

Period 1 & 2 - Unit Overview

Period 1 - Technological and Environmental Transformations *to c. 600 B.C.E.*

Period 2 - Organization and Reorganization of Human Societies *c. 600 BCE to c. 600 CE*

<u>Key Terms</u>			<u>Key Concepts</u>	
<u>Unit 1</u>	<u>Unit 2</u>		1.1: Big Geography and the Peopling of the Earth <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Paleolithic migrations lead to the spread of technology and culture 1.2: The Neolithic Revolution and Early Agricultural Societies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neolithic Revolution leads to new and more complex economic and social systems - Agriculture and pastoralism begins to transform human society 1.3: The Development and Interactions of Early Agricultural, Pastoral, and Urban Societies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Location of early foundational civilizations - State development and expansion - Cultural development in the early civilizations 	2.1: The Development and Codification of Religious and Cultural Traditions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Further developments of existing religions - New belief systems emerge 2.2: The Development of States and Empires <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The number and size of key states and empires grew dramatically - New techniques of imperial administration - decline, collapse, and transformation of empires 2.3: Emergence of Transregional Networks of Communication and Exchange <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Land and water routes of trade and communication - Exchange of people, technology, disease, beliefs, crops, etc. along these routes
<p>Paleolithic Period</p> <p>"Out of Africa" Theory</p> <p>Foraging</p> <p>Neolithic Revolution</p> <p>Irrigation</p> <p>Patriarchy</p> <p>Animism</p> <p>Polytheism</p> <p>Mesopotamia</p> <p>City-State</p> <p>Hammurabi's Code</p> <p>Cuneiform</p> <p>Ancient Egypt</p> <p>Hieroglyphics</p> <p>Indus River Valley Civ.</p> <p>Harappa/Mohenjo-Daro</p> <p>Israel</p> <p>Monotheism</p> <p>Diaspora (Jewish)</p> <p>Phoenicians</p> <p>Shang Dynasty</p> <p>Zhou Dynasty</p> <p>Ancestor Veneration</p> <p>Mandate of Heaven</p> <p>Confucianism</p> <p>Daoism</p> <p>Legalism</p> <p>Nubia</p> <p>Similarities: River Valley Civ</p>			River Valley Civilizations (Unit 1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cities formed around rivers (which flooded) - Government systems developed (monarchy) - Farming techniques were developed - Social classes developed (rich/poor) - Moral or law codes were created <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Hammurabi's Code, Legalism - Polytheistic religious beliefs - Writing systems developed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Cuneiform, Hieroglyphs - Rulers created monumental architecture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Ziggurats, Pyramids - Trade between empires began (slowly) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Mesopotamia and Indus Valley - All eventually fell or were conquered 	Classical Empires (Unit 2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The number and size of empires grew dramatically - Patriarchal family structures continued - More specialization of labor (farming still important) - Governments grew more complex <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Satraps (Persia) and governors - Trade routes grew and became more widely used <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Silk Road, Indian Ocean Trade - Older religions were codified <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Judaism and Hinduism - New religious traditions began and spread <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Christianity, Buddhism - Empires created political, cultural, & administrative difficulties that they could not manage, which led to their decline, collapse, & transformation into successor empires or states
		<p>Christianity</p> <p>Aqueduct</p> <p>Constantine</p> <p>Qin Dynasty</p> <p>Shi Huangdi</p> <p>Xiongnu</p> <p>Han Dynasty</p> <p>Silk Road</p> <p>Chang'an</p> <p>Similarities: Rome/Han</p> <p>Vedas/Vedic Age</p> <p>Caste System</p> <p>Karma</p> <p>Buddha/Buddhism</p> <p>Four Noble Truths</p> <p>Hinduism</p> <p>Mauryan Empire</p> <p>Ashoka</p> <p>Bhagavad-Gita</p> <p>Gupta Empire</p> <p>Olmec</p> <p>Chavin</p> <p>Teotihuacan</p> <p>Maya City-States</p> <p>Mita</p> <p>Moche</p>		

PERIOD 2: ORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION OF HUMAN SOCIETIES

c. 600 B.C.E. to c. 600 C.E.

Key Concept 2.1. The Development and Codification of Religious and Cultural Traditions

As states and empires increased in size, and contacts between regions multiplied, people transformed their religious and cultural systems. Religions and belief systems provided a social bond and an ethical code to live by. These shared beliefs also influenced and reinforced political, economic, and occupational stratification. Religious and political authority often merged as rulers (some of whom were considered divine) used religion, along with military and legal structures, to justify their rule and ensure its continuation. Religions and belief systems also generated conflict, partly because beliefs and practices varied greatly within and among societies.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.1.I

CUL-1 Compare the origins, principal beliefs, and practices of the major world religions and belief systems.

CUL-2 Explain how religious belief systems developed and spread as a result of expanding communication and exchange networks.

CUL-4 Analyze the ways in which religious and secular belief systems affected political, economic, and social institutions.

CUL-5 Explain and compare how teachings and social practices of different religious and secular belief systems affected gender roles and family structures.

SB-7 Assess how and why internal conflicts, such as revolts and revolutions, have influenced the process of state building, expansion, and dissolution.

SOC-3 Assess the impact that different ideologies, philosophies, and religions had on social hierarchies.

SOC-5 Analyze ways in which religious beliefs and practices have sustained or challenged class, gender, and racial ideologies.

I. Codifications and further developments of existing religious traditions provided a bond among people and an ethical code to live by.

A. The association of monotheism with Judaism further developed with the codification of the Hebrew Scriptures, which also reflected the influence of Mesopotamian cultural and legal traditions. The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Roman empires conquered various Jewish states at different points in time. These conquests contributed to the growth of Jewish diasporic communities around the Mediterranean and Middle East.

B. The core beliefs outlined in the Sanskrit scriptures formed the basis of the Vedic religions — later known as Hinduism. These beliefs included the importance of multiple manifestations of Brahma and teachings about reincarnation, and they contributed to the development of the social and political roles of a caste system.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.1.II

ENV-2 Explain and compare how hunter-forager, pastoralist, and settled agricultural societies adapted to and affected their environments over time.

CUL-1 Compare the origins, principal beliefs, and practices of the major world religions and belief systems.

CUL-2 Explain how religious belief systems developed and spread as a result of expanding communication and exchange networks.

CUL-3 Explain how major philosophies and ideologies developed and spread as a result of expanding communication and exchange networks.

CUL-4 Analyze the ways in which religious and secular belief systems affected political, economic, and social institutions.

