too, as under the fostering industry of the monasteries, culture was preserved and developed.

Up to the eleventh century the population of Europe, like that of India today, was essentially a rural population. But once the barbarians who upset the old order and prosperity settled down and became civilised, towns began to revive. They were a replica of the old Roman towns which had been centres of great activity. In medieval Europe there were three institutions of such civilizing importance: they were the monasteries, the feudal manors, and the organised towns. We have said something already about the first two. The last alone will engage our attention here. The monasteries planted often in out-of-the-way places and far off wildernesses acted as farflung outposts of civilisation. The fortified castles and

1. A. F. Hattersley, *A Short History of Western Civilization*, p. 62.

their surrounding self-contained manors served to preserve society from the disrupting forces of anarchy. The towns, which too were fortified in the Middle Ages, were so many islands of peaceful industry in a sea of constant warfare. They were also the arteries through which flowed the commerce of the times. Though they were units linked up as fiefs in the feudal system, they were too powerful to be swallowed up by the encircling forces. They either bought out or valiantly fought for their liberties and thereby earned an important place among the "estates" of the realm. Their citizens, the burghers or burgesses, were the creators of the commons of modern democracies.

Internally, the towns organised professional guilds, and externally, they formed leagues with other cities for purposes of commerce as well as defence. The craft-guilds were unions of workers which secured monopolies for their special industries, afforded training for their apprentices, laid down conditions for efficiency, and protected their members much as trade-unions do today. There were unions of shoemakers, bakers, weavers, dyers, etc. The most famous of the leagues of commercial towns was the Hanseatic League of North Germany. *Hansa* in old German meant a confederation or union. The Hanseatic League included about eighty of the principal cities of Northern Europe. It established trading colonies of its members in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod. It lost its importance only with the new geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century and the consequent shifting of the highways of world commerce.

The greatest of the cities of Southern Europe were concentrated in Italy. They were Venice, Genoa, and Florence. Venice had her beginning in the fifth century when the refugees from the attacks of Attila the Hun sought shelter among her marshes. In course of time, owing to the natural advantages of her position at the head of the Adriatic, as well as the enterprise of her daring citizens, she became the mistress of the Mediterranean as once Athens, Carthage, and Rome had been. In the immortal words of Byron—

> A thousand years their cloudy wings expand
> Around me, and a dying Glory smiles
> O'er the far times, when many a subject land
> Look'd to the winged Lion's marble piles,
> Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles!
> She looks a sea cybele, fresh from ocean,
> Rising with her tiara of proud towers
> At airy distance, with majestic motion,

A ruler of the waters and their powers:
And such she was;—her daughters had their dowers
From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East
Pour'd in her lap all gems in sparkling showers.
In purple was she robed, and of her feast
Monarchs partook, and deem'd their dignity increased.

In 1177, in recognition of her importance as well as services rendered to the Church, Pope Alexander III bestowed on her Doge a ring and said: "Take this as a token of dominion over the sea, and wed her every year, you and your successors forever, in order that all may know that the sea belongs to Venice and is subject to her as a bride is subject to her husband." This annual "wedding of the Adriatic" continued to be one of the most gorgeous ceremonies of the Middle Ages. Genoa became a rival, particularly after 1261, when she demonstrated her power by assisting the Greeks in the overthrow of the Latins at Constantinople. For a long time their reckless rivalries eclipsed the ascendancy of the two Italian cities, until both were overwhelmed by the triumphs of the Crescent in the East.

Florence, the city of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Amerigo Vespucci, and the Medici, was "the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian republics." Despite the handicaps of her inland situation, Florence still became, "through the skill, industry, enterprise, and genius of her citizens, the great manufacturing, financial, literary, and art centre of the later medieval centuries....indeed, as respects the number of her great men, Florence is perhaps unrivalled by any city of the ancient or modern world save Athens."[2]

136. Education and Learning:

Incomplete as this survey of medieval life in Europe must remain (for obvious limitations of space) we cannot conclude the chapter without a few lines on the education and literature of the Middle Ages.[3] We have already observed how the monasteries kept the torch of learning bright through the Dark Ages, by preserving such of the ancient knowledge as was accessible to them. Much of the Greek wisdom, except

2. Myers, *General History*, p. 436.

3. For a fuller treatment of various aspects of medieval life read *The Legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford U. Press), *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization* (Harraps), and *Medieval People* by Eileen Power (Pelican Books).

that of Aristotle, had been temporarily lost to Western Europe. Even the writings of Aristotle were familiarised through Arabic translations rendered into Latin in the Spanfsh universities. Thanks to the teachings of Muhammad, the early Muslims had cultivated learning with the same zeal as they felt for their religion. The Prophet had declared, "Acquire knowledge, it will enable you to distinguish right and wrong, it will light the way to heaven, it will be your friend in the desert, your society in solitude, your companion in loneliness, your guide to happiness, the sustainer of your misery, the ornament among your friends, and the armour against your enemies." Arab scholarship in the universities of Cordoba and Toledo in Spain demonstrated that the Moors had fully imbibed the spirit of this exhortation.

Among the Christian princes we have noted too the services rendered to education by Charlemagne. One writer has justly observed, "Herein he (Charles the Great) takes a foremost place among the benefactors of humanity, as a man who, himself imperfectly educated, knew how to value education in others; as one who, amid the manifold harassing cares of government and of war, could find leisure for that friendly intercourse with learned men which far more than his generous material gifts cheered them on in their arduous and difficult work; and as the ruler to whom perhaps more than to any other single individual we owe the fact that the precious literary inheritance of Greece and Rome has not been altogether lost to the human race. Every student of the history of the texts of the classical authors knows how many of our best manuscripts date from the ninth century, the result unquestionably of the impulse given by Charles and his learned courtiers to classical studies." The degree of personal attention bestowed upon the education of the young, by Charlemagne, is illustrated by the rebuke he administered to the easy-going lads of a school started under his own patronage: "You young nobles", he said, "you dainty and beautiful youths, who have presumed upon your birth and your possessions to despise mine orders, and have taken no care for my renown; you have neglected the study of literature, while you have given yourselves over to luxury and idleness, or to games and foolish athletics. By the King of Heaven, I care nothing for your noble birth and your handsome faces, let others prize them as they may. Know this for certain, that unless ye give earnest heed to your studies, and recover the ground lost by your negligence, ye shall never receive any favour at the hand of King Charles."

As the demand for instruction increased with the growth of peace and prosperity the cathedral and monastic schools were found insufficient. Particularly, the merchant and other professional classes were in need of secular education which the Church schools could not be expected to impart. These needs were met by institutions that soon developed into the famous universities of medieval Europe. The most ancient of these were the University of Salerno, noted for its teachers in medicine; the University of Bologna, distinguished for its instruction in law; and the University of Paris, revered for its doctors in theology. The last supplied the model of constitutions and was hence known in the Middle Ages as "the Mother of Universities." Oxford and Cambridge were also founded in these early times. The principal faculties that were cultivated were the faculty of Theology, the faculty of Medicine, the faculty of Law, and the faculty of Arts (or Philosophy). Grammar, rhetoric, and logic were specially emphasised for their value in scholastic disputations. Besides the Church and the ordinary lay schools, there were also 'Chivalric schools' where sons of noblemen especially were trained in the exercises and code of medieval chivalry.

137. Philosophers and Poets:

Peter Abelard (1079—1142). Albertus Magnus (d. 1230), Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), and Roger Bacon (d. 1294), were among the outstanding figures of this age. The first was so popular that he attracted over 5000 pupils to his lecture rooms, but possessed a notorious moral character. The second was so admired for his versatile genius that he was called "Albert the Great" and "the Second Aristotle." The third was known as "the Angelic Doctor", and his great work the *Summa Theologia* or "Sum of Theology" to this day provides the foundation for the orthodox Church. The last, called "the Wonderful Doctor", though persecuted for being in league with the devil, was wonderfully ahead of his times in scientific knowledge. He seemed to possess marvellous understanding of mechanics, optics, and chemistry. He knew the composition of gunpowder or some such explosive, and believed in the possibility of mechanically propelled vehicles, as the followng remarkable passage from his writings reveals:—

"Machines for navigating are possible without rowers, so that great ships suited to river or ocean, guided by one man, may be borne with greater speed than if they were full of men. Likewise, cars may be made so that without a draught animal they may be moved....as we deem the scythed chariots

to have been from which antiquity fought. And flying machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some device by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of a flying bird."

Among the writers of the age we have space only for a few observations on the greatest. The most famous among the earliest was St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo. His *The City of God* which was written when Rome fell before Alaric the Goth in 410, served as a beacon in the encircling gloom of the Dark Age. "The greatest city of the world has fallen in ruin," he wrote, "but the city of God abideth for ever." His more popular work is his *Confessions* "which have a human interest equal to that of the self-revelations of Bunyan and Rousseau,"—and we may add, of Tolstoy and Gandhi also.

Of unknown authorship, but of great medieval interest, is the German epic entitled the *Niblungen Lied* which has been popularised by the music-dramas of Wagner. It is the story of the romantic adventures of its hero Siegfried, son of Siegmund, king of the Netherland. Its stage is the city of Worms which, says Carlyle, "had we a right imagination, ought to be as venerable to us moderns as any Thebes or Troy was to the ancients."

By far the greatest genius of the age, however, was Dante who was born in Florence in 1265. His love for Beatrice which inspired his *Divine Comedy* is an epic theme. Dante suffered much owing to his participation in the factions of his city—the *Guelphs* and the *Ghibellines*. The former stood for the Pope and the latter for the Emperor. We have already described the nature of the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. The Guelphs having triumped, Dante was banished from Florence in 1302, and he remained in exile until his death in 1321. This called forth from Michael Angelo, another great Florentine of versatile genius, the following sonnet:—

From heaven his spirit came, and, robed in clay,
The realms of justice and of mercy trod,
Then rose a living man to gaze on God,
That he might make the truth as clear as day.
For that pure star, that brightened with his ray
The undeserving nest where I was born.
The whole wide world would be a prize to scorn;
None but his Maker can due guerdon pay.
I speak of Dante, whose high work remains
Unknown, unhonoured, by that thankless brood

Who only to just men deny their wage.
Were I but he! Born for like lingering pains,
Against his exile coupled with his good
I'd gladly change the world's best heritage.

But the world has accorded to Dante the justice that Florence denied him: he is one of its greatest immortals. The noble epic comprising three parts—*Inferno, Purgatorio,* and *Paradiso*—is incapable alike of paraphrase and epitome. The poet passing through hell and purgatory into paradise meets with immortals of the classical world, but the crowning glory of reaching Beatrice is his alone. "Guided by Beatrice the poet passes through nine Heavens, which are moving spheres revolving round our globe, till he reaches the final motionless and fixed Heaven in the Empyrean. The seven lowest of the Heavens are named after the moon, the sun, and the planets, and the eighth after the fixed stars. All these are visible from earth. Above them is the ninth or crystalline Heaven, which directs by its movements the daily revolution of all the others. In it nature starts; from it proceed time and motion, together with all celestial influences for the government of the world. It is:

The robe that with its regal folds enwraps
The world and with the nearer breath of God
Doth burn and quiver.

"Above it, climax of the vision, is the infinite and motionless sea of divine love where God makes blessed the saints and angels in the vision of His Essence."[4]

Though Dante's imagery and expression are medieval, he belongs to all time. Next to him stands the galaxy of writers like Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Malory. They have all left us familiar pictures of medieval life. We might close this chapter with the portrayal of an ideal knight who was indeed the ideal man of the Middle Ages.

"Ah, Lancelot," says Sir Ector in Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur,* "thou wert head of all Christian knights, and now I dare say, thou Sir Lancelot, there thou liest, that thou wert never matched of earthly knight's hand. And thou wert the courteous knight that ever bore shield. And thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrad horse. And thou wert the truest lover of a sinful man that ever loved woman. And thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword. And thou wert the goodlest person that ever came among press

4. John Drinkwater, *The Outline of Literature,* p. 239.

of knights. And thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies. And thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest."

POINTS FOR STUDY

116. Distinction between Dark Ages and Middle Ages: Medieval Times (chronological limits).
117. Characteristics of Transition: links with the Past and anticipations of the Future.
118. Feudalism as a Complex of Social-Economic-Political Organisation.
119. The Age of Chivalry.
120. Life in the Monasteries: importance.
121. Trade-guilds and International Leagues.
122. Important Towns and their role in the period of transition from the Medieval to Modern civilisation.
123. Aims and Organisation of Education in Medieval times.
124. Dante, da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Galileo, Bacon, and Machiavelli.

CHAPTER XVII

THE EAST IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

138. China of Marco Polo.
139. Kublai Khan and Timur.
140. The Ottoman Turks.
141. Islam comes to India.
142. Political Conquests.
143. Cultural Assimilation.
144. Hindu India.
145. Ideas and Institutions.

Everything points to the conclusion that those centuries which were centuries of disaster and retrogression in Europe, were comparatively an age of progress in Middle Asia eastward into China. —H. G. WELLS

138. China of Marco Polo:

It was Marco Polo, a thirteenth century Venetian traveller (1260—95), who first roused European interest in China and the East generally. He travelled in China, stayed at the court of Kublai Khan, visited Sumatra, South India, and several other countries besides. Though he circulated some fantastic stories about the Orient, particularly the countries he had not personally seen, he also conveyed much useful information to the Europeans, which had far-reaching effects. With him may be said to begin the impulse which culminated in the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

China was ruled by the famous Kublai Khan, a descendant of the still more famous Chengiz Khan, when Marco Polo visited. The former who founded the Yuan dynasty in China reigned over only a portion of the vast empire created by the latter. Chengiz Khan, the leader of the Mongol hordes, was the greatest conqueror the world has ever seen. His dominions extended from the Western shores of the Pacific Ocean to Eastern Europe, and included China, Mongolia, Turkestan, Persia, Afghanistan, North-West India, Asia-Minor, and Eastern Europe. His army, in spite of its great size, was well organised and was provided with fire-arms which were first

invented in China. Chengiz was born in the steppes of Mongolia in 1515. He was a Mongol *Bagatur* (Bahadur) or nobleman (literally, 'hero') and was elected leader of all the tribes only when he was fifty-one years of age.

'And so, when all the generations living in felt tents became united under a single authority, in the year of the Leopard, they assembled near the sources of the Onon, and raising the white Banner on Nine Legs, they conferred on Chengiz the title of Kagan.'

He commenced his great march in 1219 and died in 1227 at the age of seventy-two. But these nine years were not only the most momentous in his own career, but also some of the most memorable in the history of the world. Though, like Attila, he is regarded as a 'Scourge of God'—for he moved like a tempest and demolished kingdoms and empires, massacring millions and piling up mountains of skulls—he yet rendered a valuable service to civilisation: The Mongols poured fresh and vigorous blood into the decadent limbs of humanity, and what is more they opened up Asia as well as Europe for mutual intercourse. They not only moved armies from Asia to Europe, but also established lines of civil contacts between the two continents. The travels of Marco Polo were only one indication of this.

Chengiz Khan was succeeded by his son, Oghotai, who was more humane than his father. "Our Kagan Chengiz", he declared, "built up our imperial house with great labour; now it is time to give the peoples peace and prosperity, and to alleviate their burdens." Yet under him the Mongol conquests in Europe were further extended. His general Sabutai subdued Russia, Poland, and Hungary. But after the death of Oghotai disruption commenced. Mangu became the Great Khan in 1252. He appointed Kublai Khan to the government of China. Mangu had his capital at Karakorum and Kublai built for himself a new one at Peking. The Western Mongols became Muslims and the Eastern Buddhists; those in Russia, Poland, and Hungary obviously adopted Christianity as their religion. Mangu's successor, Hulagu, destroyed Baghdad and ended the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258. This may be considered as also the end of the Arab civilisation and the beginning of the more destructive era of the Turks who were indistinguishable from the Mongols.

139. Kublai Khan and Timur:

Meanwhile in China Kublai Khan, as previously stated, founded the Yuan dynasty. He also added Tongking, Annam,

and even part of Burma to his dominions. His attempt to conquer Japan and Malaysia, however, proved futile as the Mongols had no navy equal to the task. After Kublai's death, in 1292 the Empire of the Mongols split up into independent kingdoms like (1) the Yuan dominions of China, (2) the Golden Horde of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, (3) the Ilkhan territory of Hulagu, including Turkestan, Persia, and Mesopotamia, and (4) the Mongolian empire of Siberia. The Turkish empire of Timur or Tamerlane (1369—1405) was built out of these elements.

Timur brought half of Asia under his sway. He conquered all lands from the Great Wall of China to Moscow, and, as we know, overrun the Punjab as well. By this time the Turks and Mongols of the North-West had not only turned Muslims, but become its fanatical protagonists. "My object in the invasion of Hindustan," Timur declared, "is to lead a campaign against the infidels, to convert them to the True Faith according to the command of the Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!), to purify the land from the defilement of misbelief and polytheism, and overthrow the temples and idols, whereby we shall be *Ghāzis* and *Mujahids,* champions and soldiers of the Faith before God." But this was merely a pretext, because Timur fought and overthrew Muslims as well. He invaded India in 1398, defeated the Sultan of Turkey in a terrible engagement at Angora in 1402, received the submission of the Sultan of Egypt, and suddenly died in 1405.

140. The Ottoman Turks:

The Ottoman or Osmanli Turks had established themselves in Asia-Minor about 1300. Under Bajazet they had advanced into South-Eastern Europe and overthrown the Christian armies at Nicopolis on the Danube in 1396. The advent of Timur had temporarily checked this Turkish advance into Europe. But under Muhamad II (the Great) the Turkish conquests were renewed with vigour Constantinople fell before his irresistible attacks, in 1453, and the Muslims established themselves in the Balkan peninsula with momentous results in European history. Under Suleiman the Great (called by Turkish historians the 'Lord of his Age') the Ottoman power was raised to its zenith (1520—1566). He advanced into Central Europe and invested Vienna, the Capital of Austria. Though he did not succeed in capturing it, he conquered Hungary and the island of Cyprus from the Christians. Suleiman s empire extended from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean along North

Africa. It included Asia-Minor, Egypt, the island of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Balkan peninsula, and Hungary. The decline followed only after the death of Suleiman the Great. "Compared with other European states of that time, the Ottoman empire was well governed and prosperous; trade learning, and literature flourished; historical writing attained high excellence."[1]

141. Islam comes to India:

In India the period of history traced above covers the centuries from the death of Harsha (647) to the establishment of the Mughal Empire by Babur (1526). They were centuries of neither less interest nor of less consequence to World History. We must therefore make here at least a brief survey of happenings in India.

Muhammad the Prophet of Islam was a contemporary of Sri Harsha of Kanouj. We have witnessed in the earlier chapters the remarkable rapidity with which Islam spread over the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The Arabs were no strangers to India, and after their conversion to Islam they conquered Sind at the same time (712) as they conquered Spain. The circumstances under which this happened are familiar to readers of Indian history. India was not politically united; even socially she needed rejuvenation. Hence in the words of E. B. Havell, it appeared as if "the sword of Islam was the Creator's pruning knife which removed the decaying branches and cut back the unfruitful growth of the Tree of Knowledge He had planted in Āryāvarta." Obviously, it was the period of Hindu decadence, and new vitality was imparted by the violent impact of a new civilisation; for Islam was nothing less than that.

'India up to that date, or to about the close of that century, was characteristically and exclusively *Hindu,* using this term in its most comprehensive sense. Whatever changes took place up to that age were changes in *Hindu* India, which remained *Hindu,* enfolding in its broad bosom such divergent racial elements as Aryan and Dravidian, Scythian and Mongolian, and religious differentiations such as Brahmanism, Animism, Jainism, and Buddhism.' But 'Hinduism found in Islam a strange bed-fellow, with a character almost sturdier than its own. The capacity of Hindu society for assimilation of peoples and cultures unlike its own, before the advent of the Muhammadans, seemed to be infinite. But the Crescent for

1. Renouf, *Outlines of General History,* p. 234.

the first time revealed its limitations. Indeed, for well nigh a millennium, Hindu society threatened to go under. Islam was in the ascendant from the advent of the Arabs in Sind (712 A.D.) to the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire at the death of Aurangazeb (1707 A.D.). Until after the final discomfiture of Alamgir it was not certain that India was not to be *Dar-ul-Islam*. But the Medieval Age in India closed with the certainty that this ancient land was to belong equally to both peoples and faiths, Muslim no less than Hindu.

'The impact of these two cultures has created Modern India and its problems. The agrgessive European never fully triumphed over purely Islamic countries. No one entirely succeeded in submerging India so long as she remained exclusively Hindu. It will not be unwarrantable, therefore, to attribute the subjection of India to her loss of homogeneity. The prime factor in our altered national composition has been the almost unassimilable racial and religious element introduced by Islam. The history of this impact is to us, therefore, of more than mere scholastic interest....

'Except in India, whenever Muhammadans succeeded in establishing themselves, they transformed society and culture beyond recognition. Islam simply came, saw, and conquered. Hindu India was both weak, divided and decadent. And yet, after centuries of continuous fighting, India could not be equally submerged. Paradoxical as it might seem, therefore, India on the eve of the Muslim invasions was both weak and unconquerable. She was politically most vulnerable, but culturally all but impregnable.'[2]

142. Political Conquests:

The first Muslim conqueror of India was Imād-ud-din Muhammad (ibn Kāsim). He was an Arab and was acting as the agent of the governor of Irāq who was himself under the Caliph of Baghdad. He subdued Sind in 712 A.D. and the Arabs continued to hold it for a little over a century and a half (to 871 A.D.). But impermanent as this conquest proved, so far as the Arabs were concerned, Sind has remained ever since a predominantly Muslim province. The next Muhammadan invader was the Turkish Mahmud of Ghazni who raided India seventeen times (1001—25), despoiled the great Hindu temples of Nagarkot, Thānesar, Mathura, Brindāvan, Kanouj, and Somnath, and earned for himself the title of Idol-breaker:

2. S. R. Sharma, *The Crescent in India*, pp. 1-2.

The mighty Mahamud, the Victorious Lord,
That all the misbelieving and black Horde
Of Fears and Sorrows that infest the soul
Scatters and slays with his enchanted Sword.

Mahmud is also remembered for his association with the great scholar Al-Biruni and the great Persian poet Firdausi. The former was learned in astronomy, mathematics, chronology, mathematical geography, physics, chemistry, and minerology, and his great work on India is described as 'a magic island of quiet impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples.' Firdausi was the author of the greatest of Persian epics, the *Shah-namah*.

We have not the space here to recount, except very briefly, the rest of Muslim history in India, nor is more necessary for our purposes. Another Muhammad followed. He defeated and killed the famous Prithvi Raj Chauhan, and also paved the way for the foundation of the Slave 'dynasty.' The greatest of these were Iltutmish and Balban and a queen (rare in Muslim history), Razia. Then came the Khaljis of whom the most notable was Allauddin (1296—1316). Under him Muslim arms reached the farthest corners of India. Though extremely tyrannical, he was also a reformer. He tried to control the markets and prices as well as the consumption of liquor. The next dynasty was that of the Tughlaks of whom the remarkable and quixotic Muhammad (1325—51) is well known for his currency experiments and changing his capital from Delhi to Deogiri with disastrous consequences. "He was perfect in the humanities of his day," writes a historian, "a master of style, supremely eloquent in an age of rhetoric, a philosopher, trained in logic and Greek metaphysics, with whom scholars feared to argue, a mathematician and a lover of science." At the same time, according to the contemporary witness Ibn Battuta,

'This king of all men is the one who most loves to dispense gifts and to shed blood. His gateway is never free from a beggar whom he has relieved and a corpse which he has slain. Tales are spread abroad among the people of his generosity and courage, as of his bloodshed and vindictiveness towards offenders. With all this he is the humblest of men and the most eager to show justice and truth. The rites of religion find full observance with him, and he is strict in the matter of prayer and in punishing its neglect. But what is pre-eminent in him is his generosity.....when there was such

famine in India that a maund of corn cost six dinars (3 guineas), he ordered six months' food to be distributed to all the inhabitants of Delhi from the crown stores. Each person, great or small, free or slave, was to have a pound and a half Morocco weight (about 2 lbs.) a day.'

The combination of bounty and cruelty indicated here was more or less typical of the Muslim Sultans. Except in rare cases, as with Zain-ul-Abideen of Kashmir (1417-67), the Hindus were invidiously treated. They had to pay the *jiziya* or poll-tax and were not allowed to practise their religion freely and openly. But the tendency on the whole was to soften the edge of difference between the conquerors and the conquered.

143. Cultural Assimilation:

Culturally, the two communities after centuries of conflict learnt much from each other. Hindu converts to Islam inevitably tended to modify its practice, if not its faith also. While the appearance of reforming saints like Nanak (1469—1539) and Kabir (1440—1518) served to purge Hinduism of its idolatry and exclusiveness. The spirit of compromise is well reflected in the following lines from Kabir:—

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong?
If Rām be within the image, then who is there to know what happens without?
Hari is in the East; Allah is in the West. Look within your own heart, for there you will find both Karim and Rām.
All the men and women of the world are His living forms.
Kabir is the child of Allah and Rām; He is my guru; He is my pir.
Vain too are the distinctions of caste.
All shades of colour are but broken arcs of light.
All varieties in human nature are but fragments of Humanity.
The right to approach God is not the monopoly of Brāhmans, but belongs to all who are sincere of heart.

144. Hindu India:

Hindu India on the eve of the Muslim invasions was a congeries of warring states, like the Paramars of Malwa, the Pratiharas of Kanouj, the Palas of Bengal, the Solankis of

Gujarat, the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, the Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas of South India etc. Though we have necessarily to skip over these and many others, we may note a few salient facts about them. North India under the Pratiharas (c. 700—1000 A.D.) and South India under the Cholas (c. 900—1100 A.D.) were about the only two Hindu powers that came very near to achieving anything like imperial unity. But even this was of an accidental and precarious nature, being dependent upon personalities like Mihira Bhoja, Nāgabhata, Rājarāja, and Rājendra. However, within their limited spheres, each kingdom maintained peace, fostered literature and industry, and practised religious toleration of a unique character. Jains, Buddhists, Brāhmanical and other Hindus lived for the most part amicably with one another irrespective of the faith of the rulers. The prosperity was so great at one time that it stimulated enterprise and carried both Hindus and Buddhists into distant lands like Burma, Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. There a Greater India was created as we have noticed before. Pagan, Pegu, Cambodia, Srivijaya, Angkor, and Madjapahit proclaimed to the world the glories of colonial India. The last named of these kingdoms was extinguished only as late as the close of the fifteenth century. Then it was swallowed up by the growing Muslim state of Malacca. But in their heyday the Hindus of Greater India had successfully resisted the incursions of the Mongols under Kublai Khan. They had also carried on great building activities (e.g. Borobudur and Angkor Vat) and trade with India, China, the Philippine Islands, etc. At home also medieval Hinduism expressed itself luxuriantly in temple architecture. 'The Mārtānd Sun temple of Kashmir, the Khajurāho Vishnu temple of Central India, the rich Jaina temples of Mt. Abu, and the famous Saiva and Vaishnava temples of South India, particularly those built by the Cholas of Tanjore, the Pandyas of Madura, and the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra (Halēbīd and Belūr in Mysore), may be cited as examples. Mahmūd of Ghazni who destroyed the glorious temple of Somnath was struck with a sense of beauty by the shrines of Mathura and Kanouj though his zeal for Islam did not permit his sparing them through admiration. The Kailāsa temple of Ellura, excavated under Krishna I Rāshtrakūta, still evokes the admiration of the world. Princes and peasants had lavished their best gifts on these creations for generations before their fatal endowments attracted the heavy hammers of the greedy iconoclasts. Little did pious and self-complacent India of a thousand years ago dream that its princes and gods would alike prove important against the race

of more realistic foreigners.'[3]

145. Ideas and Institutions:

Life in the Medieval times was cast in the same mould more or less all over the world. There were more villages than towns as compared with the modern world. Men lived more by agriculture than by any other form of industry. Such industries as existed were in the form of handicrafts. Production was more for subsistence than for sale in distant markets. This, however, provided ample scope for artistic expression and individuality of creation. In an organised form there were guilds in the East no less than in the West. An additional peculiarity of Indian life was the caste-system. There were not only professional guilds in India, but they hardened into professional castes. Nevertheless, these institutions, together with the joint-family and village communities, preserved civilisation and culture in the absence of a stable central political authority. These institutions together discharged the triple functions of the modern insurance companies, technical schools and co-operative societies. The temples, too, performed an important function in the life of the community, together with the mosques since the advent of Islam. Superstition and sectarianism were, no doubt, rampant; but there were also nobler and higher trends in the religious and intellectual life of Medieval India. The great Shankaracharya who promulgated the doctrine of monistic Vedanta in the eighth century was later followed by dualistic teachers like Madhava and Ramanuja. There was also the more popular Bhakti or Bhagavata movement represented by Mirabai in Rajputana, Chaitanya in Bengal, and Tukaram in Maharashtra. The *Bhagavad-Gita* was translated into the vernacular by Dnanadeva in the thirteenth century, and Tulsidas wrote his *Ramacharita-manas* in the 16th century. In the secular field, romantic works like the *Prithviraj Raso* of Chand Bardai represented Rajput chivalry. Feudalism of the type developed in Europe did not manifest itself in India as a whole, perhaps, with the exception of Rajputana; even there the tie was tribal rather than feudal in the strict sense of the term. Arts, crafts, and learning were fostered by petty princes, on the one hand, and by village communities, on the other, enriching the Medieval life and culture.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 21-22.

