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the existence of one universal God, the creator and ruler of the universe. Some scholars believe that a form of monotheism may have originated with the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaton (r. 1367–1350 B.C.E.), although too little is known about his ideas and practices to be certain. Only in the Old Testament do we find the first unquestioned proof of monotheistic belief. This idea may be as old as Moses, as the Jewish tradition asserts, and it certainly dates as far back as the prophets of the eighth century B.C.E.

The Jewish God is neither a natural force nor like human beings or any other creatures. He is so elevated that those who believe in him are forbidden to picture him in any form. The faith of the Jews derives special strength from their belief that God made a covenant with Abraham, an agreement that Abraham's progeny would be a chosen people who would be rewarded for following his commandments and the law he revealed to Moses.

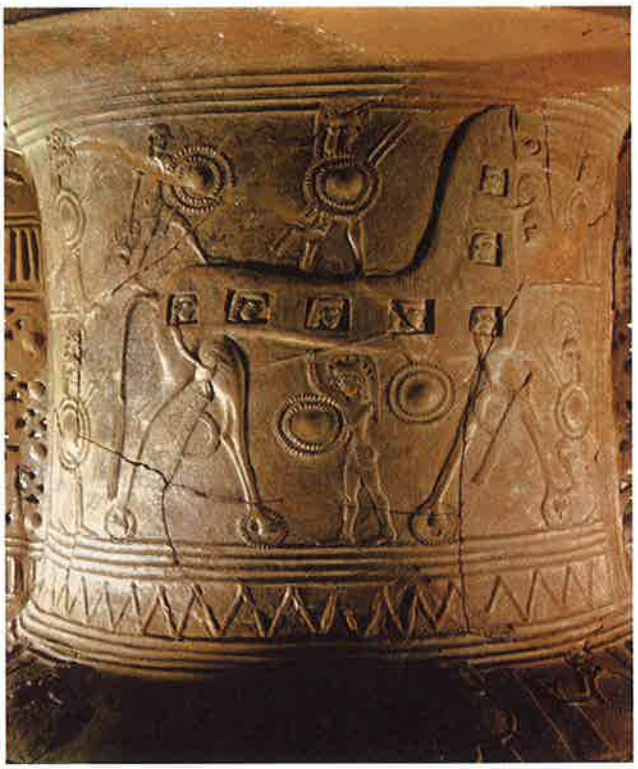
An essential ingredient of Jewish religious thought is the powerful ethical element it introduces. God is a severe but just judge. Ritual and sacrifice are not enough to achieve his approval. People must be righteous, and God himself appears to be bound to act righteously. The Jewish prophetic tradition was a powerful ethical force. The prophets constantly criticized any falling away from the law and the path of righteousness. The prophets placed God in history, blaming the misfortunes of the Jews on God's righteous and necessary intervention to punish them for their misdeeds, but the prophets also promised the redemption of the Jews if they repented. The prophetic tradition expected the redemption to come in the form of a Messiah (deliverer). Christianity, emerging from this tradition, maintains that Jesus of Nazareth was that Messiah.

Jewish religious ideas influenced the future development of the West, both directly and indirectly. The Jews' belief in an all-powerful creator, righteous himself and demanding righteousness and obedience from humankind, a universal God who is the father and ruler of all peoples, is a critical part of the Western heritage. (See "The Second Isaiah Defines Hebrew Monotheism," page xlii.)

▼ The Greeks

Western civilization as a distinct culture began with the Greeks. Greek-speaking people from the north settled the lands surrounding the Aegean Sea in the second millennium B.C.E. They established a style of life and formed ideas, values, and institutions that spread far beyond the Aegean corner of the Mediterranean Sea. They later influenced and shaped Roman society. Preserved and adapted by the Romans, Greek culture powerfully influenced the society of western Europe in the High Middle Ages and dominated the Byzantine Empire in the same period.

The Greeks of the Classical Age (500–400 B.C.E.) inherited and adapted many important elements of their culture from earlier civilizations (see Map I–3, page xliii). The Minoan civilization (ca. 2900–1150 B.C.E.), with its center on the island of Crete, was literate. Its records reveal a palace-centered organization ruled by a king who was served by an extensive bureaucracy that kept remarkably detailed records. This sort of organization is typical of what we find in the Near East but is nothing like what is found among the Greeks. The Minoans powerfully influenced the Mycenaeans, a Greek-speaking people who dominated the mainland of Greece and the islands of the Aegean in the latter part of the Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1150 B.C.E.). Mycenaean civilization collapsed and gave way to a period often called the Greek Dark Ages (ca. 1150–750 B.C.E.). During this time, a new Hellenic culture, influenced by the Mycenaean world, but essentially independent of it, took shape. (See "Husband and Wife in Homer's Troy," page xliv)



The "Trojan Horse," depicted on a seventh-century B.C.E. Greek vase. According to legend, the Greeks finally defeated Troy by pretending to abandon their siege of the city, leaving a giant wooden horse behind. Soldiers hidden in the horse opened the gates of the city to their compatriots after the Trojans had brought it within their walls. Note the wheels on the horse and the Greek soldiers holding weapons and armor who are hiding inside it. Greek 10th–6th centuries B.C.E. Trojan Horse and Greek Soldiers. Relief from neck of an earthenware amphora (640 B.C.E.) from Mykanos, overall ht. 120 cm. Archeological Museum, Mykonos, Greece. Art Resource, NY © Photography by Erich Lessing

THE SECOND ISAIAH DEFINES HEBREW MONOTHEISM

The strongest statement of Hebrew monotheism is found in these words of the anonymous prophet whom we call the Second Isaiah. He wrote during the Hebrew exile in Babylonia, 597–539 B.C.E.

How is the deity in this passage different from the deities of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian societies? Are there any similarities? Many peoples have claimed that a single god was the greatest and the ruler over all others. What is there in this selection that claims a different status for the Hebrew deity?

42

5 Thus says God, the Lord
who created the heavens and stretched them out,
who spread forth the earth and what comes from it,
who gives breath to the people upon it and spirit to those who walk in it:
6 I am the Lord, I have called you in righteousness,
I have taken you by the hand and kept you;
I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations,
7 to open the eyes that are blind,
to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon,
from the prison those who sit in darkness.
8 I am the Lord, that is my name;
my glory I give to no other,
nor my praise to graven images.
9 Behold, the former things have come to pass, and new things I now declare;
before they spring forth I tell you of them."

44

6 Thus says the Lord, the King of Israel and his Redeemer, the Lord of hosts:
"I am the first and I am the last; besides me there is no god.
7 Who is like me? Let him proclaim it,
let him declare and set it forth before me.
Who has announced of old the things to come?
Let them tell us what is yet to be.
8 Fear not, nor be afraid;
have I not told you from of old and declared it?
And you are my witnesses!
Is there a God besides me?
There is no Rock; I know not any."

49

22 Thus says the Lord God:
"Behold, I will lift up my hand to the nations,
and raise my signal to the peoples;
and they shall bring your sons in their bosom,
and your daughters shall be carried on their shoulders
23 Kings shall be your foster fathers,
and their queens your nursing mothers.
With their faces to the ground they shall bow down to you,
and lick the dust of your feet.
Then you will know that I am the Lord;
those who wait for me shall not be put to shame."
24 Can the prey be taken from the mighty, or the captives of a tyrant be rescued?
25 Surely, thus says the Lord:
"Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken, and the prey of the tyrant be rescued,
for I will contend with those who contend with you
and I will save your children.
26 I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh,
and they shall be drunk with their own blood as with wine.
Then all flesh shall know
that I am the Lord your Savior,
and your Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob."

Bible, Revised Standard Version (New York: Division of Christian Education, National Council of Churches, 1952).

Map I–3 **THE AEGEAN AREA IN THE BRONZE AGE** The Bronze Age in the Aegean area lasted from about 1900 to about 1100 B.C.E. Its culture on Crete is called Minoan and was at its height about 1900–1400 B.C.E. Bronze Age Helladic culture on the mainland flourished from about 1600–1200 B.C.E.

At some time in their history, the Greeks of the ancient world founded cities on every shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Pushing through the Dardanelles, they placed many settlements on the coasts of the Black Sea in southern Russia and as far east as the approaches to the Caucasus Mountains. The center of Greek life, however, was always the Aegean Sea and the lands in and around it. This location at the eastern end of the Mediterranean very early put the Greeks in touch with the more advanced civilizations of the Near East.

The *Polis*

The characteristic Greek institution was the ***polis*** (plural, *poleis*). The common translation of that word as "city-state" is misleading, for it says both too much and too little. All Greek *poleis* began as little more than agricultural villages or towns and many stayed that way, and so the word *city* is inappropriate. All of them were states, in the sense of being independent political units, but they were much more than that. The *polis* was thought of as a community of relatives. All its citizens,

HUSBAND AND WIFE IN HOMER'S TROY

Homer's poems provide a picture of early Greek ideas and institutions. In the Iliad, *the poet tells of the return from the battle of the Trojan hero Hector. He is greeted by his loving, "warm, generous wife," Andromache, who is carrying their baby son. Hector reaches for the boy, who is frightened to tears by the plume on his father's helmet. The father removes the helmet and prays that his son will grow up to be called "a better man than his father . . . a joy to his mother's heart." The rest of the scene reveals the character of their marriage and the division of responsibility between men and women in their world.*

How does Homer depict the feelings of husband and wife toward one another? What are the tasks of the aristocratic woman revealed in this passage? What can be learned about the attitude toward death and duty?

So Hector prayed
and placed his son in the arms of his loving wife.
Andromache pressed the child to her scented
breast,
smiling through her tears. Her husband noticed,
and filled with pity now, Hector stroked her gently,
trying to reassure her, repeating her name:
"Andromache,
dear one; why so desperate? Why so much grief
for me?
No man will hurl me down to Death, against my
fate.
And fate? No one alive has ever escaped it,
neither brave man nor coward, I tell you—
it's born with us the day that we are born.
So please go home and tend to your own tasks,
the distaff and the loom, and keep the women
working hard as well. As for the fighting,
men will see to that, all who were born in Troy
but I most of all."
Hector aflash in arms
took up his horsehair-crested helmet once again.
And his loving wife went home, turning, glancing
back again and again and weeping live warm tears.
She quickly reached the sturdy house of Hector,
man-killing Hector, and found her women
gathered there inside
and stirred them all to a high pitch of mourning.
So in his house they raised the dirges for the dead,
for Hector still alive, his people were so convinced
that never again would he come home from battle,
never escape the Argives' rage and bloody hands.

who were theoretically descended from a common ancestor, belonged to subgroups, such as fighting brotherhoods (phratries), clans, and tribes, and worshipped the gods in common ceremonies.

Originally, the word *polis* referred only to a citadel, an elevated, defensible rock to which the farmers of the neighboring area could retreat in case of attack. The Acropolis in Athens and the hill called Acrocorinth in Corinth are examples. For some time such high places and the adjacent farms comprised the *polis*. Availability of farmland and of a natural fortress determined its location. *Poleis* were placed either well inland or far enough away from the sea to avoid pirate raids. Only later and gradually did the agora appear. It grew to be not only a marketplace, but also a civic center and the heart of the Greeks' remarkable social life, which was distinguished by conversation and argument carried on in the open air.

By the time the *polis* was in full flower, between ca. 750 and 700 B.C.E., true monarchy had disappeared in Greece. Kings survived in some places, but they were almost always ceremonial figures without power. The original form of the *polis* was an aristocratic republic dominated by the nobility through its council of nobles and its monopoly of the magistracies.

From the middle of the eighth century B.C.E. until well into the sixth, the Greeks vastly expanded their territory, their wealth, and their contacts with other peoples in a burst of colonizing activity that placed *poleis*

from Spain to the Black Sea. A century earlier, a few Greeks had established trading posts in Syria. There they had learned new techniques in the arts and crafts and much more from the older civilizations of the Near East. About 750 B.C.E., they borrowed a writing system from one of the Semitic scripts and added vowels to create the first true alphabet. The new Greek alphabet was easier to learn than any earlier writing system and made possible the widely literate society of classical Greece. Furthermore, by confronting Greeks with the differences between themselves and the new peoples they met, colonization gave the Greeks a sense of cultural identity. It also fostered a Panhellenic ("all-Greek") spirit that led to the establishment of several common religious festivals.

Like most other ancient peoples, the Greeks believed in many gods, and religion played an important part in their lives. A great part of Greek art and literature was closely connected with religion, as was the life of the *polis* in general. The Greek pantheon consisted of the twelve gods who lived on Mount Olympus and who therefore were known as Olympians. Each *polis* had one of the Olympians as its guardian deity and worshipped the god in its own special way, but all the gods were worshipped by all Greeks. In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E., common shrines were established at Olympia for the worship of Zeus, at Delphi for Apollo, at the Isthmus of Corinth for Poseidon, and at Nemea once again for Zeus. Each *polis* held athletic contests in honor of its god, to which all Greeks were invited and for which a sacred truce was declared.

The somewhat cold religion of the Olympian gods did little to attend to human fears, hopes, and passions. For these needs, the Greeks turned to other deities and rites. Of these the most popular was Dionysus, a god of nature and fertility, of the grapevine and drunkenness, and of sexual abandon. In some of his rites, the god was followed by maenads, female devotees who cavorted by night, ate raw flesh, and were reputed to tear to pieces any creature they came across.

The heart of Greek life was the *polis*. Generalization about the *polis* becomes difficult not long after its appearance. Although the states had much in common, some of them developed in unique ways. Sparta and Athens, which became the two most powerful Greek states, had especially different characters.

Sparta About 725 B.C.E., Sparta conquered its western neighbor, Messenia, and reduced its population to the status of serfs, or helots. Almost a century later, the helots revolted. After the revolt had been put down, the Spartans were forced to reconsider their way of life. They could not expect to keep down the helots, who outnumbered them by perhaps ten to one, and still maintain the old free and easy habits typical of most Greeks. To maintain domination over the helots, the Spartans introduced fundamental reforms that turned their city permanently into a military academy and camp.

The Spartan reforms are attributed to the legendary figure Lycurgus. The new system that emerged late in the sixth century B.C.E. exerted direct control over each Spartan from birth until old age. Officials of the state decided which infants were physically fit to survive. At the age of seven, the Spartan boy was taken from his mother and turned over to young instructors who trained him in athletics and the military arts. At twenty, the Spartan youth was enrolled in the army and lived in barracks with his companions until the age of thirty. If married, he could visit his wife only infrequently and even then by stealth. At thirty, he became a full citizen. He took his simple meals at a public mess in the company of fifteen comrades. Military service was required until the age of sixty.

Women were also educated to subordinate themselves wholly to the ideal of service to Sparta. They were not given military training, but they were required to devote their children to the service of the *polis*. Nothing in Sparta was allowed to interfere with the only ambition permitted to a Spartan: to win glory and the respect of his peers by bravery in war.

The Spartan constitution was mixed, containing elements of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. There were two kings with very limited power. The oligarchic element was represented by a council of elders who had important judicial functions. The Spartan assembly consisted of all males over thirty. In addition, there was a board of five annually elected ephors who controlled foreign policy, oversaw the generalship of the kings on campaign, presided over the assembly, and guarded against rebellions by the helots. Most Greeks admired the Spartan state for its unmatched stability and also for its ability to mold its citizens into a single pattern, subordinated to an ideal.

Athens The life and politics of Athens developed in a direction very different from that of Sparta. In the seventh century B.C.E., Athens was a typical aristocratic *polis*. The aristocrats held the most and best land and dominated religious and political life. The state was governed by the Areopagus, a council of nobles deriving its name from the hill where it held its sessions. Toward the close of the century, economic hardship caused political conflict in Athens.