CUL-8 Explain how economic, religious, and political elites defined and sponsored art and architecture.

CUL-9 **Explain** the relationship between expanding exchange networks and the emergence of various forms of transregional culture, including music, literature, and visual art.

ECON-8 Analyze the relationship between belief systems and economic systems.

SOC-3 Assess the impact that different ideologies, philosophies, and religions had on social hierarchies.

SOC-4 **Analyze** ways in which legal systems have sustained or challenged class, gender, and racial ideologies.

SOC-5 Analyze ways in which religious beliefs and practices have sustained or challenged class, gender, and racial ideologies.

II. New belief systems and cultural traditions emerged and spread, often asserting universal truths.

- A. The core beliefs about desire, suffering, and the search for enlightenment preached by the historic Buddha and collected by his followers in sutras and other scriptures were, in part, a reaction to the Vedic beliefs and rituals dominant in South Asia. Buddhism changed over time as it spread throughout Asia — first through the support of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka, and then through the efforts of missionaries and merchants, and the establishment of educational institutions to promote Buddhism's core teachings.

- B. Confucianism's core beliefs and writings originated in the writings and lessons of Confucius. They were elaborated by key disciples who sought to promote social harmony by outlining proper rituals and social relationships for all people in China, including rulers.

- C. In major Daoist writings, the core belief of balance between humans and nature assumed that the Chinese political system would be altered indirectly. Daoism also influenced the development of Chinese culture.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, INFLUENCE OF DAOISM ON CHINESE CULTURE:

- ♦ Medical theories and practices
- ♦ Poetry
- ♦ Metallurgy
- ♦ Architecture

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.1.II
(CONTINUED)

II. New belief systems and cultural traditions emerged and spread, often asserting universal truths.
(CONTINUED)

D. Christianity, based on core beliefs about the teachings and divinity of Jesus of Nazareth as recorded by his disciples, drew on Judaism and Roman and Hellenistic influences. Despite initial Roman imperial hostility, Christianity spread through the efforts of missionaries and merchants through many parts of Afro-Eurasia, and eventually gained Roman imperial support by the time of Emperor Constantine.

E. The core ideas in Greco-Roman philosophy and science emphasized logic, empirical observation, and the nature of political power and hierarchy.

F. Art and architecture reflected the values of religions and belief systems.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, ART AND ARCHITECTURE:

- ♦ Hindu art and architecture
- ♦ Buddhist art and architecture
- ♦ Christian art and architecture
- ♦ Greco-Roman art and architecture

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.1.III

CUL-1 Compare the origins, principal beliefs, and practices of the major world religions and belief systems.

CUL-3 Explain how major philosophies and ideologies developed and spread as a result of expanding communication and exchange networks.

CUL-5 Explain and compare how teachings and social practices of different religious and secular belief systems affected gender roles and family structures.

SOC-1 Analyze the development of continuities and changes in gender hierarchies, including patriarchy.

SOC-5 Analyze ways in which religious beliefs and practices have sustained or challenged class, gender, and racial ideologies.

III. Belief systems generally reinforced existing social structures while also offering new roles and status to some men and women. For example, Confucianism emphasized filial piety, and some Buddhists and Christians practiced a monastic life.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.1.IV

ENV-2 Explain and compare how hunter-forager, pastoralist, and settled agricultural societies adapted to and affected their environments over time.

IV. Other religious and cultural traditions, including shamanism, animism, and ancestor veneration, persisted.

Key Concept 2.2. The Development of States and Empires

As the early states and empires grew in number, size, and population, they frequently competed for resources and came into conflict with one another. In quest of land, wealth, and security, some empires expanded dramatically. In doing so, they built powerful military machines and administrative institutions that were capable of organizing human activities over long distances, and they created new groups of military and political elites to manage their affairs. As these empires expanded their boundaries, they also faced the need to develop policies and procedures to govern their relationships with ethnically and culturally diverse populations, sometimes to integrate them within an imperial society and sometimes to exclude them. In some cases, these empires became victims of their own successes. By expanding their boundaries too far, they created political, cultural, and administrative difficulties that they could not manage. They also experienced environmental, social, and economic problems when they overexploited their lands and subjects and permitted excessive wealth to be concentrated in the hands of privileged classes.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.2.1

ENV-4 Explain how environmental factors influenced human migrations and settlements.

SB-2 Analyze how the functions and institutions of governments have changed over time.

SB-5 Assess the degree to which the functions of cities within states or empires have changed over time.

SB-10 Analyze the political and economic interactions between states and non-state actors.

I. The number and size of key states and empires grew dramatically as rulers imposed political unity on areas where previously there had been competing states. Key states and empires include:

- ▶ Southwest Asia: Persian empires
- ▶ East Asia: Qin and Han empires
- ▶ South Asia: Mauryan and Gupta empires
- ▶ Mediterranean region: Phoenicia and its colonies, Greek city-states and colonies, and Hellenistic and Roman empires
- ▶ Mesoamerica: Teotihuacan, Maya city-states
- ▶ Andean South America: Moche
- ▶ North America: from Chaco to Cahokia

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, PERSIAN EMPIRES:

- ♦ Achaemenid
- ♦ Parthian
- ♦ Sassanian

[NOTE: Students should know the location and names of the key empires and states.]

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.2.II

ENV-2 Explain and compare how hunter-forager, pastoralist, and settled agricultural societies adapted to and affected their environments over time.

ENV-8 Assess the demographic causes and effects of the spread of new foods and agricultural techniques.

SB-1 Explain and compare how rulers constructed and maintained different forms of governance.

SB-2 Analyze how the functions and institutions of governments have changed over time.

SB-4 Explain and compare how social, cultural, and environmental factors influenced state formation, expansion, and dissolution.

SB-6 Assess the relationships between states with centralized governments and those without, including pastoral and agricultural societies.

SB-8 Assess how and why external conflicts and alliances have influenced the process of state building, expansion, and dissolution.

SB-9 Assess how and why commercial exchanges have influenced the processes of state building, expansion, and dissolution.

SB-10 Analyze the political and economic interactions between states and non-state actors.

II. Empires and states developed new techniques of imperial administration based, in part, on the success of earlier political forms.

- A. In order to organize their subjects, in many regions the rulers created administrative institutions, including centralized governments as well as elaborate legal systems and bureaucracies.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, REGIONS WHERE RULERS CREATED ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS:

- ♦ China
- ♦ Persia
- ♦ Rome
- ♦ South Asia

- B. Imperial governments promoted trade and projected military power over larger areas using a variety of techniques, including issuing currencies; diplomacy; developing supply lines; building fortifications, defensive walls, and roads; and drawing new groups of military officers and soldiers from the location populations or conquered populations.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.2.III

CUL-8 Explain how economic, religious, and political elites defined and sponsored art and architecture.