POINTS FOR STUDY

125. Comparison between the Political histories of Asia and Europe during Medieval times.

126. Comparison between the Papacy and Caliphate.

127. Contrast between the results of Islamic conquests in and outside India.

128. Ideas and Institutions of Hindu India.

129. Ideas and Institutions of Islam.

130. Hindu-Muslim cultural assimilation.

THE MEDIEVAL EAST
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
712-871 A.D.	Sind	Imad-ud-din bin Casim	Arab occupation of Sind.
1001 A.D. 1296-1316 A.D. 1325-51 A.D. 1417-67 A.D.	Punjab Delhi Delhi Kashmir	Mahmud of Ghazni Al beruni Ala-ud-din Khalji Muhamad bin Tughlaq Zain-ul Abideen	Turkish conquest of India: impact of two cultures. Evolution of Liberal policy under the Sultans.
700-1000 A.D. 900-1100 A.D.	North India South India	Pratiharas Cholas	Stem the tide of Islam. Hegemony over S. India.
1155-1227 A.D. 1252-92 A.D. 1260-95 A.D.	Mongolia China	Chengiz Khan Kublai Khan Marco Polo (Venetian)	Greatest Asian conqueror. Lord of Asia. Travelled through the various countries of Asia.

1369-1405 A.D.	India-Turkey "Middle East"	Timur	"Scourge of God". Ottoman Turks settled.
1300 A.D.	Constantinople		Capture of Constantinople: interruption of European trade.
1453 A.D.		Muhamad II	
1520-66 A.D.	Constantinople	Suleiman the Great	Conquests as far as Vienna.
1526 A.D.	India	Babur	Conquest of India by Mughals.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE AGE OF EXPANSION

146. Broadening Horizons.
147. Pioneers of Discovery.
148. Intellectual Developments.
149. Giants of the Renaissance.
150. Art and Architecture.

> In the fifteenth century the great inventions, the geographical discoveries, the extension of commerce, the growth of capital, the rise of the middle class, the revival of learning, the growth of great dynastic states, destroyed the ideals of poverty, chastity and obedience.
>
> —W. G. SUMNER

146. Broadening Horizons:

The period of transition from the Medieval to the Modern times is often referred to by historians as the *Renaissance* or *Renascence*. But this term, which signifies "re-birth", is rather misleading and inadequate to convey to us a full impression of the many-sided changes that took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in Western Europe. It may be more truly described as the Age of Expansion, geographical, commercial, social, intellectual, artistic, and moral. It was not so much or merely a *re-birth* of learning which is usually implied, but an all-round awakening and broadening of the human horizons. The Europeans, who were destined to revolutionise the whole world, felt during these centuries a fresh impulse of life which set their feet on new ground that bore ere long a harvest of unexpected fruit. If the world in which we live today is very different from what it was during the ages described in the preceding chapters of this book, it is largely because of what happened in this Age of Expansion.

The birth of Islam in the seventh century and its westward movement introduced new elements into European civilisation. Though the Moors and Saracens were regarded as the enemies of Christendom they proved to be the saviours and preservers of the Græco-Roman culture. Aristotle, for instance, who was the most widely read ancient writer in the medieval world, was available for long only in Latin transla-

tions derived, not from the original Greek, but from Arabic. The Moorish universities of Cordoba and Toledo became the sources of inspiration to the Christian universities of later times. When these centres of learning and cultural influence were extinguished in the West, the Crusades kept up the contact with the East. While the Europeans hated the Muslims, particularly Turks, they profited both from their culture and trade. Indeed, they valued these so much that when their highways of commerce with the East were blocked by the Turks, the Europeans desperately sought other channels of communication with the Orient. Like a pent up stream bursting over a dam Europe, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, was bubbling with an overabundance of energy that was to find expression in a variety of forms which we shall study in the course of this chapter. The most remarkable outward feature of this energy was the spirit of adventure and geographical exploration.

Before Marco Polo (1260-95) advertised the Orient among the Europeans their knowledge of the outside world was very limited. Indeed, that was the case with most people in times when the means of communication were very difficult, both by land and sea. Moreover, the needs of all people were so few and simple that they rarely felt the necessity of looking far around. Even if any desired to travel widely such roads as existed were so beset with dangers that few would take the risk. Wars were frequent, robbers were rampant on land routes and pirates infested the seas. Yet, thanks to the enterprising spirit of traders, and the intercourse stimulated by the Mongolian invasions and the Crusades, even in the Middle Ages there existed a flourishing commerce between Europe and Asia. But the principal carriers of this trade were the Muslims and the routes lay through Muslim countries. When the hostile Turks prevented the Europeans from using these ancient routes, fresh ways had to be discovered. "The needs of commerce," as Professor Webster has observed, "largely account for early exploring voyages. Eastern spices—cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and ginger—were used more freely in medieval times than now, when people lived on salt during the winter and salt fish during lent. Even wine, ale, and medicines had a seasoning of spices. Besides spices, all kinds of precious stones, drugs, perfumes, gums, dyes, and fragrant woods came from the East."

147. Pioneers of Discovery:

The pioneers of enterprise in the discovery of the new routes to the East were the Portuguese and the Spaniards.

For want of space we have to be content here with a bare summary of the most important facts connected with them. The Chinese had long ago discovered the use of the magnetised needle to determine the directions on uncharted seats. But for the resulting mariner's compass, geographical exploration on a vast scale, such as that of the fifteenth and the following centuries, would have been difficult. Another helpful factor was the increasing acceptance of the hypothesis about the sphericity of the earth, believed in since the days of Ptolemy, which suggested the possibility of circumnavigation. Under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator (Dom Henriques) of Portugal, a beginning was made in the exploration of the west coast of Africa southwards. It culminated in the discovery of the Cape route to India. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern extremity of Africa in 1487 and significantly christened it the Cape of Good Hope. Before ten years had elapsed after this, Vasco da Gama started on his famous voyage which brought him to Calicut in 1498. When he returned to Lisbon he carried with him a cargo worth sixty times the cost of his expedition, and was rewarded by the King of Portugal with the title of 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, and India.' Java and the Moluccas were reached by the Portuguese in 1512.

But the most surprising discovery of the age, however, was that of America by Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci after whom the continent has taken its name. The former, a Genoese adventurer, reached the West Indies in 1492, starting on a voyage intended to reach the East by the shortest route! The globe prepared by the German geographer, Martin Behaim, in 1940, had shown Cipango (Japan) just where Columbus landed, little suspecting the intruding obstacle of America. Amerigo sailed after 1497, but was lucky enough to have his name immortalised by a German map-maker. Columbus made four voyages in all (1492, 1493, 1498, and 1503) to the 'Indies' only to die in Spain a discredited, dishonoured, and disappointed man.

These western discoveries were made under Spanish auspices. Christopher Columbus was patronised by Queen Isabella of Castile. Balboa beheld the Pacific Ocean across Panama in 1513, and the Portuguese Magellan, in the service of Spain, passed into the Pacific (so called by Magellan on account of its calm in contrast to the Atlantic) through the Strait named after him, in 1519, and reached the Philippine Islands where unfortunately he was killed. But three years after the expedition had started, only one (*Victoria*) out of the five

ships that had set out under Magellan, reached Seville harbour, returning *via* the Cape of Good Hope. This is the first recorded circumnavigation of the earth. Others followed in the wake of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, but we have no space to describe them. The pioneers claimed a monopoly of exploitation of the new lands discovered by them, the reactions of which we shall describe in a later chapter. A Papal Bull confirmed their respective claims in 1493: an imaginary line was drawn by Pope Alexander VI through the Atlantic, 300 miles west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, the East being the share of the Portuguese and the West of the Spaniards. The Demarcation Line was shifted in 1494, 800 miles farther to the west, so that, in 1500, when Brazil was discovered by the Portuguese it was found to lie within their purview.

Mexico and Peru were conquered respectively by Cortez and Pizarro in 1519-21 and 1531-32. They were both adventurers who were prone to practise every type of villainy, "ignorant, fanatical, lustful of blood and gold," as Professor Hearnshaw has described them. Mexico and Peru were both seats of an ancient civilisation "which seems to have had many affinities with the so-called 'heliolithic' civilisation which prevailed in the Mediterranean world some thousand years B.C." The opportunity, writes Professor Hearnshaw, was unique to gain an insight into ideas and institutions widely divergent from those of Christendom, but it was forever lost; for the savage invaders thought only to plunder, slay and destroy.[1] One incident may be cited for illustration. Through treachery Pizarro made Atahualpa, the Inca leader, captive, and demanded for his ransom a room full of gold 'as high as he could reach.' The demand was fulfilled, but not the promise. Pizarro took both Atahualpa's gold and life. The Incas of Peru were far advanced in civilisation. The great cities of their empire were filled with splendid palaces and temples, and throughout their country there were magnificent works of public utility, such as roads, bridges, and aqueducts. Their government was a mild paternal autocracy. Their Spanish conquerors robbed and reduced them to abject slavery when they were not ruthlessly exterminated to make room for Negro slaves imported from Africa.[2]

1. A *First Book of World History*, p. 149.

2. Read "The Lost Treasures of Mexico and Peru" and "South America's Marvels in Masonry" in *Wonders of the Past*, I pp. 411-12 and 585-99.

148. Intellectual Developments:

From this tale of discovery and conquest we shall now turn to the more interesting intellectual developments of the age. "The widening of the physical horizon," as one writer has observed, "brought a corresponding extension of the intellectual horizon." The initial impulse for it likewise came from the East. The Turkish occupation of South-Eastern Europe had driven the Greeks westwards to 'Magna-Graecia' or South Italy. The fall of Constantinople brought in its train a large band of Greek refugees to Rome and the other Italian cities. Among these were not a few scholars who brought with them many valuable manuscripts of the Greek classics. This naturally evoked interest in the ancient Hellenic literature and culture among the Italians. That interest soon developed into a wider movement known as *Humanism*. It was so described because throughout the Middle Ages the best of the intellectuals had concentrated their energies on theological studies, whereas the new learning was centred round subjects of "human" interest. From this point of view Dante's *Divina Commedia* (noticed earlier), though it has been called the "Epic of Medievalism" was also a forerunner of the new movement in literature. Petrarch (1304-74) was even a greater representative of this humanism. In fact he is considered the greatest of humanists. "To understand Petrarch is to understand the Renaissance. He was the first scholar of the mediaeval time who fully realized and appreciated the supreme excellence and beauty of the classical literature and its value as a means of culture. His enthusiasm for the ancient writers was a sort of worship."[3] His most distinguished disciple was Boccaccio (1313-75), the inspirer of Chaucer in England. Among the most prominent promoters of the New Learning were the famous Medici (Cosimo and Lorenzo) of Florence, and the Popes, Nicholos V (1447-55), Julius II (1503-13) and Leo X (1513-21). Under the latter Rome became a brilliant centre of Renaissance of art and learning. When Constantinople fell they said, "Greece has not fallen, she has migrated to Italy." The enthusiasm for culture and learning shown by the scholars of the Renaissance, the wonderful experience and achievements of the discoverers, and, finally, the intellectual freedom gained in the reformation struggle (Professors Keatinge and Frazer have observed), resulted in such an outburst of genius in the sixteenth century as the history of the world has rarely equalled. Every country of Europe made some contribution

3. Myers, *General History*, p. 477.

to the glorious output. Science and literature alike yielded master creations of the human mind.[4]

We have already mentioned some of the forerunners of this great awakening: Albertus Magnus (1206-80), Thomas Aquinas (1226-74), and Roger Bacon (1214-94). The spirit and outlook of the age are well reflected in the following passage from the last named scholar's *Opus Maius*:

"There are two modes in which we acquire knowledge, *argument* and *experiment*. Argument shuts up the question, and makes us shut it up too, but it gives no proof, nor does it remove doubt and cause the mind to rest in the conscious possession of truth, unless the truth is discovered by way of experience, *e.g.*, if any man who had seen fire were to prove by satisfactory argument that fire burns and destroys things, the hearer's mind would not rest satisfied, nor would it avoid fire; until by putting his hand or some combustible thing into it, he proved by actual experiment what the argument laid down; but after the experiment had been made, his mind receives certainty, and rests in the possession of truth which could not be given by argument, but only by experience."

Roger Bacon, as Westaway says, stands out for all time as the successful *pioneer of experimental investigation*. In the succeeding centuries (1301-1600) there were creative geniuses in every walk of life. The spirit of Roger Bacon and Columbus was abroad, and the enlightenment of Dante (1265-1321) and Petrarch (1304-74) appeared to inspire everybody. The versatility of Michael Angelo (1475-1564) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) is admired even to-day. Copernicus the Pole (1473-1543), Tycho Brahe the Dane (1546-1601), Kepler the German (1571-1630), and Galileo the Italian (1564-1642,—all astronomers of the greatest repute, extended the vision of humanity to worlds beyond the terrestrial. The invention or introduction of printing with moveable types (first used by the Chinese) had even more momentous consequences than that of the mariner's compass. Professor Will Durant has rightly described this as the greatest invention, after writing, in the history of our race.[5] The pioneers in Europe in this direction were Cuttenberg (Germany) and Caxton (England). The Chinese had discovered the art of manufacturing paper out of silk; the Arabs and Europeans substituted linen for this. The simultaneous contrivance of the two (printing and paper)

4. *Introduction to World History*, p. 277.

5. Read further details in *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 727-31; and for an account of scientific progress, Westaway, *The Endless Quest*, pp.102 ff.

proved as useful as the combination of the steam engine and coal two centuries later. They resulted in a wonderful dissemination and extension of the New Learning.

In the realm of literature the Italian Ariosto (1474-1533) and Machiavelli (1469-1527), the Frenchmen Rabelais (1490-1553) and Montaigne (1533-1592), the Spanish Cervantes (1547-1616), and the English Spenser (1552-99), Shakespeare (1564-1616), and Francis Bacon (1560-1626), may be taken as representative writers. Ariosto was a romantic poet, and in his *Orlando Furioso* he says.

> Of ladies and of knights, of arms and love,
> Of courtesy and of brave deeds I sing.

He inspired Spenser, Shakespeare, and the other Elizabethan poets in England. Machiavelli, the author of *The Prince* and *The Art of War,* was a politician devoid of any moral sense. His name has become proverbial for "Realpolitik" or unscrupulous statecraft. Francis Bacon admiringly said: "We are much beholden to Machiavelli and others that wrote what men do and not what men ought to do." Cæsar Borgia (1476-1507), natural son of Pope Alexander VI, was the embodiment of Machiavelli's ideal *Prince*: In the words of Mr. H. G. Wells:

"Cæsar was a youth of spirit even for the times in which he lived; he had early caused his elder brother to be murdered, and also the husband of his sister Lucrezia. He had, indeed, betrayed and murdered a number of people. With his father's assistance he had become duke of a wide area of Central Italy when Machiavelli visited him. He had shown little or no military ability, but considerable dexterity and administrative power. His magnificence was of the most temporary sort. When presently his father died, it collapsed like a pricked bladder. Its unsoundness was not evident to Machiavelli. Our chief interest in Cæsar Borgia is that he realized Machiavelli's highest ideals of a superb and successful prince."[6]

149. Giants of the Renaissance:

John Drinkwater has said, in his *The Outline of Literature,* that "The Frenchman Rabelais, the Spaniard Cervantes, and the Englishman Shakespeare, are without question the three giants of the Renaissance." Since the last of these is too well-known, only the first two need a word of introduction. It is said of Rabelais that his writing "seems to belong to the morning of the world, a time of mirth and a time of expectation."

6. *The Outline of History,* p. 781.

Montaigne was a great essayist and humanitarian. "The greatest thing of the world," he declared, "is for a man to know how to be his own." In one of his essays he quotes an old sailor, who said: "O God, Thou wilt save me, if it be Thy will, and if Thou choosest, Thou wilt destroy me; but, however it be, I will always hold my rudder straight." That, says Drinkwater, is Montaigne. Both Rabelais and Montaigne represented the Renaissance in France.

Cervantes was the author of *Don Quixote,* which is spoken of as "the most beautiful and wonderful gift of the Renaissance to the literature of the world," apart from the plays of Shakespeare. In it the author presents to us the brilliant pageant of Spanish society in the sixteenth century, but that pageant is also of humanity and belongs to all time, like the creations of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Dickens.

Francis Bacon was the typical product of his age: 'the greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind.' Like Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, he was versatile. He was a statesman, lawyer, wit, philosopher and man of letters; "and in each of these several capacities he won a pre-eminent place." It is said that although many others could rival him in the mere acquisition of knowledge, "none since Aristotle had so succeeded in impressing the whole with his own mental stamp, and in inspiring a new campaign against ignorance and disorder." His *Essays* are still the most popular of all his works. In one of them Bacon says.

"There are three means to fortify belief. The first, is experience; the second, reason; the third, authority; and that of these which is far the most potent is authority; for belief upon reason or upon experience will stagger."

The greatest imaginative work of the Renaissance period was Sir Thomas More's *Utopia.* In that age of discovery, romances, poetry, and new ideals the Renaissance dreamer, 'weary of old abuses, and longing for a more rational and more kindly society,' created this unique work, first published in 1516. More was far ahead of his times, for he "not only denounced the ordinary vices of power, but evinced an enlightenment of sentiment which went far beyond the most statesmanlike ideas to be found among his contemporaries, pronouncing not merely for toleration, but rising even to the philosophic conception of the indifference of religious creed." We shall make a survey of the religious outlook of the age in the next chapter. But before that we must briefly notice the progress in Art.

150. Art and Architecture:

An age of such expanding horizons and boundless creative energies was bound to express itself in enduring forms of art. With the growth of wealth and the spread of enlightenment came also the desire for better architecture and better æsthetic surroundings. Medieval towns and buildings had been built more for security than for the satisfaction of any artistic ideas. Thus the manorial house was a castle and even the churches and monasteries conformed to the heavier types of Roman architecture. But now there was a demand for grace and ventilation, and Gothic took the place of the Romanesque. Lancet-shaped windows and arches were constructed instead of the rounded windows and wide round arches on massive round pillars; tall slender spires were built in place of the massive domes and bell-capitals. St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's in London and St. Mark's and the Doge's Palace in Venice, may be cited as the most interesting creations of this period. In the last named, 'all influences built themselves in marble: the Greek and Oriental columns, Roman and Gothic arches, Oriental domes, Moorish ornament and colour, all combined into a new beauty neither Gothic, Classic, nor Oriental, but Venetian, a beauty rich in detail and daring in cosmopolitan combination.'

As in architecture so in painting the Renaissance made its own contributions. The gifted Van Eyek brothers, Hubert and Jan (c. 1380-1440), began a new style in Holland; their work was fresh, bright and delightful. A kindred spirit was found in Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) of Nuremburg and Hans Holbein (1497-1533) in Germany. But the greatest masters of all were in Italy. They were Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) who painted his masterpiece (*Last Supper*) on the wall of a convent in Milan; Raphael (1483-1520), 'the best beloved of artists', whose *Madonnas* are counted among the world's treasures; Michael Angelo (1475-1564) with his wonderful frescoes (e.g. the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel at Rome); and Titian (1477-1576), the Venetian master, 'celebrated for his portraits which have preserved for us in the flesh and blood, so to speak, many of the most noteworthy personages of his time.' The change in artistic traditions brought about by all these Renaissance artists is well summed up by Philip Van Ness Myers in the following words:

"The earlier Italian painters drew their subjects chiefly from Christian sources. They literally covered the walls of the churches, palaces, and civic buildings of Italy with pictorial representations of all the ideas and

imaginings of the mediaeval ages respecting death, the judgment, heaven and hell. The later artists, more under the influence of the classical revival, mingled freely Pagan and Christian subjects and motives, and thus became truer representatives than their predecessors of the Renaissance movement, one important issue of which was to be the blending of Pagan and Christian culture."[7]

POINTS FOR STUDY

131. Factors contributing to expanding horizons.

132. Outstanding Explorers and the importance of their discoveries.

133. Intellectual Outlook of the Renaissance.

134. The Birth of Modern Science.

135. Literary achievements of the Renaissance.

136. Characteristics of Renaissance Art.

7. General History, p. 484.

CHAPTER XIX

THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE

151. Causes of the Reformation.
152. Wycliffe "the morning star".
153. Points of Dispute.
154. Erasmus and Luther.
155. Birth of Protestantism.
156. Catholics v. Protestants.
157. The Counter-Reformation.

Paganism and Catholicism, which, in the fifteenth century, might have shared their supremacy, have ever since been kept apart by the solid wedge driven by Protestantism into the spiritual and intellectual life of Europe.

—David Ogg

151. Causes of the Reformation:

The Reformation in Europe was one of the most important results of the intellectual ferment which we witnessed in the previous chapter. The all-sided changes that were coming over the lives and minds of people were bound to affect their religious views as well. In particular, the new discoveries and astronomical observations were opposed to the Biblical ideas of the universe, and the Renaissance stimulated people to rely more on actual experience rather than on authority. The Church, which had served European society so well in the past, was rooted in Faith and founded on authority. Hence, in the wake of new ideas and outlooks, it was faced with a formidable force which appeared to be stronger than even the barbarians it had converted and tamed. It had not merely survived all persecutions at the hands of the old pagans, but derived considerable power out of its struggles. In the course of the Dark Ages it had become the one rallying centre of civilisation, and the home and nursery of arts, industry, and learning. The Crusades had been fought under its ægis and inspiration; and even Emperors had been reduced to penitence and submission by its omnipotence. But now a new enlightenment was spreading, which, drawing its inspiration from classical paganism, threatened to undermine the very foundations

of the Christian Church. Out of this turmoil and conflict, between the Old and the New, was to be born a new Europe,—the maker of the modern world.

The Church had grown so rich and become so unwieldy that some of the weaknesses which had brought the great Roman Empire into the dust also began to manifest themselves in its life. Unrestrained authority, though exercised in the name of God, inevitably led to corruption, and this could not stand the light of the new day that was dawning over Europe since the thirteenth century A.D. Just as the Roman Empire had first split up into two divisions and then into several kingdoms, the Universal Church was also to be divided into, not only the Eastern and the Western Churches, but into innumerable heretical sects as well. Some of the earlier heresies were born out of theological differences, but during the age under review they arose out of the corrupt practices and vices of Church dignitaries. Hence, we find that many of the new attacks against the Church were led by some of the most learned and well-meaning among Churchmen themselves, who were anxious to *reform* the existing Church rather than found new churches. We shall illustrate this movement by reference to some of its outstanding leaders without entering into controversial theological discussions.

152. Wycliffe "the morning star":

The first of these was John Wycliffe, a teacher at Oxford. Born about 1320, he came into prominence after 1366. Pope Urban V demanded that England should pay the tribute promised by King John (of *Magna Carta* fame), during his submission and humiliation. Wycliffe led the agitation against this demand and tried to establish that John's agreement was void and not binding upon the English people. This soon developed into a general attack upon the Pope and the interference of a foreign Church which had become the butt of much criticism. One of the good things Wycliffe did was to have the Bible translated into English. By this he earned the name of "father of English prose" as no good English prose works existed before his time. His followers, called the "simple priests," were denounced as the Lollards and charged with inciting discontent which led to disorders known as the Peasants' Revolt. Wycliffe himself was excommunicated by the Pope, and he died in 1483. He is remembered as the first distinguished scholar and reformer to repudiate the supremacy of the Pope and such practices of the Church as called forth the more violent attacks of Luther a hundred and fifty years later in Germany.

153. Points at Dispute:

The See of St. Peter had come into disrepute owing to the evil life of some who filled that high office. With the emergence of strong monarchies out of the feudal chaos, the old quarrel between Church and State, we noticed in an earlier chapter, reappeared in a more acute form. The Church had amassed great wealth. Who was to appoint its officials? Were the Church lands to be taxed like ordinary estates or not? By whom and in what courts were offenders connected with the Church to be tried and punished? Were they to be subject to Canon (Church) Law or the Common Law of the land? Had the Pope any right to interfere with the monarchs and their subjects? These were some of the questions about which opposite views were held by the Church and secular authorities. A quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, King of France, regarding such matters led to very serious conesquences.

In 1296, Boniface issued a Bull (order) known as *Clericis laicos,* forbidding the clergy and monks to pay, without his consent, any revenue out of Church property to any king or ruler. He also threatened rulers who should presume to exact such tribute with excommunication. The King of France, Philip the Fair, took up the challenge by bearding the lion in his own den. Finally, in 1305, he got a Pope of his own choice ("Clement V") appointed. These servile Popes continued to be proclaimed until 1377 at Avignon on the border of France.[1] Ultimately, this led to rival Popes being ordained in France and Italy, both claiming to be sole head of the Church. In 1409 a great council was called to Pisa to settle the dispute. Both the rivals at Avignon and Rome were declared deposed and a new Pope was proclaimed. But this only increased the number of Popes to *three* in place of two! The *Great Schism* was not "healed" until the memorable Council of Constance, which met in 1414 and continued its sessions till 1427. Its two great achievements were the burning of Huss (a Bohemian follower of Wycliffe) as a heretic and the appointment of Pope Martin V who displaced all the others.

154. Erasmus and Luther:

Another great critic of the decadent Church was the Dutch scholar Erasmus (c. 1469—1536). He was a very learned man

1. This is known as the "Babylonian Captivity" as it recalled the memory of the Jewish patriarchs taken to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar.

and keenly desired to improve the religious conditions in the countries of Western Europe. Though born in Holland he spent much of his life in France, England, Italy, and Germany. As a boy he had been forced into a monastery, much against his will, but he lived to be an earnest monk, greatly interested in Greek and Latin authors, as well as in religious reform. "The essence of our religion," he said, "is peace and harmony. These can only exist where there are few dogmas and each individual is left to form his own opinion upon many matters." He wrote a book entitled *"The Praise of Folly"* in which he fearlessly ridiculed the corrupt practices and weaknesses of the monks and theologians. The effect of its publication was so great that people said that 'the jokes of Erasmus did the Pope more harm than even the anger of Luther.' However, his intention was not to ridicule, but only to reform.

But by far the most influential among the reformers of this age was Martin Luther (1483—1546). He was an Augustinian friar and professor at Wittenberg. When he first entered the monastic life he was full of enthusiasm for the Church. "Now," he said, "I felt born again, and it seemed to me as though heaven's gates stood full open before me, and I was joyfully entering therein." But when he visited Rome he was staggered with disillusionment. The Pope had sunk to the level of the Italian princes; and the clergy showed no more piety or morality than the neo-pagan humanists of the Renaissance. 'They struggled to recover and enlarge the papal states; they sought to secure principalities and heiresses for their nephews, who were not infrequently their sons; they entered into alliances and waged wars, sometimes themselves donning armour and leading their troops, they patronised the scholars and arists of the new era, and smiled at their open assaults on the Christian religion and their flagrant immoralities; they rebuilt and beautified Rome, using for the purpose the contributions of the faithful of all lands.' The earnest and devout soul of Luther revolted against this, and especially at the abuse and sale of "Indulgences"—a sordid device for exploiting the faithful and enriching the churchmen. Consequently, he denounced the "pietism" of sinners who were not "justified by faith." "If the Pope," he cried out, "released souls from purgatory for money, why not for charity's sake?" and "Since the Pope is rich as Crœsus, why does he not build St. Peter's with his own money, instead of taking that of the poor man?"

In 1506 Pope Julius II had commenced the reconstruction of the magnificent church of St. Peter, in Rome, at enormous

expenditure. The work had been entrusted to the most famous of contemporary artists and architets—Michæl Angelo, Raphael; and Bramante. Hence, the collection of necessary funds, principally through the sale of *Indulgences,* was vigorously pushed forward. Luther openly protested against this campaign and published his objections in the form of ninety-five *theses* nailed to the door of the church at Wittenberg (1517). When the excited people of Germany supported this "protestant" monk, the Pope excommunicated Luther (1520) and the Emperor Charles V banned him (1521). These orders were publicly burned by Luther and his exasperated followers. Thus was Protestantism born in Germany out of the embers of the widespread discontent in Western Europe. When Luther consigned the Papal Bull to the fire he cried out: "Because thou dost trouble the Holy One of the Lord, may eternal fire consume thee!" This incantation was soon to set Europe ablaze with the fires of religious conflict.