Tradition has it that in the year 594 B.C.E. the Athenians gave Solon extraordinary powers to legislate and revise the constitution. He carried out a series of economic reforms that restructured debts and credit. Solon also significantly changed the constitution. All male adults whose fathers were citizens were citizens, too, and to their number he added immigrant craftsmen. All

The Acropolis was both the religious and civic center of Athens. In its final form it is the work of Pericles and his successors in the late fifth century B.C.E. This photograph shows the Parthenon and to its left the Erechtheum. Meredith Pillon, Greek National Tourism Organization

citizens were divided into four classes according to wealth. He established a Council of Four Hundred, apparently to check the power of the Areopagus. Finally, he established a popular assembly. In 546 B.C.E., the constitution of Solon was overthrown by Pisistratus, who established his own rule. Despite this period of tyranny, however, the principle of a somewhat democratically governed *polis* had been established, and later leaders would build upon that foundation.

Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, was deposed in 510 B.C.E., and the government of Athens underwent another series of reforms. These were undertaken by Clisthenes, who may be regarded as the real founder of Athenian democracy. He made the ***deme***, the equivalent of a small town in the country or a ward in the city, the basic unit of civic life. Henceforth, enrollment in the *deme* replaced enrollment in the phratry (clan brotherhood, where tradition and noble birth dominated) as evidence of citizenship. He also further extended the classes of people who might become citizens. He established a Council of Five Hundred, which dealt with foreign policy and finances. Final authority in all things rested with the assembly composed of all adult male citizens. Debate was free and open. Any adult Athenian male could submit legislation, offer amendments, or argue the merits of any question. The reforms of Clisthenes nurtured strong patriotism among the Athenians. The freedom of their constitution also allowed them to achieve very considerable economic prosperity.

Whether a Greek citizen lived in Sparta, Athens, or another of the many *poleis*, he knew that his way of life was different from that of people who lived under the great monarchs of the East. The Greeks were determined to preserve the way of life of the *polis*. In 490 B.C.E., Darius, the king of Persia, (r. 521–485 B.C.E.) attempted to restore the tyrant Hippias in Athens. The Athenians, led by Miltiades, (ca. 550–487 B.C.E.) resisted and won a victory at Marathon (490 B.C.E.). This victory preserved Athenian freedom and instilled in the Athenians a sense of confidence and pride in their *polis*. In 480 B.C.E., the Persians under Xerxes (r. 485–465 B.C.E.) again attempted to conquer Greece. The Greek cities responded by forming a defensive league among themselves. Sparta as leader of the land forces held off the Persians at the Battle of Thermopylae. The Athenians led Greek naval forces to a great victory over Persia at Salamis.

In the half century after the defeat of the Persians, two important developments occurred among the Greeks. First, under the leadership of Pericles (ca. 494–429 B.C.E.), the constitution of Athens became even more democratic. Every decision of the state had to be approved by the popular assembly, a collection of the people themselves, not their representatives. Most officials were selected by lot without regard to class. There was no standing army, no police force, and no way to coerce the people. Yet even in democratic Athens, as in all the other Greek states, participation in government was denied to slaves, resident aliens, and women.

The Peloponnesian War The second development was the division of the Greek world into two spheres of influence, dominated by Sparta and Athens. Sparta led a relatively loose alliance, but the Athenian alliance quickly developed into an empire in which most of Athens' allies made financial payments in place of military service. The Athenians used the money not only for

A Greek hoplite attacks a Persian soldier. The contrast between the Greek's metal body armor, large shield, and long spear and the Persian's cloth and leather garments indicates one reason the Greeks won. This Attic vase was found on Rhodes and dates from ca. 475 B.C.E. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.117) Photograph © 1986. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

defense but for their own purposes as well. Increasingly, Athens controlled the policy of the alliance and used it to increase its own wealth, power, and glory. For many years, intense rivalry and occasional conflict occurred between the two cities and their respective allies. Then, in 431 B.C.E., a great conflict—the Peloponnesian War, recorded brilliantly in the history of Thucydides (ca. 460–400 B.C.E.)—began between them. This devastating conflict ended in 404 B.C.E. with the defeat of Athens. After this war, Greek prosperity and confidence were never again fully restored.

The long Peloponnesian War and the struggles accompanying the several attempts at hegemony brought results that undermined the foundations of the *polis*. By ravaging farmland, destroying crops and houses, interfering with commerce, and using up reserve funds, the warring armies and navies did severe and usually lasting damage to the economic well-being that made civic life possible. Civil strife and class conflict, encouraged by the pressure of want and disease as well as by the availability of help from foreign armies, were an even more terrible legacy than poverty. As time passed, people abandoned patriotism, morality, and even family to the interests of faction. The wars of the fourth century B.C.E. only intensified these developments. Democratic revolutions, accompanied by confiscations of property, executions, exiles, and even great atrocities, were answered with similar actions by victorious aristocratic oligarchs. Such upheavals left permanent scars and damaged the family feeling, the sense of community, and the commitment to the common good required for life in the *polis*.

Greek Political Philosophy and the Crisis of the *Polis*

The decay of healthy political life in the *polis* gave rise to ideas in political philosophy that have influenced Western thought ever since. Probably the most complicated response to the crisis of the *polis* in the fourth century B.C.E. may be found in the life and teachings of Socrates (469–399 B.C.E.). He went into the Athenian marketplace and questioned and cross-examined people who were supposed to know something about politics. These included poets, craftsmen, and politicians. The result was always the same. Those he questioned might have technical information and skills, but they seldom had any substantial knowledge of the fundamental principles of human behavior. It is understandable that Athenians so exposed should be angry with their examiner, and it is not surprising that they thought Socrates was undermining the beliefs and values of the *polis*. Socrates' unconcealed contempt for democracy, which seemingly relied on ignorant amateurs to make important political decisions, created further hostility.

Yet despite this contempt, Socrates still believed that the *polis* had a legitimate claim on the loyalty and obedience of the citizen. He demonstrated this in the most convincing fashion. In 399 B.C.E., he was condemned to death by an Athenian jury on the charges of bringing new gods into the city and of corrupting the youth. He was given a chance to escape, but in the dialogue *Crito*, written by his disciple Plato, we are told of his refusal because of his veneration of the laws of the city. Socrates recognized the difficulties of political life in the *polis* and criticized its shortcomings. He turned away from active political life, but he did not abandon the idea of the *polis*. He fought as a soldier in its defense, obeyed its laws, and sought to put its values on a sound foundation of reason.

Plato (429–347 B.C.E.) was by far the most important of Socrates' associates and is a perfect example of the pupil who becomes greater than his master. He was the first systematic philosopher and therefore the first to place political ideas in their full philosophical context. He presented his philosophy in the format of dialogues. In 386 B.C.E., he founded the Academy, a center of philosophical investigation. As a school for training states-

men and citizens, it had a powerful impact on Greek thought that lasted until it was closed by the Roman emperor Justinian in the sixth century C.E.

Like Socrates, Plato believed in the *polis* and its values. Its virtues were order, harmony, and justice, and one of its main objects was to produce good people. He accepted Socrates' doctrine of the identity of virtue and knowledge and made it plain what he regarded as genuine knowledge. It was *episteme*, science as a body of true and unchanging wisdom open to only a few philosophers, whose training, character, and intellect allowed them to see reality. Only such people were qualified to rule. They themselves would prefer the life of pure contemplation but would accept their political responsibility and take their turn as philosopher kings. The training of such rulers, which Plato outlined in the *Republic*, required a specialization of function and a subordination of the individual to the community even greater than that at Sparta.

For Plato, justice in society meant that each person should do only that one thing to which his nature is best suited. Plato saw quite clearly that the Athenian *polis* of his day suffered from terrible internal stress, class struggle, and factional divisions. For Plato, the way to harmony was to destroy the causes of that strife: private property, the family, or anything else that stood between the individual citizen and his complete loyalty and devotion to the *polis*. (See "Plato on the Role of Women in His Utopian Republic.")

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) was a pupil of Plato and owed much to the thought of his master, but his very different experience and cast of mind led him in some new directions. In 336 B.C.E., he founded his own school in Athens, the Lyceum, or the Peripatos, as it was also called from the covered walk within it. The Lyceum was a very different place from the Academy. Its members took little interest in mathematics and were concerned with gathering, ordering, and analyzing all human knowledge. The range of subjects treated is astonishing, including logic, physics, astronomy, biology, ethics, rhetoric, literary criticism, and politics.

In each field, Aristotle's method was the same. He began with observation of the empirical evidence, which in some cases was physical and in others was common opinion. To this body of information he applied reason and discovered inconsistencies or difficulties. He then introduced metaphysical principles to explain the problems or to reconcile the inconsistencies. His view on all subjects, like Plato's, was teleological; that is, both philosophers recognized purposes apart from and greater than the will of the individual human being in nature and in social life. Plato's purposes, however, were contained in the Ideas or Forms—transcendental concepts outside the experience of most people. For Aristotle, the purposes of most things could be easily inferred by observation of their behavior in the world. Aristotle's most striking characteristics were his moderation and common sense. His theory of knowledge finds room for both reason and experience. His metaphysics gives meaning and reality to both mind and body. His ethics aims at the good life, which is the contemplative life, but recognizes the necessity for moderate wealth, comfort, and pleasure.

Marble head of Aristotle. Louvre, Dept. des Antiquities Grecques/Romaines, Paris, France. © Photograph by Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

THE RISE OF MACEDON

359–336 B.C.E.	Reign of Philip II
338 B.C.E.	Battle of Chaeronea; Philip conquers Greece
338 B.C.E.	Founding of League of Corinth
336–323 B.C.E.	Reign of Alexander III, the Great
334 B.C.E.	Alexander invades Asia
333 B.C.E.	Battle of Issus
331 B.C.E.	Battle of Gaugamela
330 B.C.E.	Fall of Persepolis
327 B.C.E.	Alexander reaches Indus Valley
323 B.C.E.	Death of Alexander

PLATO ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN HIS UTOPIAN REPUBLIC

The Greek invention of reasoned intellectual analysis of all things led the philosopher Plato to consider the problem of justice, which is the subject of his most famous dialogue, the Republic. *This leads him to sketch out a utopian state in which justice may be found and where the most radical arrangements may be necessary. These include the equality of the sexes and the destruction of the family in favor of the practice of men having wives and children in common. In the following excerpts, he argues for the fundamental equality of men and women and that women are no less appropriate as Guardians—leaders of the state—than men.*

What are Plato's reasons for treating men and women the same? What objections could be raised to that practice? Would that policy, even if appropriate in Plato's utopia, also be suitable to conditions in the real world of classical Athens? In the world of today?

"If, then, we use the women for the same things as the men, they must also be taught the same things."

"Yes."

"Now music and gymnastics were given to the men."

"Yes."

"Then these two arts, and what has to do with war, must be assigned to the women also, and they must be used in the same ways."

"On the basis of what you say," he said, "it's likely."

"Perhaps," I said, "compared to what is habitual, many of the things now being said would look ridiculous if they were to be done as is said."

"Indeed they would," he said.

"Well," I said, "since we've started to speak, we mustn't be afraid of all the jokes—of whatever kind—the wits might make if such a change took place in gymnastic, in music and, not the least, in the bearing of arms and the riding of horses."

"Then," I said, "if either the class of men or that of women show its superiority in some art or other practice, then we'll say that that art must be assigned to it. But if they look as though they differ in this alone, that the female bears and the male mounts, we'll assert that it has not thereby yet been proved that a woman differs from a man with respect to what we're talking about; rather, we'll still suppose that our guardians and their women must practice the same things."

"And rightly," he said.

"Therefore, my friend, there is no practice of a city's governors which belongs to woman because she's woman, or to man because he's man; but the natures are scattered alike among both animals; and woman participates according to nature in all practices, and man in all, but in all of them woman is weaker than man."

"Certainly."

"So, shall we assign all of them to men and none to women?"

"How could we?"

"For I suppose there is, as we shall assert, one woman apt at medicine and another not, one woman apt at music and another unmusical by nature."

"Of course."

"And isn't there then also one apt at gymnastic and at war, and another unwarlike and no lover of gymnastic?"

"I suppose so."

"And what about this? Is there a lover of wisdom and a hater of wisdom? And one who is spirited and another without spirit?"

"Yes, there are these too."

"There is, therefore one woman fit for guarding and another not, or wasn't it a nature of this sort we also selected for the men fit for guarding?"

"Certainly, that was it."

Characteristically, Aristotle was less interested in the best state—the Platonic utopia that required philosophers to rule it—than in the best state practically possible, one that would combine justice with stability. The constitution for that state he called *politeia*, not the best constitution, but the next best, the one most suited to and most possible for most states. Its quality was moderation, and it naturally gave power to neither the rich nor the poor but to the middle class, which must also be the most numerous. The middle class possessed many virtues. Because of its moderate wealth, it was free of the arrogance of the rich and the malice of the poor. Aristotle combined the practical analysis of political and economic realities with the moral and political purposes of the traditional defenders of the *polis*. The result was a passionate confidence in the virtues of moderation and of the middle class and the proposal of a constitution that would give them power. It is ironic that the ablest defense of the *polis* came toward its demise.

The Empire of Alexander the Great

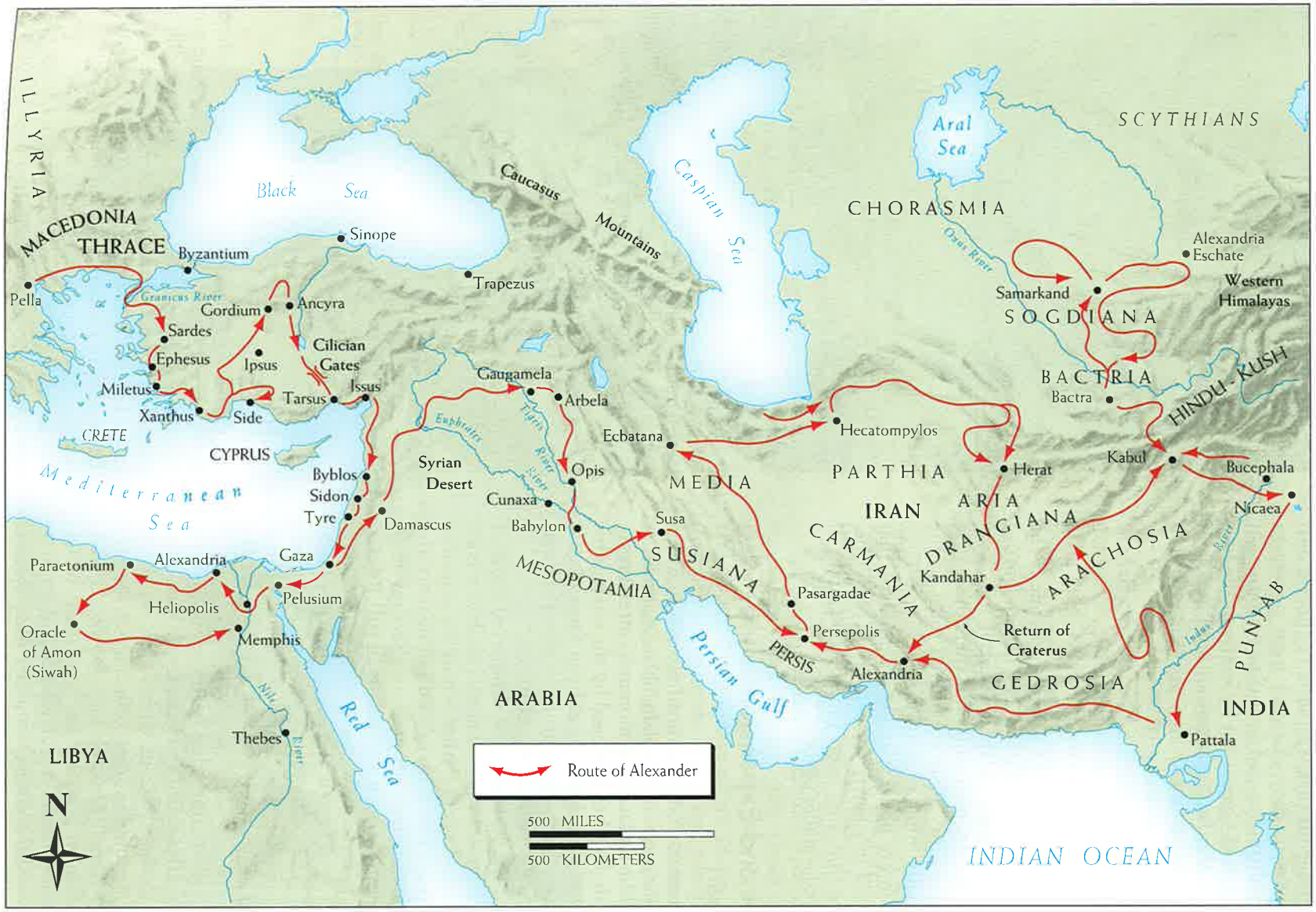
What finally brought the collapse of the independent political life of the Greek *poleis* was their conquest by the kingdom of Macedon in the middle of the fourth century B.C.E. The Macedonians inhabited the land to the north of Thessaly and until the fourth century B.C.E. played no great part in Greek affairs. Macedon possessed no *poleis* but was governed by a king chosen partly by descent and partly by the approval of the army. Under Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.E.), the Macedonians developed a powerful army. Beginning about 355 B.C.E., Philip moved that army steadily against the various Greek cities. Years of fighting and diplomatic maneuvering followed, but no Greek *polis*, including Athens, was able or willing to mount an effective resistance. Finally, in 338 B.C.E., at the Battle of Chaeronea the Macedonian monarchy defeated an alliance of Greek cities. This defeat ended Greek freedom and autonomy.