SB-1 Explain and compare how rulers constructed and maintained different forms of governance.

SB-2 Analyze how the functions and institutions of governments have changed over time.

SB-4 Explain and compare how social, cultural, and environmental factors influenced state formation, expansion, and dissolution.

SB-5 Assess the degree to which the functions of cities within states or empires have changed over time.

SB-9 Assess how and why commercial exchanges have influenced the processes of state building, expansion, and dissolution.

SB-10 Analyze the political and economic interactions between states and non-state actors.

ECON-2 Analyze the economic role of cities as centers of production and commerce.

ECON-3 Assess the economic strategies of different types of states and empires.

ECON-5 Explain and compare forms of labor organization, including families and labor specialization within and across different societies.

ECON-6 Explain and compare the causes and effects of different forms of coerced labor systems.

SOC-1 Analyze the development of continuities and changes in gender hierarchies, including patriarchy.

SOC-2 Assess how the development of specialized labor systems interacted with the development of social hierarchies.

SOC-3 Assess the impact that different ideologies, philosophies, and religions had on social hierarchies.

SOC-4 Analyze ways in which legal systems have sustained or challenged class, gender, and racial ideologies.

III. Unique social and economic dimensions developed in imperial societies in Afro-Eurasia and the Americas.

A. Imperial cities served as centers of trade, public performance of religious rituals, and political administration for states and empires.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, IMPERIAL CITIES:

- ♦ Persepolis
- ♦ Chang'an
- ♦ Pataliputra
- ♦ Athens
- ♦ Carthage
- ♦ Rome
- ♦ Alexandria
- ♦ Constantinople
- ♦ Teotihuacan

B. The social structures of empires displayed hierarchies that included cultivators, laborers, slaves, artisans, merchants, elites, or caste groups.

C. Imperial societies relied on a range of methods to maintain the production of food and provide rewards for the loyalty of the elites.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, METHODS OF ENSURING PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY:

- ♦ Corvée labor
- ♦ Slavery
- ♦ Rents and tributes
- ♦ Peasant communities
- ♦ Family and household production

D. Patriarchy continued to shape gender and family relations in all imperial societies of this period.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.2.IV

ENV-2 Explain and compare how hunter-forager, pastoralist, and settled agricultural societies adapted to and affected their environments over time.

ENV-4 Explain how environmental factors influenced human migrations and settlements.

ENV-5 Explain how human migrations affected the environment.

SB-2 Analyze how the functions and institutions of governments have changed over time.

SB-3 Analyze how state formation and expansion were influenced by various forms of economic organization, such as agrarian, pastoral, mercantile, and industrial production.

SB-4 Explain and compare how social, cultural, and environmental factors influenced state formation, expansion, and dissolution.

SB-6 Assess the relationships between states with centralized governments and those without, including pastoral and agricultural societies.

SB-8 Assess how and why external conflicts and alliances have influenced the process of state building, expansion, and dissolution.

SOC-4 Analyze ways in which legal systems have sustained or challenged class, gender, and racial ideologies.

IV. The Roman, Han, Persian, Mauryan, and Gupta empires encountered political, cultural, and administrative difficulties that they could not manage, which eventually led to their decline, collapse, and transformation into successor empires or states.

A. Through excessive mobilization of resources, imperial governments generated social tensions and created economic difficulties by concentrating too much wealth in the hands of elites.

B. Security issues along their frontiers, including the threat of invasions, challenged imperial authority.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, PROBLEMS ALONG FRONTIERS:

- ♦ Between Han China and the Xiongnu
- ♦ Between the Gupta and the White Huns
- ♦ Between the Romans and their northern and eastern neighbors

Key Concept 2.3. Emergence of Interregional Networks of Communication and Exchange

With the organization of large-scale empires, the volume of long-distance trade increased dramatically. Much of this trade resulted from the demand for raw materials and luxury goods. Land and water routes linked many regions of the Eastern Hemisphere. The exchange of people, technology, religious and cultural beliefs, food crops, domesticated animals, and disease pathogens developed alongside the trade in goods across extensive networks of communication and exchange. In the Americas and Oceania, localized networks developed.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.3.I

- ENV-2** Explain and compare how hunter-forager, pastoralist, and settled agricultural societies adapted to and affected their environments over time.
- ENV-3** Explain the environmental advantages and disadvantages of major migration, communication, and exchange networks.
- ENV-4** Explain how environmental factors influenced human migrations and settlements.
- SB-10** Analyze the political and economic interactions between states and non-state actors.
- ECON-12** Evaluate how and to what extent networks of exchange have expanded, contracted, or changed over time.

- I. Land and water routes became the basis for interregional trade, communication, and exchange networks in the Eastern Hemisphere.**
 - A.** Many factors, including the climate and location of the routes, the typical trade goods, and the ethnicity of people involved, shaped the distinctive features of a variety of trade routes, including Eurasian Silk Roads, Trans-Saharan caravan routes, Indian Ocean sea lanes, and Mediterranean sea lanes.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.3.II

ENV-2 Explain and compare how hunter-forager, pastoralist, and settled agricultural societies adapted to and affected their environments over time.

ENV-6 Explain how people used technology to overcome geographic barriers to migration over time.

CUL-6 Explain how cross-cultural interactions resulted in the diffusion of technologies and scientific knowledge.

SB-10 Analyze the political and economic interactions between states and non-state actors.

ECON-12 Evaluate how and to what extent networks of exchange have expanded, contracted, or changed over time.

II. New technologies facilitated long-distance communication and exchange.

A. New technologies permitted the use of domesticated pack animals to transport goods across longer routes.

B. Innovations in maritime technologies, as well as advanced knowledge of the monsoon winds, stimulated exchanges along maritime routes from East Africa to East Asia.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES FOR 2.3.III

ENV-2 Explain and compare how hunter-forager, pastoralist, and settled agricultural societies adapted to and affected their environments over time.

ENV-3 Explain the environmental advantages and disadvantages of major migration, communication, and exchange networks.

ENV-7 Assess the causes and effects of the spread of epidemic diseases over time.

CUL-1 Compare the origins, principal beliefs, and practices of the major world religions and belief systems.

CUL-2 Explain how religious belief systems developed and spread as a result of expanding communication and exchange networks.

CUL-6 Explain how cross-cultural interactions resulted in the diffusion of technologies and scientific knowledge.