155. Birth of Protestantism:

Luther was summoned for trial before the imperial Diet (Council) at Worms, but he would not repent or retract: "Unless I am convinced of error by the testimony of Scripture or by manifest evidence," he firmly declared, "I cannot and will not retract." The Emperor Charles V, who presided, then pronounced his verdict:

"What my forefathers established at the Council of Constance and at other councils it is my privilege to uphold. A single monk, led astray by private judgment, has set himself against the faith held by Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up till now have erred. I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, and my life and soul. After Luther's stiff-necked reply in my presence yesterday I now repent that I have so long delayed proceedings against him and his false doctrines. I have now resolved never again, under any circumstances, to hear him."

This was virtually a declaration of war on the heretics, though Luther never contemplated any attacks on the 'doctrines' of the faith. When the peasants rose in revolt, ostensibly in his support, but really on account of insupportable economic burdens, he denounced the rebels, saying: "I think that all peasants should perish rather than the princes and magistrates, because the peasants have taken up the sword without divine authority. The peasants are under the ban of God and of the Emperor and may be treated as mad dogs."

At the Diet of Spier (Speyer), in 1526, it was laid down that each ruler should 'so live, reign, and conduct himself as he would be willing to answer before God and His Imperial Majesty.' When another Diet at the same place tried to reverse the decree, in 1529, on account of growing extremism among the critics of the Church, the princes (of Saxony, Hasse, Strassburg, etc.) *protested* against interference with their religious freedom. Hence, they were called *Protestants.* They put their demands in a famous document known as the *Augsburg Confession.* This divided Germany and Europe into two opposing camps, the Protestants being mostly the followers of Luther. "German Protestantism," as Professor Hearnshaw has observed, "was the revolt of the Teuton against Latin domination; the rebellion of the lay-mind against clerical authority; the resentment of the frugal maker of wealth at unscrupulous spoliation; the rising of the free intellect against inquisitorial repression; the resurgence of the individual against the restrictive community; above all the reaction of a moral people against a practice—the sale of Indulgences—which easily lent itself to the most scandalous abuses."[2]

156. Catholics vs. Protestants:

So far as Germany was concerned a sort of religious settlement was arrived at in the "Peace of Augsburg" in 1555. By it, 'each German prince and each town and knight, immediately under the Emperor, was to be at liberty to make a choice between the beliefs of the venerable Catholic Church and those embodied in the Augsberg Confession. If, however, an ecclesiastical prince—an archbishop, bishop, or abbot—declared himself a Protestant, he must surrender his possessions to the Church. Every German was either to conform to the religious practices of his particular state or emigrate from it. Every one was supposed to be either a Catholic or a Lutheran, and no provision was made for any other belief.' *Cujus regio ejus religio*: the religion of the ruler was to be the faith of the state.

"For at least a century after Luther's death," writes Professor Robinson, "the great issue between Catholics and Protestants dominates the history of all the countries with which we have to do, except Italy and Spain, where Protestantism never took permanent root. In Switzerland, England, France, and Holland the revolt against the Medieval Church produced discord, wars, and profound changes, which must be under-

2. *A First Book of World History*, p. 152.

stood in order to follow the later development of these countries."[3]

Zwingli (1484-1531) was the leader of this movement in Switzerland, and Calvin (1509-64) in France. The former was a liberal-minded humanist and scholar of Zurich. He lived in the monastery of Einsiedeln, where pilgrims gathered from all parts on account of a 'wonder-working image.' "Here," says Zwingli, "I began to preach the Gospel of Christ in 1516, before any one in my locality had so much as heard the name of Luther." He paid for this with his life; for he fell fighting at Kappel, in 1531, in the course of a religious war. Unlike Luther, Zwingli had not to create public opinion but only to direct it. A willing press gave wide publicity to his views about the Church as a "republic of believers," and denouncing the doctrines of purgatory, invocation of saints, clerical celibacy, fasts, pilgrimages, and transubstantiation. Even the civic authorities rendered him assistance. But the defeat of the Zwinglians at Kappel gave the palm of leadership to Geneva instead of Zurich.

John Calvin was a Frenchman who had studied his Classics in Paris, and Law at Bourges and Orleans. In spirit he was the most combative nd uncompromising of all the reformers. Mr. David Ogg writes: "What Lenin was to the monarchist regime in Russia, such was Calvin to the empire of Catholicism in Western Europe: in both men there was the same absolute consistency of purpose and the same refusal to deviate by a hair's breadth from the path indicated by an imperious logic: in both there was the same indefinable and almost hypnotic power by which their followers were alternately fascinated and perturbed."[4] Calvin taught predestination and followed the stoic ideal in life. "Men are not all born equal," he said, "for some are preordained to eternal life, some to eternal damnation." In spite of this gloomy doctrine, Calvin exercised a wholesome influence upon the semi-paganised society around him. He subjected his followers to a stern moral discipline, and Calvinism, with its headquarters at Geneva, "has been associated with the most progressive and enterprising peoples of modern times." Calvin entrusted the management of Church affairs to *presbyters* or elders, from whom is derived the term "Presbyterian." Both France and Scotland were much influenced by this reformer.

In France the Reformation had already made inroads in

3. *The Ordeal of Civilization*, p. 305.
4. *The Reformation*, p. 41.

the shape of heretical sects like the Waldenses.[5] Despite persecutions and massacres, particularly under Henry II (1547-59), the number of Protestants had increased. By the direction of Calvin, (1555-64) a vigorous reformist church was brought into existence in France. The inevitable result was a dreary period of Wars of Religion which lasted from 1559-1598. Under the Guises a regime of intrigue, treason, and terrorism was established. These were the days of the persecutions of the Huguenots—St. Bartholomew's Day (1572)—and the French Protestant alliance with England. The tide turned, as the reader might know, with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588: in the following year the Guises were assassinated, and the Huguenots found a capable leader in Henry of Navarre, who succeeded to the French throne. By the famous Edict of Nantes (1598) the Huguenots, for the time being, secured religious toleration.

In Scotland the leader of the new movement was John Knox (1505-72), a disciple of Calvin. He was an avowed enemy of 'popery and idolatry,' and the *Kirk* (church) which he established held sway for over three centuries. Migrating into Ireland, together with the English Protestants, the Scotch Calvinists helped to create there the problem of Ulster.

Of English Protestantism, which is more familiar to the reader, we need say very little here. The ground had no doubt been prepared by Wycliffe, "the morning star of the Reformation." Erasmus too had lived in England for a long time, and Tyndale had again translated the *Bible* into English before he was burnt as a heretic in Flanders. But the course of the Reformation in England, it is well-known, was determined by Henry VIII's disgust towards his first wife Catharine, and his love for Anne Boleyn. For this, he summoned the Reformation Parliament (1529-36), abolished appeals to the Papal court, confirmed the divorce, and proclaimed by statute that the King of England 'justly is, and ought to be, the Supreme head of the Church of England.' The Reformation in England was more political than religious to begin with. Henry had won the title of Defender of the Faith (which is still borne by His Majesty) by his defence of the Catholic Church against the Lutheran attacks. He also burnt Anabaptists and Lutherans at the stake as heretics. But, at the same time, it is not to be forgotten that he also executed Papalists like Sir Thomas More (author of *Utopia*) and Bishop Fisher, and despoiled and abolished monasteries, for the sake

5. From Peter Waldo who sought guidance from the reformers of Germany and Switzerland.

of their riches. Under his successors, England staggered from the Protestant extremism of Edward VI and Somerset to the Catholic extremism of Mary, until she finally settled down to the stabler compromise of the English Church under Elizabeth. The only common feature between all these was the burning of 'heretics.' We have a glimpse of the mind of Tudor England in the following order for the execution of Bishop Hooper:—

"Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bishop of Rochester and Gloucester, by due order of the laws ecclesiastic, condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in that case provided; for asmuch as in those cities, and the diocese thereof, he has in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there, we have therefore given order that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of such as he has there seduced and mistaught, and because he hath done most harm there....And forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a vainglorious person, and delighted in his tongue, and, having liberty, may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them, our pleasure is, therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly and in silence, for eschewing of further infection and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. Wherefore fail not, as ye tender our pleasure."

157. The Counter-Reformation:

To save itself from the surging tide of Protestantism the Roman Catholic Church adopted various measures which had very far-reaching consequences. This is often described as the "Counter-Reformation." The most distinguished workers in this attempt to set the Catholic house in order were the Jesuits, members of a glorious Order—the Society of Jesus—founded by the Spaniard, St. Ignatius Loyola (1493-1556). The Pope, Paul III, approving of "this army of Jesus Christ," described the Society as one

"founded for the especial purpose of providing for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the

propagation of the faith through public preaching and the ministry of the word of God, spiritual exercises and deeds of charity, and in particular through the training of the young and ignorant in Christianity and through the spiritual consolation of the faithful of Christ in hearing confessions."

As Mr. Wells has pointed out in his *Outline of History*, "It was the Order of the Jesuits which carried Christianity to China again after the downfall of the Ming dynasty, and Jesuits were the chief Christian missionaries in India and North America. To their civilizing work among the Indians in South America we shall presently allude. But their main achievement lay in raising the standard of Catholic education. Their schools became and remained for a long time the best schools in Christendom. Says Lord Verulam (Sir Francis Bacon): 'As for the pedagogic part....consult the schools of the Jesuits, for nothing better has been put in practice.' They raised the level of intelligence, they quickened the conscience of all Catholic Europe, they stimulated Protestant Europe to competitive educational effort."

The other great agency in the uplift of the Catholic cause was the Council of Trent which worked from 1545 to 1563. Its efforts were directed towards (1) defining the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and defending the same against the objections raised by the Protestants; (2) succinctly and explicitly declaring accursed the various heretical beliefs; and (3) abolishing the various abuses that had crept into the Church, and enforcing a more rigid discipline among the clergy and monks.

The Index and the Inquisition represented two other aspects of the Counter-Reformation. By the former the Popes sought to ban heretical literature and by the latter heretical lives. The two proscriptions together showed how far Europe was from religious toleration despite the enlightenment of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

POINTS FOR STUDY

137. Connexion between Renaissance and Reformation.
138. Leaders of the Reformation: reformers and rebels.
139. Main issues involved.
140. Comparison between Protestantism and Buddhism.
141. Religious wars and persecutions.
142. Character of the Counter-Reformation.

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION IN EUROPE
(Oustanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
1453 A.D.	Constantinople		Taken by Turks.
1487 A.D.	Cape of Good Hope	Barthelomew Diaz	Rounded the cape.
1492 A.D.	West Indies	Columbus	Discovers America.
1498 A.D.	Calicut	Vasco da Gama	Cape route to India.
1512 A.D.	Java and Moluccas		Reached by Portuguese.
1519 A.D.	Strait of Magellan	Magellan	Discovered.
1519-21 A.D.	Mexico	Cortez	Conquest.
1531-32 A.D.	Peru	Pizarro	Conquest.
1214-94 A.D.	England	Roger Bacon	Father of Science.
1304-74 A.D.	Florence	Petrarch	Great humanist.
1313-75 A.D.		Boccaccio	Author of *Decameron*.
1475-1564 A.D.		Michael Angelo	Artist.
1452-1519 A.D.		Leonardo da Vinci	Scholar.
1473-1543 A.D.	Poland	Coparnicus	Astronomer.
1546-1601 A.D.	Denmark	Tycho Brahe	Astronomer.
1564-1642 A.D.	Italy	Galileo	Astronomer.
1571-1630 A.D.	German	Kepler	Astronomer.
1469-1527 A.D.	Italy	Machiavelli	Political philosopher.

1547-1616 A.D.	Spain	Cervantes	Great writer.
1552-99 A.D.	England	Spenser	Poet.
1564-1616 A.D.	England	Shakespeare	Dramatist.
1560-1626 A.D.	England	Francis Bacon	Essayist.
1516 A.D.	England	Thomas More	Author of *Utopia*.
1320-1384 A.D.	England	John Wycliffe	Morning Star of Reformation.
1414-27 A.D.		Huss (burnt alive)	Council of Constance.
1469-1536 A.D.	Holland	Erasmus	Critic of Church.
1483-1546 A.D.	German	Martin Luther	Founder of Protestantism.
1484-1531 A.D.	Switzerland	Zwingli	Reformers.
1509-64 A.D.	France	Calvin	Wars of Religion.
1559-98 A.D.	France		St. Barthelomew's
1572 A.D.	France		Day: Huguenot persecutions.
1505-72 A.D.	Scotland	John Knox	Reformer.
1529-36 A.D.	England		Reformation Parliament.

CHAPTER XX

THE SPELL OF MONARCHY

158. The Institution of Monarchy.
159. Monarchy in England.
160. The Hundred Years' War.
161. The Age of the Tudors.
162. Monarchy in France.
163. The Age of Louis XIV.
164. The Hapsburgs.
165. Enlightened Despots.
166. Mughal Rule in India.

> It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do;....so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a King cannot do this or that. —JAMES I STUART

158. The Institution of Monarchy:

The religious struggle in Europe which we traced in the last chapter was brought to a close by the Thirty Years' War which terminated with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Though religious intolerance continued in the countries of Europe for a long time after this, the middle of the seventeenth century constituted a turning point in history, since the main interest of people thereafter was centred in matters other than religious.

The unity of Christendom had long been lost: Europe was no longer united either in religion or in politics. Out of the disruption of the Roman Empire, as we have seen, had emerged a new order. At first there was the chaos of the Dark Age. The successors of Charlemagne and Otto the Great having failed to hold Europe together, it was left to the Pope and the Church to provide the only bonds of union possible in the Middle Ages. But with the Renaissance Europe came to be once again divided, and this division was to be permanent. Hence we might truly begin the history of Modern Europe, that is, Europe as we know her to-day, with the close of the Reformation. However, to understand some of its outstanding

features we have very often to refer back; *for History is continuous.*

One powerful link with the Past is found in the institution of Monarchy. Monarchy is almost as ancient as authentic history. We have witnessed it in Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, India, China, Greece, and Rome. The Church and Monarchy contended in Europe for the complete control of the masses all through the medieval times. The Popes were ambitious to wield political no less than religious sovereignty, while the monarchs too sought to command the consciences as well as the secular lives of their subjects. The Reformation brought to the monarchs of Europe a considerable accession of strength, even as the use of gun-powder had placed a powerful weapon in their hands. It was ultimately through their agency, not through the conservative channels of the Church that Europe emerged out of the medieval into modern times. Though monarchy came to be later discredited it played an important part in helping forward the progress of human civilisations in all countries. In this chapter we shall trace its fortunes and vicissitudes, from its early beginnings to its grand culmination, in England, France, Austria, Spain, Germany, Russia, and India, with a view to assessing the nature of its contributions to human history.

159. Monarchy in England:

England, on account of her insular position, developed faster and outgrew the need for monarchical rule earlier than most other countries. Her earliest king to whom we need refer here was Alfred the Great (871-901 A.D.). His memory is still cherished among the greatest of that country. He is rightly regarded as the creator and saviour of England and figures well in history as well as literature.[1] An inscription on his statue at Wantage beautifully sums up his great qualities and services thus:

'Alfred found learning dead, and restored it. Education neglected, and he revived it. The laws powerless, and he gave them force. The Church debased, and he raised it. The land ravaged by a fearful enemy, from which he delivered it. Alfred's name will live as long as mankind shall repeat the past.'

Next after Alfred the most memorable monarch of England was William the Conqueror (1066-87). Though a Norman, and ruler as much of Normandy as of England (after his

1. Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King.*

victory over Harold at Senlac or Hastings, 1066), he left a permanent mark over English history and institutions. He gave England a strong government, curbed the evils of feudalism by the Salisbury Oath, effected the valuable and interesting Domesday Survey, and, despite the Pope's support to his English invasion, emphatically refused to do homage for his kingdom. Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII) accepted the refusal without much protest as he could not afford to quarrel with all princes at once. His hands were already full with the dispute with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, as we have already seen.

Further consolidation of the English monarchy took place under William's great-grandson Henry II (1154-89). Being the son of Count Geoffrey of Anjou,[2] and having married Eleanor of Aquitaine, he became ruler of vast dominions in France as well. His chief achievements were the repression of feudal anarchy and the organisation of order and justice. It was unfortunate that his attempts at centralisation of royal authority should have resulted in the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury; for it postponed the subordination of the Church to secular control which was finally achieved only by Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy (1534). Nevertheless, the work of Henry II culminated in making his fifth son, John (1199-1216), so powerful that his tyranny initiated a new trend in English history. Its first fruit was the famous *Magna Carta* (1215), the first of a series of great charters on which the edifice of English liberty rests. Before this was wrung from John by the English barons, the English king was an autocrat unparalleled in his authority in Christendom for six hundred years since Charlemagne. "The Magna Carta," says Professor Adams, "closes one epoch of English constitutional history and begins another."[3] The principal interest of British history since the Great Charter lies in the growth of Parliament.[4] But here we are more concerned with the fortunes of the English monarchy, which was to have its fullest development under the Tudors, and its decline and fall under their successors.

Edward I (1272-1307) was the next great ruler of England. He has been called "the English Justinian" on account of the great improvements he effected in the laws of England.

2. Son-in-law of Henry I (son of William the Conqueror).

3. G. B. Adams, *The Constitutional History of England*, p. 144.

4. The "expansion of England" geographically is a parallel interest which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

He set himself to reduce the powers of both the barons and the Church and considerably succeeded in doing it. He also conquered Wales. Simon de Montfort's *Model Parliament* met (1295) during his reign. He laid the foundations of *Lombard Street* by allowing Italian bankers to settle down in London. The craft guilds too prospered under his wise regulation and patronage. But most of his good work was undone by a series of disastrous wars which his ambitions had provoked. The attempt to conquer Scotland led on to entanglements with France which, under Edward III (1327-77), resulted in beginning the Hundred Years' War (1338-1453).

160. The Hundred Years' War:

We have already alluded to the French possessions of the English kings. Even when these were reduced by the losses suffered by John "Lackland," what remained was still an eyesore to the French monarchs. Hence they provoked hostilities by helping the Scots. But, even otherwise, Edward III lacked no *casus belli*. He put forward a preposterous claim to the throne of France. Edward was a "Jingo" who, in the words of Mr. Somerwell,[5] "determined to paint as much of the map red as he possibly could;" for, to him, England was "more delightful and more profitable than all other lands." So Crecy and Poitiers were fought, and the centres of civilisation were duly impressed: Petrach, the Italian humanist, declared, "In my youth, the Britons, whom we call Angles or English, were esteemed the most timid of the barbarians, inferior to the wretched Scots. Now they are the most warlike of peoples. They have overturned the ancient military glory of the French." As all the fighting took place on French soil, the devastation in that country was great and widespread. Again, says Petrarch: "Nothing presented itself to my eyes but fearful solitude and extreme poverty, uncultivated land and houses in ruins. Even about Paris there were everywhere signs of fire and destruction. The streets were deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds."

In 1348 the Black Death appeared. It affected France, England, Germany, and parts of Italy. This pestilence not merely carried away nearly one half of the population of England, but also caused great distress among the survivors. The resulting scarcity of labour led to a bitter struggle between landlords and workers culminating in the Peasants' Revolt (1381). But the war with France dragged on intermittently. Henry V (1413-22) had less reason but more enthusiasm for

5. D. C. Somervell, *A History of England*, p. 31.

its prosecution. He began with the siege of Harfleur and soon won the celebrated victory of Agincourt (1415). "No battle was ever more fatal to France." Other triumphs followed, but it was a short-lived glory. Henry V was succeeded by his only son Henry VI (1422-61). Without the capacity of his father this prince nevertheless pursued his ambitions in France. The most celebrated event of this *dénouement* of the Hundred Years' War was the heroic episode of Joan of Arc, the maid who saved Orleans (1429), and got the Daulphin crowned at Rheims, but was the next year caught by the English and burnt by them as a witch. "We are lost—we have burnt a saint," declared an English soldier who witnessed the burning. He was really prophetic of the fate of the English in France. They were expelled from Normandy in 1450, and three years later from all but Calais.

161. The Age of the Tudors:

The Wars of the Roses followed in the wake of the French wars. They were fought between two rival families, the Houses of Lancaster and York, for the throne of England (1455-85). This civil struggle was the "swan song" of feudalism in England. It brought that country under the Grand Monarchy of the Tudors (1485-1603). They ruled despotically and yet retained their popularity. For want of space we must treat of the epoch as a whole and not the rulers individually. It was a glorious age both for England and the rest of Europe, though "other men laboured, and the English entered into their labours."

Henry VII, founder of the family, restored order at home, forged dynastic links with other ruling families, and negotiated commercial treaties. Henry VIII, the much marrried monarch, plundered monasteries for the spiritual health of England, made England independent of Rome without tampering with its doctrines, and tried to hold the "balance of power" in Europe in his own favour. In the next two reigns—of Edward VI and Mary—England violently swung between Geneva and Rome and lit 'such candles as should never be easily put out,' until she got inebriated with the glory of the good Queen Bess.

> Now these her princes are come again,
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue.
> If England to itself do rest but true.

Though Calais, the last foothold of England in France, had been lost by Mary, Elizabeth more than restored English pres-

tige among continental powers by winning the "English Salamis"—i.e., the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588). It was 'both a victory for Protestantism in Europe, and a sign that the mastery of the seas was passing from the Mediterranean to the northern people.' "Yet," observes Professor Flenley, "the spirit of the Elizabethan age is to be found not only in the daring exploits of its sea-dogs, or in the charm of the Elizabethan manor-houses whose appearance testified to the growth of wealth and comfort, but also in the music of the Elizabethan madrigal composers, and, above all, in Elizabethan poetry and prose."[6] It was the age of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bacon. We must now turn to the Grand Monarchy on the continent of Europe. But here we can touch only the peak-points in the dynastic histories of the various countries. Nor should more be necessary for illustrating this well-known phenomenon.

162. Monarchy in France:

French history, as distinct from that of the Western Franks, began only with the accession of Hugh Capet (968 A.D.) whose dynasty continued to rule France until it was replaced by the House of Valois in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Even during that period the Capetians shared their dominion with the English, as the Angevin Empire in France lasted from 1154-1204. Besides, the country was rent by feudal strife until the accession of Louis VI (1108-37), the fifth monarch of the line, who at least partially got the situation in hand. Henry II of England had possessed more of French territory than the French monarch, but under John (of England) and Philippe II (of France) the position was completely changed. England lost all except Guienne and the Channel Islands; and, in 1216, Louis, the son of Philippe, landed on English soil by invitation of the English barons, to displace John. Philippe (1180-1223) was the main founder of the French monarchy.

In keeping with the trend of the times, Louis IX (Saint Louis) of France (1226-70) sounded the first signal of revolt, against the Papacy, though he himself, after a vigorous reign, died at Carthage while on a Crusade (the 7th). He left the French monarchy on a new and independent basis. The tendency reached its climax under Philippe IV who, in 1301, refused to admit the Pope's claim to temporal authority. He went to the extent of burning the Papal Bull and even seizing the person of the Pope himself. Then commenced the famous

6. *World History*, p. 446.

"Babylonish Captivity" (1378-1417) already referred to in the previous chapter.

The Hundred Years' War with England began under the House of Valois. Its results have already been commented upon. France gradually recovered while England was plunged in the Wars of the Roses. "The strong and subtle reign of Louis XI (1461-1488) settled much of the internal difficulty with the unruly dukes, especially the proud Duke of Burgundy, and France was presently able to look towards the East. Under his successor, Charles VIII, began the 'Italian Wars' (1494-1559) of France with the Hapsburgs, who had meantime succeeded to the imperial throne."[7]

We have before referred to the rise of Calvinism, the persecution of the French Huguenots, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. These events took place during the regime of the House of Valois-Orleans (1498-1589). The accession of the Bourbon Henry of Navarre brought some relief to the persecuted Protestants of France by the Edict of Nantes (1598), though his Catholic subjects obliged him to consider that 'Paris was worth a Mass.' Henry IV ruled wisely and well from 1589 to 1610 under the advice of his worthy minister Sully. Sully set to work to re-establish the kingly power, which had suffered greatly under the last three rulers of the Valois family. He reduced the great burden of debt which had weighed upon the country, laid out new roads and canals, and encouraged agriculture. He also applied himself to the task of dismissing useless noblemen and officers who were mere parasites. But this, combined with religious fanaticism, brought about his assassination in 1610.

Cardinal Richelieu, one of the most famous ministers of France, carried on the administration (1624-42) for Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, during the momentous years of the Thirty Years' War. He did more than anybody else to rouse the national ambitions of his country and set France on the ruinous policy of self-aggrandisement. He declared war against Catholic Spain in 1635, after having formed a formidable alliance with the chief enemies of the House of Austria who were all heretical Protestants. But France gained the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine as a result of this policy, though their acquisition meant the sowing of the Dragon's teeth. "The military exploits of the French generals, especially Turenne and Condé, during the opening years of Louis XIV (1643-1715),

7. Russell, *The Tradition of the Roman Empire*, pp. 22-3.

showed that a new period had begun in which the military and political supremacy of Spain was to give way to that France."[8]

163. The Age of Louis XIV:

Louis XIV was, indeed, the proto-type of Grand Monarchy. He supplied the model which was copied by all later rulers, each according to his genius and capacity. Cardinal Mazarin served his early years (to 1661) even as Richelieu did under his predecessor. Every circumstance, whether internal or external, was made to serve the interests of the Grand Monarchy. At home the power of the nobility was broken down, and France came out of the Thirty Years' War in Europe with enlarged territories and increased importance. When Louis XIV came of age he carried forward the work so well begun by his great minister. 'By his incessant wars he kept Europe in turmoil for over half a century. The distinguished generals who led his newly organised troops, and the wily diplomats who arranged his alliances and negotiated his treaties, made France feared and respected by even the most powerful of the other European states.' He successfully followed the doctrine of kingship which his Stuart contemporaries pompously set forth at their peril. *La etat c'est moi* (I am the State), though attributed to LouisXIV without sufficient historical basis, truly represents his actual faith. His prevailing occupation, in the words of H. G. Wells, was *splendour*. He built a new palace-city for himself at Versailles where developed all the luxurious arts.

"Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of 'gentlemen' in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing canes; and still more wonderful 'ladies,' under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate."

Louis XIV also decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientists. Boileau laid down the canons of style; Corneille gave French drama its rhetorical and classical form; and Racine, its final perfection and polish. The popular Moliére (1622-73) wrote his incomparable comedies, and La Fontaine his simple and satirical fables on the foibles of society. Voltaire called the age of Louis XIV "the

8. Robinson *The Ordeal of Civilization*, p. 344.

most enlightened age the world has ever seen;" it gave to French culture a stamp and prestige which were to survive the loss of French political ascendancy, and even the downfall of Grand Monarchy itself.

But there was also another side to this picture. Louis XIV revived religious intolerance in France by his revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Great numbers of his most sober and industrious subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them. "Under his rule," writes Wells, "were carried out the 'dragonnades,' a peculiarly malignant and effectual form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their woman-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire." The worst legacy of Louis XIV was, however, a legacy of wars; ruinous to France and ruinous to Europe and the world, though immediately it looked like success.

His reign opened with the French acquisition of Alsace, as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which ended the Thirty Years' War. It tempted him to more ambitious endeavours. Though these raised against him formidable combinations like the Triple and Quadruple Alliances, Louis was not deterred. He seized Franche Comté, Strassburg; and Luzemburg. His religious policy raised against him the League of Augsburg, and the War for the Palatinate ended in the Peace of Ryswick (1697) by which he was obliged to acknowledge the Protestant succession (1688) in England, and to restore to Spain and Austria many of his recent gains. His last war was the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) in which he had to fight the Grand Alliance formed by Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Portugal, and Savoy. It ended with the Peace of Utrecht which, though it left a Bourbon candidate (Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV) on the throne of Spain, marked also the humiliation of France on every other side. "The Peace of Utrecht, like that of Westphalia, marks a phase not merely in the imperial rivalry of Austria and France, but in the history of Europe as a whole."

164. The Hapsburgs:

The histories of Spain, Austria and Germany are linked up together on account of their rulers. As yet, nations as we know them to-day had not appeared, and the fortunes of countries were determined by their ruling dynasties. Dynastic wars, dynastic alliances, and dynastic marriages settled the fate of peoples before the rise of national states and demo-

cracies. Hence the importance of the Bourbons, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns etc. We must, therefore, now speak of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern families, having written something already about the Bourbons.

The real founder of Hapsburg greatness was the Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1514) of Austria. By inheritance, marriage, and conquest, he extended his dominions so much that his grandson Charles V (1519-56) owned territories in Austria, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, besides the overseas possessions of Spain. Charles V was the contemporary of Henry VIII of England and of Francis I of France. From Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain he inherited Spain and their overseas dominions in 1516; from Maximilian he got Austria and all the imperial dominions in 1519, though for these latter he had to vastly outbid his rival Francis I of France. For the Imperial throne was subject to election and the candidates had to expend millions in order to purchase the votes. Then a contest ensued between Francis and Charles for certain possessions in which Henry VIII astutely tried to hold the balance. In 1544 all the three disappointed men retired from the struggle having squandered away the resources of their respective countries.