In 336 B.C.E., Philip II was assassinated. His successor, Alexander the Great (r. 336–323 B.C.E.), was one of the most extraordinary figures of antiquity. During the next ten years, Alexander led the army of Macedonia across Asia as far as the Indus River (see Map I–4). On the way, he conquered Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Persia, and Mesopotamia. Alexander was filled with plans for the consolidation and organization of his empire, for geographical exploration, and for building new cities, roads, and harbors. These plans were never carried out because in June 323 B.C.E., he died of fever at the age of thirty-three. He left no real successor, and his generals fought over the lands he had conquered.

The conquests of Alexander and the establishment of successor kingdoms in Macedon, Mesopotamia, and Egypt put an end once and for all to the central role of the *polis* in Greek life. At the same time, his conquests spread Greek culture widely throughout the eastern Mediterranean, laying the foundation for the Hellenistic civilization that succeeded the civilization of classical Greece.

This sculpture of Alexander the Great, king of Macedon and conqueror of the Persian Empire, was made in the second century B.C.E. and found at the ancient city of Magnesia in Asia Minor. Alexander's conquests spread Greek culture far from its homeland, laying the foundation of the Hellenistic world. Statue from Magnesia ad Sipylum. Archeological Museum, Istanbul, Turkey. Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Deprived of control of their foreign affairs and with their important internal arrangements determined by a



Map I–4 **ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS** The route taken by Alexander the Great in his conquest of the Persian Empire, 334–323 B.C.E. Starting from the Macedonian capital at Pella, he reached the Indus Valley before being turned back by his own restive troops. He died of fever in Mesopotamia.

foreign monarchy, the postclassical Greek cities lost the kind of political freedom that was basic to the old outlook. As time passed, they changed from sovereign states to municipalities merged in military empires. It was not by the cities of Greece but by a city on the Italian peninsula that the future course of civilization in the West would be determined.

▼ Rome

The political achievement of the Romans was one of the most remarkable in human history. The descendants of the inhabitants of a small village in central Italy governed the entire Italian peninsula and then the entire Mediterranean coastline. They conquered most of the Near East and finally much of continental Europe. They ruled this vast empire under a single government that provided peace and prosperity for centuries. Never before or since has that area been united, and rarely, if ever, has it enjoyed a stable peace.

The Republic and Expansion in the Mediterranean

From its foundation in 753 B.C.E. until 509 B.C.E., Rome was governed by kings (see Map I–5). In 509 B.C.E., tradition tells us, the republic replaced the monarchy after a revolution led by noble families incensed by the outrageous behavior of the last kings. The republican form of government, dominated by the institution of the aristocratic Senate, endured for almost five centuries.

By 265 B.C.E., the Romans had conquered most of central and southern Italy and had established a policy toward conquered peoples that would be repeated in many other areas. The Romans did not destroy any of the Latin cities or their people, nor did they treat them all alike. Some near Rome received full Roman citizenship; others farther away gained municipal status. Their citizens retained the rights of local self-government and could obtain full Roman citizenship if they moved to Rome. They followed Rome in foreign policy and provided soldiers to serve in the Roman legions.

Still other states became allies of Rome on the basis of treaties, which differed from city to city. All the allies supplied troops to the army, in which they fought in auxiliary battalions under Roman officers, but they did not pay taxes to Rome. Finally, on some of the conquered land the Romans placed colonies, permanent settlements of veteran soldiers in the territory of recently defeated enemies. The colonists retained their Roman citizenship and enjoyed home rule, and in return for the land they had been given they served as a permanent garrison to deter or suppress rebellion. The Romans did not regard the status given each newly conquered city as permanent. They held out to loyal allies the prospect of improving their status, even of achieving the ultimate prize, full Roman citizenship. In doing so, the Romans gave their allies a stake in Rome's future and success. The result, in general, was that most of Rome's allies remained loyal even when put to the severest test.

Rome's acquisition of coastal territory and its expansion to the toe of the Italian boot brought it face to face with the great naval power of the western Mediterranean, Carthage, located near what is now the modern city of Tunis. Rome and Carthage engaged in two great

Map I–5 **ANCIENT ITALY** This map of ancient Italy and its neighbors before the expansion of Rome shows major cities and towns as well as several geographical regions and the locations of some of the Italic and non-Italic peoples.

THE PUNIC WARS

264–241 B.C.E.	First Punic War
238 B.C.E.	Rome seizes Sardinia and Corsica
221 B.C.E.	Hannibal takes command of Punic army in Spain
218–202 B.C.E.	Second Punic War
216 B.C.E.	Battle of Cannae
209 B.C.E.	Scipio takes New Carthage
202 B.C.E.	Battle of Zama
149–146 B.C.E.	Third Punic War
146 B.C.E.	Destruction of Carthage

conflicts, the First and Second Punic Wars (264–241 B.C.E. and 218–202 B.C.E.). At very considerable cost, Rome emerged victorious and thereafter ruled virtually all the western Mediterranean. After the defeat of Carthage, the attention of Rome moved toward the eastern Mediterranean and the successor kingdoms of Alexander's brief empire. By 168 B.C.E., after a series of military interventions in Macedon, the Romans effectively governed Greece as a kind of protectorate.

Roman expansion in Italy and overseas was accomplished without a grand general plan. The new territories were acquired as a result of wars that the Romans believed were either defensive or preventive. Foreign policy was aimed at providing security for Rome on Rome's terms, but these terms were often unacceptable to other nations and led to continued conflict. The various conquests of territory overseas presented new political problems to Rome. Instead of following the policy pursued in Italy, the Romans made Sicily, Spain, Sardinia, and Corsica into provinces. The new populations were neither Roman citizens nor allies; they were subjects who did not serve in the army but paid tribute instead. The old practice of extending citizenship and with it loyalty to Rome stopped at the borders of Italy.

These conquests changed both Roman political and cultural life. Roman expansion overseas brought about close and continued association with the Greeks. Many Romans admired Greek art, literature, and philosophy but held Greek politics in contempt. Before long, the education of the Roman upper classes was bilingual. The Romans also often imitated the forms of Greek literature. Roman religion was influenced by the Greeks almost from the beginning because the Romans had early in their history identified their own gods with Greek equivalents and incorporated Greek mythology into their own. The Romans also drew heavily upon Greek philosophy. They always adapted Greek culture to their own particular needs. It was commonplace in antiquity to think that while Rome had conquered Greece militarily, Greece had conquered Rome culturally.

Ruins of the Roman Forum. From the earliest days of the city, the Forum was the center of Roman life. Augustus had it rebuilt, and it was frequently rebuilt and refurbished by his successors, so most of the surviving buildings date to the imperial period. Italian Government Tourist Board

From Republic to Empire

The political and economic problems raised by the overseas conquests eventually undermined the constitution of the republic. During the Punic Wars, much of the farmland in Italy was damaged and even more was bought up by wealthy nobles. Returning veterans found themselves without land and often settled in the city of Rome or other urban areas. The people of Rome became sharply divided into rich and poor, landed and landless, privileged and deprived. By 133 B.C.E. many Roman political leaders believed this issue had to be addressed, but there was no agreement on the method.

Between 133 and 121 B.C.E., two brothers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, tried to carry out a program of limited land redistribution. The Gracchi met intense and violent opposition. Both were assassinated as the wealthy landowning classes moved to protect their interests. For a century after their deaths, political and military turmoil prevailed in the republic. The people who gained power were generals who had armies at their disposal and whose conquests made them popular. For example, Marius (ca. 157–86 B.C.E.) defeated Roman enemies in North Africa and for a time dominated politics. Sulla (ca. 138–78 B.C.E.) established a dictatorship for a time after a series of military victories. The success of one general provided an example to other ambitious military figures. The unequal distribution of wealth and land meant there were always plenty of men willing to serve in the armies of ambitious generals. The Senate in Rome no longer really controlled Roman armies.

By the middle of the first century B.C.E., two generals were contending for domination, Gnaeus Pompey (106–48 B.C.E.) and Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.E.). Pompey had won fame by ridding the Mediterranean of pirates. Somewhat later, Caesar conquered most of Gaul. For a time they tried to share political influence, but by 49 B.C.E. all cooperation had ceased. In that year Caesar, his career and life in jeopardy, defied the Roman Senate by leading his army out of his province across the Rubicon River (see Map I–6). In the civil war that followed, Caesar defeated the forces of Pompey and the Senate. Until his assassination in 44 B.C.E., Caesar virtually governed Rome alone. After his death, his nephew Octavian (63 B.C.E.–C.E. 14) rallied Caesar's forces. By 31 B.C.E., after years of ruthless civil war, Octavian emerged victorious at the naval battle of Actium. At the age of thirty-two, Octavian stood as the absolute master of the Mediterranean world.

Lictors, pictured here, attended the chief Roman magistrates when they appeared in public. The axe carried by one of the lictors and the bound bundle of staffs carried by the others symbolize both the power of Roman magistrates to inflict corporal punishment on Roman citizens and the limits on that power. The bound staffs symbolize the right of citizens within the city of Rome not to be punished without a trial. The axe symbolizes the power of the magistrates, as commanders of the army, to put anyone to death without a trial outside the city walls. Alinari/Art Resource, NY

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

133 B.C.E.	Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus
123–122 B.C.E.	Tribunate of Gaius Gracchus
111–105 B.C.E.	Jugurthine War
104–100 B.C.E.	Consecutive consulships of Marius
90–88 B.C.E.	War against the Italian allies
88 B.C.E.	Sulla's march on Rome
82 B.C.E.	Sulla assumes dictatorship
71 B.C.E.	Crassus crushes rebellion of Spartacus
71 B.C.E.	Pompey defeats Sertorius in Spain
70 B.C.E.	Consulship of Crassus and Pompey
60 B.C.E.	Formation of First Triumvirate
58–50 B.C.E.	Caesar in Gaul
53 B.C.E.	Crassus killed in Battle of Carrhae
49 B.C.E.	Caesar crosses Rubicon; civil war begins
48 B.C.E.	Pompey defeated at Pharsalus; killed in Egypt
46–44 B.C.E.	Caesar's dictatorship
45 B.C.E.	End of civil war
43 B.C.E.	Formation of Second Triumvirate
42 B.C.E.	Triumvirs defeat Brutus and Cassius at Philippi
31 B.C.E.	Octavian and Agrippa defeat Antony at Actium

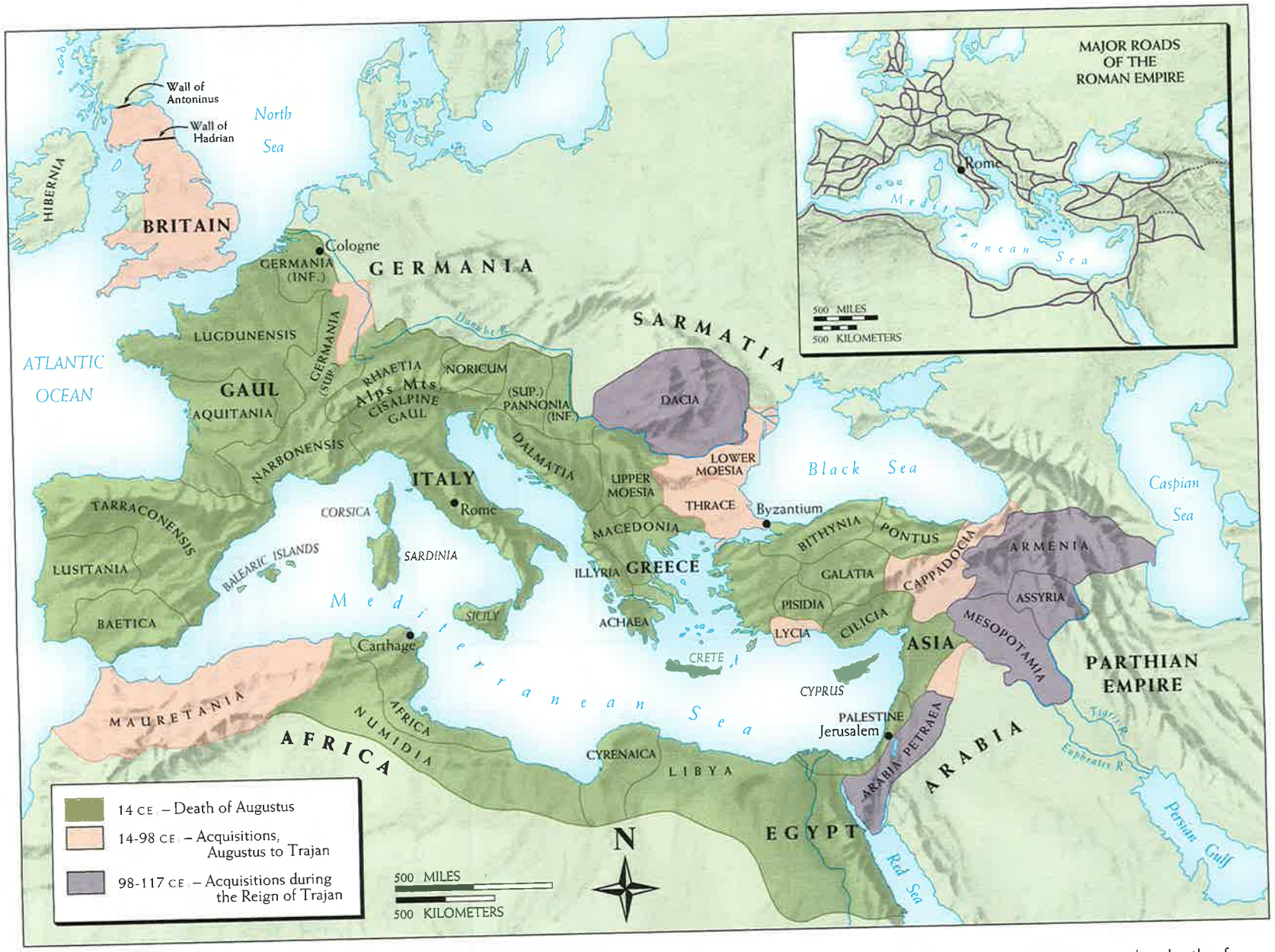
Map I–6 **THE CIVIL WARS OF THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC** This map shows the extent of the territory controlled by Rome at the time of Caesar's death and the sites of the major battles of the civil wars of the late republic.