SB-4 Explain and compare how social, cultural, and environmental factors influenced state formation, expansion, and dissolution.

ECON-1 Evaluate the relative economic advantages and disadvantages of foraging, pastoralism, and agriculture.

ECON-8 Analyze the relationship between belief systems and economic systems.

ECON-10 Analyze the roles of pastoralists, traders, and travelers in the diffusion of crops, animals, commodities, and technologies.

ECON-12 Evaluate how and to what extent networks of exchange have expanded, contracted, or changed over time.

III. Alongside the trade in goods, the exchange of people, technology, religious and cultural beliefs, food crops, domesticated animals, and disease pathogens developed across extensive networks of communication and exchange.

- A. The spread of crops, including rice and cotton from South Asia to the Middle East, encouraged changes in farming and irrigation techniques.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, CHANGES IN FARMING AND IRRIGATION TECHNIQUES:

- The *qanāt* system
- A variety of water wheels (*norīa*, *sakīa*)
- Improved wells and pumps (*shaduf*)

- B. The spread of disease pathogens diminished urban populations and contributed to the decline of some empires.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES, EFFECTS OF DISEASE ON EMPIRES:

- The effects of disease on the Roman Empire
- The effects of disease on Chinese empires

- C. Religious and cultural traditions—including Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism—were transformed as they spread.

The Origins and Impacts of the Persian Empire

The origin of the Persian Empire can be attributed to the leadership of one man—Cyrus the Great. A brilliant and powerful Persian king, Cyrus' strategy for enlarging the Persian kingdom was to conquer nearby lands and then unite them into one empire. Through his skillful leadership and a strong military, Cyrus was able to create a vast empire that would last for more than two hundred years. The origins and impacts of Cyrus the Great's empire made it possible for the emperors who came after him, such as Darius I, to continue to expand and control the Persian Empire.

A people called the Medes controlled the land that connects east and west Asia. The land was called Media. In this land were small Persian kingdoms. Around 550 B.C. Cyrus the Great, a Persian king, took control of these lands from the Medes. He then formed a government and chose both Median and Persian nobles to be civilian officials. Next, Cyrus used his strong military to attack states throughout Anatolia (Asia Minor). Soon this region fell under his control. He went on to conquer the lands to the east known as the Fertile Crescent. The Persian empire was now immense.

Cyrus was a skillful ruler. He adopted a policy of toleration toward the people he conquered. For example, he allowed them to speak their own languages, practice their own religions, and follow their own ways of life. He also declared the first Charter of Human Rights. Etched on a clay cylinder, this charter set forth Cyrus' goals and policies. His respect for the people made Cyrus popular and made it easier for him to create a peaceful and stable empire.

After Cyrus' death, there was a period of unrest under a weak emperor. Then a strong emperor, Darius I, came to power. Building on what Cyrus had achieved, Darius divided the Persian Empire into several provinces to make it easier to govern. He appointed a governor called a satrap to carry out his orders in each province and to collect taxes. Darius also started use of a Royal Road that allowed messages, soldiers, and mail to be sent quickly across the empire. He promoted trade and business and established a law code. The Persian Empire would have a long life because of the efforts of Darius.

The Persian Empire had a great impact on the region and its people. Cyrus ruled through fear and tolerance. Once people were conquered, he showed them much generosity. For example, after conquering Fertile Crescent lands, he freed the Hebrew people from Babylonian rule. As a result, the Hebrews viewed Cyrus as a liberator and supported him. Cyrus' tolerant approach toward different religions also gained him much support. Because of this, his subjects seldom revolted and usually lived in peace. This made governing the empire an easier task.

The impact of Darius' rule was also great. By dividing the empire into provinces governed by satraps, Darius created a government structure that helped him to control and finance the empire. The satraps gathered taxes for the empire. The Royal Road enhanced communications and enabled Cyrus to receive news from all areas of his vast domain. This allowed him to put down uprisings quickly, defend his borders, and send his commands.

The Persian Empire (550 B.C.–331 B.C.) was created through a combination of a strong military, skillful leadership, tolerance, and an effective government. These elements also had a major impact on the lives of the people within the Persian Empire and on the running of the empire.

Peloponnesus the peninsula forming the southern part of the mainland of Greece

27.2 Comparing Two City-States

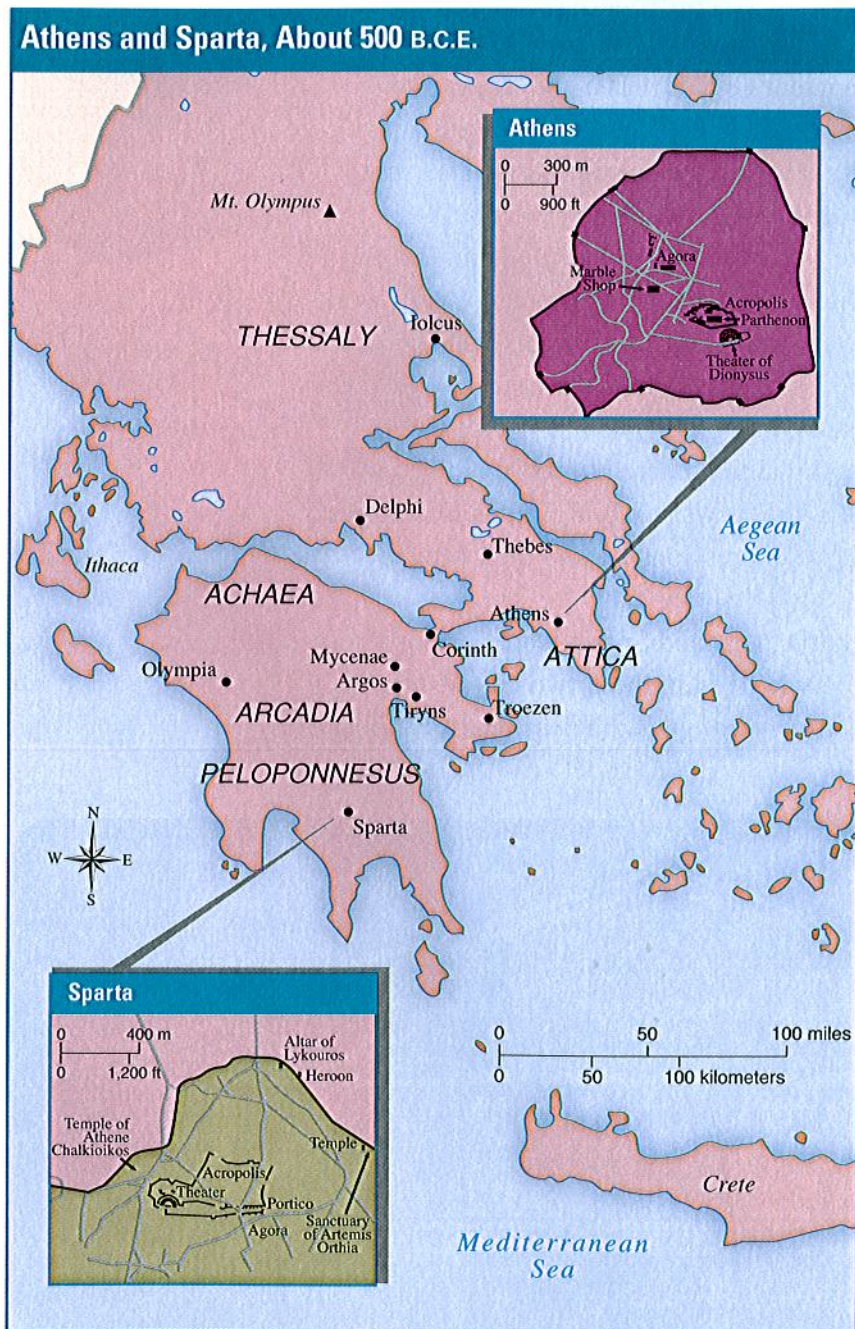
Athens and Sparta were both Greek cities, and they were only about 150 miles apart. Yet they were as different as they could be. Why?