After the death of Charles V the Hapsburg line was divided into two branches: the Spanish branch continued to rule until 1700 when, as we saw, a grandson of Louis XIV (Bourbon) succeeded to the Spanish throne; and the Austrian branch held the Imperial sceptere until its extinction in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. Already the so-called Holy Roman Empire had ceased to be either Holy, Roman, or Empire. Only a few notable events in the history of the two Hapsburg branches may be recorded here.

It was under Philip II of Spain (Charles V's successor) that the Armada was defeated by the English. It was under the same Philip II also that the Dutch were exasperated with the religious persecutions of the Inquisition and compelled to break off into a republic under the leadership of their heroic Stadtholder, William the Silent, Prince of Orange (1533-84). Though he was assassinated before the struggle ended .he was the real founder of the Dutch Republic. King William of Orange, who was called to the throne of England in 1688, was his great-great-grandson.

165. Enlightened Despots:

In the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs the last of the great rulers were the famous Maria Theresa (1740-65) and her

son Joseph II (1765-1809). Under the former the Austrian dominions included Austria, Moravia, Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia, Styria, Carinthia, the Tyrol, Belgium, and Milan. Though Frederick of Prussia presently seized Silesia, Maria Theresa had compensation in the acquisition of a part of Poland. Her son, Joseph II, was ambitious to build up a homogeneous state out of the welter of nationalities (Slav, Magyar, German, Italian, and Flemish) on the basis of his enlightened despotism. At the commencement of his reign he declared, "I have made Philosophy the legislator of my Empire. Her logical principles shall transform Austria." But in spite of his earnestness he died a disappointed monarch, proposing for his tomb in Vienna the unenviable epitaph: *'Here lies Joseph who failed in all that he attempted.'* He failed because he was an idealist far in advance of his country. The more realistic rulers of Russia and Prussia were more fortunate than Joseph II.

Peter the Great of Russia (1682-1725) and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-86) were both Enlightened Despots like Joseph II of Austria. All of them tried to aggrandise their countries, as well as their dynasties, after the fashion of Louis XIV of France. In doing so they laid the foundations of their national greatness and menace, which we shall follow up in a later chapter. But before we close our survey of Monarchy we will have a glimpse of its Asiatic replica, *viz.* the Mughal Empire in India.

166. Mughal Rule in India:

This Empire, as readers know, was founded by Babur (a descendant of Timur and Chengiz Khan) as the result of his great victory at Panipat (1526) over Ibrahim Lodi, ruler of Delhi. Babur's descendants occupied the throne of Delhi until the great Mutiny in 1857. But their rule was effective over the greater part of India only till the death of Bahadur Shah I (1712). Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah were contemporaries of Louis XIV, even as the earlier Mughal Emperors were the contemporaries of the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns of England. Akbar died two years after Queen Elizabeth (1605). The Mughal Grand Monarchy was, however, at its best only from Akbar to Auragzeb (1557-1707), a period of hundred and fifty years. But that was a period which does not compare ill with the splendours of the Grand Monarchy in Europe. In some respects it was certainly more enlightened than its European contemporaries. We do not find Akbar's religious toleration paralleled anywhere in the Europe of his days, nor his zeal for social reform until long after. Jehangir tried to abolish drink

and Akbar *sati*, while, for the most part, all the Mughals tried to follow the statesmanlike ideals laid down by Sher Shah, the great Afghan administrator, who laid the foundations of the system which was improved upon by his Mughal successors: 'Justice,' declared Sher Shah, 'is the most excellent of religious rites, and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and of the faithful.' He also realised that 'the cultivators are the source of prosperity,' and that 'if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them.' In the field of architecture and art the Mughals achieved marvels which are appreciated by all even to this day. 'As I have said elsewhere, 'The Empire of the Mughals has vanished forever, but their personality endures in a thousand forms, visible and invisible. In our dress, speech, etiquette, thought, literature, music, painting, and architecture the impress of the Mughal is ever present.'[9]

The Mughals, of course, shared in the autocracy and vices of the Grand Monarchy of Europe no less than its splendours. But as the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes wrote: "Yet they were great men, despite their failings and frailties, and when one turns from the cold catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fathpur Sikri, the supreme beauty of the Taj Mahal and the Moti Masjid, the magnificence of the Agra and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchale of France concerning some peccant members of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century; 'Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality!' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."[10]

POINTS FOR STUDY

143. The Role of Monarchy in History.
144. Services rendered by Monarchy to England.
145. Importance of the Age of the Tudors.
146. Character of the Grand Monarchy of France.
147. Hapsburg Imperialism.
148. Comparison between Grand Monarchy and Enlightened Despotism.
149. Contrast between the Religious Policy of the Mughals and that of European rulers.
150. Mughal services to India.

9. S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, p. 866.
10. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 350.

THE SPELL OF MONARCHY

(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
871-901 A.D.	England	Alfred the Great	Laws.
1066-87 A.D.		William the Conqueror	Domesday Survey.
1154-89 A.D.		Henry II	Consolidation.
		Becket	Church vs. State.
1199-1216 A.D.		John	Magna Carta.
1272-1307 A.D.		Edward I	Model Parliament.
1327-77 A.D.		Edward III	Hundred Years' War. (1338-1453)
1348 A.D.	England, France, Germany, Italy.		Black Death.
1381 A.D.			Peasants' Revolt.
1455-85 A.D.	England	Henry Tudor (VII)	
1588 A.D.		Elizabeth	Spanish Armada.
968 A.D.	France	Hugh Capet	
1108-37 A.D.		Louis VI	
1180-1223 A.D.		Philippe	Real founder.
1226-70 A.D.		Louis IX (Saint L.)	Revolt against Papacy.
1378-1417 A.D.		Philippe IV	"Babylonish captivity."
1461-1488 A.D.		Louis XI	
1498-1559 A.D.		Charles VIII	Italian Wars.

1598 A.D.		Henry IV	Edict of Nantes.
1624-42 A.D.		Cardinal Richelieu	
1643-1715 A.D.		Louis XIV	Pattern of Grand Monarchy.
1622-73 A.D.		Moliere	
1648 A.D.	Westphalia		End of Thirty Years' War.
1701-13 A.D.	Utrecht		Spanish Succession War.
1493-1514 A.D.	Austria	Maximilian I	Founder of Hapsburg imperial greatness.
1519-56 A.D.	Spain	Charles V	Empire over whole of Central & W. Europe.
1533-84 A.D.	Holland	William of Orange	Dutch Republic.
1740-65 A.D.	Austria	Maria Theresa	Austrian Succession.
1765-1809 A.D.		Joseph II	Philosopher King.
1682-1725 A.D.	Russia	Peter the Great	Founder of Modern Russia
1740-86 A.D.	Prussia	Frederick the Great	Founder of Modern Germany.
1526 A.D.	Panipat	Babur	Founder of Mughal Empire in India.
1556-1605 A.D.	Agra	Akbar	Greatest Mughal.
1627-57 A.D.		Shah Jahan	Golden Age of M.E.
1657-1707 A.D.		Aurangzeb	End of the glory.

CHAPTER XXI

FALL OF THE OLD ORDER

167. Dutch struggle for Independence.
168. English struggle for Liberty.
169. Revolution in France.
170. Overthrow of the Mughal Empire.

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways.

—TENNYSON

167. Dutch struggle for Independence:

The "Divine Right" on which the Grand Monarchy was based had become so debased that it proved to be a right (claim) to exploit the people for the selfish autocracy and luxuries of the kings. But this claim could not be sustained for long in the wake of the progress that mankind was making. Just as the autocracy and corruption of the Church had given rise to the Reformation in religious matters, so also in the political field there was soon to be a *re-formation.* The divine right of kings was to give place to the 'Divine Right of Peoples': *vox populi vox Dei,* 'the voice of the people is the voice of God' was to be the new slogan. We shall give in this chapter a few outstanding examples of how the Old Order changed, yielding place to New, and see how God fulfilled Himself in many ways in the Netherlands, in England, in France, and in India.

The Netherlands (Holland) had formed part of the Empire of Charles V, as we noted before. In the religious struggles of the Reformation period the people of that country enacted some of the most heroic episodes in all human history. Their resistance to Charles V and his successor Philips II of Spain was due both to religious and national feelings. "No two peoples could have been more opposite in character," observes one writer. "Spain quite behind the age, bigoted, superstitious, violently Catholic, cruel and aristocratic; and the Netherlands, full of life and activity, the rival of Italy in art and learning, ready to go ahead and adopt all the advanced and enlightened thought of the Reformation. In trade they had no rivals, for

they were the busiest manufacturers in the world. Their stuffs were celebrated everywhere, and their ships visited all the ports in the world. This happy, brave little people were to be crushed and persecuted for their valour."[1] It is well to point out here that, although it was a people's struggle for liberty (religious and political) on the part the Dutch, it was not the tyranny of the Spanish *people* so much as of the Spanish *Monarchy*. The heterogeneous composition of the Hapsburg dominions showed that their only bond of union was the common yoke of submission to a foreign dynasty. National, religious, and democratic liberty were all involved in the Dutch war of independence. At the end of their heroic struggle, despite the Inquisition, the Council of Blood, and all other inhumanities of the Spanish Fury (all alike characteristic of the Old Order) the *people* of the Netherlands achieved both their religious and political independence (characteristics of the New Age) when, in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which closed the Thirty Years' War, the Dutch Republic was recognised. This was the first triumph of the new forces in human history against the *ancient régime*.

168. English struggle for Liberty:

By a curious coincidence, at the same time, the English people also overthrew the Stuart autocracy in which the Tudor Grand Monarchy had culminated. This was again an happening in human history of the utmost importance. It was equally significant of the new trend in human civilisation and progress. The future was to belong to peoples rather than to princes.

Greenidge has said that the soul of Greek history is its constitutionalism. The same may be asserted about England of all modern countries. As the Reformation movement culminated in the Netherlands in the political liberation of its people, so too in England it was to get merged in its constitutional struggle. This last was England's supreme gift to the world. "While Germany boasts her Reformation and France her Revolution," says Trevelyan, "England can point to her dealings with the House of Stuart....During the seventeenth century a despotic scheme of society and government was so firmly established in Europe, that but for the course of events in England it would have been the sole successor of the medieval system."[2] But the reader will do well to remember that the movement for constitutional liberty had its beginnings very

1. A. and D. Ponsonby, *Rebels and Reformers*, p. 47.
2. G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, p. 1.

early in English history. What the Stuart century revealed was only the critical stage in a long process. The end came very much later.

We have earlier referred to the Magna Carta (1215) which may be considered as the first great landmark, though it has always ranked as the sheet-anchor of English liberty. Other charters which followed in succeeding centuries only sought to secure and extend what had already been laid down in that basic document. The barons who fought against King John for their feudal rights and privileges were really the unconscious parents of the English parliamentary system. The committee they set up to safeguard those rights and privileges developed into the "Mother of Parliaments." The two great ages in the growth of Parliamentary power, says Professor Adams, are the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries. But since the work of the earlier centuries was interrupted by the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor despotism, we might as well speak here only of the constitutional achievements of the Stuart and succeeding periods.

The Grand Monarchy of the Tudors was tolerated because it served national ends. Had the Stuarts been equally capable and patriotic the struggle might have been postponed. Or if they had been content merely to reign, and not ambitious to rule despotically by "divine right," they would not have precipitated a crisis. But they had neither tact nor patience. They interfered alike with civil and religous liberty. Meanwhile the nation—particularly the middle classes—had become prosperous enough to get restive and intolerant. As Macaulay said, "During two hundred years all the sovereigns who had ruled England, with the single exception of the unfortunate Henry VI, had been strong-minded, high-spirited, courageous, and of princely bearing. Almost all had possessed abilities above the ordinary level. It was no light thing that, on the very eve of the decisive struggle between our Kings and their Parliaments, royalty should be exhibited to the world stammering, slobbering, shedding unmanly tears, trembling at a drawn sword, and talking in the style alternately of a buffoon and a pedagogue."

James I nevertheless insisted: 'As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in a subject to dispute what a King may do. I will not be content that my power be disputed on.' So he and his son Charles I levied taxes, appointed and dismissed ministers, followed policies, and summoned or dissolved Parliaments, as it suited their arbitrary

wills. When their needs compelled them to go to Parliament for grants of money, the latter bargained for their rights and liberties which had been trampled upon by their reckless sovereigns. But Charles I, prophetically anticipating what submission to Parliamentary dictation would ultimately end in, declared: 'These being passed, we may be waited on bareheaded, the style of Majesty continued to us, and the King's authority declared by both Houses of Parliament may still be the style of your command, but as to true and real power, we should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a King.' Hence, to cut a long story short, he preferred the scaffold to the fate of the House of Windsor. Charles I was executed in 1649 as the climax of the Civil War, and England became a republic.

But this proved more a triumph of the Puritan army than a victory for the constitutional and religious liberty of the English people. It directly and immediately resulted in the tyranny of Cromwell (1649-58) which, despite Carlyle's rhapsodies, fastened up on England and Ireland a more insupportable autocracy than that of the Stuarts. His very large standing army and excellent navy, both based on taxation which absolute rule alone could levy, and which rival nations lacked, gave Cromwell and the English power (as Mr. Hilaire Belloc has pointed out)[3] an unrivalled position in Europe. He humiliated Holland, crushed and nettled Ireland and tried to convert England into a vast monastery. The result was that, no sooner than he was dead, England cried "Never again!" In the words of Mr. Somervell, "Cromwell was relegated with Guy Fawkes to the historical Chamber of Horrors, only to be rescued by Carlyle and the Victorian historians."

After the Commonwealth experiment England reverted again to monarchy. The futility of the restored Stuart régime (of Charles II and JamesII), however, showed that the English monarchy should not be its old self any longer. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 which enthroned the Dutch William III, on the Bill of Rights, transferred sovereignty from the Crown to the Whig oligarchy. "The new monarch and his successors, since they owed their throne to an Act of Parliament, were clearly devoid of any Divine Right to do what Parliament chose to consider wrong. Yet even so, it may be doubted (says Somervell) if our extraordinary system, whereby kings reign but do not govern, would have established itself if the crown had not been worn in succession by a

3. *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 4.

Dutchman, a woman, two Germans, a king who went mad, a worn-out debauchee, an eccentric, and another woman."[4]

The later history of England belongs to another chapter. Here we must refer only to one more landmark in the transition from the Old to the New. George III (1760-1820) was the Hereward the Wake of the Grand Monarchy. The last hopes of the *ancient régime* were extinguished when George III was made to realise that he could not "be a King;" that he could only *reign*, but not *rule*. The close of the eighteenth century in England demonstrated not only that the King could not carry on merely depending on his "friends", but also that no country could rule another against its will.

169. Revolution in France:

The climacteric of the Grand Monarchy in Europe was, however, the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789). In its flames was extinguished the Old Order, not merely in France but in most countries of Europe; not merely in the political field but in almost all departments of life. Despite Edmund Burke's declaration against it, the French Revolution proved the harbinger of a new and better order in the world. '*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*,' still reverberates among many countries and peoples because of its flaming example. Let us see how it came about.

The fall of the Bastille on 14th July 1789 is usually taken as the beginning of the French Revolution. On that day an infuriated Parisian mob attacked the Bastille—the Central Prison—wherein were incarcerated political offenders no less than ordinary criminals. After a violent and dramatic scene, the prisoners were liberated as indiscriminately as they had been arbitrarily locked in. This outburst would not have gained its great reputation in history but for its being the symptom of deeper causes. France had long been suffering from insupportable social and political burdens under the Grand Monarchy. The nation had been divided into two unequal classes: the rulers and the ruled; the former, a microscopic minority of hereditary nobles with the King as their patron; and the latter, the vast masses who groaned under the weight of tyranny. All power and wealth were concentrated in the hands of the upper few and the subject classes had only taxation and miserable service for their lot. All high offices, both civil and military, were the monopoly of the *noblesse* who were free from taxation. The poor people, mostly peasants, manned

4. D. C. Somervell, *A History of England*, p. 50.

the armies, paid taxes, and rendered compulsory service of a feudal character. Louis XV (1715-74), who succeeded Louis XIV, was a worse man and a worse monarch than his great-grandfather. But all the same, he indulged in all the reckless dreams and adventures of his more capable predecessor. His luxuries, vices, and wars dug deeper the grave of the Grand Monarchy, while the pampered and corrupted nobility, equally purblind, abetted all the doings of their wicked patron who helplessly but prophetically declared, *"After me the deluge!"*

The deluge came inevitably under the next ruler, the unfortunate Louis XVI (1774-92), who had to pay for the sins of his predecessors with his own life. In this he was most unlike Charles I of England who under similar circumstances had died on the scaffold. Charles Stuart was a sturdy believer in the Divine Right of Kings; Louis Capet was a well-meaning but will-less victim of circumstances. Charles was a martyr; Louis was a scapegoat. But both stood athwart the current of a nation's public interest, and both were overwhelmed. Up till then monarchs had victimised nations; thereafter nations were to victimise monarchs. The fall of the Bastille was, therefore, only a symbolic episode like Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money or the American gesture of throwing away packets of British-borne tea into Boston harbour. Once the turbulent stream burst through its dam, it followed its own course in a hundred different channels.

The root cause of the Revolution, according to Napoleon, was Vanity; but this word must be understood to comprehend all the sins of Grand Monarchy. Their net result was national bankruptcy; that is to say, the ruin of public finance. All who stood for the Old Order (King and *noblesse*) desperately sought remedies in fresh schemes of taxation of an already over-taxed people. They had been exploited to the limit of impossibility. "To raise more revenue by taxation," observes Professor Alison Phillips, "was impossible so long as the privileged orders remained exempt; and successive controllers-general of the finances were driven to the ruinous expedient of borrowing in order to cover the ordinary expenses of the State. Those who, like Turgot, tried to cure the evil at its source were broken by Court intrigues; Turgot fell in 1776, after scarce two years in office; Necker, the Swiss banker, whose supposed financial genius it was hoped would save the State, resigned in 1781 without having been able to remedy the evils which he recognized. When his successors, Calonne and Loménie de Brienne, resorted to desperate measures to raise money, they were met by the obstruction of the Parlement, which reached the zenith

of its popularity when, in 1788, it refused to register royal decrees imposing new stamp duties on the ground that the right to agree to taxation belonged to the States-General alone."[5]

That body, which corresponded to the British Parliament, had not been summoned by the Grand Monarchy for one hundred and seventy-five years. But now it was realised that the general state of the country could not be improved without the States-General or the Estates-General. So it was recalled to Versailles in 1789 with fateful consequences. Under the leadership of Mirabeau it declared itself to be the National Assembly, and drew up the Constitution of 1791. It sought to establish a unicameral legislature with wide powers over every branch of administration. Much under the influence of the English example, since the Glorious Revolution of 1688, it wanted to retain the hereditary monarchy, but make it constitutional. The *bourgeois* constitutionalists of France, like the English Whigs of a century earlier, distrusted the masses, and limited the franchise to those who paid a tax which should be equal to at least three days' wages. This excluded almost half of the citizens,—some of them peasants but most of them artisans.

The National Assembly also drew up a "Declaration of the Rights of Man" like the English Bill of Rights and the first ten amendments of the American constitution. It was a memorable document clearly laying down the principles of the French Revolution. According to it—

'All persons shall be equally eligible to all dignities, public positions and occupations, according to their abilities. No person shall be arrested or imprisoned except according to law. Anyone accused of wrongdoing shall be presumed innocent until he is adjudged guilty. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and print his opinions, including his religious views, subject only to responsibility for the abuse of this freedom. No one shall be deprived of his property, except for public purposes, and then only after indemnification.'

But, as in all countries, the Radicals were not satisfied. The monarch also miserably blundered in dealing with awkward situations which were bound to arise under such circumstances. The Queen Marie Antoinette (imperious daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria), by her feminine foibles and utter lack of imagination, alienated the

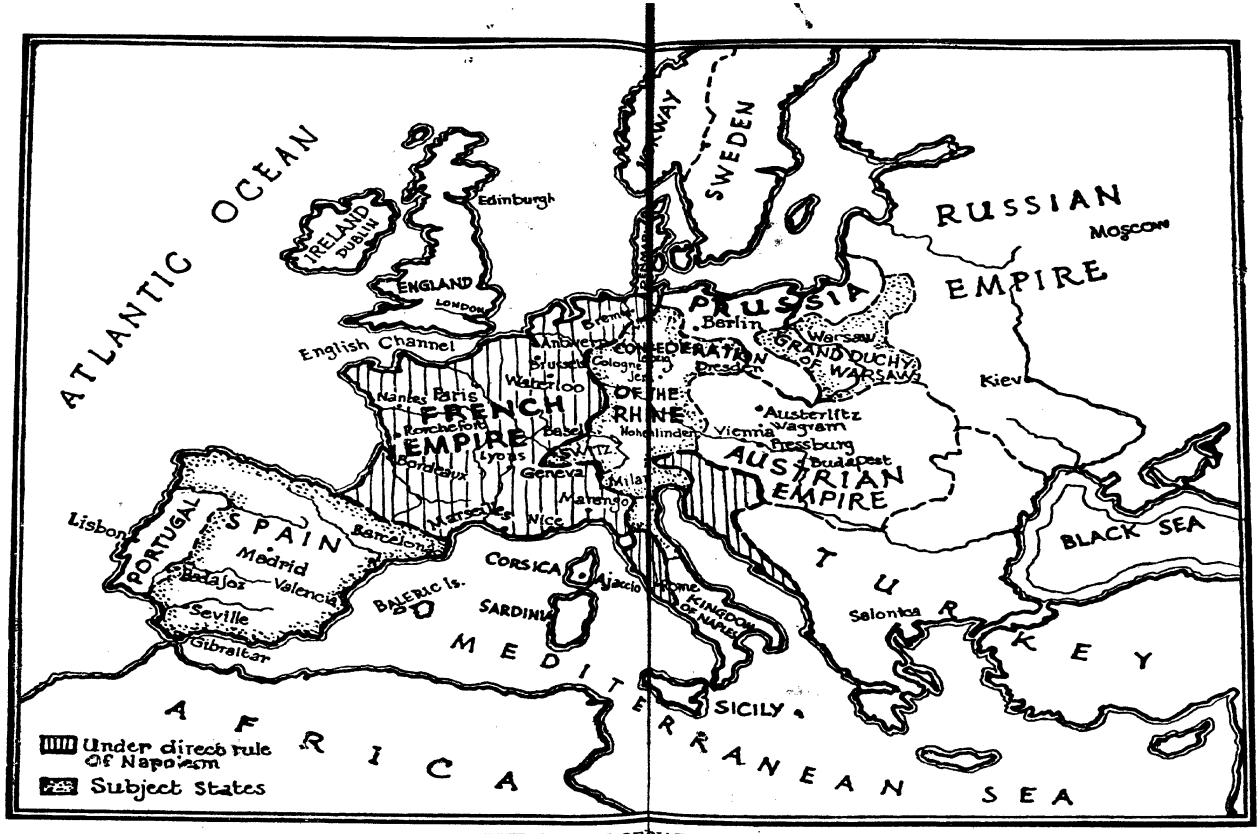
5. *The French Revolution*, p. 7.

sympathies of her subjects. An appeal to the other monarchs of Europe (Austria and Prussia) to save the Bourbon monarchy only exasperated the French people by wounding their national susceptibilities. The September Massacres, the execution of the King and Queen (1792), the Reign of Terror (1793-94) the Committee of Public Safety which made everybody's life unsafe, the Directory, and finally Napoleon, all followed as a matter of course. Meanwhile, the intoxicated French people, by challenging all established powers and princes in Europe had raised a hornet's nest about their ears. In order to meet this embarrassing situation they submitted to the yoke of Napoleon Bonaparte (1797-1815) who led them to ultimate disaster through a series of brilliant triumphs. But the Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna Settlement belong to another phase of human history, viz. the making of Modern Europe. Though Napoleon rose to his Imperial throne on the votes of the people of France, he threatened to re-establish Grand Monarchy. He created a new nobility of service, dependent and loyal; he suppressed public opinion by secret police, arrests and arbitrary confinements; journals and newspapers were censored and regulated; even the schools and churches were converted into pillars of the new despotism which was no better than that of Louis XIV, though it was also no worse.

Under Napoleon France got a strong and centralised government, consolidated the work of the Revolution, codified her laws (the *Code Napoleon*), secured social equality, and trial by jury, a national Church, the Bank of France, and great buildings, roads, canals, etc. But the "successor of Charlemagne" and the Bourbons also created a Legion of Honour, carried the Roman eagles on his military standards, and dreamed of universal sovereignty. "Supreme in France, he would also be supreme in Europe. No lasting peace was possible with such a man, unless the European nations submitted to his will. They would not submit, and as a result the Continent for more than a decade was drenched with blood."[6]

However, the Revolution in France had not been in vain. Its principles and spirit pervaded the whole of Europe and still permeate the modern World. Immediately it affected the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. Everywhere during the nineteenth century and after it stimulated demand for the abolition of the established privileges of birth, wealth and other characteristics of the *ancient régime*. "The history of the nineteenth century," as Mr. Davies writes, "is one of gra-

6. Webster, *History of Mankind*, pp. 485-6.



THE EMPIRE OF NAPOLEON

dual but very definite advance towards the sovereignty of the people, and a great deal of the progress which has been made can be traced directly or indirectly to the influence of the French Revolution."[7]

170. Overthrow of the Mughal Empire:

The Grand Monarchy was represented in India, as noticed in the last chapter, by the Mughal Emperors. Their best contributions to Indian civilisation were made during the century from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1557-1657). With the accession of the latter monarch there was already a turn in the tide. His reign of half-a-century was marked by a strong sectarian reactionarism, which was the beginning of the decline. It provoked far-reaching and equally powerful reactions in the Hindu community. Particularly under the gifted leadership of the Great Shivaji (1646-80), the Marathas—a community of peaceful peasants—were organised into an army of intrepid warriors, even as the Sikh Guru Govind Singh (1676-1708) converted (to use his own significant expression) "jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks.' Just as the political or constitutional opposition to the Stuart régime in England and the national revolt of the Dutch against Spanish domination in Europe during the same century (1648) had been reinforced by religious antagonism, so in India the religious opposition roused by Aurangzeb culminated in a national revolt against the Mughal dynasty. Even the Rajputs who had initially borne the brunt of the Muslim advance into India in the earlier centuries had been cajoled by the liberal policy of Akbar; but they were once again provoked into hostility by Aurangzeb, under the heroic leadership of Durgadas and Ajit Singh (1679-1707). Finally, this politico-religious war of the Hindus against the Muslim conquerors of India terminated in the overthrow of the Mughal Grand Monarchy which had, since the death of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah I (1712), fallen on evil days. Fratricidal wars of succession, rebellions by insubordinate governors, enervating luxuries and vices, and frequent attacks by external enemies like Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Marathas, and the English, all combined to destroy their *ancient régime*. On the other hand, the English who had successfully outrivalled the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French, opened a new chapter in Indian history when they established themselves firmly in Bengal after their victories at Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764). Indeed, the prophecy attributed to the Sikh Guru Tegh Bahadur

7. H. V. Davies, *An Outline History of the World*, p. 445.

was being fulfilled: when he was charged by Aurangzeb with peering into the imperial seraglio from his prison-cell in Delhi, the prophetic Sikh Guru is said to have declared; "I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from behind the seas to tear down the hangings and destroy the empire." Whether this story is true or false, the fall of the Old Order in India was to be brought about by the Europeans.

POINTS FOR STUDY

151. The change from Religion to Politics as the centre of interest.

152. Dual aspect of struggle: Independence from external domination; Liberty from internal tyranny. (Illustrations)

153. English Constitutionalism: main characteristics.

154. Causes and Results of the French Revolution.

155. Conditions in India that favoured: (a) Fall of the Mughal Empire; (b) Rise of the Marathas; (c) Advancement of the Europeans.

FALL OF THE OLD ORDER

(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
1648 A.D.	Holland	William of Orange	Republic recognised.
1215 A.D.	England	King John	Magna Carta.
1649 A.D.		Charles I	Executed.
1649-58 A.D.		Cromwell	Commonwealth.
1688 A.D.		William & Mary	Glorious Revolution.
1760-1820 A.D.		George III	Last stand for absolute monarchy.
1789 A.D.	France	Louis XVI	Revolution.
1789 14th July A.D.			Fall of the Bastille.
1792-94 A.D.			Reign of Terror.
1797-1815 A.D.		Napoleon Bonaparte	Dictator-Emperor.
1646-80 A.D.	India	Shivaji	Rise of Marathas.
1676-1708 A.D.		Guru Govind Singh	Sikh Revolt.
1679-1707 A.D.		Durgadas and Ajit Singh	Rajput Independence.
1757 A.D.	Plassey	Clive	English victory.
1764 A.D.	Buxar		English victory.

CHAPTER XXII

THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE

171. The end of an Epoch.
172. The Menace of France.
173. The Seven Years' War.
174. Europe against France.
175. The Rise of Prussia.
176. The Rise of Russia.
177. The Congress of Vienna.
178. Nineteenth Century Europe.