The Principate and the Empire

Octavian was well aware of the fate of his uncle. He knew that it was dangerous to flaunt unprecedented powers and to disregard all republican tradition. He created a political structure that had republican trappings and the appearance of sharing power with the Senate and the people of Rome. Yet in reality the government of Octavian, like that of his successors, was a monarchy. Octavian was simply called by the unofficial title of "first citizen," which in Latin is *princeps*. The Senate also heaped upon him other important political powers and honors. Among them was the semireligious title "Augustus," which carried implications of veneration, majesty, and holiness. From this time on, historians speak of Rome's first emperor as Augustus and of his regime as the Principate. The union of political and military power in the hands of the *princeps* made it possible for him to install rational, efficient, and stable government in the provinces for the first time.

The Augustan period was one of great prosperity. Augustus had brought in the wealth by the conquest of Egypt during the civil wars (see Map I–7, page lvi). The great increase in commerce and industry made possible general peace and a vast program of public works. Finally, there was a strong return to successful small farming on the part of Augustus's resettled veterans.

The high point of Roman culture came in the last century of the republic and during the Principate of



Map I–7 **PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO 117 C.E** The growth of the empire to its greatest extent is here shown in three stages—at the death of Augustus in 14 C.E., at the death of Nerva in 98, and at the death of Trajan in 117. The division into provinces is also shown. The insert shows the main roads that tied the far-flung empire together.

A panel from the *Ara Pacis* (*Altar of Peace*). The altar was dedicated in 9 B.C.E. It was part of a propaganda campaign—involving poetry, architecture, myth, and history—that Augustus undertook to promote himself as the savior of Rome and the restorer of peace. This panel shows the goddess Earth and her children with cattle, sheep, and other symbols of agricultural wealth. Italian Government Tourist Board

Augustus. The towering literary figure of the late republic was Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), who delivered his famous orations in the law courts and in the Senate. Together with a considerable body of his private letters, these orations provide us with a clearer and fuller insight into his mind than into that of any other figure in antiquity. He also wrote treatises on rhetoric, ethics, and politics that put Greek philosophical ideas into Latin terminology and at the same time changed them to suit Roman conditions and values. He believed in a world governed by divine and natural law that human reason could perceive and human institutions reflect. His literary style, as well as his values and ideas, was an important legacy for the Middle Ages and, as reinterpreted, for the Renaissance.

Whereas Cicero was the last great voice of the republic, Vergil (70–19 B.C.E.) was the most important of the Augustan poets. Vergil's greatest work is the *Aeneid*, a long national epic. He glorified the civic greatness represented by Augustus and the peace and prosperity that he had brought to Rome.

The central problem for Augustus's successors was the position of the ruler and his relationship to the ruled. Augustus tried to cloak the monarchical nature of his government, but his successors soon abandoned all pretense. The rulers came to be called ***imperator***—from which comes our word *emperor*—as well as *Caesar*. The latter title signified connection with the imperial house; the former indicated the military power on which everything was based. Because Augustus ostensibly was only the "first citizen" of a restored republic and his powers theoretically were voted him by the Senate and the people, he could not legally name his successor. He plainly designated his heirs, however, by lavishing favors on them and by giving them a share in the imperial power and responsibility.

The genius of the Augustan settlement lay in its capacity to enlist the active cooperation of the upper classes and their effective organ, the Senate. The election of magistrates was taken from the assemblies and given to the Senate, which became the major center for legislation and also exercised important judicial functions. Some emperors, like Vespasian, took pains to maintain, increase, and display the prestige and dignity of the Senate; others, like Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, degraded the Senate and paraded their own despotic power, but from the first the Senate's powers were illusory. Its true function was to be a legislative and administrative extension of the emperor's rule.

The provinces flourished economically and generally accepted Roman rule easily (see Map I–7). In the eastern provinces, the emperor was worshipped as a god, and even in Italy most emperors were dei-

fied after death as long as the imperial cult established by Augustus continued. Imperial policy was usually a happy combination of an attempt to unify the empire and its various peoples with a respect for local customs and differences. Roman citizenship was spread ever more widely, and by 212 C.E. almost every inhabitant of the empire was a citizen. Latin became the language of the western provinces. Although the east remained essentially Greek in language and culture, even it adopted many aspects of Roman life.

The army played an important role in the spread of Roman culture and the spiritual unification of the empire. The legionnaires married local women and frequently settled in the province of their service when their term was over.

From an administrative and cultural standpoint, the empire was a collection of cities and towns and had little to do with the countryside. Roman policy during the Principate was to raise urban centers to the status of Roman municipalities with the rights and privileges attached to them. A typical municipal charter left much responsibility in the hands of local councils and magistrates elected from the local aristocracy. Moreover, the holding of a magistracy, and later a seat on the council, carried Roman citizenship with it. Therefore, the Romans enlisted the upper classes of the provinces in their own government, spread Roman law and culture, and won the loyalty of the influential people.

Seen from the harsh perspective of human history, the first two centuries of the Roman Empire deserve their reputation as a "golden age." By the second century, however, troubles had arisen that foreshadowed the difficult times ahead. The literary efforts of the time reveal a flight from the present, reality, and the public realm to the past, romance, and private pursuits. Some of the same aspects may be seen in everyday life, especially in the decline of vitality in local government. (See "Juvenal on Life in Rome.")

In the first century, members of the upper classes vied with one another for election to municipal office and for the honor of doing service to their communities. By the second century, much of their zeal had disappeared. It became necessary for the emperors to intervene to correct abuses in local affairs and even to force unwilling members of the ruling classes to accept public office. The reluctance to serve was caused largely by the imperial practice of holding magistrates and councilmen personally and collectively responsible for the revenues due. There were even some instances of magistrates fleeing to avoid their offices, a practice that became widespread in later centuries.

All these difficulties reflected the presence of more basic problems. The prosperity brought by the end of civil war and the influx of wealth from the East, especially Egypt, could not sustain itself beyond the first half of the second century. There also appears to have been a decline in population for reasons that remain mysterious. The cost of government kept rising as the emperors were required (1) to maintain a costly standing army, (2) to keep the people in Rome happy with subsidized food and public entertainment ("bread and circuses"), (3) to pay an increasingly numerous bureaucracy, and (4) to wage expensive wars to defend the frontiers against dangerous and determined barbarian enemies. The ever-increasing need for money compelled the emperors to raise taxes, to press hard on their subjects, and to bring on inflation by debasing the coinage. These elements were to bring on the desperate crises that ultimately destroyed the empire.

Christianity

The peace, stability, and prosperity of the first two centuries of the Roman Empire provided essential conditions for the rise of Christianity as one of the world's great religions and as the single most important cultural force in the future of Western civilization. Despite certain problems in regard to the historical character of the Gospels, there is no reason to doubt that Jesus was born in the province of Judaea in the time of Augustus and that he was a most effective teacher in the tradition of the Jewish prophets. Jesus had success and won a considerable following, especially among the poor. This success caused much suspicion among the upper classes. His message of love, charity, and humility, as seen in the Sermon on the Mount, and his criticism of the current Jewish religious practices provoked hostility within the religious establishment.

Jesus was put to death by Roman soldiers in Jerusalem probably in 30 C.E.. His followers believed that he was resurrected on the third day after his death, and that belief became a critical element in the religion that they propagated throughout the Roman Empire and beyond. Through the early missionary work of Paul of Tarsus, the Christian faith was carried beyond the area of Palestine to virtually all the eastern Mediterranean world and to Rome itself. Christianity had its greatest success in the cities and among the poor and uneducated. (See "Mark Describes the Resurrection of Jesus," page lx.)

The future of Christianity depended on its communities finding an organization that would preserve unity within the group and help protect it against enemies outside. At first, the churches had little formal organization. By the second century C.E., however, the Christians of each city tended to accept the authority and leadership of a bishop. In time, bishops extended their authority over the Christian communities in outlying towns and the countryside. The power and authority of

JUVENAL ON LIFE IN ROME

The satirical poet Juvenal lived and worked in Rome in the late first and early second centuries C.E. His poems present a vivid picture of the material and cultural world of the Romans of his time. In the following passages, he tells of the discomforts and dangers of life in the city, both indoors and out.

According to Juvenal, what dangers awaited pedestrians in the Rome of his day? Who had responsibility for the condition of Rome? If the situation was as bad as he says, why was nothing done about it? Why did people choose to live in Rome at all and especially in the conditions he describes?

Who, in Praeneste's cool, or the wooded Volsinian uplands,
Who, on Tivoli's heights, or a small town like Gabii, say,
Fears the collapse of his house? But Rome is supported on pipestems,
Matchsticks; it's cheaper, so, for the landlord to shore up his ruins,
Patch up the old cracked walls, and notify all the tenants
They can sleep secure, though the beams are in ruins above them.
No, the place to live is out there, where no cry of *Fire!*
Sounds the alarm of the night, with a neighbor yelling for water,
Moving his chattels and goods, and the whole third story is smoking.
Look at other things, the various dangers of nighttime.
How high it is to the cornice that breaks, and a chunk beats my brains out,
Or some slob heaves a jar, broken or cracked, from a window.
Bang! It comes down with a crash and proves its weight on the sidewalk.
You are a thoughtless fool, unmindful of sudden disaster,
If you don't make your will before you go out to have dinner.
There are as many deaths in the night as there are open windows
Where you pass by; if you're wise, you will pray, in your wretched devotions,
People may be content with no more than emptying slop jars.

From Juvenal, *The Satires of Juvenal*, trans. by Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), pp. 40, 43.

the bishops were soon enhanced by the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, which asserted that the powers that Jesus had given his original disciples were passed on from bishop to bishop by ordination.

The new faith soon incurred the distrust of the pagan world and of the imperial government, but in the first two centuries there was comparatively little official persecution. Division within the Christian church during these years was a greater threat. The great majority of Christians held to what even then were traditional, simple, conservative beliefs. This body of majority opinion and the Church that enshrined it came to be called ***Catholic***, which means "universal." Its doctrines were deemed orthodox, whereas those holding contrary opinions were deemed heretics.

By the end of the second century, an orthodox canon had been shaped that included the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the Epistles of Paul, among other writings. The orthodox declared the Church itself to be the depository of Christian teaching and the bishops to be its receivers. They also drew up creeds, brief statements of faith to which true Christians should adhere.

By the end of the second century, an orthodox Christian—that is, a member of the Catholic church—was required to accept its creed, its canon of holy writings, and the authority of the bishops. During this same time, the Church in Rome and its bishop came to have special prominence; by 200 C.E., Rome was the most important center of Christianity.

MARK DESCRIBES THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS

Belief that Jesus rose from the dead after his Crucifixion (about 30 C.E.) was and is central to traditional Christian doctrine. The record of the Resurrection in the Gospel of Mark, written a generation later (toward 70 C.E.), is the earliest we have. The significance to most Christian groups revolves about the assurance given them that death and the grave are not final and that, instead, salvation for a future life is possible. The appeal of these views was to be nearly universal in the West during the Middle Ages. The church was commonly thought to be the means of implementing the promise of salvation—hence the enormous importance of the church's sacramental system, its rules, and its clergy.

Why are the stories of miracles such as the one described here important for the growth of Christianity? What is special and important about this miracle? Why is it important in the story that days passed between the death of Jesus and the opening of the tomb? Why might the early Christians believe this story? Why was belief in the resurrection important for Christianity in the centuries immediately after the life of Jesus? Is it still important today?

And when evening had come, since it was the day of Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, Joseph of Arimathea, a respected member of the council, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God, took courage and went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. And Pilate wondered if he were already dead; and summoning the centurion, he asked him whether he was already dead. And when he learned from the centurion that he was dead, he granted the body to Joseph. And he brought a linen shroud, and taking him down, wrapped him in the linen shroud, and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of the rock; and he rolled a stone against the door of the tomb. Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus saw where he was laid.

And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought spices, so that they might go and anoint him. And very early on the first day of the week they went to the tomb when the sun had risen. And they were saying to one another, "Who will roll away the stone for us from the door of the tomb?" And looking up, they saw that the stone was rolled back; for it was very large. And entering the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, dressed in a white robe; and they were amazed. And he said to them, "Do not be amazed; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen, he is not here, see the place where they laid him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you." And they went out and fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them; and they said nothing to any one, for they were afraid.

Gospel of Mark 15:42–47; 16:1–8, Revised Standard Version of the Bible (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946, 1952).

Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

By the time that the Christian religion had firmly established itself, the Roman Empire had entered a period of turmoil and instability known as the "crisis of the third century." There were massive external pressures on Rome's frontiers. The Persians pressed from the east and German tribes endangered the frontiers on the west and north. As the empire moved forces to fight one enemy, the frontier weakened in other areas.

The Roman army was no longer composed of citizens but rather of slaves, gladiators, barbarians, and brigands conscripted to fight. The emperors in this century and later were almost wholly dependent on the army for their authority. The military expenses put great pressure on the economy. Because the em-

A mosaic from Carthage illustrating aspects of life on the manorial estate of a certain Julian in the province of Africa. His housing, provisions, and entertainment appear to have been opulent. Social boundaries hardened in the late empire, and large fortified estates like this increasingly dominated social and economic life. Musée Nationale du Bardo

pire was impoverished, with no system of credit financing, the emperors compelled the people to provide food, supplies, money, and labor. The upper classes in the cities were made to serve as administrators without pay and to meet deficits in revenue from their own pockets. The changes in the army, the tax system, and administrative procedures undermined both the authority and the morale of the traditional ruling classes in the empire.

Toward the end of the third century, the emperor Diocletian (r. 284–305 C.E.) responded to these difficulties by dividing the empire into four separate administrative units, each with its own ruler and capital. This political reorganization did not prove to be particularly effective. The emperor Constantine (r. 306–337 C.E.) reunited the empire, but only temporarily. In 330 C.E., he established his capital at Constantinople in the East. Fragmentation and the shifting of the capital meant that by the close of the fourth century the empire consisted of eastern and western halves virtually independent of each other. Constantinople became the center of a vital and flourishing culture that we call *Byzantine* and that lasted until the fifteenth century.

Indeed, when we contemplate the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, we are speaking only of the West. There, life became increasingly rural as barbarian invasions continued and grew in intensity. The villa, a fortified country estate, became the basic unit of life. There, ***coloni***, small landholders who were original settlers, gave their services to the local magnate in return for economic assistance and protection. Many cities shrank to no more than tiny walled fortresses ruled by military commanders and bishops. The failure of the central imperial authority to maintain the roads and the constant danger from robber bands sharply curtailed trade and communications. These circumstances forced greater self-reliance and a more primitive style of life. The only institution providing a high degree of unity was the Christian church.

The new central position of the Christian church was closely connected with the political and cultural turmoil of the third and fourth centuries. During these centuries, many people turned to various kinds of religions, Christianity among them, as traditional political institutions collapsed. Christianity offered converts a rich and attractive philosophy of life. It possessed a god who had suffered, died, and was resurrected, mystical and sacred rites, a moral code, a strong sense of community, the spiritual equality of male and female, rich and poor, a close, personal relationship with the deity, and the promise of immortality. The Church had an efficient organization. And its doctrines of love and the brotherhood of all humankind under a loving and forgiving God were deeply attractive.

Christianity prospered during the third century, but it also encountered new dangers. About the middle of the century, a brief official persecution occurred. In 303, Diocletian launched the most serious persecution the Church had yet experienced. In both cases, persecution backfired and created new sympathy for Christianity.

In 312, Constantine became a champion of the new faith in hopes that the Christian God would bring victory to his military forces. After he won the important Battle of the Milvian Bridge, his support of the Christian cause was unfailing. Although he did not outlaw pagan rituals or abolish the cult of emperor worship, Constantine did go far beyond simply tolerating Christianity by granting various official privileges to the Church. With one exception, the successors of Constantine in the fourth century favored Christianity. In 394, the emperor Theodosius (r. 379–395) forbade the celebration of pagan cults and abolished the pagan religious calendar. At the death of Theodosius, Christianity had become the official religion of the Roman Empire.