Part of the answer is geography. Athens is in central Greece, only four miles from the Aegean Sea. Its location encouraged Athenians to look outward toward the world beyond the city. Athenians liked to travel. They were eager to spread their own ideas and to learn from others. They encouraged artists from other parts of Greece to come and share their knowledge of art

and architecture. Athens developed strong relationships with other city-states, and it grew large and powerful through trade. A great fleet made it the leading naval power in Greece.

In contrast, Sparta was more isolated. It was located on a plain between the mountains and the sea in the part of Greece known as the **Peloponnesus**. Spartans were suspicious of outsiders and their ideas. They grew much of what they needed in the fertile soil around Sparta. What they couldn't grow, they often took from their neighbors through the power of their armies. While Athenians boasted of their art and culture, Spartans valued strength and simplicity. They taught their sons and daughters to fight, and they produced soldiers rather than artists and thinkers.

For most of their histories, the two city-states were bitter rivals. As you will see, their differences were reflected in every part of life.



27.3 Athenian Government

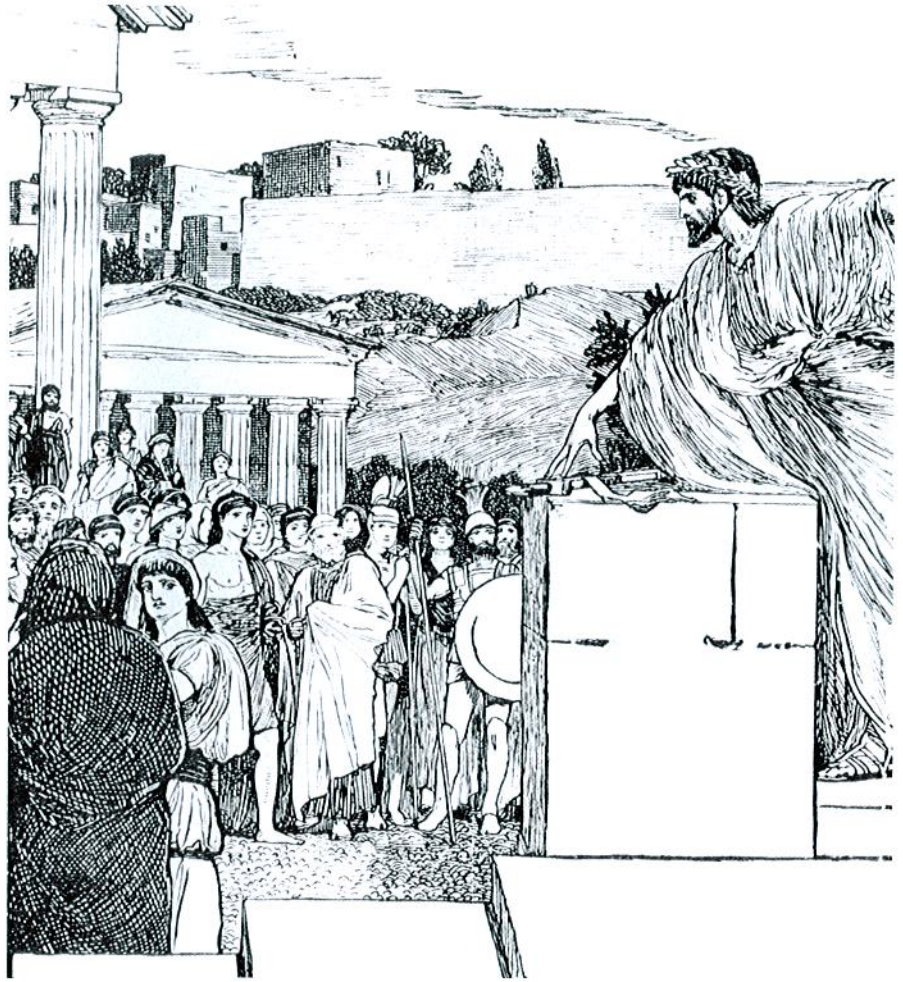
As you learned in the last chapter, Athens became a democracy around 500 B.C.E. But unlike modern democracies, Athens allowed only free men to be citizens. All men over the age of 18 who were born in Athens were Athenian citizens. Women and slaves were not citizens.

Every citizen could take part in the city's government. A group called the Council of 500 met every day. Each year, the names of all citizens 30 years of age or older were collected, and 500 of those names were chosen. The council ran the day-to-day business of government and suggested new laws.

Proposed laws had to be approved by a much larger group, the Assembly. The Assembly met on a hill every 10 days. At least 6,000 citizens had to be present for a meeting to take place. If not enough people showed up, slaves would round up more citizens with ropes dipped in red paint. Men were embarrassed to appear at the meeting with their clothes stained with red marks.

The Assembly debated and voted on laws proposed by the council. Every citizen had the right to speak at Assembly meetings. Some speakers were more skilled than others. Some spoke longer than others. Sometimes a water clock was used to time the speaker. One cup of water was set above another. The first cup had a small hole drilled into the bottom. The speaker could talk only until all the water ran out of the top cup and into the bottom cup.