The French Revolution with its attendant wars which culminated in the Treaties of Vienna, marked the founding of a New Europe conspicuously different from that which had preceded it. —F. J. C. HEARNSHAW

171. The end of an Epoch:

Modern Europe is the product of several historical processes: religious, political, and economic. In religion we have already described the division of Europe into Catholic and Protestant, apart from the Eastern (Greek) and Western (Roman) branches of the former, and the Lutheran, Calvinist and Zwinglian divisions of the latter. Broadly speaking, the religious struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation forces—on a European scale—reached its climax in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) of which the main theatre was Central Europe. It began as a small dispute over the accession of a Spanish Roman Catholic prince to the throne of Bohemia (present Czecho-Slovakia), but soon developed into a European war in which several countries were involved. The political issue was eclipsed by religious differences, in which, Catholic Spain and Austria (united under the Hapsburgs) had to fight the Protestant combination of North Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England. France, though Catholic, joined the latter group for political reasons: she hated the Hapsburgs and wanted to extend her national boundaries to the Rhine if possible. The great leader of the 'Catholic League' was the Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-37), and of the 'Protestant Union' Frederick the Elector Palatine

(son-in-law of James I of England). Owing to the skilful diplomacy of the French minister Cardinal Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden)—the greatest general of the age—assumed command of the Protestant forces, and won the "crowning mercy" of the struggle at the battle of Lützen (near Leipzig) in 1632, against Wallenstein the Catholic commander. Gustavus, however, died a heroic death in the hour of victory: being surrounded by the enemy who ultimately killed him, he declared, "I am King of Sweden, who do seal the religion and liberty of the German nation with my blood." Though the struggle continued after this, until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and Germany was ravaged by hostile forces, the Thirty Years' War closed with the assurance of religious and political liberty to the Protestant States of North Germany; the Catholic States of the South ranged themselves under Austria; the Bourbons of France scored a fateful ascendancy over the Hapsburgs by securing Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and Sweden was rewarded with certain posts on the Baltic. "Austria, crippled in property, prestige and power, was left faced by an implacable enemy from without—France; and by the growing ambition of an enemy within—Prussia." The Holy Roman Empire—in its Hapsburg *avatar*—was both spiritually and temporally 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' within the Austrian border but for its hold on Italy. The future lay with France and Prussia.

172. The Menace of France:

The national ascendancy of France began under Louis XIV and ended with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. From the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) to the Vienna Settlement (1815) the menace of France was ever present in European politics. It was a century marked also by the rivalry with the English. The net result for France of Louis XIV's aggressive policy, as we have seen, was the acquisition of Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun in 1648; Franche Comte, Strassburg, and Luxemburg in 1684; and the placing of his grandson (Philip V) on the throne of Spain in 1700. This last event led to the formation of the Grand Alliance between Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Portugal, and Savoy against France and Spain, resulting in the Duke of Marlborough's great series of victories: Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet (reviving the glories of Agincourt, Crecy, and Poitou of the Hundred Years' War). It was during this Spanish Succession War (1700-13) also that England gained Gibraltar and Minorca, two important strategic possessions marking her hegemony in the Mediterranean.

Though the French menace to the peace of Europe appeared to have abated a little after this, it continued to be active elsewhere. England and France were both engaged in a great duel already in India in the East and America in the West. Consequently, when the next occasion arose in the continent of Europe, on account of another Succession War (the Austrian) and its sequel the Seven Years' War, the issues were fought out on three continents: Europe, Asia, and America. In the memorable words of Voltaire, "The first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and Asia."

The Hapsburg Emperor Charles VI died in 1740 without a male heir to succeed him. Though he had taken care to secure before his death the consent (by the *Pragmatic Sanction*) of most of the rulers of Europe for bestowing the Austrian throne on his daughter Maria Theresa, when he died, Frederick II of Prussia (about whom more later) tried to undermine the position of the young Empress by making a wanton attack on her dominions (Silesia). France, having already ousted the Hapsburgs from Spain, allied herself with Frederick, hoping thereby to make further encroachments on the Austrian dominions. But, for all her national ambitions, she only earned the enmity of England (who had joined Austria together with Holland) without being able to win from her selfish ally, Prussia, any reward in the shape of territory. The war ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. "The real gainer by the war of the Pragmatic Sanction," as Macaulay has said, "had been neither France nor Austria, but the upstart of Brandenburg. France had made great efforts, had added largely to her military glory, and largely to her public burdens; and another had purchased, with floods of the noblest blood, the barren glory of Fontenoy." The result of this disappointment was the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 brought about by the astute diplomacy of the Austrian minister Count Kaunitz: England and France exchanged sides, and began the more decisive combat known as the Seven Years' War (1756-63).

173. The Seven Years' War:

Frederick, who had become "the Great" by the seizure of Silesia, was allowed to retain his ill-gotten gains by the iniquitous Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was forced upon helpless Austria by the selfish hurry of England and France to get out of their thankless alliances. But the proud daughter of the Cæsars, Maria Theresa, was far from reconciling her-

self to her loss. Moreover, both England and France on account of their commercial and colonial rivalries, were yet to compose their national quarrels. Hence the eight years of 'restless peace' (1748-56) soon burst into the bloodstained years of the Seven Years' War. The original issue about Silesia between the principals (Austria and Prussia) was drowned in the larger issues of the allies (England and France). An unofficial struggle had continued in the meanwhile in India and America between the two latter powers. The official war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris which declared once for all the supremacy of the British, both in India and America, over their French rivals. Clive had already frustrated the designs of Dupleix at Arcot in India in 1751; in 1760 again Colonel Coote defeated the French at Wandewash; and in the fateful year of the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) the crowning glory of the English triumph was marked by the capture of Pondicherry. In America the English won Canada on the "Heights of Abraham," when the heroic Wolfe laid down his life while capturing Quebec (1759). The Peace of Paris, which clinched the duel between England and France, was the first great triumph of the Anglo-Saxons. Its next phase was revealed in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic struggle.

France sought to avenge the humiliation of the Seven Years' War by helping the American Colonies at a critical stage of their revolt (1775-83) against the tyranny of George III's government. But this only reacted upon herself in a double manner: it increased her national debt on the one hand, and on the other, precipitated her Revolution by the inspiration of U.S.A.'s successful example. In the course of that Revolution itself she further tried to take revenge on both Austria and Prussia for being abettors of the *ancient régime*. Though immediately successful, France had to pay for it heavily after her defeat at Waterloo (1815).

174. Europe against France:

The French Revolution in the beginning had evoked sympathy and even enthusiasm in some quarters, such as Wordsworth felt when he wrote:

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven!

But the excesses of the extremists, culminating in the Reign of Terror, brought about a complete revulsion of feeling. The Emperor Leopold of Austria had issued a manifesto as early

as 1790 inviting all civilised nations to unite against the common danger. Two years later Austria and Prussia formed an alliance which was before long to develop into the biggest coalition ever formed in Europe against a single nation. Yet the revolutionary fervour was so great that the French won striking victories (Valmy and Jemappes) which brought the southern part of the Netherlands under their sway. In 1793 was formed the First Coalition between Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and the Papal States; though by 1796 Austria and England were left alone to carry on the war.

Napoleon made his mark at Toulon in 1795; he was one of the Consuls in 1799; Consul for life in 1802; and Emperor in 1804. From 1796-1807 was the period of Napoleon's rise, when his energies were concentrated against Austria. During the next five years (1807-12) he was apparently at the height of his power, when his main objective was to fight Britain; for this were passed the Berlin Decrees and the Continental System organised.[1] The remaining years before he was sent to St. Helena (1812-15) formed the period of his fall. We have no space here for even a rapid sketch of his meteoric career. Moreover, since his entire reordering of the map of Europe was to be washed off by the Vienna Settlement in 1815, we might content ourselves with noting the reactions that followed his overthrow.

Napoleon, "the child of the Revolution," had also made himself the father of an Imperial system wherein 'republics' and princedoms were subjected to the common foreign yoke which at once ignored and evoked national consciousness and the democratic spirit of self-determination. But before we trace the history of these two 'main currents' of nineteenth century European life, it is necessary to look at the earlier growth of at least two other countries, viz. Prussia and Russia.

175. The Rise of Prussia:

Germany, as we know her to-day, is a product of the nineteenth century. Even at the time of the Vienna Congress (1814-15) that country was a congeries of over three hundred and fifty kingdoms and principalities, of which Prussia was undoubtedly the most pre-eminent. On that historic occasion their number was reduced to thirty-nine states (by combining

1. The purpose of these was to exclude Britain from all intercourse with the continent of Europe.

small states together) and they were given a formal unity under a Confederation with a common Diet (Parliament) at Frankfort. The real consolidation of Germany was brought about by the ruling House of Hohenzollern whose family history reached back to the twelfth century. Frederick the Great, mentioned earlier in this chapter, belonged to this family which particularly came into prominence after the Thirty Years' War under Frederick William, known as the Great Elector (1640-88). He was only the Duke of Brandenburg (subject to the King of Poland) to begin with; but through war and diplomacy he considerably increased the possessions and prestige of his House, the greatest of his acquisitions being Prussia. By internal reforms such as improvement of taxation, communications, irrigation, encouragement of education, industry and agriculture, etc. he enhanced the importance of Brandenburg-Prussia in all Germany (which also contained other States like Bavaria and Saxony). His successor, Frederick II (1688-1713), earned the title of "King" from the Emperor Leopold I of Austria. His son, Frederick William I, (1713-40), was the father of Frederick the Great (1740-86). These two Fredericks are indeed one of the most interesting pair of rulers in all history. No two princes were more unlike in their characters than these, father and son; and yet, both alike eminently succeeded in making Prussia and the Hohenzollerns respected, feared, and hated, at first in Germany and then in all Europe. Frederick William, by his parsimony and careful administration earned for himself the reputation of being "the greatest internal king of Prussia." At the same time he was one of the most quixotic of all monarchs. He had a miserly love for soldiers, sixty thousand of whom he recruited from all parts of the world, drilled and trained them most efficiently, but would not waste them in any war! At home he was a tyrant and the treatment he accorded to his son was such that, as Macaulay put it, "Oliver Twist in the parish workhouse, Smike at Dotheboys Hall, were petted children when compared with this wretched heir apparent of a crown." Frederick (the son), being the very antithesis of his father, sought refuge in flight, but was caught and condemned to death for his attempted desertion. He was saved from this calamity only by the timely intercession of all the potentates of Europe. "Salvation belongs to the Lord," declared Frederick William, "and everything else is my affair."

No sooner did the young Frederick succeed to the throne of Prussia (1740) than he thought of making good use of his father's "darling army." His philosophy was: "As to dominions, take what you can; you are only wrong when you are

compelled to make restitution." So he invaded Silesia and began the 'Austrian Succession War' (1740-48) which led on to the Seven Years' War (1756-63) with consequences already described. Internally also he followed the traditional policy of his family and earned for himself the title of Frederick the Great—the maker of Modern Germany. With all his faults Frederick had a high conception of the office of monarchs. "The monarch," he declared, "is only the first servant of the State, who is obliged to act with probity and prudence, and to remain as totally disinterested as if he were each moment liable to render an account of his administration to his fellow-citizens....The prince is to the nation he governs what the head is to the man; it is his duty to see, think, and act for the whole community, that he may procure it every advantage of which it is capable." He was unsparing in the pursuit of this ideal, though he never cared what means he had to adopt to secure the end.

176. The Rise of Russia:

In our survey of Monarchy we referred to Peter the Great of Russia (1682-1725). Though Russia was always under monarchical despotism until its overthrow in 1918, we must content ourselves here with only a few typical examples. The Romanoffs came to the throne of Russia in 1613. Even before that the Grand Dukes of Moscow, like Ivan the Terrible, had already consolidated the absolutism of the ruling family at the expense of the *boyars* (barons). But the country had grown without coming to maturity as it were. Russia was very backward in all respects. She was more Asiatic than European. So when Peter became the Czar in 1696 he decided that his country ought to turn to the West rather than to the East for inspiration. He personally travelled widely in Germany, Holland, England, and greatly admired their progress. Keenly desirous of reforming his own subjects along their lines, he imported into Russia engineers, workmen, and teachers in all departments, from the countries he had visited. In his zeal for reform Peter toiled like a common workman in field and factory, cut off with his own hands the flowing beards, moustaches, and robes of his nobles—as marks of the Orientals—compelled women to come out of their seclusion, and built a new capital (St. Petersburg) to counteract the influence of conservative Moscow. Peter indeed wanted to "open a window" in the West; for Russia, in spite of her size (more than equal to all the other countries of Europe put together), was icebound in the North, had no access to the sea either in the West or South, while Sweden, Poland, Germany, Austria, and Turkey

blocked her ways of expansion. Her history, ever since the days of Peter the Great, has therefore been one of conflict with all these powers.

In order to establish contact with the West, Peter at first tried to secure access to the Baltic. Here he found a formidable opponent in Charles XII of Sweden who displayed the military prowess of an Alexander the Great. Russia formed an alliance with Poland and Denmark to overpower Sweden, but only discovered that Charles was more than a match for all of them together. To create a diversion for Peter in the South, Charles also incited the Turks against Russia. However, when Charles died (1718), Russia made a Treaty with Sweden by which she gained Livonia, Esthonia, and other Swedish provinces at the eastern end of the Baltic. Her attempt to secure a foothold in the South at the expense of Turkey created the "Eastern Question" which will be dealt with later.

The 'spiritual' successor to Peter the Great in the pursuit of his European policy was Catherine II (1762-96). A German by birth she extended and established foreign influence within Russia. This had both good and evil results of a far-reaching character. 'Adventurous, ambitious, despotic, corrupt, she sought by every available means to continue the work of making Russia a supreme European power.' She evinced considerable interest in the great intellectual movements of Western Europe represented by men like Dederot and Voltaire (even like her contemporary Frederick the Great), and professed high-sounding political principles: 'The nation,' she said, 'is not made for the ruler but the ruler for the nation;' 'liberty,' she defined, 'is the right to do anything that is not forbidden by law;' 'better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer unjust punishment.' But her practice was a negation of all these doctrines. The sincerest devotee of the Enlightened Despotism of the eighteenth century in Europe was Catherine's Austrian contemporary Joseph II (1765-90), but he died a disappointed man. Catherine, while she brought large accession of territory and power to Russia (particularly by her share in the three Partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, and 1795), she was one of the strongest haters of the new forces released by the French Revolution. Her imbecile son Paul I (1796-1801) was assassinated by a coterie of her own courtiers. But the next ruler of Russia, Alexander I (1801-25), became famous as the protagonist of "Legitimism" in Europe. The triple pillars of this anti-Revolutionary movement were the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

177. The Congress of Vienna:

We have already referred to the immediate reactions of Austria and Prussia to the revolutionary outbreak in France. The challenge of Leopold II (brother and successor to Joseph II) to the revolutionaries was reinforced by alliances, at first with Prussia, then with Russia, England, and all the rest of Europe. The ultimate result was the defeat of Napoleon and the humiliation of France in the Vienna Settlement. This settlement was as fateful in consequences as that of Utrecht a century earlier (1713) and Versailles a century later (1918). The high-priest of the Vienna Congress was the Austrian statesman Metternich. Few men have exercised such powerful influence over the destinies of a continent like this Napoleon of diplomacy. The mere fact the Metternich presided over the deliberations of this most momentous gathering, where almost all the potentates of Europe were personally present, is sufficient indication of his importance. Next to him was Talleyrand the representative of France who put forward the doctrine of "Legitimacy" which formed the sheet-anchor of the Congress. That assembly was as reactionary as it was pompous; it was throughout marked by secret diplomacy and the domination of the big powers, as by 'an uninterrupted festival of extraordinary brilliance.' It trampled under foot the principles of nationalism, democracy and liberalism, as dangerous innovations, and reconstructed the map of Europe heedless of nationality. France was deprived of all her revolutionary and Napoleonic conquests and the reactionary Bourbon Louis XVIII (brother of Louis XVI who had "forgotten nothing and could forgive nothing") was foisted upon the throne of his ancestors; incompatibles like Norway and Sweden, Holland and Belgium, were bound together irrespective of the aspirations of their peoples; likewise the Machiavellian "Partitions" of Poland were confirmed to their foreign masters; Austria was allowed to dominate over dismembered Italy; and the gains of Great Britain were guaranteed to that country. While everyone, with the exception of France, got something, no one was satisfied.

The first outward manifestation of the spirit of the Congress was the formation of the Quadruple Alliance between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England. Its ostensible purpose was the defence of the Settlement; but in reality it sought to be the bulwark of reactionary "Legitimism." When England saw this sinister tendency, which was a negation of all her liberal principles, she withdrew from the 'concert of Europe' and allowed her allies to cling to their Holy Alliance under the

ægis of Czar Alexander I who had been privately characterised at the Congress of Vienna as "half fool, half Bonaparte."

178. Nineteenth Century Europe:

It has been well observed by Professor Morse Stephens, that "The doctrines of the French Revolution did more than the victories of Napoleon to destroy the political system of the eighteenth century."[2] In the so-called Holy Alliance eighteenth century dynasticism was on its last legs. The subsequent history of Europe during the nineteenth century marks the triumph of Nationalism, Democracy, Liberalism, in country after country. We have room here only to record the results. For a fuller study of this great theme the reader must go to larger works. When Paris hath a cold, it is said, the whole of Europe sneezes. But we might as well say that whenever there is to be a political earthquake in Europe it is first indicated by the French seismograph.

There were national and democratic risings all over Europe in 1830 and 1848. In the first series, Greece won her independence from Turkey when the English poet Byron sacrificed himself at the altar of Hellenic liberation. In France, the restored Bourbon régime was once more overthrown in favour of the Orleanist "citizen king" Louis Philippe, who was crowned King "by the grace of God and *by the will of the people.*" At the same time, Catholic Belgium regained her national independence from Protestant Holland, and her integrity was guaranteed by Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. There were also significant repercussions in Poland, Italy, Spain, and England. During the second wave of 1848, Louis Philippe was overthrown in France and the Second Republic was established under the presidency of Louis Napoleon who rapidly grew into (Napoleon III) the image of his greater namesake; in Prussia, there were riots demanding freedom of the press, trial by jury, religious toleration, etc.; in the Austrian dominions, the Slavs of Bohemia, the Magyars of Hungary, and the Latins of Italy, broke into rebellion and Metternich was obliged to seek safety in England (the last refuge of all exiles); in Germany, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein tried to overthrow the Danish yoke with the assistance of Prussia. Italy (with the exception of Venetia and the Papal States), through the inspiration of Mazzini, the diplomacy of Cavour, and the martial vigour of Garribaldi, became a united and independent Kingdom under the patriotic monarch Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, in 1861. Within ten years of this

2. *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 3.

(1871) Germany under her Prussian King William (Wilhelm) I realised her dream of union with the help of her "iron Chancellor" Bismarck. This was achieved at the expense of Denmark, Austria, and France, with all of whom Prussia waged war. "The German problem," Bismarck had bluntly declared, "cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees, but only by blood and iron." But this policy, according to

> The good old plan
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep who can,

only resulted in a situation well described by the German general von Moltke in the Reichstag shortly after the conclusion of peace: "We have earned in the late war respect, but hardly love. What we have gained by arms in six months we shall have to defend by arms for fifty years." Europe has not yet got out of the hole Bismarck put her into.

Austria was defeated by Prussia in the battle of Sadowa in 1866. This resulted in the separation of the North German Confederation from the Austrian 'Empire.' Next year, 1867, the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was formed which lasted till the Great War (1914-18). France was defeated at Sedan in 1870, and Napoleon III abdicated. Paris surrendered, after a siege of four months, on January 28, 1871. In the peace that followed, France paid to Prussia a heavy war indemnity, and ceded to her the Rhine provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These were the seeds of the Great War of 1914-18. France formally inaugurated her Third Republic in 1875.

In Eastern Europe also the Russian policy of expansion had, in the meanwhile, culminated in the Crimean War of 1854-56. Turkey—"the sick man of Europe"—being subjected to a similar operation by Russia as that of Poland, was doctored back into life by England and France. But there was again a relapse in 1875 owing to the Balkan States catching infection from Russia. This once more brought the 'Colossus of the North' down to the gates of Constantinople, and Britain ordered two war-vessels to enter the Dardanelles 'for the protection of life and property.' But utlimately, through one of the most thrilling diplomatic manoevres recorded in history, war was averted. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878, brought relief to the Balkans, and 'peace with honour' to England; but it also transferred the attention of Russia from the Near to the Far East.

POINTS FOR STUDY

156. Character of Eighteenth Century Europe.

157. International reactions to the French Revolution.

158. The Rise and Fall of Napoleon.

159. World-setting of Balance of Power.

160. Importance of the Congress of Vienna.

161. Legitimism, Nationalism and Democracy.

THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
1648-1713 A.D.	Alsace, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Franche Comte, Strasbourg, Luxemburg.	Louis XIV	French expansion.
1740-48 A.D.	Aix-la-Chapelle	Maria Theresa Frederick the Great	War of the Austrian Succession.
1756 A.D.	Paris-Vienna		Diplomatic Revolution.
1756-63 A.D.	Paris		Seven Years' War.
1751 A.D.	Arcot	Clive	Early English success in India.
1760 A.D.	Wandewash	Coote	
1761 A.D.	Panipat Pondichery	Abdali	Maratha disaster. Captured by English.
1759 A.D.	Quebec	Wolfe	English victory in Canada.
1775-83 A.D.	U. S. A.	Washington George III	American War of Independence.

1789 A.D.	Paris	Louis XVI	Fall of Bastille.
1790 A.D.	Austria		Manifesto against France.
1793 A.D.	Austria, England, Prussia, Holland, Spain & Portugal		First Coalition.
1795 A.D.		Napoleon	
1802 A.D.	Toulon		Consul for life.
1804 A.D.			Emperor.
1812-15 A.D.	St. Helena		
1815 A.D.	Waterloo		Congress of Vienna.
1713-40 A.D.	Germany	Frederick William I	Foundation of Prussia.
1740-86 A.D.	Prussia	Frederick the Great	
1740-48 A.D.			Austrian Succession.
1756-63 A.D.			Seven Years' War.
1682-1725 A.D.	Russia	Peter the Great	Rise of Russia.
1762-96 A.D.		Catherine II	Eastern Question.
1765-90 A.D.	Austria	Joseph II	
1772, 1793, 1795 A.D.	Poland		Thrice partitioned.
1801-25 A.D.	Russia	Alexander I	"Legitimism".
1815 A.D.	Vienna	Metternich	International Congress.

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
1830-48 A.D.	Greece Belgium Holland France	Louis Philippe	Democratic risings.
1854-56 A.D.	Balkans	Napoleon III	Crimean War.
1861 A.D.	Italy	Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, Victor Emmanuel	Italy becomes independen
1871 A.D.	Germany	Wilhelm I Bismarck	German unity achieved.
1875 A.D.	France		Third Republic.
1878 A.D.	Berlin		Treaty of Berlin.
1914-18 A.D.		Wilhelm II	First World War.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

179. Christianity and Commerce.
180. In the New World.
181. The Monroe Doctrine.
182. The Dark Continent.
183. The Industrial Revolution.
184. Effect on India.
185. Effects in England.

Vigour—physical and intellectual. Trade, or material profit of some kind. Religion. Science. Here are the elements contributing to the Expansion of the West.

—F. S. MARVIN

179. Christianity and Commerce:

The earliest example of European expansion abroad is found in the piratical adventures of the Norsemen who seem to have reached the northern parts of North America long before Columbus re-discovered that continent for the modern world. During the Middle Ages, Europe was already enough accustomed to the spices and luxuries of the East to feel the urge to explore new routes thereto. That impulse was further reinforced by the Turkish blockade of the 'Near East' culminating in the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The discoveries of Vasco da Gama and Columbus shifted the highroads of commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, while at the same time the primacy in world trade passed from the Venetians and the Arabs to the Portuguese and the Spaniards. And lastly, the division of the globe between these two nations by authority of Pope Alexander VI, no less than the religious zeal of the Portuguese and Spaniards themselves, gave to European expansion in the Old and New worlds the dual impetus of Commerce and Christianity.

When the Reformation movement divided Europe into Catholic and Protesant, the latter group of nations—particularly the Dutch and the English—challenged the monopoly of the Iberian pioneers and soon undermined their positions in

East and West alike. The Dutch broke through the Portuguese monopoly in Asia, and the English overthrew the Spanish in America. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 was indeed a great turning point: it destroyed the political prestige of Spain and marked the naval ascendancy of England.

With the accession of the Stuarts to the English throne (1603) an era of peace with Spain ensued, but a new rivalry with the Dutch in the East Indies started. Within twenty years it culminated in the tragedy of Amboyna (1623) where the infuriated Dutch murdered ten Englishmen and tortured several others. Though this 'massacre' resulted in driving the English out of the Archipelago, it proved a blessing in disguise, for it gave them India. The quarrel with the Dutch nearer home led to the passing of the important Navigation Act of 1651, which provided that all goods imported into England must be carried either in English bottoms or in the ships of the country which produced them. The Dutch tried to defy this law and presumptuously sailed up the Thames with brooms attached to their mast-heads to signify their determination to sweep the English from the seas. But they were defeated all the same, and had to accept the Navigation Act confirmed by the Treaty of Westminster, 1654.

180. In the New World:

Another aspect of the contemporary scene which had momentous results may also be referred to here. The Spanish and Portuguese successes in South America had aroused the greed of the English, the Dutch, and the French, leading to international conflicts, organised piracy, and the foundation of colonies in the remaining parts of that continent. Emigration from Europe was further stimulated by the religious policies of monarchs during the Reformation period; the victims of persecution sought refuge in exile in the New World. The stream thus started was fed by a variety of causes all of which contributed to the permanent occupation of America by the Europeans. The details of the process must be read elsewhere. For our present purpose a record of the result alone should suffice.

The Portuguese had occupied Brazil and the Spaniards Mexico and Peru. Out of the nucleus grew up the Republics of South America. The Dutch were among the earliest in the race for North America, but their main objectives being in the East, they were soon outstripped in the West by the English and the French. The river Hudson had been explored (1609) by an Englishman of that name, in the Dutch service. New

York and New Jersey were originally Dutch New Amsterdam, but acquired by the English under Charles II who commissioned his brother, the Duke of York, to occupy them (1664). Meanwhile, the English colonies, founded by the "Pilgrim Fathers" who sailed in the *Mayflower* (1620),—new England—had grown into a powerful group; while the French had likewise flourished round about Quebec. Out of their worldwide rivalries (referred to in the previous chapter) England emerged triumphant at the end of the Seven Years' War which closed with the Treaty of Paris (1763). That gave the English their Indian Empire and Canada. Though at that time they also owned the present United States of America, these were lost in consequence of the American War of Independence (1776-83) which terminated with the Treaties of Paris and Versailles. This eventful victory of the settlers had important and varied consequences: (1) it created the independent U.S.A.; (2) it precipitated the Revolution in France; (3) it brought to an end the "old colonial policy" in England no less than the last bid for personal rule made by the English monarchs. Turgot's dictum that 'colonies are like fruit which drop off from the stem when they ripen' was proved true at least in this important case. More than anything else, the American Revolution convinced England of what Chatham had meant when he warned his countrymen saying: "We may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." The great hero of the American triumph was George Washington, about whom the English historian John Richard Green has written: "No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life, . . . 'first in war, in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow countrymen'."

181. The Monroe Doctrine:

The victory of the U.S.A. had also important repercussions in South America. Napoleon Bonaparte had overthrown the Bourbon ruler of Spain and seated his own brother Joseph on that throne, but the Spanish colonists in South America refused to acknowledge the usurper. Under the leadership of Simon Bolivar, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, etc. asserted their independence even when the old dynasty was restored in the mother country (under Ferdinand VII). Mexico too became independent in 1821, but fell a prey to continued disorder. The Portuguese colonists of Brazil likewise set up an independent State in 1822, with Don Pedro as their King. The further history of Latin America is too complicated to be

dealt with here. But two facts may be noted: (1) all the colonies set up republican governments before the close of the century; (2) the U.S.A. proclaimed the famous "Monroe doctrine" when the European Powers tried to meddle in their affairs. It laid down:

'In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers.'

182. The Dark Continent:

For the next great European advance we must turn to the continents of Africa and Asia during the nineteenth century. We must necessarily skip over the thrilling stories of exploration, discovery, and adventure, and concentrate only on the bare enumeration of results. David Livingstone (1849-73), a Scotch missionary who crossed the entire Dark Continent from sea to sea, is one of the best known of Africa's explorers. Mission work went hand in hand in Africa with geographical discovery. While Islam made its home in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt, in Abyssinia, Siberia, and South Africa Christianity succeeded in establishing itself; the rest of Africa remained heathen.