The establishment of Christianity as the state religion did not put an end to the troubles of Christians and their church. Instead, it created new ones and complicated some that were old. First, the favored position of the Church attracted converts for the wrong reasons. Second, the problem of the relationship between Church and state arose, presenting the possibility that Christianity

Empress Theodora and her attendants. The union of political and spiritual authority in the person of the empress is shown by the depiction on Theodora's mantle of three magi carrying gifts to the Virgin and Jesus. Early Christian Mosaic. San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy. Copyright Scala/Art Resource, NY

would become completely subordinate to the state, as religion had been in the classical world and in earlier civilizations.

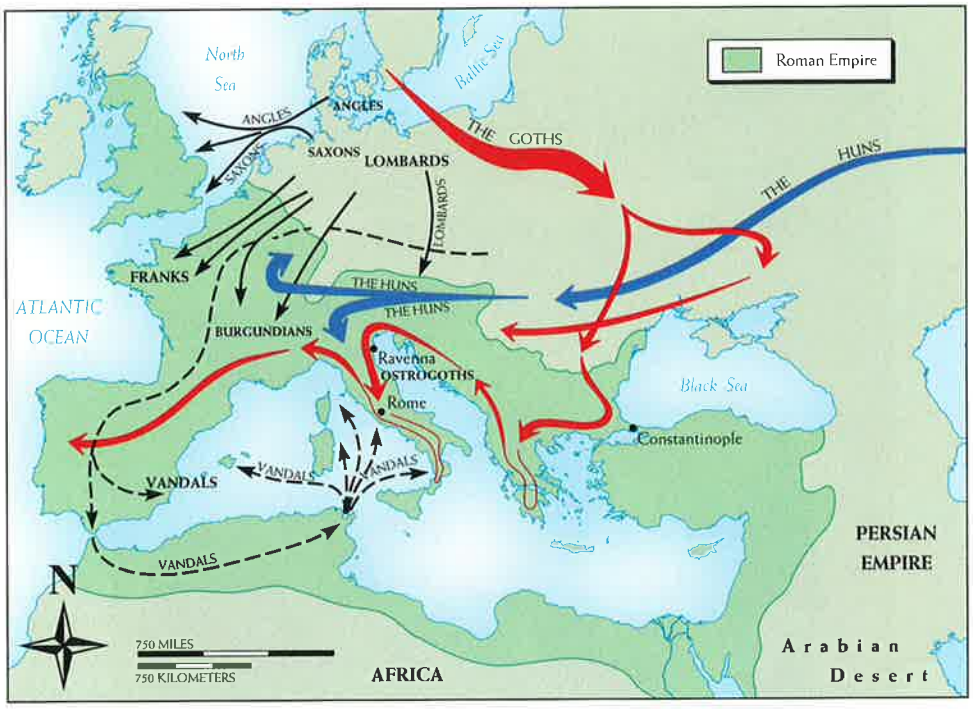
The position and the influence of the Christian church became strong during the very decades when the political structures of the Roman Empire began to crumble under waves of barbarian invasions from northern and eastern Europe (see Map I–8). In 378, German tribes handily defeated the Roman armies led by the emperor Valens (r. 364–378) at the Battle of Adrianople. Thereafter, the Romans passively permitted settlement after settlement of barbarians within the very heart of the Western empire. In 410 the Visigoths sacked Rome itself.

In 476, the traditional date for the fall of the Roman Empire, the Western emperor Romulus Augustulus (r. 475–476) was deposed and replaced by the barbarian Odoacer (ca. 434–493), who ruled as king of the Romans. By the end of the fifth century, power in western Europe had passed decisively from the hands of the Roman emperors to those of barbarian chieftains. The Ostrogoths settled in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks in northern Gaul and Spain, the Vandals in Africa and the Mediterranean, and the Angles and Saxons in England.

▼ Europe Enters the Middle Ages

Barbarians were now the Western masters, but they were masters who also were willing to learn from the people they had conquered. Although the barbarians were militarily superior, the Romans retained their cultural strength. This accommodation of cultures was assisted by the fact that the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and the Vandals had entered the West as people already partly Christianized by missionaries. All things considered, reconciliation and a gradual interpenetration of two strong cultures—a creative tension—marked the period of the Germanic invasions. The stronger culture was the Roman, and it became dominant in a later fusion.

The political collapse of western Europe, and with it the end of the political and economic unity between East and West that had characterized the Roman Empire, marked the beginning of the European Middle Ages. The early Middle Ages (476–1000) saw the birth of a distinctive western European culture. It was a period of recovery from the collapse of Roman civilization, a time of forced experimentation with new ideas and institutions. Western European culture, as we know it today, was born of a unique, inventive mix of surviving Graeco-Roman, new Germanic, and evolving Christian tradi-



Map I–8 **BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS INTO THE WEST IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES** The forceful intrusion of Germanic and non-Germanic barbarians into the Roman Empire from the last quarter of the fourth century through the fifth century made for a constantly changing pattern of movement and relations. The map shows the major routes taken by the usually unwelcome newcomers and the areas most deeply affected by main groups.

tions. Experimentation was required because of the pressure of the invasions, the local political turmoil and economic stagnation, the replacement of paganism by Christianity, and the new problem posed to Europe from the Mediterranean world by the rise of a new, militant religion, Islam.

The Byzantine Empire

As western Europe succumbed to the Germanic invasions, imperial power shifted to the Byzantine Empire, that is, the eastern part of the Roman Empire, with its capital in Constantinople. Between 324 and 1453 the empire passed from an early period of expansion and splendor to a time of contraction and splintering, to final catastrophic defeat.

Between 324 and 632, the empire saw its greatest territorial expansion and its political and cultural golden age. Under Justinian (527–565); Roman law was collated and revised so that it could henceforth aid the growth of central government. Constantinople, with a population of 350,000, became the cultural crossroads of Asian and European civilization.

In the centuries after Justinian, however, Islamic armies progressively besieged the empire. Emperor Leo III (717–741) successfully repulsed them, but at the same time he created a new problem with western Christians by forbidding images to exist in eastern churches. The ensuing controversy contributed to a major schism between western (Roman Catholic) and eastern (Byzantine) Christianity.

In 1071, the Seljuk Turks overran the eastern provinces of the empire, and western Christians sacked Constantinople in 1204. These events sowed the seeds of the empire's demise, which came finally in the fifteenth century at the hands of the Ottoman Turks, who captured Constantinople in 1453.

The Rise of Islam

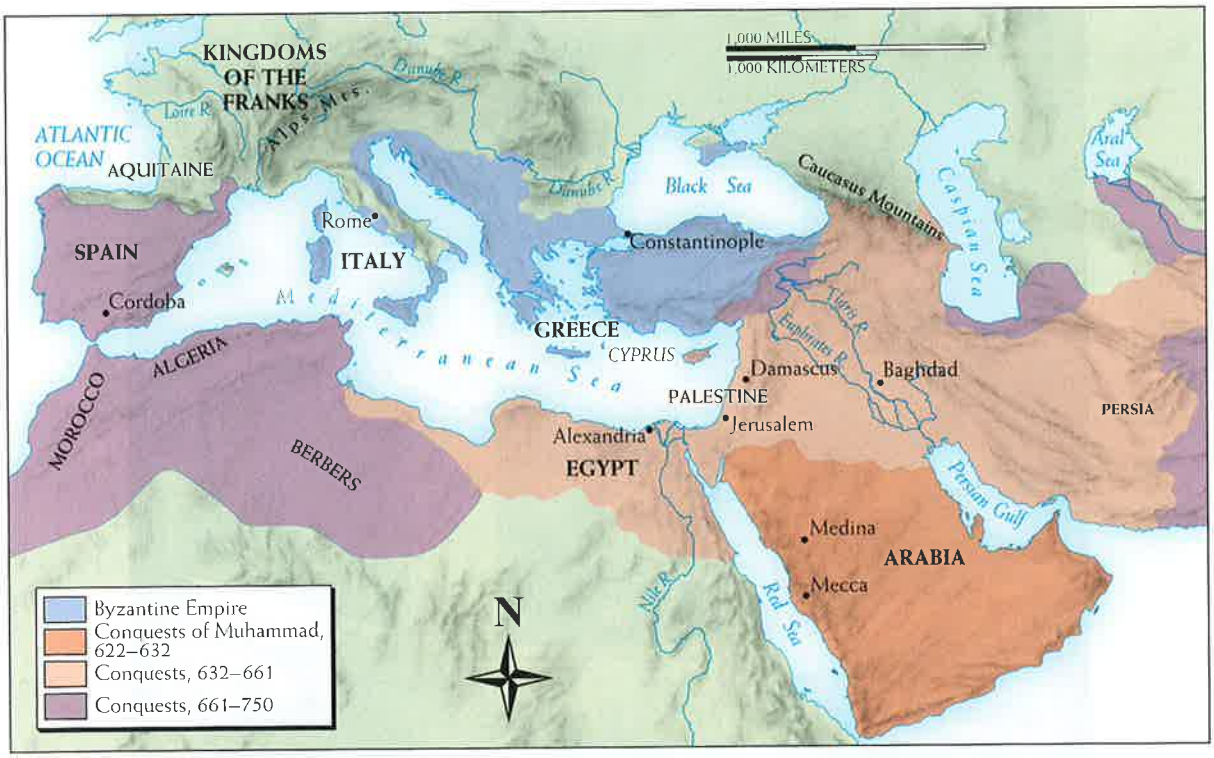
Muhammad (570–632), the founder of Islam, received his call to be "the Prophet" at age forty. The name of his religion, Islam, means "submission" (to Allah). Its adherents, called Muslims, which means "submissive" or "surrendering," obey the will of Allah as revealed in the Qur'an, a series of revelations received by Muhammad over a period of time and compiled by his successors. Islam recognizes Jesus Christ as a prophet sent by God, but not one as great as Muhammad and not God's son as the Christians believe. Islam is uncompromisingly monotheistic.

Muslims are enjoined to live by the divine law, or *Shari'a*, and have a right to have disputes settled by an arbiter of the *Shari'a*. Here we see a husband complaining about his wife before the state-appointed judge, or *qadi*. The wife, backed up by two other women, points an accusing finger at the husband. In such cases, the first duty of the *qadi*, who should be a learned person of faith, is to try to effect a reconciliation before the husband divorces his wife, or the wife herself seeks a divorce. Cliche Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Among the things required of the faithful are prayer five times each day, generous almsgiving, and fasting during the daylight hours for one month each year. Another requirement is a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, in what is now Saudi Arabia, at least once during one's lifetime. By its ability to forge a common Arab culture and its willingness to impose it by force, Islam became a spiritual force capable of uniting the Arab tribes in a true Arab empire.

By the middle of the eighth century, Muslims had conquered the southern and eastern Mediterranean coastline and occupied parts of Spain, which they controlled or strongly influenced until the fifteenth century (see Map I–9). In addition, their armies had pushed north and east through Mesopotamia and Persia and beyond.

Assaulted on both their eastern and their western frontiers, and everywhere challenged in the Mediterranean, Europeans developed a lasting fear and suspicion of Muslims. In 732, an army led by Charles Martel (d. 741), the ruler of the Franks, defeated a raiding party of Arabs at Poitiers. This victory ended the threat of Arab expansion into western Europe by way of Spain. Nonetheless, from the end of the seventh century to the middle of the eleventh century, the Mediterranean remained something of a Muslim lake. Although trade was not entirely cut off during these centuries, it was significantly reduced and was carried on in keen awareness of Muslim dominance.



Map I–9 **MUSLIM CONQUESTS AND DOMINATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN TO ABOUT 750 C.E.** The rapid spread of Islam (both as a religion and as a political-military power) is shown here. Within 125 years of Muhammad's rise, Muslims came to dominate Spain and all areas south and east of the Mediterranean.

New Importance of the Christian Church

When trade wanes, cities decline, and with them those cultural centers that enable a society to look and live beyond itself. The Arab invasions and domination of the Mediterranean during a crucial period of the early Middle Ages contributed to the conditions for the birth of western Europe as a distinctive cultural and social entity. As western shipping in the Mediterranean declined, so too did coastal urban centers. People who would otherwise have been engaged in trade-related work in the cities moved in large numbers to interior regions, where they worked on the farms of the great landholders. The domains of these landholders became the basic social and political units of society, and local barter economies sprang up within them.

The functions of the Christian church also became more important. Local bishops and cathedral chapters filled the vacuum of authority left by the removal of Roman governors. The local cathedral became the center of urban life, and the local bishop became the highest authority for those who remained in the cities. At this time, the Church alone possessed an effective hierarchical administration scattered throughout the old empire and staffed by the best-educated minds in Europe. The Church also strengthened itself through the institution of monasticism. Embracing the biblical "counsels of perfection" (chastity, poverty, and obedience), the monastic life became the purest form of Christian religious practice in the Middle Ages. The ideal of monasticism as the model for a superior Christian life eventually evolved into a belief in the general superiority of the clergy and the mission of the Church over the laity and the state.

In addition to this distinctly moral and spiritual claim to superiority, the bishops of Rome made a separate claim to superiority within the Church; they had always opposed intervention by the secular state in Church matters. As early as the fifth and sixth centuries, they took advantage of imperial weakness and distraction to develop the doctrine of "papal primacy" for their own defense. This teaching in time raised the Roman pontiff to an unassailable supremacy within the Church when it came to defining orthodox Church doctrine and practice. It also put the pope in a position to make important secular claims that caused repeated conflicts between Church and state in the Middle Ages.

Charlemagne

The chief political characteristic of the Middle Ages was the absence of central political authority. The most persistent problem of medieval political history was the

Interior of the Palace Chapel of Charlemagne, Aachen. French Government Tourist Office

competing claims of the "one" and the "many"—on one hand, the king, who struggled for a centralized government in a particular area and transregional loyalty from his subjects, and on the other, powerful local magnates who strove to preserve their regional autonomy and purely local customs.

Between the sixth and eleventh centuries, only one figure achieved a significant degree of centralized political authority over a substantial region of Europe. This was the Frankish king Charlemagne (r. 768–814), whose kingdom loosely embraced modern France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, almost the whole of western Germany, much of Italy, a portion of Spain, and the island of Corsica (see Map I–10). Charlemagne carefully developed strong political ties with local nobles and with the Church, which regarded him as its protector. On Christmas Day, 800, Pope Leo III (r. 795–816) crowned Charlemagne emperor. With this papal act there came into being what would come to be known in the tenth century as the Holy Roman Empire, a revival, based in Germany, of the old Roman Empire in the West.

Map I–10 **THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE TO 814** Building on the successes of his predecessors, Charlemagne greatly increased the Frankish domains. Such traditional enemies as the Saxons and the Lombards fell under his sway.

Charlemagne governed his kingdom through counts, of whom there were perhaps as many as 250. They were strategically located within the administrative districts into which the kingdom was divided. The counts often were local magnates who already possessed the arms and the self-interest to enforce the rule of a generous king. These counts served Charlemagne well, but they were never completely loyal and he never wholly controlled their political behavior.

Charlemagne accumulated great wealth in the form of loot and land from conquered tribes. He used a large part of this booty to attract Europe's best scholars to his capital at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). He intended them to use their learning in the classics and Christian writings to upgrade the administrative skills of the clerics and officials who staffed the royal bureaucracy. Through these efforts, a modest rebirth of antiquity occurred in the palace school as scholars collected, studied, and preserved ancient manuscripts.

Charlemagne's empire and the cultural revival it nurtured lasted for a relatively short time. After the death of his son and successor, Louis the Pious (r. 814–840), the kingdom was divided into three equal parts by the Treaty of Verdun (843): a middle section (Lotharingia, embracing

roughly modern Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Italy); a western part (roughly modern France); and an eastern part (roughly modern Germany). Long-term loyalty to a single monarch by the nobles of various regions proved unattainable. Potential monarchs fought each other, and nobles looked out for their own interests. The papacy lost prestige as it cast its lot first with one monarch and then with another in an effort to preserve a major political role for itself.