Most Athenian men enjoyed taking part in the city's democracy. They liked to gather and debate the issues. They were proud of their freedom as Athenian citizens.



Demosthenes, an Athenian leader, speaks to the Assembly.

agora a marketplace in ancient Greece

Athenians shopped for food and household goods in the agora. On this vase, a shopper is shown inspecting a piece of pottery.

27.4 Athenian Economy

An important part of life in any community is its economy. An *economy* is the way a community or region organizes the manufacture and exchange of money, food, products, and services.

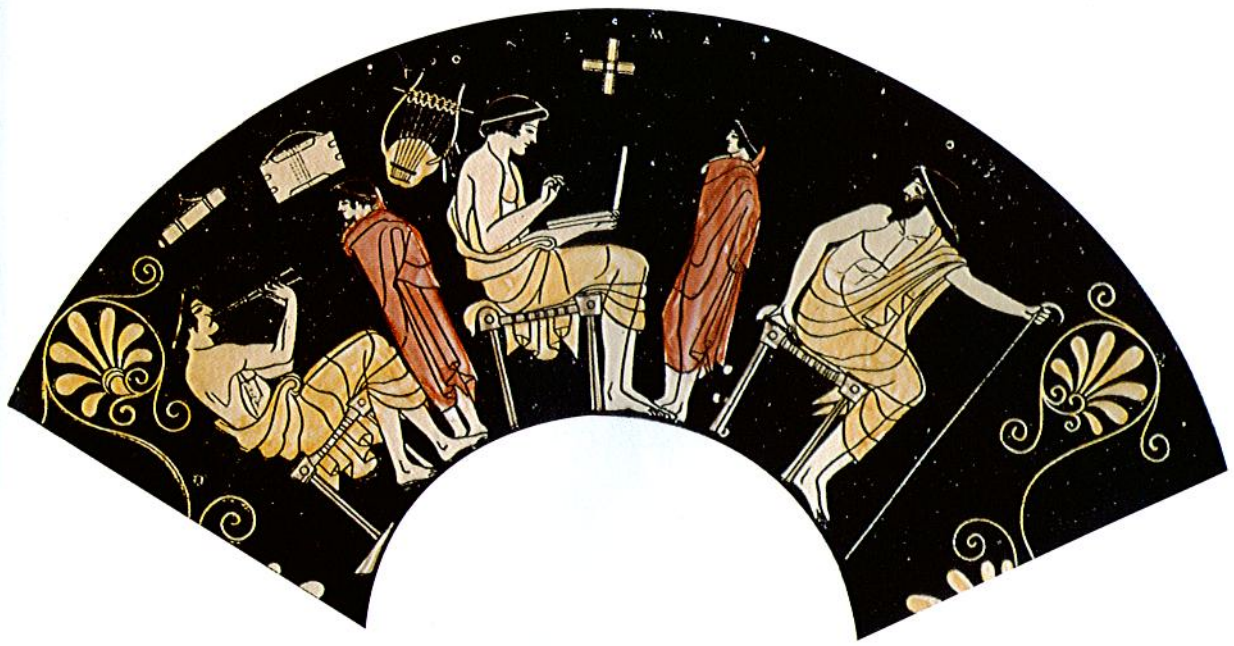
The Athenian economy was based on trade. The land around Athens did not provide enough food for all the city's people. But Athens was near the sea, and it had a good harbor. So Athenians traded with other city-states and some foreign lands to get the goods and natural resources they needed. They acquired wood from Italy and grain from Egypt. In exchange, Athenians traded honey, olive oil, silver, and beautifully painted pottery.

Athenians bought and sold goods at a huge marketplace called

the **agora**. There, merchants sold their goods from small stands. People bought lettuce, onions, olive oil, wine, and other foods. They could also buy household items like pottery, furniture, and clay oil lamps. Most Athenians made their clothes at home, but leather sandals and jewelry were popular items at the market. In addition, Athenians bought and sold slaves at the agora.

Like most city-states, Athens developed its own coins to make trade easier. Coins were made of such metals as gold, silver, and bronze. Athenians decorated the flat sides of their coins. One of their coins had an image of the goddess Athena on one side. The other side pictured Athena's favorite bird, the owl.





27.5 Education in Athens

Athenian democracy depended on having good citizens. Athenians believed that producing good citizens was the main purpose of education. Since only boys grew up to be citizens, boys and girls were educated quite differently.

Athenians believed that a good citizen had a sharp mind and a healthy body. So education meant physical training as well as book learning. Until age 6 or 7, boys were taught at home by their mothers or male slaves. From age 6 to 14, boys went to school. Teachers taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and literature. Books were rare and very expensive, so subjects were read out loud and the boys had to memorize everything. To help them learn, they used writing tablets. Coaches taught sports such as wrestling and gymnastics to strengthen students' muscles. Boys also studied music. They learned to sing and to play the lyre.

At 18, Athenian men began their military training. After their service, wealthy young men might study with private teachers. These teachers charged high fees for lessons in debate and public speaking that would help young men become political leaders.

Unlike boys, most girls did not learn to read or write. Girls grew up helping their mothers around the house. They were taught to cook, clean, spin thread, and weave cloth. Some also learned ancient secret songs and dances for religious festivals. Girls usually married around the age of 15. Those from wealthy families married men chosen by their fathers. Girls from poor families often had more choice.

Athenian boys learned poetry and music as well as reading and writing. The stringed instrument near the top of this ancient Greek painting is a lyre.



The women of Athens had their greatest influence in the home.

27.6 Women and Slaves in Athens

As you have already learned, only men were considered citizens in Athens. Women and slaves were not. As a result, they had far fewer rights than free men did.

Athenian women could not inherit or own much property. They could not vote or attend the Assembly. Most could not even choose their own husbands.

A few women had jobs. Some women sold goods in the market. A few very important women were **priestesses**. But most Athenian women had their greatest influence in the home. They spent their days managing the household and bringing up their children. An Athenian wife had separate rooms at home and never went out alone. She would spin, weave, and supervise the slaves. She educated her sons until they were 6 or 7 and ready for school. She taught her daughters until they were 15 and ready to be married.

There were many slaves in ancient Athens. Most people who weren't poor owned at least one slave. Some slaves were born into slavery. Others became slaves when they were captured in wars.

Slaves performed a wide variety of jobs in Athens, including tasks that required a great deal of skill. Some slaves ran households and tutored Athenian children. A number of slaves were trained as craftsmen. Others worked in farms or factories. Some slaves worked for the city as clerks.