Almost all the European nations participated in the exploitation of Africa. Particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a regular scramble for its tempting profits. In the past, Africa had provided the richest quarry for slaves; in more recent times it has been valued for rubber, ivory, diamonds, gold, and other rich natural products of a

tropical continent. The Spaniards now hold the northern coast of Morocco; Portugal holds Angola and Portuguese East Africa; Belgium holds Congo; France owns Algeria, Tunis, most of Morocco, the valleys of the Senegal and Upper Niger, part of the Guinea coast, French Somaliland, and Madagascar. Germany and Italy were late in entering the arena. Frederick the Great had declared: "All distant possessions are a burden to the State. A village on the frontier is worth a principality two hundred and fifty miles away." Even Bismarck considered himself a 'no colony man.' All the same Germany after her unification took the coastland of South-West Africa north of the Orange River, the Cameroons and East Africa. All of these, however, were taken away from Germany by the Allies in the Great War of 1914-18. Italy, though late in entering the field, secured Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, Libya (1912), and last of all (1936) Abyssinia.

Though France has the lion's share of territory in Africa, Great Britain is important in point of power. Besides extensive possessions on the Guinea coast, she owns a solid block of territory stretching right through the continent from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean. The gold mines of the Transvaal and the diamond mines of Kimberley have rendered these colonies invaluable. Together with Cape Colony, Natal and Orange Free State, they constitute the Union of South Africa. To these must be added Rhodesia (acquired by Cecil Rhodes), Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (conquered by Kitchner), and the German colonies (S. W. and E. Africa) won during the Great War. Britain also controls Egypt and has a decisive share in the control of the Suez Canal (constructed in 1869 by the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps). This, together with the Cape-to-Cairo Railway (7000 miles)—the product of the enterprise of Cecil Rhodes—has given Britain great commercial and strategic advantages.

The opening up and partition of Asia must be reserved for another chapter, as it inevitably led to the awakening of the slumbering East, which is too large and important a subject to be dealt with here. We might more coherently proceed in this chapter with the further phases of European expansion in the West, such as Industrialism and its attendant reactions: intellectual and political.

183. The Industrial Revolution:

Modern industrialism which has given a new trend to human civilisation had its birth in England in the eighteenth

century. That movement is usually referred to as the Industrial Revolution. Though of late some writers have criticised the use of the term "Revolution" as too misleading, no more suggestive or comprehensively adequate expression has been found. Equally misleading is it to suggest that the Industrial Revolution began in a particular year or even decade. But considering that the several important things which gave it its peculiar character occurred all together in a crowded fifty years or so, it would not be wrong to assign the genesis of this great movement to the latter half of the eighteenth century. That was also the period of other momentous happenings such as the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the French Revolution.

While all wars are expensive and disastrous in their consequences, England has enjoyed certain peculiar advantages on account of her geographical situation. The immunity from foriegn invasion which she enjoyed through several centuries, and her naval supremacy, alike enabled her to develop her political and economic life along her own lines, undisturbed by any external power. On the other hand, she found it especially possible for her to strike at all her enemies without being hurt to the same extent. Thus she was able to destroy the power of France in the series of wars which ended with Waterloo. Whereas these wars disorganised the entire economic life of the Continent, they afforded a unique opportunity to English commerce and industry which flourished despite the Berlin Decrees and the Continental System of Napoleon. It was this rare stimulus which quickened the pace of English industry to such an extent, towards the close of the eighteenth century, that it almost looked like a *revolution.* In the words of Professor Hammond, "That revolution was marked by the dissolution of the old village, by the transformation of the textile industries, by changes of a different kind in the pottery industries, and by a great concentration of capital and power in the industries connected with iron, steel, and coal."[1] In short, that revolution converted England from being the "granary of the North" (as the Romans had found her) into the Workshop of the World.

It was under these circumstances that a series of mechanical *inventions* appeared: Hargreave's "spinning jenny" in 1764, Arkwright's "water frame" in 1769, Crompton's "mule" in 1779, Cartwright's "power loom" in 1785, Whitney's "gin" in 1792, etc. And more than anything else, the

1. J.L. Hammond. *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 2

application of steam power to all departments of industry, including manufacture as well as transport,—rendered possible by the genius of Watt (1769) and Stephenson (1814)—ushered in the era of large-scale production and distribution with all their inevitable consequences. It is impossible even to summarise the salient features of this Revolution within the space at our disposal. It has made the Modern World what it is. A more adequate idea of its complexities will be gained from a later chapter. Suffice it here to observe that we owe all our comforts, conflicts, dangers, and outlooks to what was happening in the Western World during the past two hundred years or so.

184. Effect on India:

One important aspect of these changes, however, may be particularly noted. English policy in India was largely affected by the growing demand in England for raw-materials and markets for her finished goods. "England was now producing," says Professor Hammond, "something that India could buy." A British government was not likely to treat a distant community that had come under its control more unselfishly than it had treated the British Colonies in America. Heavy duties were placed upon Indian cottons and silks in the Home tariff, and when the Indian market, hitherto the monopoly of the East India Company, was thrown open in 1813, the duties imposed on cotton goods entering India were merely nominal. In 1831 a petition was presented from natives of Bengal, complaining without success of the British duty of 10 per cent. on manufactured cottons, and 24 per cent. on manufactured silks. The effect of political control, combined with the inventions, was seen in the figures of our trade with India.[2] If India had been in the hands of a rival Power anxious either to develop a new cotton industry of its own, or to develop a native cotton industry in India, Lancashire would not have found so rich a market for her yarn and piece-goods.

185. Effects in England:

The social and political effects of the Industrial Revolution in England itself were profound and interesting. The rapid advance of the "enclosure" movement ,the improved methods of agriculture, and the introduction of machinery, alike contributed to immediate social disorganisation. While on the

2. In 1815, 800,000 yards of British cotton cloth were imported in India; in 1830, 45,000,000 yards.—*Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

one hand the population of England was growing on account of her increasing prosperity, widespread unemployment and misery were also caused by several changes coming in at the same time on the other. The surplus population, including a large number of criminals, after being swept into the army and navy (for which there was great demand on account of the various wars) was still available for colonisation abroad. The epoch-making discoveries of Captain Cook (1769-79) made Australia readily available for the purpose. Before the United States became independent America had been used as the 'Andamans' of Great Britain. Australia soon received such a large population of criminals that crime offered no means of livelihood to the immigrants there. Hence the deportation of undesirables from England proved a double blessing: it blessed them that went, and them that sent. The well-known words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux with reference to the recruits for the Second Crusade may very well be applied to the founders of the Australian colony: 'In the countless multitude you will find few except the utterly wicked and impious, the sacrilegious, homicides, and perjurers, whose departure is a double gain. Europe rejoices to lose them and Palestine to gain them; they are useful in both ways, in their absence from here and their presence there.'

There was also a great shifting of populations within the country. People began to crowd into the industrial cities. The evils of the Factory System manifested themselves before its benefits were appreciated by the people at large. The New Industry like the New Agriculture seemed to profit only the rich at the expense of the poor. The tyranny of William Pitt's war-regime made the transition less bearable. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had transferred power from the King to an Oligarchy of landlords. Now a new nobility arose among the industrial and commercial magnates to compete with them. The great discontent was allayed to a certain extent only in the era of reform that followed in the wake of Napoleon's defeat.

The nineteenth century was eminently an Age of Liberalism, though the Liberals were not always and everywhere in power. The Conservatives withstood as much as they dared, and the Radicals exacted as much as they could. Though gradualism held the balance, on the whole, freedom was broadening from precedent to precedent. It was the age during which the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had taken place in the continent of Europe. In England it was marked by a series of long needed reforms. Constitutionally there were

the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1867 and 1884, by which the political franchise was extended down to the urban and rural workers. In other directions it brought religious toleration (Catholic Emancipation Act), Poor Laws for the relief of the distressed, education for the masses, criminal law reform, factory legislation, Public Health Acts, attempts to conciliate Ireland (Home Rule Bill), the abolition of slavery, the extinction of the East India Company with its sequel of political and social reform in India, the development of the Press, local self-government, and Self-Government for the Dominions.

England has been to the Modern World what Athens was to the Ancient. Ideas, movements and happenings in that Island sooner or later reflected themselves in the rest of the world. England achieved parliamentary Democracy and all other countries have been striving ever since to emulate her example. England started the Industrial Revolution and the whole world is still being transformed to her pattern. England grew Imperialist and turned to Federalism for finding liberty in union, and nations are still trying to walk in her footsteps. Just as Rome and Christianity gave unity to Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, so England and Science imparted unity to Western Civilisation in later times. Hence the very large claim of England on our attention in dealing with the Expansion of Europe. Fuller and deeper implications of this theme will be brought out in the succeeding chapters.

POINTS FOR STUDY

162. Factors leading to European Expansion.

163. Reasons for areas selected for penetration.

164. Comparative study of relative successes and failures of different nationalities.

165. White colonisation: results.

166. Character and Consequences of the Industrial Revolution.

167. The Roots of Imperialism.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
1623 A.D.	Amboyna		"Massacre" of Englishmen by the Dutch.
1651 A.D.	England		Navigation Act.
1654 A.D.			Treaty of Westminster.
1609 A.D.	America	Hudson	Explores H. river.
1620 A.D.		Pilgrim Fathers	Sail in "May Flower."
1664 A.D.	New York	Charles II	Named after Duke of York.
1763 A.D.	Canada		Acquired by English.
1776-83 A.D.	U. S. A.	George III	War of Independence.
1821 A.D.	Spanish S. America Mexico	Simon Bolivar	Independent.
1822 A.D.	Brazil U. S. A.	Don Pedro	"Monroe Doctrine."

1849-73 A.D.	Africa	David Livingstone	Exploration of "Dark Continent." European scramble.
1764 A.D. 1769 A.D. 1779 A.D. 1785 A.D. 1769-1814 A.D.	England	Hargreaves Arkwright Crompton Cartwright Watt & Stephenson	Spinning Jenny. Water-frame. "Mule." Power-loom. Steam engine.
1769-79 A.D.	Australia	Capt. Cook	Exploration.
1832, 1867 & 1884 A.D.	England		Parliamentary Reform.

CHAPTER XXIV

AWAKENING OF ASIA

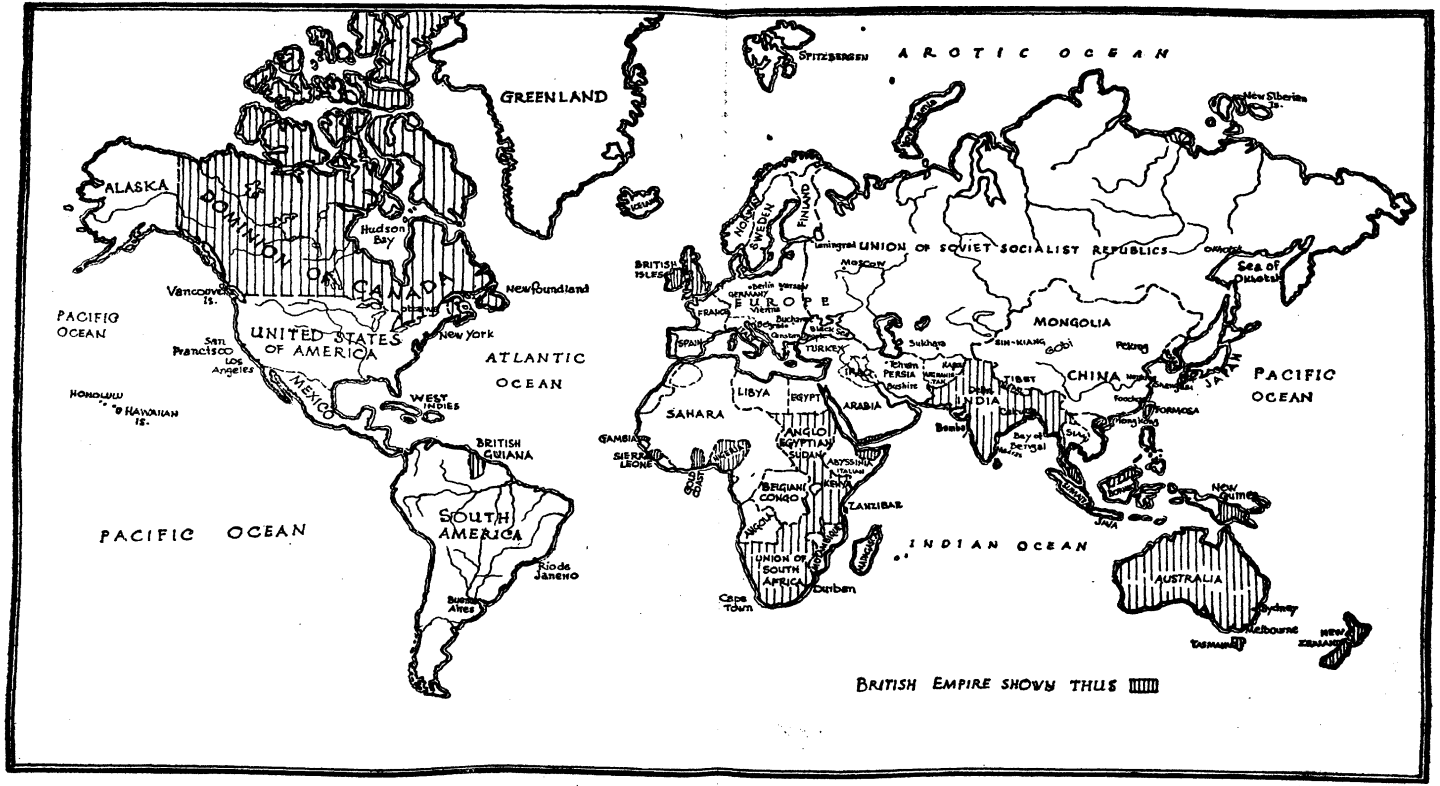
186. English Imperialism in India.
187. Influence of Liberalism.
188. The Indian National Congress.
189. Happenings in the "Far East".
190. Europeans in China.
191. The Transformation of Japan.
192. Christianity in Japan.
193. The Meiji Era.

If the nineteenth century was the opportunity of the West, the twentieth is for the East. Concentrated in its eastern and southern fringe, Asia holds well over half the inhabitants of the globe; and this vast population is astir.

—E. B. MITFORD

186. English Imperialism in India:

The first Asian country to come under European control was India. We have already spoken of the fall of the Mughal Empire, and alluded to the rivalries between the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English in the East. That is a familiar tale. Its importance for us lies in the consequences. The Seven Years' War definitely marked the ascendancy of England. Though England lost the American colonies (U. S. A.) after this, she was more than compensated for that loss by her acquisition of India. The work begun at Arcot, Plassey, and Buxar in the days of Clive in the eighteenth century was completed in the nineteenth by Wellesley and Dalhousie. The final overthrow of the Marathas (1818) who had succeeded to the sovereignty of the Mughals was not less significant than the overthrow of Napoleon (1815) only three years earlier: both marked a new era—one in India and the other in Europe. The pretensions of the Peshwa and the Mughal Emperor were simultaneously extinguished in the Great Rising of 1857. It is also not to be forgotten that the 'Honourable John Company Bahadoor' too was extinguished in that conflagration which illumined the birth of a New India.



THE EMPIRE OF BRITAIN

Here we must not lose sight of happenings in England and Europe at the same time. It was an epoch of reforms and revolutions, economic, political and social. Both Nationalism and Democracy (the two great moulding forces of nineteenth century Europe) derived a new impulse and significance from the Industrial Revolution. The economic changes in agriculture, industry, and commerce—confirmed and extended the scope of democracy as well as nationalism. Out of these complex elements was born British Imperialism whose testing crucible has been India. India fed the Industrial Revolution, supplied it raw materials, and provided a vast market for its finished articles, including high employment for the growing population of England. Hence India became indispensable to England, to secure hold over whom she has had to set her policies. Truly in the words of Lord Curzon: "India is the pivot of our British Empire. If this Empire loses any other part of its Dominions, we can survive. But if we lose India, the sun of our Empire will have set."

187. Influence of Liberalism:

But, if Imperialism invaded India, neither could the wave of Liberalism be dammed within the countries of its origin. Steamships, railways, and telegraphs were not calculated to keep the world divided into oases and deserts. British Liberalism was bound to leaven the conquests of British conservatism. This was the significance of the simultaneous extinction in India of Indian feudalism and the English East India Company's rule. The anomaly of His Majesty's subjects holding sovereign rights (though it be over coloured peoples) was an anachronism that could not be sustained in the nineteenth century. So the Regulating Act (1763) culminated in Her Majesty's Proclamation; the Reforms of 1833 were to end in the demand for *Swaraj*. If England fed on India, she could not also prevent India from feeding on Burke, Bright and Mazzini. England, while she deliberately destroyed the Old Order in India, also inevitably paved the way for the Indian Renaissance.

We can touch here only on a few phases of the Indian Awakening in the nineteenth century. It was significant that the year of the Great Rising also witnessed the foundation of the three modern Universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Indian Renaissance has been the product of Western education alone. It has been the resultant of several forces acting at the

same time. The Rising of 1857 was more a social revolt than a mere mutiny of the army or even a political rebellion. Its suppression was necessary not only for the security of British rule, but also for the creation of a New India. It was an event as epoch-making for India and Asia as the fall of the Bastille was for France and Europe. The Rousseau of the Indian Revolution was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833), the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. He was followed by an army of great reformers like Devendra Nath Tagore (Rabindranath's father) and Keshab Chandra Sen in Bengal, and Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-83), the founder of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1900), the founder of the Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra. Much useful work in the national uplift was also done by Swami Vivekananda, the apostle of a reformed faith, who carried the message of Awakened India to Europe and America (1895-97). Similar work was done by Sir Saiyyad Ahmad Khan (1817-98) to put new life into the paralysed Muslim community. He founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (1875) which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University.

188. The Indian National Congress:

Meanwhile the economic exploitation of the country by our foreign rulers was bearing disastrous fruit. Under the East India Company's rule the ancient textile industry of India had been ruthlessly suppressed, so much so, that an English Governor-General reported in 1834 that "the bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." Towards the close of the century, in 1878, Florence Nightingale wrote: "The saddest sight to be seen in the East—nay probably in the world—is the peasant of our Eastern Empire." The terrible famines of 1876-77 and 1896-99 were symptoms of the country's economic anæmia. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was intended to suppress the growing agitation and discontent. Though the benevolent Lord Ripon tried to pacify the people by the repeal of that odious Act (1881) and the grant of Local Self-government (1884), he raised the squall of the Ilbert Bill agitation on the part of the European community, when he touched the crucial problem of 'justice without colour prejudice.' "The passionate claim of the European to predominance was to be answered by the passionate claim of the Indian to equality." Under such auspices was born the Indian National Congress in 1885, the one organ that in course of time was to be the champion of

Renaissant India—the instrument of the Indian *risorgimento*. Its aims were enunciated as follows:—

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country."

189. Happenings in the "Far East".

Further development of the situation in India will be dealt with in the next chapter. Here we must take note of happenings in the "Far East", i.e. China and Japan. The problems raised by these two countries—no less than those raised by India—still await solution. Indeed, in the past it looked as if, whatever might happen in the West, the East would remain unalterably fixed and unchanging; but now it appears that, whatever the West may do to prevent or postpone, nothing will remain unchanged in India, China and Japan. Gulliver has awakened from his sleep and Lilliput must be upset!

We last mentioned China in connexion with Kublai Khan and Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. Only two more dynasties (*Ming*, 1368-1644; and *Ching* or *Manchu*, 1644-1912) followed that founded by Kublai Khan, and armies of European adventurers (missionary, mercantile and military) came in the wake of Marco Polo. It was all along the story of the Cross followed by a pair of scales enforced by the booming guns. The outcome was the product of the entire historical process in China as well as of the Chinese character. As Bertrand Russell has remarked: "China may be regarded as an artist nation, with the virtues and vices to be expected of the artist: virtues chiefly useful to others, and vices chiefly harmful to oneself."[1] Culture has been China's greatest virtue and disunion her greatest vice. The woes of the Chinese are the product of Western Imperialism acting on a people with a rich inheritance, vast resources, but lacking the security that a strong and united government alone can give.

1. *The Problem of China*, p. 10.

Under the Ming dynasty the Celestial Empire included the major portion of Asia, excluding only India, Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia, Asia-Minor and Japan. The rest—including China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Indo-China, Burma and Tibet—was either directly ruled by the Ming Emperors or subject to them as tributary states. At one time even Nepal was compelled to pay tribute to China for interfering with Tibet across the snow-clad mountains. But such vast territories were a source of weakness rather than strength. The outlying parts were in a chronic state of revolt. The *Tuchuns* or war-lords created a sort of feudal anarchy which the occupants of the Dragon Throne were able to control only occasionally. But despite the constant disturbances and the consequent misery of the people, Chinese pre-occupations with Culture produced such works as the *Encyclopœdia* compiled under the Ming Emperor Yung Lo (*Yoong Law,* 1403-25), and the standard *Dictionary* of the Chinese language prepared under the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi (*Hhahng Shee,* 1662-1723). The former work comprised 11,000 volumes with a total of 917,480 pages and 366,000,000 words. The Dictionary contained 40,000 words accompanied in each case by appropriate quotations from the works of every age and of every style, chronologically arranged. K'ang Hsi also produced another encyclopædia in 1628 volumes of 200 pages each, whose biographical section alone contained 24,000 lives of eminent women!

The greatest ruler of the Ming dynasty was *Hsiao Tsung* (1488-1506). Under him peace and prosperity reigned in the land. After him began the European race for China.

190. Europeans in China:

In 1517 two envoys arrived at Nanking, carrying letters from the King of Portugal. Two more came in 1520, but they were all driven away unceremoniously by the Chinese. Eight hundred Portuguese were massacred at Ningpo, a little later, while attempting to land forcibly. However, they succeeded in securing a foothold at Macao in 1550. The first Christian station was founded in Canton in 1579. Matteo Ricci, an enterprising Jesuit missionary, reached Peking in 1601. By his knowledge of Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography and other sciences, he ingratiated himself into the favour of the Emperor and obtained permission for missionaries to settle in important centres.

The English arrived in Canton in 1637, but they had to sail away without achieving anything. Their first official

embassy, however, did not reach the Celestial Emperor until 1792, when the Earl of Macartney came with a request from George III. He too was put off by the Chinese Emperor who roundly declared: "I have no use for your country's manufactures . . . I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your excusable ignorance of the usages of our Celestial Empire." The Opium Wars (1839-42) were the English reply to this. The English had already long secured a share in the profitable trade with China. Since 1669 their settlement in Canton had been the most flourishing among the European establishments there. By 1833 the East India Company's monopoly in the opium trade with China had become the envy of even their own countrymen at home. In 1839 the Imperial Commissioner, Lin, failing to prevent the foreigners from importing opium into the country (against Imperial orders), forcibly seized large quantities of the drug from Canton and destroyed the same. The English retaliated by waging war against the Chinese who were too weak to resist successfully. After sustaining great losses they submitted to the Treaty of Nanking (1842). By this the English acquired Hong-Kong, the right of residence and trade in Canton, Shanghai, and three other ports, in addition to an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars. This was the real beginning of the European scramble in China and the consequent "opening" of that helpless country, which is still a prey to the predatory incursions of powerful and aggressive nations, including her own neighbour and pupil Japan.

After the Opium Wars events moved rapidly. The English example encouraged other Europeans and America. An internal rising, known as the T'ai-p'ing (Long-haired) Rebellion (1861-64), under the Christian leader Hung Hsiu-ch'uan (an educated convert), afforded a golden opportunity. The capture of a few Chinese suspects from a ship at Canton flying the British flag, by Commissioner Yeh, was interpreted as an infringement of the Nanking Treaty. War with China was resumed, and further "concessions" were extorted. It was in the course of these hostilities that the English and French acting jointly committed one of the most atrocious crimes in History—viz. the destruction of the *Yuen-Ming-Yuen* or the Imperial Summer Palace in Peking (1866). Its "artistic value, on account of the treasures it contained," writes Bertrand Russell, "must have been about equal to that of Saint Mark's in Venice and much greater than that of Rheims Cathedral. This act did much to persuade the Chinese of the superiority

of our civilization, so they opened seven more ports and the river Yangtse, paid an indemnity and granted us more territory at Hong-Kong."[2] In 1870 the murder of a British diplomat by the exasperated Chinese brought more indemnity, more ports, and a fixed tariff for opium. Then the French occupied Annam and Tongking, and the British took Burma, but of course not without excuse in each case.

Japan, whose awakening we shall deal with presently, also followed too gladly the example of the Europeans. Already she had adopted their methods and begun her bullying and blustering career of imperialistic expansion. Even as early as 1592 she had overrun Korea and killed 38,700 Chinese and Koreans in one battle. On that occasion the Japanese general, Hideyoshi, commemorated his success by cutting off the ears of the fallen and erecting the "Ear Mound" in Tokyo. Now, in 1894, she again invaded Korea, occupied the Liao-tung peninsula (Port Arthur), and compelled China to cede to her the islands of Formosa and Pescadores. But European jealousy prevented Japan from enjoying the full fruits of her victory. Korea was nominally declared independent, and Japan was obliged to withdraw from Port Arthur, though compensated for with further indemnity. Russia, Germany, and France were also rewarded for their uncalled for interference. Russia was allowed to build a railway to Vladivostok and Port Arthur, through Manchuria; France to do the same on the Tongking frontier; and Germany obtained railway and mining rights in Shantung. This was the beginning of another spate of greedy scramble on the part of all imperialistic vultures.

The murder of two German missionaries in Shantung in 1897 provided the much looked for *casus belli.* The Germans seized Kiaochow Bay and created a naval base there. The British thereupon, to hold the balance, leased Wei-hai-wei and established a "defensive circuit" around Hong-Kong; France did the same with Kuang-chow Bay and the southern borders of Yunnan; and Russia in Port Arthur and Talienwan. This last caused Japan such great annoyance that it led to one of the most epoch-making events in History, viz. the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 (which will be dealt with later). For the present she obtained Fukien.

These happenings were not without great repercussions on China. They brought the Chinese Dragon to bay in the

2. *The Problem of China,* p. 52.

famous "Boxer Revolt". It was the Chinese replica of the great Indian Rising of 1857. 'In 1899 the Boxers, or "Fists for Justice and Peace," arose in Shantung. Begun as an anti-dynastic movement, it was astutely turned into an anti-foreign attack. Spreading over the north-east, it was taken up by the court party and the dowager; many foreigners, mostly missionaries, were killed or officially executed, thousands of Chinese Christians were murdered, the foreign legations were destroyed, all save the British Legation, which was besieged by the Chinese and relieved by the allied forces on August 14, 1900.'[3] The results of this will be assessed in the next chapter.

191. The Transformation of Japan:

The awakening of Japan is unique and unparalleled in human history. Such all round transformation as we find in modern Japan has, no doubt, been accomplished by many another country, but only after a long process of natural evolution as in England, or by violent revolution as in Soviet Russia. In the ancient world, Greece displayed a sudden and surprising gush of energy, after the overthrow of Persia, and created a wonderful culture; but Greece could never be united. The feeble imperialism of Athens proved abortive in the face of irrepressible centrifugalism of the Greeks. The Napoleon of Greece (Alexander) was a foreigner, and his work was even less effective than that of the Little Corsican. But we have in modern Japan, the rare combination of the creative energy of the ancient Greeks, the revolutionary fervour of the modern Russian, and the industrial and technical efficiency of the English. And all these characteristics have come to the forefront within less than a century. Indeed, in the *Awakening of the East*, the rise of Japan, though chronologically the last, has been the most significant and portentous. Since the seeds of the present are imbedded in the past, we must trace the history of Japan from where we left it in an earlier chapter.