On top of all these troubles, the late ninth and tenth centuries saw successive waves of attacks by the Vikings from Scandinavia, the Magyars from the eastern European plains, and the Muslims in the south. Local populations became more dependent than ever before on local strongmen to protect them. This brute fact of life provided the essential precondition for the maturation of feudal society.

Feudal and Manorial Society

The early Middle Ages were a time of fragmentation and decentralization, with the weaker seeking the protection of the stronger. The term ***feudal society*** refers to the social, political, military, and economic system that emerged in response to these conditions. A feudal society is one in which a regional prince or a local lord is dominant and the highest virtues are those of mutual trust and fidelity. In a feudal society what people most need is the firm assurance that others can be depended on in time of dire need.

The two chief institutions of feudal society were vassalage and the fief. *Vassalage* involved "fealty" to a lord. To swear fealty was to promise to refrain from any action that might in any way threaten the lord's well-being and to perform for him on his request personal services, the most important of which was military aid. In return, the lord agreed to protect the vassal from physical harm and to stand as his advocate in public court. After fealty was sworn, the lord provided for the vassal's physical maintenance by the bestowal of a fief. The ***fief*** was the physical or material wherewithal to meet the vassal's military and other obligations. It could take the form of liquid wealth or, more commonly, a grant of real property. Feudalism could lead to a very confused set of relationships, because often one person was the vassal of more than one lord. And as the centuries passed, personal loyalty and service became quite secondary to the acquisition of property.

The social and economic equivalents of the dependency relationships of feudalism on local levels were the manor and serfdom. It is important to realize, however, that the manorial system existed in many places where feudalism never became well developed. Village farms, normally owned by a local landlord, were called ***manors***. Here peasants labored as farmers under a lord, who gave them small plots of land and tenements in exchange for their services and a portion of their crops. Some of the peasants were free and owned certain lands themselves. They had specific legal rights even if they surrendered their land and services to a landlord in exchange for his support and protection. On the other hand, peasants who entered the service of a lord without any real property to bargain with ended up as unfree ***serfs***. All serfs owed labor of several days a week to their lords and were also subject to so-called dues in kind: firewood for cutting the lord's wood, sheep for grazing their sheep on the lord's land, and the like. The discontent of many serfs is witnessed by the high number of recorded escapes.

MAJOR POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

313	Emperor Constantine issues the *Edict of Milan*
325	Council of Nicaea defines Christian doctrine
410	Rome invaded by Visigoths under Alaric
413–426	Saint Augustine writes *City of God*
451	Council of Chalcedon further defines Christian doctrine
451–453	Europe invaded by the Huns under Attila
476	Barbarian Odoacer deposes Western emperor and rules as king of the Romans
489–493	Theodoric establishes kingdom of Ostrogoths in Italy
529	Saint Benedict founds monastery at Monte Cassino
533	Justinian codifies Roman law
622	Muhammad's flight from Mecca (*Hegira*)
732	Charles Martel defeats Muslims at Poitiers
754	Pope Stephen II and Pepin III ally

▼ Church and State in the High Middle Ages

What are known as the High Middle Ages (ca. 1000–1300) mark a period of political expansion and consolidation and of intellectual flowering that followed Europe's deep difficulties during the ninth and tenth centuries. This period saw the borders of western Europe secured against foreign invaders. These centuries also saw the emergence of "national" monarchies in France, England, and Germany. Parliaments and popular assemblies, representing the interests of the landed nobility, the clergy, and townspeople, appeared at the same time to secure local rights and cus-

Benedictine monks at choir. The reform movement that began at the Benedictine monastery at Cluny in northern France in the tenth century spread throughout the Church and was ultimately responsible for the reassertion of papal authority. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Library

toms against the claims of the developing monarchies. During these centuries, there was also a great revival of trade and commerce, the growth of towns, and the emergence of a "new rich" merchant class, the ancestors of modern capitalists.

The High Middle Ages were also the time when the Western church, now centered on the pope in Rome, established itself as an authority independent of monarchical secular government. This occurred during the Investiture Struggle of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The fortunes of both the empire and the papacy had begun to revive after the dark period of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The Ottonians, successors to the Franks in Germany, now carried the title of Holy Roman Emperor, and they produced some able leaders.

About the same time, the Church began to undergo a series of internal reforms sponsored by clerics influenced by the monastery of Cluny (founded 910) in France. The Cluny reformers demanded a higher moral standard

from the clergy and asserted a sharp separation of Church and state. Previously, emperors and other political rulers often had controlled the appointment of bishops and other high Church officials.

Under Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), the papacy declared its independence from such lay control of Church offices. Henceforth, bishops were to be installed in their offices by high ecclesiastical authority as empowered by the pope and none other. For almost fifty years controversy raged, until the Concordat of Worms in 1122 provided that the pope or his representative would invest all bishops with the spiritual signs of their office and the emperor or his representative would invest them only with lands. Thereafter, the clergy were more independent of the state than ever before, and the papacy began to assert itself as an independent political power.

The Division of Christendom

Also in this period Christendom became firmly divided into Eastern and Western churches, the result of a long-developing conflict over Church practice and doctrine rooted in the early Middle Ages. From the start, there had been a difference in language (Greek in the East, Latin in the West) and culture. The Eastern patriarchs (rulers of the Church) also had a strong mystical orientation to the next world that caused them to submit more passively than Western popes to secular control of the Church (Caesaro-papism, "Caesar acting as pope"). Contrary to the evolving Western tradition of universal clerical celibacy, the Eastern church permitted the marriage of parish priests, while strictly forbidding bishops to marry. The Eastern church used leavened bread in the Eucharist, contrary to the Western custom of using unleavened bread. The Eastern church objected to the Western church's description of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Son as well as from the Father and opposed the Western church's use of icons and images in worship.

Beyond these issues was a major conflict over Church authority. The Eastern church put more stress on the authority of the Bible and of the ecumenical councils of the Church than on papal or Roman primacy. The Roman popes claimed a special primacy of authority on the basis of the apostle Peter's commission from Jesus in Matthew 16:18 ("Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church"). These claims were completely unacceptable to the East, where the independence and autonomy of national churches was preferred. This basic issue of authority in matters of faith lay behind the mutual excommunication of Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photius in the ninth century and that of Pope Leo IX and Patriarch Michael Cerularius in 1054.

The Rise of Towns

Western Europe had little international commerce and even less urban culture during the centuries following the collapse of the Roman Empire. By comparison with previous centuries, western Europe had become an isolated, agricultural society. This is one reason some historians refer to the centuries between 500 and 1000 as a comparative "dark age." By the late tenth century, thanks to improved climate, agricultural production, and the end of Viking invasions, the population had begun to grow rapidly. The increased numbers of people made possible the rebirth of the old Roman towns and the creation of many new ones. The great seaports of Italy had weathered the early Middle Ages better than any other western cities, maintaining vibrant urban cultures. Even in the darkest times, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa traded with Constantinople and the port cities of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. The Venetians were especially successful merchants throughout the eastern world; their commercial success approached domination there after the First Crusade (1095) opened the Mediterranean to still greater western shipping.

The term ***bourgeois***, or *burgher*, first appeared in the eleventh century as a negative description of the newly powerful townspeople. In the popular imagination, they were a new addition to the traditional social ranks of knight (or noble), cleric, and serf. Initially, the term designated the merchant groups who created the *bourgs*, or new market towns, as bases for their commercial operations in and around the old Roman towns. Because the burghers' sole business was trade and banking, the clergy condemned their work as usurious and immoral. The nobility also looked askance at their new wealth and mobility. Because the merchants departed from traditional ways of making money, that is, by owning and cultivating land, they seemed to pose a threat to political and social order.

The common people, by contrast, admired the merchants. They saw their commercial success as providing new economic opportunity for themselves. The new towns became magnets for ambitious and skilled peasants, who both gained their freedom from serfdom there and found new vocations. Lucky peasants experienced a heretofore unknown social mobility, and the diligent and successful among them even became gentlemen.

The merchants for their part resented the laws and customs of traditional society, which gave the nobility and the clergy special privileges. By allowing the nobility and the clergy to subject all others to their notions of morality and work, traditional law and custom impeded the new course of urban life and threatened its future development. Wherever merchants settled, they lobbied for the freedom necessary to pursue successful commerce. In doing so, they had the broad support of townspeople. They opposed tolls, tariffs, and other petty regulations that restricted trade and dampened commercial activity.

THE CAROLINGIAN MANOR

A capitulary from the reign of Charlemagne known as "De Villis" itemizes what the king received from his royal manors or village estates. It is a testimony both to Carolingian administrative ability and domination over the countryside.

What gave the lord the right to absolutely everything? (Has anything been overlooked?) How did the stewards and workers share in the manorial life? Was the arrangment a good deal for them as well as for the lord?

That each steward shall make an annual statement of all our income: an account of our lands cultivated by the oxen which our ploughmen drive and of our lands which the tenants of farms ought to plough; an account of the pigs, of the rents, of the obligations and fines; of the game taken in our forests without our permission; of the various compositions; of the mills, of the forest, of the fields, of the bridges, and ships: of the free-men and the hundreds who are under obligations to our treasury; of markets, vineyards, and those who owe wine to us; of the hay, fire-wood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of the wastelands; of the vegetables, millet, panic; of the wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits of the trees, of the nut trees, larger and smaller; of the grafted trees of all kinds; of the gardens; of the turnips; of the fishponds; of the hides, skins, and horns; of the honey, wax; of the fat, tallow and soap; of the mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar; beer, wine new and old; of the new grain and the old; of the hens and eggs; of the geese; the number of fishermen, smiths [workers in metal], swordmakers, and shoemakers; of the bins and boxes; of the turners and saddlers; of the forges and mines, that is iron and other mines; of the lead mines; of the tributaries; of the colts and fillies; they shall make all these known to us, set forth separately and in order, at Christmas, in order that we may know what and how much of each thing we have.

In each of our estates our stewards are to have as many cow-houses, piggeries, sheep-folds, stables for goats, as possible, and they ought never to be without these.

They must provide with the greatest care that whatever is prepared or made with the hands, that is, lard, smoked meat, salt meat, partially salted meat, wine, vinegar, mulberry wine, cooked wine, garns, mustard, cheese, butter, malt beer, mead, honey, wax, flour, all should be prepared and made with the greatest cleanliness.

That each steward on each of our domains shall always have, for the sake of ornament, swans, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, turtle-doves.

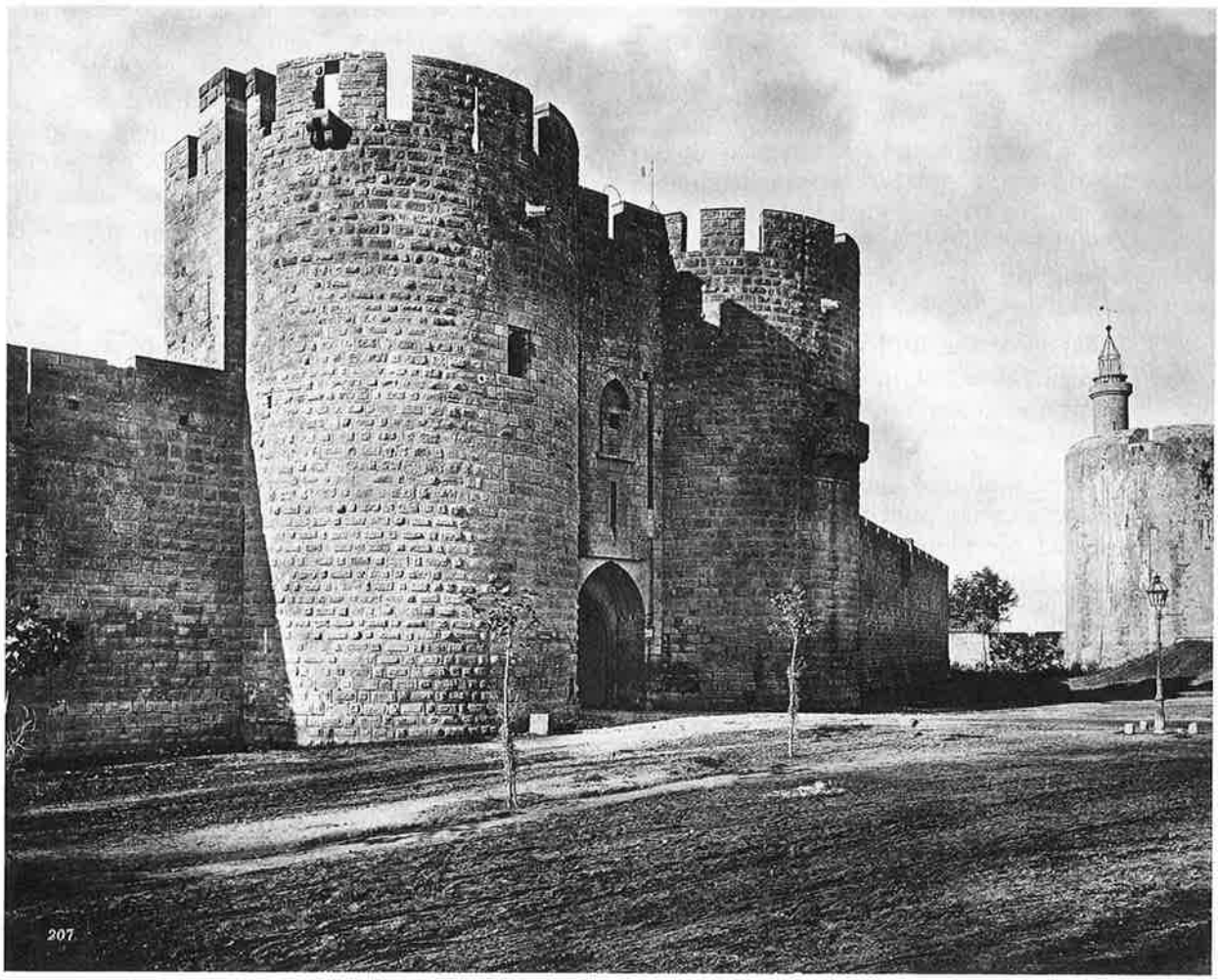
That in each of our estates, the chambers shall be provided with counterpanes, cushions, pillows, bed-clothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron and wood; andirons, chains, pothooks, adzes, axes, augers, cutlasses and all other kinds of tools, so that it shall never be necessary to go elsewhere for them, or to borrow them. And the weapons, which are carried against the enemy, shall be well cared for, so as to keep them in good condition.

For our women's work they are to give at the proper time, as has been ordered, the materials, that is the linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool-combs, teasels, soap grease, vessels and the other objects which are necessary.

Of the food-products other than meat, two-thirds shall be sent each year for our own use, that is of the vegetables, fish, cheese, butter, honey, mustard, vinegar, millet, panic, dried and green herbs, radishes, and in addition of the wax, soap and other small products.

That each steward shall have in his district good workmen, namely, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, shoemakers, turners, carpenters, sword-makers, fishermen, foilers, soapmakers, men who know how to make beer cider, berry, and all the other kinds of beverages, bakers to make pastry for our table, net-makers who know how to make nets for hunting, fishing and fowling, and the other who are too numerous to be designated.

Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1909), pp. 2–4.