The unluckiest slaves worked in the silver mines. They might work 10 hours a day in cramped tunnels 300 feet below the surface. They had little air to breathe and were often whipped if they stopped to rest.

priestess a female priest



Some Athenian slaves labored in silver mines.

27.7 Spartan Government

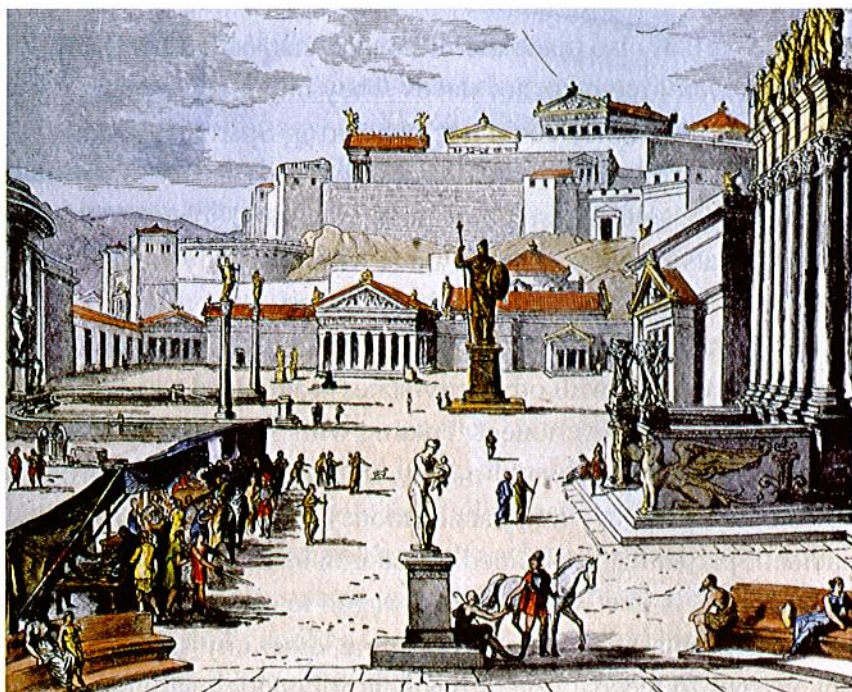
Sparta was different from Athens in almost every way, beginning with its government. While Athens was a democracy, Sparta was an oligarchy. As you learned in Chapter 26, in an oligarchy the ruling power is in the hands of a few people. Like Athens, Sparta had an assembly. But the important decisions were really made by a much smaller group called the Council of Elders.

The Council of Elders consisted of two kings and 28 other men. The two kings inherited their position and shared equal powers. The other 28 members of the council were elected by the Assembly.

To be elected to the Council of Elders, men had to be at least 60 years old and from a noble family. Some scholars believe that Assembly members shouted for the man they wanted most. The candidates who received the loudest support were elected. Once they were elected, they served for life.

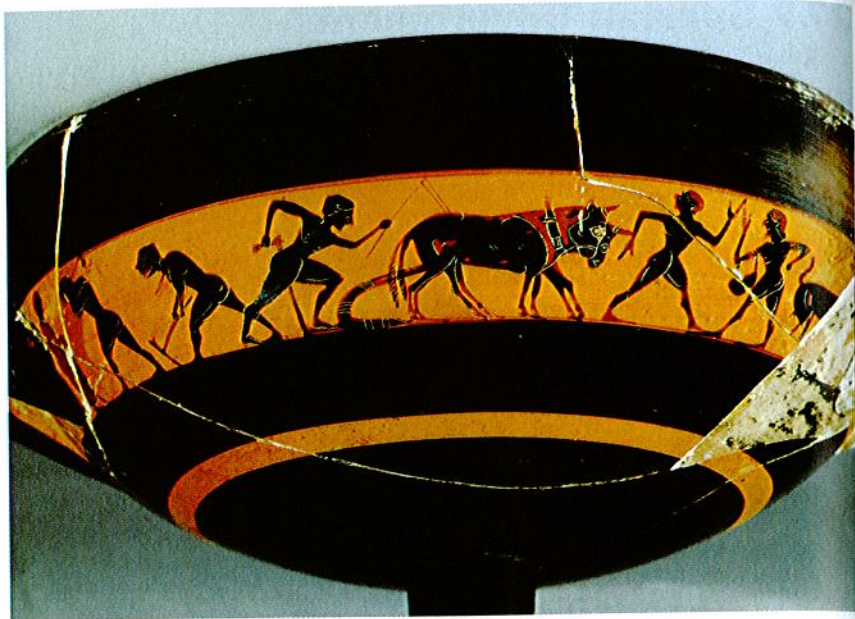
The Council of Elders held the real power in Sparta. It prepared laws for the Assembly to vote on, and it had the power to stop any laws passed by the Assembly that the council members didn't like.

The Assembly in Sparta was made up of male citizens. Because the Assembly was large, it met in a large outdoor area away from the center of the city. The Assembly had very little power. Unlike the Assembly in Athens, it did not debate issues. Members of the Assembly could only vote yes or no on laws suggested by the Council of Elders.



The agora in Sparta was a place where people could gather. Spartan men often debated government issues there.

Sparta's economy depended more on farming, as shown in this cup from ancient Greece, than on trade.



27.8 Spartan Economy

While the Athenian economy depended on trade, Sparta's economy relied on farming and on conquering other people. Sparta didn't have enough land to feed all its people, so Spartans took the land they needed from their neighbors. Because Spartan men spent their lives as warriors, Sparta used slaves and noncitizens to produce needed goods.

The Spartans turned the neighbors they conquered into slaves, called *helots*. The helots continued to live in their own villages, but they had to give much of the food they grew to the Spartan citizens.

The Spartans also made use of noncitizens, called *perioikoi*. Perioikoi were free men, not slaves. They might serve in the army when needed, but they could not take part in Sparta's government. The perioikoi made such necessary items as shoes, red cloaks for the soldiers, iron tools like knives and spears, and pottery. They also conducted some trade with other city-states for goods that Sparta could not provide for itself.

In general, though, Sparta discouraged trade. The Spartans feared that contact with other city-states would lead to new ideas and weaken their government. Trading with Sparta was also difficult because of its system of money. Sparta didn't have coins. Instead, it used heavy iron bars as money. Legend says that an ancient Spartan leader decided to use iron as money to make it hard to steal. A thief would need a wagon to carry enough iron bars to be valuable. As you can imagine, other city-states were not anxious to receive iron as payment for goods.