A recent writer has divided Japanese history into three periods: (i) classical Buddhist Japan (1522-1603) 'suddenly civilized by China and Korea, refined and softened by religion, and creating the historic masterpieces of Japanese literature and art;' (ii) feudal Japan of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868), 'peaceful... isolated and self-contained, seeking no alien territory and no external trade, content with agriculture and wedded to art and philosophy'; (iii) modern Japan

3. Soothill, *A History of China*, pp. 65-6.

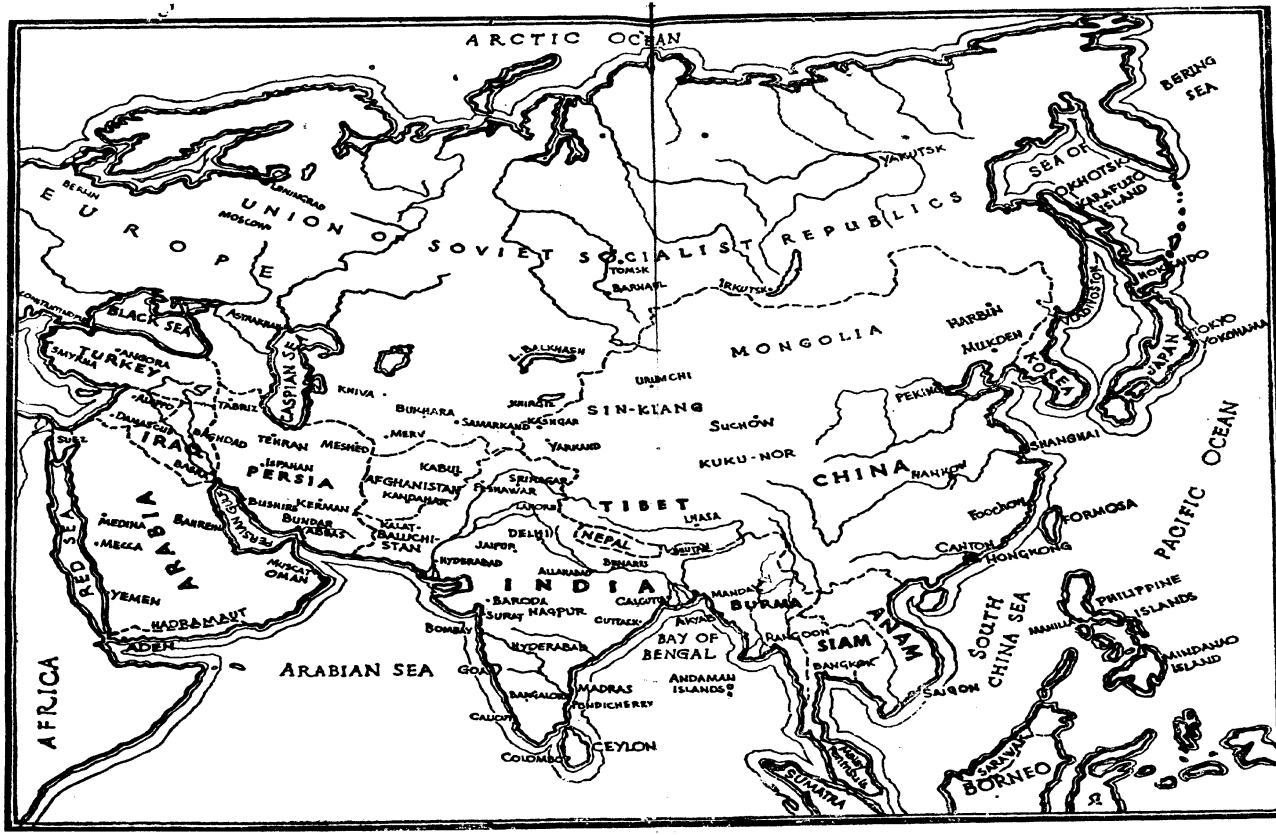
(since 1853) or 1868, 'seeking foreign material and markets, fighting wars of irrepressible expansion, imitating the imperialistic ardour and methods of the West, and threatening both the ascendancy of the white race and the peace of the world.'[4] We need refer here principally to the second of these periods. The greatest figure belonging to the earlier age was Hideyoshi (d. 1598).

Japan had long remained independent and aloof. Neither Kublai Khan nor Marco Polo could reach her. Hideyoshi, whose adventure in Korea in 1592 has been alluded to before, was the Clive of medieval Japan. Given up by his family as an intractable child, he grew up to be the most portentous of the *samurai* or swordsmen. Though his adventure in Korea proved abortive, Hideyoshi had the foresight of a Sir Josiah Child (who in 1685 dreamed of 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'): "With Korean troops," he assured his Emperor, "aided by your illustrious influence, I intend to bring the whole of China under my sway. When that is effected, the three countries (Korea, China and Japan) will be one. I shall do it as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it away under his arm."

The next important man to influence the destiny of Japan after Hideyoshi, was Iyeyasu (1603-16). He was a *Shogun* or military General, and exercised more power than the *Mikado* or Emperor himself. The Shoguns for a long time were almost invariably members of the *Minamoto* family. From the clan to which they belonged their regime was called the *Tokugawa Shogunate*. According to Lafcadio Hearn, "the Tokugawa period was the happiest in the long life of the nation." Professor Will Durant writes: "Iyeyasu organised peace as ably and ruthlessly as he had organized war, and administered Japan so well that it was content to be ruled by his posterity and his principles for eight generations."[5] The principles of Iyeyasu were summed up by himself thus: 'Take care of the people. Strive to be virtuous. Never neglect to protect the country.'

Internally Japan suffered from the evils of feudalism, but externally she appears to have been always united in her attitude towards foreigners. The patriotism of the Japanese is unique and ancient: it has been almost their true national religion. 'The Great Yamato (i.e. Japan),' wrote one in 1334,

4. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, II. p. 829.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 841.


ARCTIC OCEAN
BERING SEA
SEA OF OKHOTSK
KARAFUTO ISLAND
YAKUTSK
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
EUROPE
BERLIN
MOSCOW
LENINGRAD
TOMSK
BARNAUL
IRKUTSK
HOKKAIDO
HONSHU
HARBIN
MUKDEN
MONGOLIA
KOREA
JAPAN
TOKYO
YOKOHAMA
BLACK SEA
ASTRAKHAN
CASPIAN SEA
TURKEY
ANKARA
SMYRNA
BALKHASH
LAKE
URUMCHI
KHIVA
BUKHARA
SAMARKAND
KASHGAR
YARKAND
SIN-KIANG
SUCHOW
PEKING
TABRIZ
MERV
MESHED
TEHRAN
IRAQ
PERSIA
ISPAHAN
KABUL
AFGHANISTAN
KANDAHAR
PESHAWAR
SRINAGAR
KUKU-NOR
CHINA
NANKOW
SHANGHAI
FOOCHOW
FORMOSA
TIBET
LHASA
KERMAN
BUSHIRE
BUNDAR ABBAS
BALUCHISTAN
DELHI
NEPAL
BHUTAN
JAIPUR
HYDERABAD
ALLAHABAD
BENARES
CANTON
HONGKONG
PACIFIC OCEAN
ARABIA
MEDINA
MECCA
BAHREIN
MUSCAT
OMAN
YEMEN
HADRAMAUT
ADEN
RED SEA
INDIA
BARODA
SURAT
NAGPUR
CALCUTTA
MANDALAY
BURMA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
MANILLA
MINDANAO ISLAND
BOMBAY
CUTTACK
AKYAB
BAY OF BENGAL
RANGOON
SIAM
ANAM
SOUTH CHINA SEA
HYDERABAD
ARABIAN SEA
GOA
MADRAS
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
BANGALORE
PONDICHERRY
BANGKOK
SAIGON
CALICUT
CEYLON
COLOMBO
AFRICA
SUMATRA
SARAWAK
BORNEO

MODERN ASIA

'is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by the Divine Ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the Divine Land.' This has been the faith of the Japanese people ever since. As a corollary to it they have ever looked upon all foreigners with suspician if not hatred. Particularly has this been their attitude towards the white races—the Europeans.

192. Christianity in Japan:

The first European of note to enter Japan was St. Francis Xavier, the great and noble Jesuit missionary who introduced Christianity in that island in 1549. It is said that within a generaton after his coming there were not less than seventy Jesuits and 150,000 converts to Christianity in Japan. But soon the Japanese realised that the advent of the foreigners was a source of great danger, especially after a naive European trader told them: 'Our Kings begin by sending into countries they wish to conquer *religieux* who induce the people to embrace our religion; and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians; and then our Kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest.' The Japanese took this confession literally and promptly adopted measures to prevent their land from passing into the hands of such dangerous foreigners.

In 1614 the practice and preaching of Christianity were forbidden. By determined persecution that religion was stamped out from Japan by 1638. Since then, until the re-opening of that country to external intercourse after 1853 the doors of Japan remained closed to foreigners. During this period of over two centuries Japan continued to be steeped in feudal parochialism. She emerged out of this isolation in 1853-4 when the American adventurer, Commodore Perry, forced his way into Japan against the prohibition. This resulted in the Treaty of Kanagawa by which Japanese ports were once again opened to intercourse with the hated "barbarians." In return the United States offered to sell to Japan 'such arms and battleships as she might need, and to land officers and craftsmen for the instruction of this absurdly pacific nation in the arts of war.'

193. The Meiji Era:

The consequence was the great awakening of Japan in the *Meiji Era* (1867-1912) under its enlightened Emperor

Meiji Tenno. During this short period Japan transformed herself from an obscure feudal country into one of the most modern states. Hundreds of Japanese youths went to Europe and America and returned home with the zeal of Peter the Great for Europeanisation. 'Englishmen were brought in to superintend the construction of railways, the erection of telegraphs, and the building of a navy; Frenchmen were commissioned to recast the laws and train the army; Germans were assigned to the organization of medicine and public health; Americans were engaged to establish a system of universal education; and to make matters complete, Italians were imported to instruct the Japanese in sculpture and painting.' To quote a Japanese writer (Nitobe): 'Schools were opened for the study of foreign languages; academies shot up, where youths could receive instruction in military and naval tactics; raw recruits were drilled; foundries and smithies sprang into existence, and belfries were molested to furnish metal for arsenals.' As H.G. Wells has put it: Japan "made all European progress seem sluggish and tentative by comparison." The result was soon seen in her aggression in Korea and China referred to already (1894), her alliance with England (1902), and her epoch-making victory over Russia (1904-5). The last was the outcome of the Russian occupation of Port Arthur, from which Japan had been previously ousted. The 'Battle of the Sea of Japan,' observes Professor Will Durant, "was a turning point in modern history. Not only did it end the expansion of Russia into Chinese territory; it ended also the rule of Europe in the East, and began that resurrection of Asia which promises to be the central political process of our century. All Asia took heart at the sight of the little island empire defeating the most populous power in Europe; China plotted her revolution, and India began to dream of freedom."[6]

POINTS FOR STUDY

168. Comparison between the English and their European rivals.
169. The character of English Imperialism: Political, Economic & Liberal aspects.
170. Conditions leading to the Foundation of the Indian National Congress.
171. Character, Aims and Methods of the I.N.C. before its transformation by Mahatma Gandhi: Results.
172. Contrast between China and Japan: reasons for difference in reactions to the impact from Europe.
173. European settlements in S. E. Asia: results.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 919.

AWAKENING OF ASIA
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
1815 A.D.	Waterloo	Napoleon	Overthrow of Dictatorship in Europe.
1818 A.D.	Poona	Peshwa Bajirao II	Overthrow of Peshwa.
1857 A.D.	Delhi	Mughal Emperor Shah Alam	Overthrow of Mughals.
1763 A.D.	India-England	William Pitt	Regulating Act.
1833 A.D.			Reform Act that ushered in Liberal administration in India.
1858 A.D.		Queen Victoria	Extinction of the E.I.C.
1774-1833 A.D.	Bengal	Raja Ram Mohan Roy	Brahmo Samaj: reformist.
1824-83 A.D.	Gujarat	Dayananda Saraswati	Arya Samaj.
1842-1900 A.D.	Poona	M. G. Ranade	Liberal reformer.
1895-97 A.D.	Calcutta	Vivekananda	Touring America: messenger of Indian Culture.

1817-98 A.D.	Aligarh	Syed Ahmed Khan	Muslim reformer.
1834 A.D.			Recurring famines.
1876-77 A.D.			Vernacular Press Act.
1896-99 A.D.	India	Lord Ripon	
1878-81 A.D.			Grant of Local Self-Govt.
1884 A.D.			Ilbert Bill agitation.
1885 A.D.	Bombay		Indian National Congress founded.
1517 A.D.	Nanking		First Europeans in China. (Portuguese)
1637 A.D.	Canton		First English in China.
1792 A.D.		George III	First official embassy
1839-42 A.D.	China		Opium Wars.
1842 A.D.	Nanking		Treaty of Nanking.
1861-64 A.D.			Tai-ping revolt.
1899-1900 A.D.			Boxer revolt.
1549 A.D.	Japan		Christianity introduced.
1614-38 A.D.			Christianity banned.
1853-54 A.D.		Commodore Perry	Forced entry into Japan.
1867-1912 A.D.	Japan	Meiji Tenno (Emperor)	Meiji Era.
1902 A.D.			Alliance with England.
1904-5 A.D.	Port Arthur		Russo-Japanese War.

CHAPTER XXV

SOWING THE DRAGON'S TEETH

194. Five Despotic Empires.
195. Prussia since 1871.
196. Kaiser Wilhelm II.
197. World War I.
198. Victory without Peace.
199. Realism and Idealism.
200. The Russian Revolution.
201. Kemalist Turkey.
202. Fascist Italy.
203. Nazi Germany.
204. Other Explosive Elements.
205. Republican China.
206. Japanese Imperialism.
207. Events in India.

> If the world cannot organise against war, if war must go on, then the nations can protect themselves henceforth only by using whatever destructive agencies they can invent till the resources and inventions of science end by destroying humanity they were meant to serve.
>
> —VISCOUNT GREY

194. Five Despotic Empires:

"When war broke out in 1914," wrote Basil Matthews in the *Review of Reviews*, May 1920, "five empires of the despotic military type remained on the earth's surface. They were the German, the Austrian, the Turkish, the Russian and the Japanese. Today four out of the five are smashed in irretrievable ruin. Japan alone remains. The old European order has gone—the one Asiatic Power, rich now beyond the dream of avarice, with its man-power unimpaired and its ambitions vaster than those of Alaxender, leaps upon the stage fully equipped. On the face of it, then, the first and dominant facts of the world situation are in favour of the Orient." But

since the Orient today, as we saw in the preceding chapter, has been the creation of the Occident, we have to trace here the entire trend of World History in both the hemispheres.

Of the five Empires referred to above—Germany, Austria, Russia, Turkey, and Japan—the most formidable were Germany in Europe, and Japan in Asia. Though Austria was the oldest imperial power in Europe, her power had been successively curtailed since her loss of Silesia. Russia had steadily grown at her expense. Italy successfully revolted against her in 1861: Austria retired from Germany and formed the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy in 1867. She never recovered from the blow of Sadowa. Ever since then she was always tied to the apron-strings of Prussia. Her *Dual Alliance* with that country, effected in 1879, was to culminate in her sacrifices sustained during 1914-18, and finally in the Nazi *coup* of 1938. The Russian Empire crashed in 1917 after having sustained a series of internal and external shocks. The "sick man of Europe," despite the crutches supplied to him, from time to time by England and France, had been too frequently amputated to survive for long. He could live only in his new republican *avatar* of the Ata Turk, Kemal Pasha, in the post-war world.

195. Prussia since 1871:

Despite Bismarck's great triumphs over Austria and France, Germany was far from being a "satisfied nation." She had been the last in the race for colonies, and such places as she got 'in the sun' (her African colonies) were too scorching for her surplus population. Elsewhere she found herself anticipated by her Anglo-Saxon cousins. The Industrial Revolution created for Prussia all the insistent demands—for raw-materials and markets—that England had felt earlier; but her scope for expansion was circumscribed. Hence her struggle for existence became increasingly desperate. Hence her philosophers like Nietzsche began to inculcate the doctrine of "real politik;" and the patriotic aspirations of a united Germany turned from love of country to the love of more country. Her new "Kultur" tried to find expression in diplomacy and war.

France was not likely to reconcile herself to her loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the humiliation of Sedan, the German occupation of Paris, and the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871). Bismarck knew that France would continue to be Prussia's deadliest enemy. So he began to weave a sinister

web of diplomacy, every line of which was calculated to keep France isolated and weak. 'To obviate a rapprochement between France and Russia—a thing which above all others he dreaded—he encouraged France to establish a republican rather than a monarchical form of government. To alienate France from Italy he supported the French annexation of Tunis. To embroil France with Britain he favoured the British occupation of Egypt. To prevent Austria being drawn into an anti-Prussian fellowship with France he cultivated her friendship himself, and found means to bind the Central Empires together in the bonds of close alliance. Throughout the whole of the remainder of Bismarck's career as a statesman (1871-90) France was kept solitary and impotent.'[1]

196. Kaiser Wilhelm II:

Bismarck's mantle of leadership was soon assumed by Kaiser Wilhelm II who came to the throne in 1888. "Impulsive, imperious, dramatic, a militarist from the cradle, a statesman trained in 'the indirect, crooked ways' of Bismarck, governed by one passion, the passion to make his land great and powerful, how can we cast his horoscope?" asks A.G. Gardiner; and he answers: "Here was a new Napoleon, filled with dreams of glory, armed with the most gigantic military weapon in history." His ambition was omniously announced by him in his first address to his army: "I solemnly vow always," he declared, "to be mindful of the fact that the eyes of my ancestors are looking down upon me from the other world, and that one day I shall have to render to them an account both of the glory and the honour of the army." The Great War of 1914-18 was the fulfilment of this 'solemn vow.'

Bismarck had already in the year of Wilhelm's accession (1888) increased the German army by 800,000 'in shining armour.' The new Kaiser therefore set himself to the task of creating a great German navy; for without it his ambition of the Teutonic domination of the world (in commerce and colonisation) could not be achieved. So Heligoland was purchased from England herself in 1890, to form a splendid naval base for Germany; the excellent Kiel Canal was constructed; and strong naval stations were also built at Borkum, Cuxhaven, and Wilhelmshaven. A series of Naval Bills were passed to carry out the Kaiser's naval programme. In 1900, at the Paris Exhibition, the Germans openly proclaimed to the world in gold letters *"Our future lies on the water."*

1. Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History* (1815-1915) p. 272.

The 'peaceful penetration' of the world by German missionaries and merchants in the meanwhile had proceeded apace. For instance, while there were not more than 16,000 Germans in all their colonies at the accession of Wilhelm II, in Brazil alone there were not less than 350,000 Germans on the eve of the Great War. "At home science was put in commission to do its best—or worst... All their knowledge, their thoroughness, their powers of organisation—for in this also they have been unsurpassed—were turned to the production of zeppelins, submarines, krupp guns, mines, torpedoes, poison-gases, and other devices."[2] Railways were constructed with broad sidings for troops and cannons; and a bargain was struck with Turkey for the extension of the German railway-system to Baghdad—for penetrating into the Orient. While all other European Powers looked down upon the Sultan as "Abdul the damned", the Kaiser assiduously cultivated his friendship. Austria seized Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, though it was against the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (1878); and Germany, not merely connived at it, but prevented Russia from interfering on behalf of the Slavs, by a timely and successful display of her 'shining armour'. She herself twice poked her nose (or rather Eagle's beak) into French Morocco, in 1905 and 1911, to test her own strength and also that of her prospective enemies. But these adventures only served to bring about the dreaded coalition of the *Triple Entente* between England, France and Russia, which Bismarck had tried so much to prevent. The train thus prepared was set ablaze in 1914 when the Archduke of Austria and his wife were assassinated by the Serbians in the Bosnian capital *Serajevo.*

197. World War I:

The history of the War may be very briefly told. It lasted from August 1914 to November 1918. Starting with Austria's declaration of war on Serbia for the Serajevo murders, it gradually involved all the important Powers of the World. The tangle of alliances previously described dragged one country after another into the cock-pit. Germany entered the lists on account of Austria, and Russia on behalf of Serbia. The Franco-Russian alliance drew France into the field against the Central Powers (Germany and Austria), and the German attempt to enter France through Belgium (violating the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality as a mere 'scrap of paper') brought Great Britain and her Empire into the fray. Bul-

2. Russell, *The Tradition of the Roman Empire,* p. 237.

MODERN EUROPE

garia and Turkey were soon entangled with Germany and Austria, while Italy, Greece, and the Arabs joined the Allies (England and France) one after another. But the most decisive factor which tilted the balance and fortunes of war against the Germans and their allies was the entry of the United States of America in 1917. In the Far East, Japan threw in her weight on the side of England as a result of the Anglo-Japanese alliance formed in 1902.

Though in the course of human history longer wars (like the Hundred Years' War) had been fought, this Great War was unparalleled in its disastrous consequences. Not merely was it the first war in which the whole World was directly or indirectly involved, but it was also unique in its concentration of energies for the destruction of men and materials. It was the first war in human history to be fought in three dimensions, on account of the addition of the aerial arm and the submariane. Science revealed for the first time its baleful potentialities. During those four years of armageddon Humanity appeared to strain every nerve to see through the struggle once and for all. The following sketch of one of its trying moments might convey to the reader a faint glimpse of its grim character:

"In the low-lying plain of Flanders, where the British held Ypres salient against many German attempts to drive through to the channel ports, the warfare was partly amphibious since the trenches filled with water in the wet winter weather. At times, by day, there was hardly a sign of life above the ground, behind the barbed wire which protected the two lines of hostile trenches, with a No Man's Land of varying width between. Even the many rats kept their holes. At night, however, these muddy trenches became alive with armed figures in steel helmets, with gas-masks and mud-coloured uniforms. Back from the front line stretched the communication trenches, the support lines, the batteries of artillery, the miles of horse lines, the dressing stations for the wounded, the 'dumps' of ammunition and supplies of every kind, the aerodromes, the camps of relieving or attacking troops. This for most men of the Western Front, was 'the war,' which stretched on interminably for weeks, months, and years, broken by raids and attacks from either side, but unchanged in essence until shortly it came to an end. It was truly described as 'a war of attrition.' "[3]

3. Flenley and Weech, *World History*, p. 689.

The civil populations of the belligerent countries played as important and strenuous a part in this war as the combatants themselves. Their mobilisation was as vast and intensive as that of the soldiers recruited into the army. As H. G. Wells wrote: "The armies were millions strong; and behind them entire populations were organised for the supply of food and munitions to the front. There was a cessation of nearly every sort of productive activity except such as contributed to military operations. All the able-bodied manhood of Europe (as also of other countries involved) was drawn into the armies or navies or into the improvised factories that served them. There was an enormous replacement of men by women in industry. Probably more than half the people in the belligerent countries of Europe changed their employment altogether during this stupendous struggle. They were socially uprooted and transplanted. Education and normal scientific work was restricted or diverted to immediate military ends, and the distribution of news was crippled and corrupted by military control and 'propaganda' activities." The physical, mental, moral, and economic strain of this Great War was, indeed, enormous beyond calculation.

198. Victory without Peace:

The War was officially brought to a close on 11th November 1918 by the proclamation of Armistice. Its technical sequel was the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28th June 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors—just where the Germans had celebrated their triumph in 1871. The innocent Mirrors of Versailles therefore now reflected the inverted image of the Europe of 1871. Versailles was the reverse of which Frankfort was the obverse. But the French *revanche* was even more terrible and exacting than the Teutonic triumph of the previous century. France had been crippled by Bismarck but not paralysed. The Allies in 1919 sought to lay Germany under such a heavy load of "reparations" that she should never recover from its agonies. Besides territorial losses, they were asked to pay the modest indemnity of £8,000,000,000 as compensation for damage done, including pensions for the crippled and maintenance for the bereaved! "The atmosphere of hate was terrible," declared an eye-witness at the Peace Conference: *"A great moment, but I fear a peace without victory, just as we had a victory without peace."*[4]

4. Grant and Temperley, *Europe in the XIX & XX Centuries*, pp. 549-50.

Over a thousand delegates, representing more than thirty countries, attended 'this greatest conference in history', only the Germans, Austrians, Bulgars, and Turks were excluded. The terms were 'discussed' with them through circulation of papers, and their plenipotentiaries were called in only to sign the *fait accompli*. The deliberations were throughout dominated by the Big Four: Clemenceau 'the tiger' of France, Lloyd George 'the Shylock' of England, Wilson 'the Moses' of America, and Orlando 'the obscure' of Italy. India was 'represented' by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner 'looking magnificent in a pale khaki turban.' What they accomplished was little better than the achievements of the equally historic (or equally mischievous) Congress of Vienna (1815). They re-drew the map of the world and unsettled its peace. "We are beginning to realise", says Wells, "that that conflict, terrible and enormous as it was, ended nothing, began nothing, and settled nothing. It killed millions of people; it wasted and impoverished the world....The Great War lifted the threat of German imperialism from Europe, and shattered the imperialism of Russia. It cleared away a number of monarchies. But a multitude of flags still waves in Europe, the frontiers still exasperate, great armies accumulate fresh stores of equipment."[5]

199. Realism and Idealism:

The work of Versailles was a mixture of realism and idealism. The former was represented by Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and the latter by President Wilson of America. The redrawing of the map of the world and reparations were due to the former, and the constitution of a League of Nations was the achievement of the latter. To understand the World To-day it is necessary to know something about both. We will do this better in the next chapter.

The redistribution of territories was partly determined by the promises held out by England and France to their allies, and partly by the principle of nationality. First came the share of the major Powers. England and France shared between them the German colonies in Africa though only as 'mandatories'. France also received Alsace-Lorraine. The Saar valley was to be administered under a 'mandate' of the League of Nations; it reverted to Germany by a *plebiscite* of its people in 1935. On the East, Poland (which had been partitioned between Prussia, Russia, and Austria during the eighteenth century) was reconstituted as an independent state;

5. *A Short History of the World*, p. 244.

and a Polish Corridor was created up to Danzig on the Baltic, which port was handed over to the League of Nations. Another new state was created in Bohemia, re-christened Czecko-Slovakia, under its famous leader Mazaryk as first President. Austria and Hungary, considerably reduced in size, became two independent republics; parts of their territories being shared by Italy in the South and the new Balkan States in the East. Serbia and Montenegro combined to form Jugoslavia, and Roumania was enlarged with the addition of Transylvania. Bulgaria lost her hold on the Aegean and became one of the smallest of Balkan States. By agreement between Russia and Germany, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—in the Baltic region—were also constituted independent states. Turkey lost much of her remaining territories in Europe as well as Asia, and the Aegean islands. Though Constantinople was left to her, the Straits were demilitarised and internationalised. 'A dozen independent nations now stretched from the eastern Baltic to the Aegean, a veritable mosaic of states from the empires of Germany, Russia, Austria, and Turkey.'

The Allies had pompously proclaimed during the War that they were waging 'a war to end war' and 'war to vindicate the principle of self-determination.' The League of Nations, with its head-quarters at Geneva, was therefore constituted to maintain these ideals. The principle of nationality was largely given effect to in the reconstitution of states in Europe; and where other minorities existed, protection of such minorities was guaranteed to them under the ægis of the League. All disputes were to be settled, not by barbarous warfare as heretofore, but by peaceful arbitration. An International Court had been already set up at the Hague, as early as 1899; it was now rehabilitated as the Permanent Court of International Justice. Another important body that was also created was the International Labour Organisation (I. L. O.). It has done much useful work to improve the conditions of labour all over the World. We cannot dwell at length upon these matters here. Though the League of Nations suffered from the defects of its organisation, its recent failures in the political field, its non-recognition from its very inception by the U.S.A., its defiance by Germany, Japan, and Italy, in the pursuit of their selfish national ambitions, etc., it is too premature in the light of World History to write an epitaph on its feasibility.

Before we conclude this chapter we must, at least briefly, describe the main trends and new strands in the World since

the War. In their concrete aspects these relate to Russia, Turkey, Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, and India. Other factors and forces may be only incidentally referred to in a brief survey like this.

Russia had grown steadily in importance ever since the time of Peter the Great and Catherine. Alexander I had played a very prominent role, in the post-Napoleonic epoch, and with all his faults had been the inspirer of the Holy Alliance to uphold 'Christian principles' in the political relations of European states. He was thus the fore-runner of the Concert of Europe and the League of Nations. The Balkan policy of the Czars had created the Eastern Question which brought Russia into direct political conflict with the Western Powers. Balked by the Crimean War and the Treaty of Berlin they had turned to 'fresh fields and pastures new', across the tundras of Siberia, in the Far East. There too they came into conflict, as we have seen, with 'the England of the East.' The defeat of the Russian Armada in the Sea of Japan in 1905 drove the Russian bear growling into her own den. This had its own internal repercussions in the shape of portentous risings which were to culminate in the Red Revolution of 1917-18.

200. The Russian Revolution:

Russia had to pay a very heavy price for her participation in the Great War. She had, it will be remembered, taken up the sword on behalf of Serbia in 1914. In spite of her earlier victories against Germany and Austria, the War entailed such sufferings and strain at home that, her domestic malcontents created a revolution. The history of the Bourbons now repeated itself with the Romanoffs, Nicolas II and Alexandra playing the role of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. The 'morning star' of this Revolution was Carl Marx, as that of the French Revolution had been Rousseau; its Danton was Lenin, its Jacobins the Bolsheviki. To cut a long story short, on 25th October 1917 the Socialist Soviet Republic was proclaimed by the Communists under the leadership of Nicolai Lenin. Petrograd has become Leningrad.

With the death of Lenin in 1924 Russian Communism entered a new phase. A terrible duel ensued between Trotsky the Jew and Stalin the Georgian for the Dictatorship over the Proletariat (workers, soldiers, and peasants). After five years' struggle the Jewish journalist was ousted by Stalin ('the man of steel') in 1929. Trotsky went into exile from

Russia, and stood for a World Revolution; Stalin initially stood for the preliminary consolidation of the Revolution within Russia. While the idealist revolutionary was roaming abroad, the practical revolutionary was transforming Russia (through a series of Five Year Plans), so as 'to catch up and surpass the capitalist countries' in industrial progress.