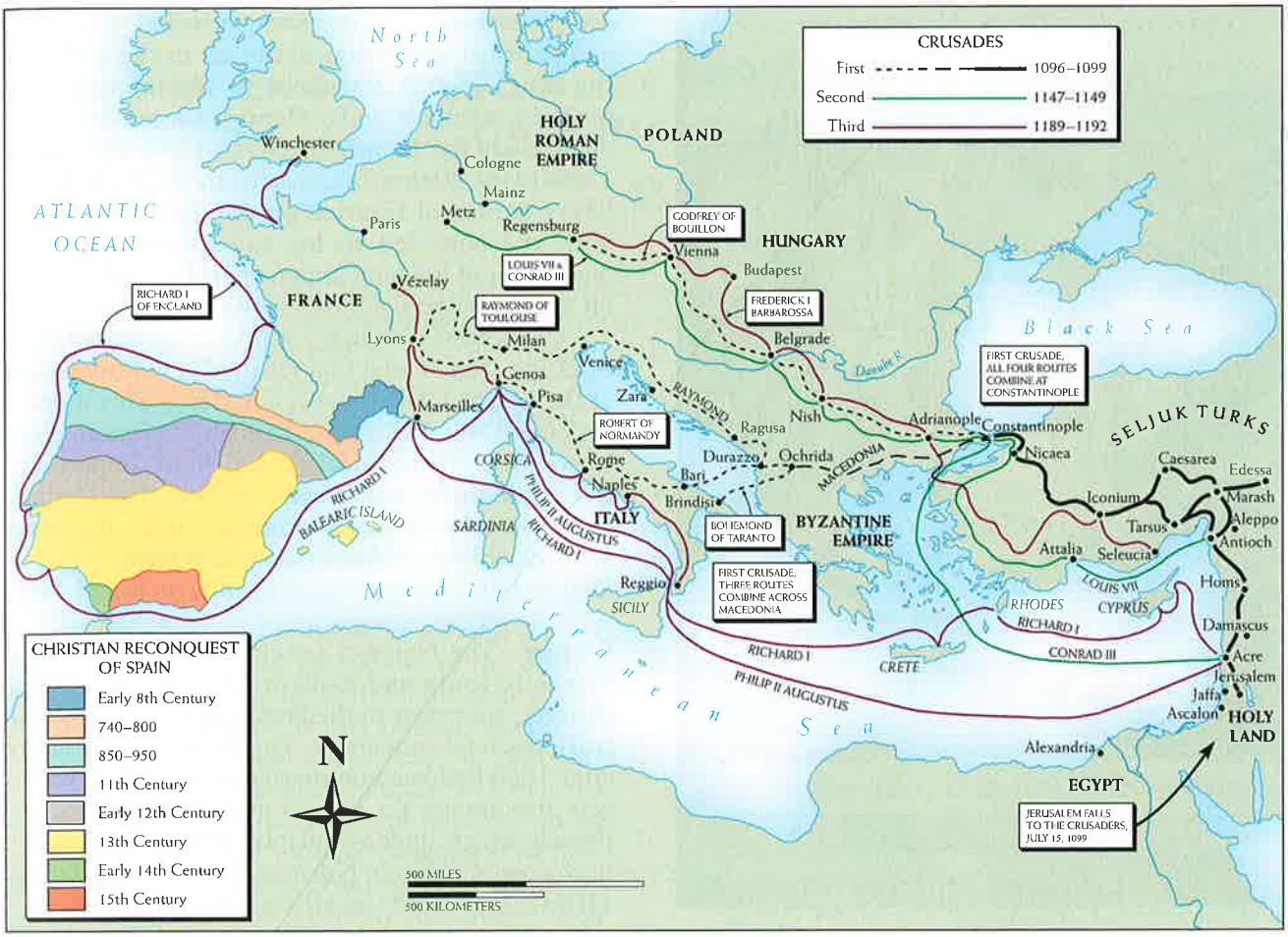
Many medieval towns were entirely enclosed by walls for protection. Here is the walled town of Aigues-Mortes in southern France. French Government Tourist Office

Whether they were wealthy merchants or struggling artisans, townspeople wanted a government in which traders and craftsmen determined policy. Policy made by secular and ecclesiastical overlords was calculated to control and exploit the towns rather than nurture and expand commerce. Such desire brought towns into conflict with the norms of static agricultural society. Merchant guilds and protective associations sprang up in the eleventh century, followed in the twelfth by guilds of craftsmen (drapers, haberdashers, furriers, hosiers, goldsmiths, and so on). These organizations worked to advance the business interest of both merchants and craftsmen as well as to enhance the personal well-being of their members.

During the High and later Middle Ages, towns also formed independent communes and allied with kings against the landed nobility. In this way, townspeople became a force in the breakup of traditional feudal society.

The Crusades

If an index of popular piety and support for the pope in the High Middle Ages is needed, the Crusades amply provide it (see Map I–11). In 1095, Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in France. Participants in this Crusade to liberate the Holy Land from Muslim control were promised a plenary indulgence should they die in battle, that is, a complete remission of the penance required of them for their mortal sins and hence release from suffering for these sins in purgatory. To rescue Jerusalem, which had been in non-Christian hands since the seventh century, three great armies—tens of thousands of crusaders, gathered from France, Germany, and Italy—converged on the Middle East. Jerusalem fell to them on July 15, 1099. By the middle of the next century, however, Jerusalem had again fallen into Arab hands. Other Crusades attempted to duplicate the feat of the first but with little success.



Map I–11 **THE EARLY CRUSADES** Routes and several leaders of the Crusades during the first century of the movement are shown. The names on this map do not exhaust the list of great nobles who went on the First Crusade. The even showier array of monarchs of the Second and Third Crusades still left the Crusades, on balance, ineffective in achieving their goals.

The long-term achievement of the Crusades had little to do with their original purpose. The later Crusades became more important for the way they stimulated new trade between western Europe and the East than for regaining the Holy Land. The merchants of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa particularly benefited from them.

The Rise of New Monarchies

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries in England, France, and Germany, the central monarchies began to assert themselves with considerable success against the territorial influence of their respective nobilities. The latter remained very strong and influential. To a degree unknown for centuries, however, central political authority became established in matters of law, military affairs, and taxation. Different varieties and degrees of monarchical authority characterized each country.

England William, duke of Normandy (d. 1087), conquered England in 1066 by defeating the Anglo-Saxon army at Hastings. Within weeks of the invasion, William was crowned king of England both by right of a complex hereditary claim and by right of conquest. The new king of England remained, however, also the duke of Normandy, with extensive lands in France, the basis for later conflict between France and England. William organized his new English nation shrewdly. He subjected his noble vassals to the crown, yet he also consulted with them regularly about decisions of "state." The result was a unique blending of the "one" and the "many," a balance between monarchical and noble elements in the body politic.

William's successors tried to press their authority more boldly against the Church and the nobility. Henry II (r. 1165–1189) aroused the strong opposition of his onetime close friend Thomas à Becket (1118–1170), archbishop of Canterbury; eventually Henry's agents

The crusaders capture the city of Antioch in 1098 during the First Crusade. From *Le Miroir Historial* (fifteenth century) by Vincent de Beauvais. Musée Conde Chantilly. E. T. Archive, London

murdered Becket in his own cathedral. General moral and political opposition to the act in the end weakened the king. English resistance to the monarchy became outright rebellion under Henry's successors, the brothers Richard the Lion-Hearted (r. 1189–1199) and John (r. 1199–1216). Richard's crusades to the Holy Land put a heavy burden of taxation on the nation. John's conflict with the pope led to his excommunication and the placement of England under a papal interdict, which cut off many essential Church services.

Unsuccessful military ventures finally led to a noble rebellion against John that resulted in his granting in 1215 of the Magna Carta ("Great Charter"). This monumental document was a victory of English noblemen, clergy, and towns over monarchical power. More important, it restored the internal political balance in the English state. The monarchy remained intact, and its legitimate powers and rights were duly recognized and preserved. (See "The English Nobility Imposes Restraints on King John.")

France The Norman conquest of England helped stir France to unity and make it possible for the Capetian dynasty, successor to the Franks in France, to establish a truly national monarchy. The duke of Normandy, who after 1066 had become master of the whole of England, was also among the vassals of the French king in Paris. French kings understandably viewed with alarm the new power of their Norman vassal. King Louis VI (r. 1108–1137) entered an alliance with Flanders, traditionally a Norman enemy. King Louis VII (r. 1137–1180) found allies in the great northern French cities and used their wealth to build a royal army.

Philip II Augustus (r. 1180–1223) inherited both financial resources and an administrative bureaucracy from his predecessors. He resisted the divisive French nobility and clergy and focused his attention on regaining French land from the control of the English king.

William the Conqueror on horseback urging his troops into combat with the English at the Battle of Hastings (October 14, 1066). Detail from the *Bayeux Tapestry*, scene 51, about 1073–1083. Musée de la Tapisserie, Bayeux, France. Copyright Giraudon/Art Resource, NY

THE ENGLISH NOBILITY IMPOSES RESTRAINTS ON KING JOHN

The gradual building of a sound English constitutional monarchy in the Middle Ages required the king's willingness to share power. He had to be strong but could not act as a despot or rule by fiat. The danger of despotism became acute in England under the rule of King John. In 1215, the English nobility forced him to recognize Magna Carta, which reaffirmed traditional rights and personal liberties that are still enshrined in English law.

Does the Magna Carta protect basic rights or special privileges? Does this protection suggest that there was a sense of fairness in the past? Does the granting of such protection in any way weaken the king?

A free man shall not be fined for a small offense, except in proportion to the gravity of the offense; and for a great offense he shall be fined in proportion to the magnitude of the offense, saving his freehold [property]; and a merchant in the same way, saving his merchandise; and the villein [a free serf, bound only to his lord] shall be fined in the same way, saving his wainage [wagon], if he shall be at [the king's] mercy. And none of the above fines shall be imposed except by the oaths of honest men of the neighborhood. . . .

No constable or other bailiff of [the king] shall take anyone's grain or other chattels without immediately paying for them in money, unless he is able to obtain a postponement at the good will of the seller.

No constable shall require any knight to give money in place of his ward of a castle [i.e., standing guard], if he is willing to furnish that ward in his own person, or through another honest man, if he himself is not able to do it for a reasonable cause; and if we shall lead or send him into the army, he shall be free from ward in proportion to the amount of time which he has been in the army through us.

No sheriff or bailiff of [the king], or any one else, shall take horses or wagons of any free man, for carrying purposes, except on the permission of that free man.

Neither we nor our bailiffs will take the wood of another man for castles, or for anything else which we are doing, except by the permission of him to whom the wood belongs. . . .

No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way injured, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

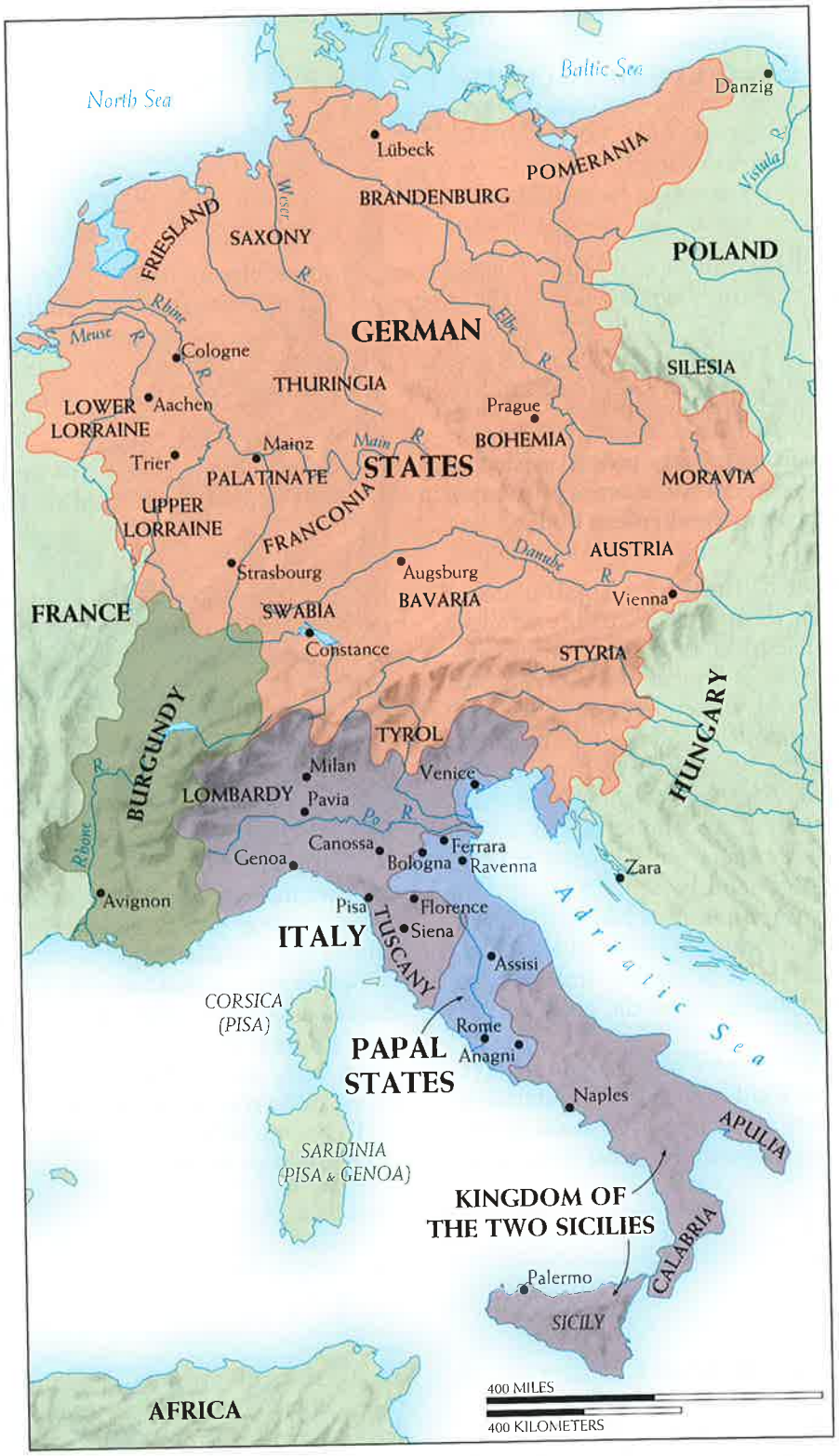
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

From James Harvey Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History*, Vol. 1 (Boston: Athenaeum, 1904), pp. 236–237.

Philip's armies occupied all the English territories on the French coast. At Bouvines on July 27, 1214, the first great European battle in history, the French handily defeated the English. This victory unified France around the monarchy and laid the foundation for French military and political ascendancy in the later Middle Ages.

Louis IX's (r. 1226–1270) reputation for piety and judicial fairness (he was declared a saint in the early fourteenth century) lent moral authority to the monarchy. The efficient French bureaucracy, which Louis's predecessors had used to exploit their subjects, now became an instrument of order and fair play in local government. The French people came to associate their king with justice—and national feeling, the glue of nationhood, grew very strong during his reign.

Holy Roman Empire The political experience of the Holy Roman Empire, which by the middle of the thirteenth century embraced Germany, Burgundy, and northern Italy, was very different (see Map I–12, page lxxvi). There, two centuries of disunity and blood feuding left Germany fragmented until modern times.



Map I–12 **GERMANY AND ITALY IN THE MIDDLE AGES** Medieval Germany and Italy were divided lands. The Holy Roman Empire (Germany) embraced hundreds of independent territories that the emperor ruled only in name. The papacy controlled the Rome area and tried to enforce its will on Romagna. Under the Hohenstaufens (mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries), internal German divisions and papal conflict reached new heights; German rulers sought to extend their power to southern Italy and Sicily.

Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1152–1190) established the Hohenstaufen dynasty, which succeeded the Ottonians. He set out to reassert the power of the Holy Roman emperors after the setbacks suffered during the investiture controversy, a long conflict with the Church over the right of rulers to appoint high clergy to their offices. Frederick's efforts, however, led only to new and even fiercer disputes between the emperor and the pope.

In the thirteenth century, that conflict became a bitter, deadly feud. Popes excommunicated Emperor Frederick II (r. 1215–1250) no fewer than four times, and the emperor's reign ended in humiliation and defeat at the hands of the German princes. Thereafter, Germany was a politically primitive land by comparison with other major European countries. The victorious papacy now launched itself into European politics on a grand scale, particularly during the reign of Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254). As a consequence, the papacy became vulnerable to new criticism from religious reformers and royal apologists alike, who did not believe such political self-aggrandizement was a proper mission for the Church.