201. Kemalist Turkey:

The sudden transformation of an Old World people, a transformation even more radical and surprising than that of the Japanese, as a result of the new forces released by the Great War, is best illustrated by the birth of New Turkey. Like Russia, old Turkey had collapsed during the War. The price she had to pay for her defeat was the Treaty of Sevrés (1920) which threatened to virtually wipe out 'the sick man' with only the ghost of the Sultan kept alive. The challenge of this disaster was taken up by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, leader of the Young Turk movement (which had started before the War), who organised a National Pact 'to win or be wiped out,' and, at the end of one of the most sanguinary yet heroic struggles recorded in human history, created a New Turkey out of the ashes of the old. The Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923) but gave international validity to an established fact when it recognised the Turkish Republic with Kemal Pasha as its President.

Kemal had begun as a rebel on whose head the nominal Sultan had placed a price; he lived to become the Dictator and abolished root and branch the entire old order represented by the Sultan (who was also the Caliph). The Caliphate was extinguished in March 1924 by the Turkish National Assembly, and since then Turkey has completely cut herself from her Oriental moorings. The substitution of the hat for the fez, and the Roman script for the Arabic were but outward marks of an inward change which the Ata Turk brought about under his Dictatorship. In short, Turkey was converted in the course of a decade, from being an atrophied Asiatic people, into a progressive and dynamic modern state.

202. Fascist Italy:

The next momentous change in the post-War world was the creation of the Fascist Dictatorship in Italy. The Kemal of this new order was Benito Mussolini. Exploiting the acute discontent in Italy after the War, Signor Mussolini—the son of a blacksmith, who had successively been a school-master,

journalist and socialist—led a successful march on Rome, in October 1922, and captured power for his party which was called the *Fascisti.* IL DUCE, as Mussolini was called in Italy was the head of the Fascist Grand Council which ruled the country in the name of the King, but really under the command of the Dictator. Mussolini revived in his country the ambitions and spirit of ancient Rome and set the feet of his countrymen on the road to imperial glory, though in doing so he upset the peace of the World. His conquest of Abyssinia (1935) and interference in the Civil War waged in Spain indicated the trend of his foreign policy. Internally he achieved enough unity, efficiency, and prosperity to hypnotise his people into acquiescence with both his Dictatorship at home and his chauvinism abroad.

203. Nazi Germany:

Germany, the principal author and victim of the Great War, could not also escape from its worst effects, political as well as economic. In the welter of reactions that followed, the Kaiser fled the country, and Deutschland became a Republic. A democratic constitution was drawn up at Weimer in February 1919, and Ebert (a sadler) elected first President. But the internal collapse of Germany was so complete that under the external pressure of the ruthless reparations she could not recover stability without a revolution. The great economic depression of 1929 found her in the *nadir* of her fall. Unemployment rose to fearful proportions. Out of the several competing solutions to this crisis the National-Socialism of Herr Hitler (son of an Austrian customs-collector) proved the most efficient. The Nazi party in Germany, drawing its inspiration from the Fascist party in Italy, launched another Dictatorship in Central Europe (1933) which with its Teutonic thoroughness startled the world even more violently than any other *coup* in history. In the course of five years it wrenched Germany out of the rut into which the victorious Allies had cast her at Versailles; it defiantly rescued the Germans from the paralysis of enforced disarmament; it created enormous employment in industry, agriculture, and armaments; it reoccupied the forbidden districts of the Rhineland, repudiated the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, absorbed Austria into the Reich by a most astounding stratagem, and threatened other neighbouring states with German populations, like Czecko-Slovakia, with a similar fate. Anti-French, anti-Communist, and above all anti-Semitic, the Nazi Dictator promulgated the new doctrine of 'Nordic superiority which engulfed Europe—and the rest of the World

—in a more cataclysmic struggle than the Kaiser had found feasible. The tentacles of the German eagle bound Italy and Japan in the ominous grip of an Anti-Comintern Pact. Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo, enclosed within a triangle, the peace of the World. The *swastika* adopted by the neo-Aryans of Germany became a truculent symbol of war instead of 'peace on earth and goodwill among men.'

204. Other Explosive Elements:

Turkey, Italy, and Germany were not the only countries to pass under Dictatorships in the Post-War world. The economic depression on the one hand, and the fear of external aggression on the other, and the universal menace of Communism in particular, tended to drive country after country into some form of authoritarian rule, either peacefully established as in Poland and Czecko-Slovakia, or violently created as in Greece and Spain. These two last-named countries fell into the throes of either occasional eruptions as in Greece, or prolonged civil war as in Spain. The latter country, invaded by General Franco from Morocco in 1936, became the battle ground of a virtual struggle for ascendancy between the forces of Socialism and Fascism, on account of the patently surreptitious support given to the two contending parties by their sympathisers all over Europe. It was only a question of time as to when this localised conflict would burst through the camouflage into a universal conflagration. The race for armaments among the Powers was an ominous petrel of the coming storm. Meanwhile the atmosphere was surcharged with the psychology of 'war and rumours of war'.

The vast and rapid changes that were taking place in the East since about the middle of the last century were also now bearing fruit. China after the Boxer Revolt (1900), Japan after the Russo-Japanese War (1905), and India after the Partition of Bengal (1905), were all different from what they had been for centuries past. They were undergoing rapid transformation along Western and Nationalistic lines; and each in its own way was not merely breaking with its own past, but also becoming impatient of Western domination. It is not surprising that the emulation of the West increasingly bred a dislike of European interference; the former is itself the cause of the latter. "There is no more amazing or portentous phenomenon in modern history," says Will Durant, "than the way in which sleeping Japan, roughly awakened by the cannon of the West, leaped to the lesson, bettered the instruction, accepted science, industry and war, defeated all her

competitors either in battle or in trade, and became, within two generations, the most aggressive nation in the contemporary world."[6] Japan appeared to be but the spear-head of Asia.

205. Republican China:

When England, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, and the U.S.A., all combined together to crush the Boxer Revolt in China, and imposed on her an indemnity of £330,000,000, and later remitted most of this indemnity on condition that it shall be spent on educating the youth of China in the countries that made the generous gesture, they laid the foundations of Modern China. The Revolution of 1912, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, the abdication of the Celestial Manchu Emperor Pu Yi, and the establishment of the Chinese Republic were the first fruits of the new awakening. But the sorrows of China were far from ended thereby. Her *Tuchuns* still continued to divide and distract the country. Russian communist propaganda, after 1922, added a fresh principle of discord. The dictatorship of Chang Kai-shek was the ultimate solution that China in her distress evolved in order to save herself. For now a greater danger than that of the European Powers was looming on her Eastern shore, viz., Japan. Sun Yat-sen had planned to ally China and Japan in their common revolt against the West; but Japan discovered in China's helplessness just the quarry she needed for exploitation under the spell of her recent developments. During the Great War she had allied herself with England and pounced upon the German possessions in China. Then she also pressed upon China her notorious 'Twenty-one Demands' which if conceded would have reduced that country to a Japanese dependency. The Chinese boycott movement and the protests of the Western Powers saved the situation for the time being. At the Washington Conference in 1922 the 'open door' policy was reaffirmed. But Japan, smarting under this frustration and awaiting a better opportunity, invaded Manchuria in 1931 in open defiance of the Washington declaration and the Nine-Power Pact. She wriggled out of the League of Nations on account of its protest against this violation, and set up Pú Yi (the Manchu Emperor dethroned by the Chinese in 1912) as her purppet 'Emperor' on the throne of Manchuria, renamed *Manchukuo*. She had already taken Korea and called it *Chosen*. The prolonged Sino-Japanese War (1937-46) was a sequel to the above described trends in the Far East.

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6. *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 913.

206. Japanese Imperialism:

The Japanese Imperialism of our time was anticipated in an Imperial announcement written in the autumn of 1916:—

"China is our steed!" it ran. "Far shall we ride upon her! ....So becomes our 50,000,000 race 500,000,000 strong; so grow our paltry hundreds of millions of gold into billions!....

"We are now well astride our steed, China, but the steed has long run wild and is run down; it needs grooming, more grain, more training. Further, our saddle and bridle are as yet mere make-shifts; would steed and trappings stand the strain of war?.....

"But using China as our steed, should our first goal be the land? India? Or the Pacific, the sea that must be our very own, even as the Atlantic is now England's. The land is tempting and easy, but withal dangerous....It must therefore be the sea."[7] The consequences of these ambitions are described in the next chapter.

207. Events in India:

The awakening in India, described earlier received a fresh impetus in the course of the present century on account of several events of world importance. The first of these was the Japanese victory which synchronised with the 'partition' of Bengal. "The reverberations of that victory," Lord Curzon himself said, "have gone like a thunderclap through the whispering galleries of the East." It created a new self-confidence among the politically conscious people all over Asia. Under the circumstances the partition of Bengal cut like a deep wound which aroused national feeling from one end of the country to another, though it directly touched only the people of Bengal. The constructive nationalism of the Congress was driven by it into more radical channels. Though a temporary split occurred in the ranks of the nationalists on account of this extremism, from 1907 to 1916, not only were the two sections brought together in the Lucknow session of the Congress, but even the Muslim League which had stood aloof until then came in to form a new coalition. The inadequacy of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 had given rise to much discontent. It was not allayed by Their Majesties' visit to India and the restoration of the integrity of Bengal (1911). India made whole-hearted sacrifices during the Great War in

7. H. G. Franks, *The Riddle of the Orient*, pp. 31-2.

men, money, and materials with great expectations about the future. But the events that followed after the British triumph deepened India's distrust in the good faith of her foreign masters. Even the moderates of earlier years turned extremists in the post-War period in India. The new trend was personified in Mahatma Gandhi who transformed the Indian National Congress from a supplicating body into a revolutionary organisation, though the methods he inculcated were non-violent. The weapon of 'passive resistance' which he had forged in upholding the self-respect of the Indian community in South Africa, was now elaborated into the Non-co-operation movement of 1921, and ultimately developed into the more active 'civil disobedience' campaign of 1931. The Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 only served to whet the national appetite for a greater advance towards responsible government. The frustration of these hopes even drove some to agitate for complete independence instead of mere 'dominion status.' The pace being thus forced by the progressive intensification of the national demand, India reached the threshold of a Federation of autonomous provinces by the Reform Act of 1935.

POINTS FOR STUDY

174. Reasons for the disappearance of Monarchies in the 20th century.
175. Relationship between Nationalism and Democracy: results.
176. The rise and fall of modern Italy and Germany: significance.
177. Importance and consequences of the Russian Revolution.
178. Comparison between Fascist (Nazi) and Proletarian Dictatorships.
179. National Metamorphosis: (a) the Kemalist way; (b) the Japanese way.
180. Causes of the Sorrows of China.
181. Dawn of India's liberation.

SOWING THE DRAGON'S TEETH
(Outstanding Features)

Dates	Places	Personalities	General
1861 A.D. 1867 A.D. 1879 A.D. 1938 A.D.	Italy Austria-Hungary Austro-Prussia	Cavour Bismarck Hitler	Free from Austria. Dual Monarchy formed. Dual Alliance. Nazi coup in Vienna.
1888-1918 A.D. 1914-18 A.D. 1917 A.D. 1919 A.D.	Germany U. S. A. Versailles	Kaiser Wilhelm II President Wilson	Dominates Europe. World War I. Enters War: League of Nations. Peace Conference.
25th Oct. 1917 A.D. 1924 A.D. 1929 A.D.	Russia	Lenin Trotsky Stalin	U.S.S.R. proclaimed. Death of Lenin. Exiles Trotsky
1920 A.D. 1923 A.D. 1924 A.D.	Turkey	Kemal Pasha President of Turkish Republic	Treaty of Sevres. Treaty of Lausanne. Caliphate abolished.

1922 A.D. 1935 A.D. 1933 A.D. 1936 A.D.	Italy Germany Spain	Mussolini Hitler Franco	March on Rome. Conquest of Abyssinia. Dictator. Invades from Morocco.
1912 A.D. 1922 A.D. 1937-46 A.D.	China	Sun Yat Sen	Communist troubles. Forms Republic. Sino-Jap. War.
1905 A.D. 1909 A.D. 1911 A.D. 1921-48 A.D. 15th Aug. 1947 A.D.	India	Lord Curzon Morley & Minto George V Mahatma Gandhi	Partition of Bengal. Visit to India: Partition Reforms cancelled. Congress wins freedom for India.

CHAPTER XXVI

IN SEARCH OF PEACE

208. From War to War.
209. Science and Civilisation.
210. League of Nations and the U.N.O.
211. India and the World.

"I shall never cease to use my utmost endeavours for establishing peace among Christians; and if I should not succeed, it will be honourable to die in such an endeavour."
—HUGO GROTIUS (1583-1645)

208. From War to War:

The world three centuries since Hugo Grotius died in search of "peace among Christians" is no nearer the millennium than it was ever before. The trends and happenings described in the preceding chapter were certainly not calculated to bring about that happy consummation. The sowing of the Dragon's teeth, so assiduously carried on by the "Christian" nations, was bound to end in Armageddon, as it inevitably did. World War I (1914-18) was ostensibly fought in order "to end war" and to "make the world safe for democracy". The results were quite the contrary: the retreat, if not the death, of democracy was marked by the rise of Fascism, Nazism and other military Dictatorships all over the world. The Rome-Berlin Axis was joined up with Tokyo to form a Triangle of Death in which the Peace and Freedom of peoples, East and West, were threatened with total extinction. The catastrophe to human civilisation, known as World War II, lasted from 1939-45—we must add, in its active phase; for, though it is supposed to have ended (so far as Germany-Italy-Japan were concerned), the world is still groaning under the heels of its militarists.

The Versailles settlement of 1919 was no more successful than that of Vienna in 1815, because it was no more realistic or honest. If the Vienna settlement cut across *national* boundaries, the Versailles settlement—though the principle of "self-determination" was loudly proclaimed—ignored important *minorities*. Besides, it rested on the assumption that a

verile people like the Germans could be permanently suppressed. Lastly, it imposed on the defeated nations war burdens in the shape of "reparations" which even victor powers like Britain and France—in the form of war-debts—were obliged to repudiate. Some idea of the size of these burdens may be obtained from the following figures:—

Europe owed to U.S.A. (State loans) ..	$11,000,000,000
Additional private loans	$ 5,000,000,000
Accrued interest on loans during 62 years over which repayment was spread made total indebtedness	$22,000,000,000

The war boom was followed by a world economic depression and widespread unemployment. The problems and controversies created by World War I and its aftermath were drowned or suspended by the outbreak of World War II. The havoc wrought by this "total war" is beyond calculation, both in men and materials. At a modest estimate it is stated that ten million men were decimated and as many disabled for life. The U.S.A. which was least affected alone lost 150,000 lives The number of the "displaced" in Europe alone has been five million persons. The moral unsettlement is so great that Giant Despair seems to lie athwart the path of human progress. Crime and corruption are rampant even in the homes of the victors; the defeated Axis powers (Germany-Italy-Japan) are lying low in the dust. Partitions of Germany, Palestine and China are still in process. They are gaping and rankling wounds which might restart Armageddon at any moment resulting in World War III. The prospects of peace therefore are receding farther than ever in this war-riven world.

The sudden collapse of the Axis powers was brought about by the dropping of the Atom Bomb on Hiroshima on the 6th August 1945 and on Nagasaki on the 9th August. This new weapon was a million times more destructive than TNT; yet it was carried by a lone plane over thousands of miles to fulfil its fatal mission. For the time being it appeared that the nation which produced this ghastly missile could easily rule the whole world. But Science is no monopoly of any single nation. Russia which has not been less dynamic than U.S.A., since her Communist Revolution, seems to have already "stolen the thunder" from her rival for world domination. The peace and prosperity of the world are at the mercy of these two colossal powers. The Fate of Homo Sapiens is

wavering in the balance at one end of which is the United Nations Organisation and at the other Real Politik. The Atom Bomb and its Scientific Equivalents with their potentialities for good and evil are holding the key: shall human civilisation be destroyed by its own inventions?

209. Science and Civilisation:

Life in the ancient and even medieval times was simpler, in that its organisation was less intricate than it is now. With increased complexity has also come better organising ability which has made man more powerful for construction as well as destruction. The secret of this power, for good and evil, is summed up in the magical word 'Science.' It is exercising over modern man the same influence that magic did over the ancient and medieval. Having its roots deep down in the Past, Science has come into its very own in our times.

In studying the significance of this most vital force in the modern world we must distinguish between Pure science and Applied science. Pure science concerns the intellectual few, while Applied science has affected the lives of all. Applied science is Science in relation to practical life. It is the 'science of tools' or 'technology' which began with the inventions of the palæolithic man and still continues to transform the earth and human life in a most wonderful manner. Its first marvel was revealed in the mechanical inventions devised by Heron, the Alexandrian mathematician of the first century A.D., and its potentialities disclosed by the genius of Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth century A.D. The versatility of Leonardo has been referred to before. 'Architect, sculptor, painter and engineer,' as Mr. Marvin has said, 'no one exhibits more clearly in his own person the intimate connexion between actual constructive work and the imaginative use of the mind. He devised himself some good dozen of inventions which have since become popular and useful—pumps, shiplogs, power-looms and many others, and, from the flight of birds, designed a flying machine which in his hands remained a sketch. The same brain worked, too, in studying the anatomy of animals, the traces and meaning of fossils, the laws of motion and their relation to sound and light....The practical work, on which he chiefly lived, was that needed by the rulers and people of his day—great hydraulic and irrigation works in Lombardy, fortifications for Duke Ludovico Sfroza of Milan....Besides his engineering achievements in fortification, he is credited with the invention of a submarine boat and a breech-loading cannon. Such intermixture of constructive work with the

planned destruction of human life has gone on so far throughout the course of history.'

The above sketch of Leonardo da Vinci correctly depicts the entire range and character of technology in the Modern World. What we witness in the world to-day is but the logical development of the Italian's anticipations. To know more about these developments one has to go to special histories of the subject, like *The Endless Quest* by F. W. Westaway. In addition to the inventions of the Chinese (mariner's compass, gun-powder, paper and the printing-press), and the textile and locomotive engines, referred to earlier, we might mention only a few more scientific achievements here to illustrate the above remarks. The operation of all kinds of machinery for all varieties of purposes became easy on account of the discovery, first of steampower, and then of electricity. The American Franklin, the Italian Volta, and the British Farady, by their investigations regarding electrical phenomena made the telegraph possible in 1835. The first under-sea cable was laid between England and France in 1851. The discovery of the 'Hertzian Waves,' or electric vibrations in ether, introduced the wireless with which we are now familiar. Now the world is looking forward to becoming as familiar with 'television.' The discovery of the X-ray, by the German Röntgen in 1895, has enabled surgeons to see through a living body and observe its innermost operations, while the use of anæsthetics (*e.g.* chloroform) has revolutionised surgical practice. These striking discoveries of modern science, taken almost at random, should suffice to focus the reader's attention upon this phase of recent human history which has revolutionised our lives to an extent and in a manner never dreamed of before by man in the long ages of his evolution.

Rather than attempt even a bare summary of the vast and varied achievements of Science, it will be more worthwhile to gauge their significance to human history. Theoretically, man, in the beginning of his career, was faced with the double problem of understanding himself and his vast and overwhelming environment; in practice, he had to master his own personality within and subdue the forces of Nature without. The history of Philosophy is one long record of persistent human striving to apprehend Reality or the meaning of life and existence; while the history of Science is one long record of man's continued effort to gain control over the same. In the Modern Age both our knowledge regarding ourselves (physically, mentally, spiritually), and our knowledge regarding the Universe in which we live, is the richest ever attained

by men. Likewise, our command of all the rich resources of our material existence is the completest ever exercised by *homo sapiens* on earth. The world in which we live, with all its comforts, complexities, and problems, is the map or index of our accumulated heritage. It is obvious that the future of our race will depend upon what use we make of this inheritance. The problem of problems to-day is to master the technological forces created by Science, and harness them to the *service*, instead of the *destruction*, of Humanity. "A new gigantic material frame-work for human affairs," H. G. Wells has observed, "has come into existence. Clearly it demands great readjustments of our social, economical, and political methods."

210. League of Nations and the U.N.O.:

The devastating effects of the newly invented Atom Bomb have brought home to us the deadly potentialities of Science. It is being realised more and more that unless this power for good and evil is effectively placed under International control, in order to guarantee against its misuse by some ambitious and aggressive nation, the freedom and happiness of mankind will be in jeopardy. The League of Nations which was the child of World War I failed to achieve universal peace chiefly because of the condition that for any action complete unanimity was needed by its very constitution. Secondly, it had no military force—the ultimate sanction—at its command with which to enforce its decisions. Thirdly, for all practical purposes, it was a League of Governments (not peoples who desired peace) wherein the Big Powers wielded dictatorial authority. In spite of its minor utilities, therefore, the failure of the League of Nations was so patent that it was formally wound up during World War II. Nevertheless, the need for a more effective organisation with the same objective—of securing universal Peace—was being felt even more keenly than ever before. Hence, at a conference held at Dumbarton Oaks (near Washington), in August-October 1944, the idea was conceived of what has now become the U.N.O. or United Nations' Organisation. It comprises a General Assembly, a Security Council, an International Court of Justice, a Secretariat, an Economic and Social Council, and a Military Staff Committee. The provision of the last is calculated to put into the hands of the U.N.O. just the sanction which its predecessor lacked. By the insistence of Russia, it was decided that each Nation represented in the Security Council shall have one vote, that a minimum of seven out of its eleven

members would be necessary for procedural matters, and that a similar majority would be necessary in the settlement of International disputes "provided there was agreement between the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France and China." The parties to a dispute, however, shall not be voters in such cases. Against the requirement of unanimity under the League of Nations which was impossible to attain, the new organisation provided for a two-thirds majority of those present and voting "in all important matters"; in others a [redacted] majority is considered sufficient. This constitution was finalised at the San Francisco Conference held on the 25th April, 1945, when representatives of fifty Nations were present. The United Nations' Charter came into effect on 21st October 1945. It also created an Atomic Energy Commission in order to ensure the harnessing of the new-found power for human welfare.

On 14th June, 1946, Bernard M. Baruch, the American delegate, proposed a plan to surrender Atomic Bomb information "under a system of international control not subject to veto by the Big Powers". Nevertheless, a deadlock was created by Gromyko (Russia) by his insistence on the exercise of the veto. Russia also failed to respect the verdict of the U.N.O. in respect of her dispute with Iran, though she came to a private settlement with that country by which she pocketed some oil-concessions advantageous to herself. Meanwhile disputes in Germany, Palestine and China, as well as a general alignment of minor powers on the Right and the Left, have created a tense situation which threatens to burst into open war at any moment. While Russia is supposed to be mobilising behind "the iron curtain" and pushing her "spheres of influence" day by day., U.S.A. is equally busy piling up armaments furiously and building up a "dollar wall" against the advancing tide of "Communistic Imperialism." A recent utterance of President Truman (17th April 1948) put the American attitude in a nutshell:

"The basic facts which make the problem of such fundamental importance are plain. The world stands now at one of the decisive points in history. Emerging from the most terrible of all wars people all over the earth are fixing anew the pattern of civilisation. By virtue of the strength with which we have been blessed the United States is the chief support to the people of the world who are seeking to rebuild civilisation in accordance with the principles of democracy and freedom. The heart of our support is economic assistance.

To be effective it must be coupled with sufficient military strength to give the free peoples of the world some sense of security while they rebuild."

The psychology of the Western peoples is best illustrated by the reported views of the Church of England Commission which was asked to define its attitude towards war. It declared in favour of preparations for atomic resistance to atomic agression, stating frankly that "if one nation began hostilities against another by launching an attack with atomic weapons upon its principal cities, the only hope of effective defence would be in bringing overwhelming force to bear upon the enemy immediately". The peace among "Christians" of which Hugo Grotius dreamed in the seventeenth century seems, therefore, no nearer attainment today than in his time. It is a poor consolation to suffering and bewildered humanity to be told that "it will be honourable to die in such an endeavour."

211. India and the World:

Events in India which we described in the last chapter down to the Reform Act of 1935 have marched with incredible speed. While the challenge from the Indian National Congress brought India to the threshold of political freedom in the form of Provincial Autonomy, the Centre still continued to be the bastille of autocracy. The crisis of the War in 1942 brought Britain to the verge of despair, so much so that when the war ended, after a last spate of futile repression, she finally decided upon total liberation of India. This act of national abdication from imperial domination and exploitation was brought about on the 15th August 1947 with an amount of grace and good feeling that in spirit it could be considered as the harbinger of a new world. On account of this, Clement Atlee the Prime Minister of England and Lord Mountbatten the first Governor General of free India deserve to go down in History as the heralds of a New Age in human and political relations between two divergently constituted peoples like the Indian and British. However, the trials of India have not yet ended. India in the very process of national liberation has been cut into two: India and Pakistan. This has been the bitter fruit of reactionary communalism cherished during centuries of foreign domination. Nevertheless, patriotic idealists are still dreaming of a Re-Union—not by force but through goodwill between the 'nationals' of the two Indias. The price of partition in blood, sufferings and material losses,

has been so enormous that it has had a sobering and chastening effect upon the really honest on both sides of the hedge. Kashmir and Hyderabad are as yet unsolved problems. The former has been hanging fire in the U.N.O. while the latter is exercising the best statesmanship of the Indian Union. But the wisdom and capacity with which the government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has tackled other trying issues—like the transplantation of millions of people and the relations with the hoary States—provides a basis for optimism regarding India's future. The integration or merger of the princely states has been brought about with such rapidity and smoothness that it will be regarded as one of the miracles of Indian history to rank next only to the withdrawal of British imperialism from this ancient land. At the same time the ideological tug-of-war that is now in progress on the world stage has up till now failed to draw India into its vicious vortex. The attitude of India is one of dignified independence in international affairs. The terrible calamity of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, at Delhi on the 30th January 1948, which shook the world as no other single event had ever done before, was not an indicator of India's renunciation of his great and noble teachings. Happenings since then have shown that India will ever strive to live up to his message and influence world history by that inspiration. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself, that mission is expressed in the following affirmation which embodies the SOUL OF INDIA:

"MY GOAL IS FRIENDSHIP WITH THE WORLD AND I CAN COMBINE THE GREATEST LOVE WITH THE GREATEST OPPOSITION TO WRONG."

POINTS FOR STUDY

182. The root causes of modern war: political and economic.
183. Constructive utility of Science: record of contributions.
184. Constitution of the U.N.O. and its various activities.
185. American and Russian claims and realities.
186. Recent problems and achievements of India.

A NOTE ON SUPPLEMENTARY READING

The literature available on *World History* is so vast that it is not easy to prescribe a satisfactory Bibliography on the subject without either confusing the reader or leaving out what some may consider important books. The following list is intended merely to just enable the student to supplement information contained in the text, particularly along the lines suggested by the "Points for Study" given at the end of each Chapter. Care has been taken to include the latest helpful books available. In addition to these, it is advisable to look into the works referred to in the foot-notes, as far as possible.

A First Book of World History, by Hearnshaw (Macmillan), is the most lucid Introduction to the subject available within so brief a compass. This little book of less than 200 crown pages should be thoroughly mastered in order to obtain the "hang" of the subject: outline, main topics and trends.

Glimpses of World History, by Jawaharlal Nehru (Kitabistan), is an informal presentation of the subject in the form of letters addressed to the author's daughter. Consequently it is somewhat disjointed as well as repetitive at places. It also contains personal introductory material which is not strictly relevant to the theme dealt with. Nevertheless the book is an admirable presentation of *World History* for Indian students from the points of view of style, approach and perspectives. No Indian student should miss it.

The Conquest of Civilisation, by J.H. Breasted (Harpers), is the best single-volume presentation of Ancient History, though it confines itself to the Mediterranean world chiefly. It must be supplemented with Will Durant's *Story of Civilisation* (New York), which is at once more comprehensive as well as graphic.

Old Civilisations of the new World, by A. Hyatt Verrill (New York), provides a full picture of the Mayas, Aztecs and Incas of Ancient America about whom information is not easily available.

A History of World Civilisation, by James E. Swain (MacGraw Hill), is the most satisfactory single-volume book which deals with the entire subject from all points of view and is at the same time up-to-date (1947). It deals with Eastern

as well as Western history and civilisations. No careful student can afford to be unfamiliar with this good book.

A Short History of the Far East, by K. S. Latourette (Macmillan), is a good recent survey (1947) of Eastern history which has been either totally neglected by most other writers or only scrappily dealt with.

New Outline History of the World Since 1914, by J.H. Landman (New York), brings the story of mankind down to 1946. It contains a clear summary of recent happenings with chapters on Cultural trends.

The New Illustrated World History, edited by J. Hammerton (Wise & Co.), is an interesting reference book (1364 pages) dealing with events down to January 1947.

The Creative Centuries, by H.J. Randall (Longmans), is an excellent model of how History should be studied as a record of human development.

Ancient Indian History and Culture, by S.R. Sharma (Hind Kitabs), will provide the student with sufficient material on an important aspect of *World History* in which Indian readers would be most interested.

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