The Emerging Contours of Europe By about 1300, then, the political contours of Europe as they would exist for the next two centuries were relatively clear. England and France had reasonably strong and stable central monarchies that competed economically and politically. The Holy Roman emperors presided rather than ruled over the other German princes, leaving the empire disunited. The papacy made and to some extent still enforced its own claims to what amounted to monarchical power. On the Italian peninsula, independent city-states composed of central urban areas and extensive surrounding countryside were the chief political units. There was an Arab presence on the Iberian Peninsula and strong Arab influence over Mediterranean trade. In the eastern Mediterranean, the Byzantine Empire remained intact. Europe had not experienced such widespread political stability since the demise of central Roman authority in the fourth century.

Universities and Scholasticism

During the two centuries before 1300, an important intellectual flowering had occurred that complemented the achievements in trade, urbanization, and politics. Thanks largely to Spanish Muslim scholars, the logical works of Aristotle, the writings of Euclid and Ptolemy, the basic works of Greek physicians and Arab mathematicians, and the larger texts of Roman law became available to Western scholars in the early twelfth century. Muslim scholars preserved these works, translated portions of the Greek tracts into Latin, and wrote extensive, thought-provoking commentaries on the ancient texts. This renaissance of ancient knowledge, in turn, led to the rise of universities in Europe.

The first important Western university was founded at Bologna in 1158 and specialized in law. The University of Paris, which specialized in theology, followed in 1200. Oxford, Cambridge, and, much later, Heidelberg were among Paris's imitators. All these universities required a foundation in the liberal arts for further study in the higher sciences of medicine, theology, and law. The arts program consisted of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music).

By the late twelfth century, enough of the works of Aristotle had penetrated Europe through Arab sources to influence European thought and education deeply. Logic and dialectic (the art of logical investigation), tools for bringing discipline to knowledge and thought, rapidly triumphed in importance over the other liberal arts. Within the Scholastic program of study, the student read the traditional authorities in his field, formed short summaries of their teaching, elaborated arguments pro and con, and then drew his own modest conclusions.

Scholasticism had its critics even in the twelfth century. Some, anticipating the later Renaissance Humanists, believed Scholastics emphasized logic to the detriment of eloquence and relevance. Other critics feared that as theologians began to adopt the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle, a threat would arise to biblical and traditional theological authority with dire consequences for the Church.

In Perspective

The roots of Western civilization may be found in the experience and culture of the Greeks. Yet Greek civilization itself was richly nourished by older, magnificent civilizations to the south and east, especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (Mesopotamia), and soon after in the valley of the Nile in Egypt, human beings moved from a life in agricultural villages, using tools of wood, bone, shell, and stone, into a much richer and more varied social organization that we call civilization.

Greek civilization arose after the destruction of the Bronze Age cultures on Crete and the Greek mainland before 1000 B.C.E. It took a turn sharply different from its predecessors in Egypt and western Asia. It was based on the independent existence of hundreds of city-states,

In this engraving, a teacher at the University of Paris leads fellow scholars in a discussion. As shown here, all of the students wore the scholar's cap and gown. CORBIS

called *poleis*, which retained their autonomy for hundreds of years before being incorporated into larger units. These cities attained a degree of self-government, broad political participation, and individual freedom never achieved before that time. They also introduced a new way of thinking that looked on the world as the product of natural forces to be understood by the sense and human reason, unaided by reference to supernatural forces. The result was the invention of science and philosophy as we know them.

Hellenistic culture was a mixture of Greek elements combined with some elements from the native peoples. It was without the particularism of the Hellenic world, and anyone speaking Greek could move comfortably from city to city and find a familiar and common culture. This was the world that succumbed to the Roman conquest in the last two centuries before the Christian era.

The Romans were tough farmers who began as inhabitants of a small town on the Tiber River in west-central Italy. After deposing their king in about 500 B.C.E., they invented a republican constitution and a code of law that provided a solid foundation for a stable and effective political order. From 264 until well into the first century B.C.E., the Romans extended their conquests overseas until they had conquered the

STUDENT LIFE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

As the following account by Jacques de Vitry makes clear, not all students at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century were there to gain knowledge. Students fought constantly and subjected each other to ethnic insults and slurs.

Why were students from different lands so prejudiced against one another? Does the rivalry of faculty members appear to have been as intense as that among students? What are the student criticisms of the faculty? Do they sound credible?

Almost all the students at Paris, foreigners and natives, did absolutely nothing except learn or hear something new. Some studied merely to acquire knowledge, which is curiosity; others to acquire fame, which is vanity; others still for the sake of gain, which is cupidity and the vice of simony. Very few studied for their own edification, or that of others. They wrangled and disputed not merely about the various sects or about some discussions; but the differences between the countries also caused dissensions, hatreds and virulent animosities among them, and they impudently uttered all kinds of affronts and insults against one another.

They affirmed that the English were drunkards and had tails; the sons of France proud, effeminate and carefully adorned like women. They said that the Germans were furious and obscene at their feasts; the Normans, vain and boastful; the Poitevins, traitors and always adventurers. The Burgundians they considered vulgar and stupid. The Bretons were reputed to be fickle and changeable, and were often reproached for the death of Arthur. The Lombards were called avaricious, vicious and cowardly; the Romans, seditious, turbulent and slanderous; the Sicilians, tyrannical and cruel; the inhabitants of Brabant, men of blood, incendiaries, brigands and ravishers; the Flemish, fickle, prodigal, gluttonous, yielding as butter, and slothful. After such insults from words they often came to blows.

I will not speak of those logicians [professors of logic and dialectic] before whose eyes flitted constantly "the lice of Egypt," that is to say, all the sophistical subtleties, so that no one could comprehend their eloquent discourses in which, as says Isaiah, "there is no wisdom." As to the doctors of theology, "seated in Moses' seat," they were swollen with learning, but their charity was not edifying. Teaching and not practicing, they have "become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal," or like a canal of stone, always dry, which ought to carry water to "the bed of spices." They not only hated one another, but by their flatteries they enticed away the students of others; each one seeking his own glory, but caring not a whit about the welfare of souls.

Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1902), pp. 19–20.

Carthaginians in the west and defeated all the great Hellenistic powers, dominating the shores of the Mediterranean and lands well beyond.

The Romans were fine engineers and road builders, but in art, literature, and philosophy they had barely made a start when they came into contact with the advanced Greek civilization of the Hellenistic world. In these areas, the Romans became eager students, and as the Roman poet Horace put it, "Captive Greece took Rome captive."

By the fifth century C.E., the Roman Empire in the West had collapsed and was shared among different Germanic tribes, although the eastern portion of the empire, with its capital at Constantinople, survived for a thousand years more. Before Rome's fall, the empire had abandoned paganism and had adopted Christianity as its official religion. The heritage that the ancient world passed on to its medieval successor in western Europe was a combination of cultural traditions including those coming from Egypt,

Mesopotamia, Israel, Greece, Rome, and the German tribes that destroyed the Roman Empire.

In western Europe, the centuries between 476 and 1300 saw both the decline of European classical civilization and the birth of a new European civilization. Beginning in the fifth century, barbarian invasions separated western Europe culturally from its classical past. Although some important works and concepts survived from antiquity, and the Christian church preserved major features of Roman government, the West would be recovering its classical heritage for centuries in "renaissances" that stretched into the sixteenth century. Out of the mixture of barbarian and surviving (or recovered) classical culture, a distinct Western culture was born. With the help of the Christian church, the Franks, under Charlemagne, created a new imperial tradition and shaped basic Western political and social institutions for centuries to come.

The Middle Ages also saw the lasting division of Christendom into Eastern and Western branches. As two different Christian churches evolved, bitter conflict ensued between popes and patriarchs. Constantinople far exceeded any city in the West in population and culture. Serving as both a buffer against Persian, Arab, and Turkish invasions of the West and as a major repository of classical learning and science for Western scholars, the Byzantine Empire did much to make the birth of western Europe possible. Another cultural and religious rival of the West, Islam, also saw its golden age during these same centuries. Like the Byzantine world, the Muslim world also proved a major conduit of ancient scholarship into the West, especially through Muslim Spain. Despite examples of coexistence and even friendship, however, Western and Arabic cultures were too different, their peoples too estranged and suspicious of one another, to coexist without hostility.

After 1000, the growth of Mediterranean trade revived old cities and occasioned the creation of new ones. The Crusades aided and abetted this development. One invaluable result of the new wealth of towns was a patronage of education and culture unseen since Roman times. Western Europe's first universities appeared in the eleventh century. Their numbers steadily expanded over the next four centuries: twenty universities by 1300 and seventy by 1500. Not only did Scholasticism flourish, but a new literature, art, and architecture developed as well, reflecting both a new human vitality and the reshaping of society and politics. For all this growth, western Europeans had no one to thank as much as the new class of merchants, whose greed, daring, and ambition had made it all possible.

Review Questions

1. How was life during the Paleolithic Age different from that in the Neolithic Age? Present the broad outlines of the history of the earliest civilizations in Mesopotamia and Egypt. What was the significance of Hebrew monotheism for the future of Western civilization?
2. Define the concept of the *polis*. Compare the basic political, social, and economic institutions of Athens and Sparta around 500 B.C.E. Why did Sparta develop its unique form of government?
3. Discuss Rome's expansion to 265 B.C.E. What were some of the problems that plagued the republic in the last century? To what extent was the republic destroyed by ambitious generals who loved power more than Rome itself?
4. What solutions did Augustus provide for the problems that had plagued the Roman republic? How was the Roman Empire organized, and why did it function smoothly?
5. Trace the history of Christianity to the coronation of Charlemagne in 800. What distinctive features characterized the early Church? What role did the Church play in the world after the fall of the western Roman Empire?
6. What were some of the conditions that gave rise to feudal society? What are the essential characteristics of feudal society?
7. Trace the development of national monarchies in England and France in the High Middle Ages. How did the experience of those two countries differ from that of the Holy Roman Empire in the same period?

Suggested Readings

E. Amt, ed., *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook* (1993). Outstanding collection of sources.

A. Andrewes, *The Greeks* (1967). A thoughtful general survey.

E. Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic*, 2nd ed. (1968).

G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (1968). Brief, comprehensive, with pictures.

A. H. Bernstein, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus: Tradition and Apostasy* (1978). A new interpretation of Tiberius's place in Roman politics.

P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (1967). Late antiquity seen through the biography of its greatest Christian thinker.

P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, A.D. 150–750* (1971). A brilliant and readable essay.

Virginia Burrus, ed., *A Peoples' History of Christianity, II* (2005). Substantial and accessible.

G. Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon* (1978). A keen analysis of an important career.

R. H. C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe: From Constantine to St. Louis* (1972). Unsurpassed in clarity.

E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1955). An excellent account of the role of the supernatural in Greek life and thought.
R. Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks* (1988). A fine study of the arrival of the Greeks as part of the movement of Indo-European peoples.
G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. by A. Goldhammer (1981). Large, comprehensive, authoritative.
R. M. Errington, *The Dawn of Empire: Rome's Rise to Power* (1972). An account of Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean.
R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France*, trans. by L. Butler and R. J. Adam (1972). Detailed standard account.
A. Ferrill, *Caligula: Emperor of Rome* (1991). A biography of the monstrous young emperor.
H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire: The Age of Charlemagne*, trans. by P. Munz (1964). Strong on political history.
J. V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: Sixth to Twelfth Centuries* (1983). Insight into ethnic divisions.
M. I. Finley, *World of Odysseus*, rev. ed. (1965). A fascinating attempt to reconstruct Homeric society.
W. G. Forrest, *The Emergence of Greek Democracy* (1966). A lively interpretation of Greek social and political developments in the archaic period.
J. R. L. Fox, *Alexander the Great* (1973). An imaginative account that does more justice to the Persian side of the problem than is usual.
H. Frankfort et al., *Before Philosophy* (1949). A brilliant examination of the mind of ancient man from the Stone Age to the Greeks.
M. Grant, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1990). A lively, well-written account.
P. Green, *Xerxes at Salamis* (1970). A lively and stimulating history of the Persian wars.
E. S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (1973). An interesting but controversial interpretation of the fall of the republic.
W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History* (1971). A fine survey of Egyptian and Mesopotamian history.
V. D. Hanson, *The Western Way of War* (1989). A brilliant and lively discussion of the rise and character of the hoplite phalanx and its influence on Greek society.
C. H. Haskins, *The Rise of the Universities* (1972). A minor classic.
D. Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (1985). Survey of antiquity and the Middle Ages.
A. Hourani, *A History of the Arab People* (1991). Readable, comprehensive overview.
S. Isager and J. E. Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture. An Introduction* (1993). A new study of a fundamental subject.
D. Kågan, ed., *The End of the Roman Empire: Decline or Transformation?* 3rd ed. (1992). A collection of essays discussing the problem of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.
D. Kagan, *The Great Dialogue: A History of Greek Political Thought from Homer to Polybius* (1965). A discussion of the relationship between the Greek historical experience and political theory.
D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (1969). A study of the period from the foundation of the Delian League to the coming of the Peloponnesian War that argues that the war could have been avoided.
H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (1951). A personal and illuminating interpretation of Greek culture.
D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism* (1969). Sweeping survey with helpful photographs.
D. Krueger, ed. *Byzantine Christianity* (2006).
J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by C. Misrahi (1962). Lucid, delightful, absorbing account of the ideals of monks.
K. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbors, 900–1250* (1982). Basic and authoritative.
R. Macmullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (1963). A study of the growing militarization of the whole society of the late empire.
R. Macmullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (1988). A study that examines the importance of changes in ethical ideas and behavior.
E. Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century* (1913). An enduring classic.
C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (1982). Perhaps the most readable account.
P. B. Manville, *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens* (1990). An examination of the origins of the concept of citizenship in the time of Solon of Athens.
R. W. Mathison, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival* (1993). An unusual slant on the late empire.
R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (1972). A fine study of the rise and fall of the empire, making excellent use of inscriptions.
J. B. Morrall, *Political Thought in Medieval Times* (1962). Readable and illuminating account.
P. Munz, *The Age of Charlemagne* (1971). Penetrating social history.
J. Oates, *Babylon*, rev. ed. (1986). An introduction to the history and archaeology of Babylonia revised to make use of newly discovered evidence.
H. M. Orlinsky, *Ancient Israel* (1960). Chiefly a political survey.
H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, trans. by F. D. Halsey (1970). A minor classic.
J. J. Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece* (1972). A brilliant interpretation of the place of art in fifth-century Greece.
J. N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia* (1992). An excellent study of Mesopotamian economy and society from the earliest times to about 1500 B.C.E., helpfully illustrated with drawings, pictures, and translated documents.
S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (1984). For the medieval origins of Western political and cultural traditions.
V. Rudich, *Political Dissidence Under Nero, The Price of Dissimulation* (1993). A brilliant exposition of the lives and thoughts of political dissidents in the early empire.
S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization* (1970). Succinct, comprehensive account by a master.
H. H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.*, 3rd ed. (1961). An unusually fine narrative history with useful critical notes.
J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (1987). Up-to-date, lucid, and readable.

R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1973). Originally published in 1953, but still a fresh account by an imaginative historian.
C. Stephenson, *Medieval Feudalism* (1969). Excellent short introduction.
B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (1983). How the ability to read changed medieval society.
R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1960). A brilliant study of Augustus, his supporters, and their rise to power.
W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization* (1961). A survey of Hellenistic history and culture.
L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (1949). A fascinating analysis of Roman political theory.
B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050–1300* (1964). Very useful collection and interpretation of primary sources on key Church-state conflicts.
Christopher Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom* (2004). Brief and accessible.
G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia, I–IV* (1946–1963). A graspable magisterial survey.
R. D. Weigel, *Lepidus: The Tarnished Triumvir* (1992). A biography of the less famous partner of Mark Antony and Augustus.
L. White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (1962). Often fascinating account of the way primitive technology changed life.
J. A. Wilson, *Culture of Ancient Egypt* (1956). A fascinating interpretation of the civilization of ancient Egypt.