These iron rods were used as money in Sparta.



Boys in Sparta often exercised in outdoor areas.

27.9 Education in Sparta

In Sparta, the purpose of education was to produce men and women who could protect the city-state. If a baby did not appear healthy and strong, it might be left to die on a hillside.

Spartans valued discipline and strength. From the age of 7, all Spartan children were trained to fight. Even girls received some military training. They learned wrestling, boxing, footracing, and gymnastics. Spartan boys lived and trained in buildings called *barracks*. They were taught to read and write, but Spartans did not consider those skills as important.

What was important was to be a brave soldier. Spartan boys were taught to suffer any amount of physical pain without complaining. They marched without shoes. They were not fed well, and they were encouraged to steal food as long as they did not get caught. One Spartan legend tells of a boy who stole a fox because he was starving. When he saw his teacher coming, the boy quickly hid the fox under his cloak. Rather than confess, he let the fox bite his stomach.

At the age of 20 or so, Spartan men were given a difficult test of fitness, military ability, and leadership skills. If they passed, they became Spartan soldiers and full citizens. Even then, they continued to live in soldiers' barracks, where they ate, slept, and trained with their classmates. A man could not live at home with his wife and family until he was 30 years old. And his military service continued long after that.



Unlike women in Athens, Spartan women could speak with men in public.

27.10 Women and Slaves in Sparta

Spartan women lived the same simple life as Spartan men. They wore plain clothing with little decoration. They did not wear jewelry or use cosmetics or perfume. Like Spartan men, women were expected to be strong and healthy—and ready to fight. A woman was expected to look after her husband's property in times of war. She also had to guard it against invaders and revolts from slaves.

Spartan women had many rights that other Greek women did not have. They were free to speak with their husbands' friends. They could own and control their own property. They could even marry another man if their first husband had been away at war too long.

Spartan slaves, the helots, were people who had been conquered by the Spartans. There were many more helots than citizens in Sparta. The Spartans were afraid the helots would revolt, so they treated them very harshly.

The government sometimes declared war on the helots so that it could legally kill any slaves it thought might rebel. Once the Spartan government asked the helots to choose their best fighters. The Spartans said these men would be set free as thanks for fighting for Sparta. Two thousand helots were chosen. Immediately, the Spartans killed every one of them to eliminate any future helot leaders.

Despite this treatment, helots actually had some rights. They could marry whomever and whenever they wanted. They could pass their names on to their children. They could sell any extra crops they had after giving their master his share. If they saved enough money, they could even buy their freedom.



An architect shows the Athenian leader Pericles plans for the building of the Parthenon, a temple in Athens.



This statue is of a Spartan warrior.

27.11 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, you learned about Athens and Sparta, two very different city-states in ancient Greece. Athens was a democracy, though only free men could take part in its government. Its economy depended on trade. Boys were educated to be good citizens. Girls learned skills for managing the household. Women and slaves had far fewer rights than men had.

Sparta was more isolated than Athens. It was primarily a military state. Its government was an oligarchy in which a few men held most of the power. The Spartan economy depended on farming and conquest. Boys and girls alike were educated to protect the city-state. Spartan women had more rights than other Greek women. The city depended on slaves and other noncitizens to provide for many of its needs.

Athens and Sparta were bitter rivals. But in the next chapter, you'll see how they came together with other Greek city-states to fight a terrible threat to their freedom and independence.

Herodotus: The Histories: Xerxes at the Hellespont (mid 5th Century BCE)

Whereas many Middle Eastern peoples welcomed the advent of the Persian Empire, the Greeks viewed their own victories over the Persians as making possible the very continuance of their civilization. The army of Darius was defeated at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BCE and that of Xerxes I at Salamis in 486 BCE. The Greeks considered their poleis many of them democracies as infinitely superior to the absolute monarchy of Persia. Europeans have traditionally maintained that if these battles had not been won, history would have been utterly changed, with Europe falling under the sway of Eastern despotism. Whether or not this theory is true can never be known; but the theory itself helped to shape centuries of European hostility to and contempt for the nations of the Middle East. Part of that contempt is expressed in the following story, in which the great Xerxes is depicted by the Greek historian Herodotus as a superstitious fool and a bloodthirsty tyrant. His massive army is preparing to cross the narrow strait (the Hellespont, now in Turkey) which separated Asia from Europe.

What incidents described below depict Xerxes as superstitious? As tyrannical?

They then began to build bridges across the Hellespont from Abydos to that headland between Sestus and Madytus, the Phoenicians building one of ropes made from flax, and the Egyptians building a second one out of papyrus. From Abydos to the opposite shore it is a distance of almost two-thirds of a mile. But no sooner had the strait been bridged than a great storm came on and cut apart and scattered all their work.

Xerxes flew into a rage at this, and he commanded that the Hellespont be struck with three hundred strokes of the whip and that a pair of foot-chains be thrown into the sea. It's even been said that he sent off a rank of [branders \(1\)](#) along with the rest to the Hellespont! He also commanded the scourgers to speak outlandish and arrogant words: "You hateful water, our master lays his judgement on you thus, for you have unjustly punished him even though he's done you no wrong! Xerxes the king will pass over you, whether you wish it or not! It is fitting that no man [offer you sacrifices. \(2\)](#) for you're a muddy and salty river!" In these ways he commanded that the sea be punished and also that the heads be severed from all those who directed the bridging of the Hellespont.

And this scourging was done by those appointed to this graceless honor, and other builders were chosen. The bridging was done in the following way: fifty-oared ships and triremes were set side by side, about three hundred and sixty to form the Euxinian bridge, and about three hundred and fourteen to form the other bridge, all of them at right angles to the Pontus and parallel to the Hellespont, thus taking off some of the tension from the ropes. Once the ships were alongside one another, they released huge anchors, both from the end near the Pontus because of the winds blowing from that sea, and on the other end towards the west and the Aegean because of the western and southern winds. A passage was left in the opening of the fifty-oared ships and triremes in order that, if he wished to go into or out of the Pontus, he could pass through in a small ship. Having done all this, they stretched ropes from the land and twisted them with wooden pulleys, and they did not keep each separate, but assigned two flaxen cables and four papyrus cables for each bridge. Each type of cable was thick and comely, but the report goes that the flaxen cables were heavier, a single yard weighing [over 100 pounds. \(3\)](#) When the sea was bridged, wooden timbers equal to the breadth of the floating ships were felled and were laid on the stretched cables, and laying them alongside one another they tied them fast. Having done this, they put down brushwood, laying it on the timbers, and they put down earth on top of the brushwood, stamping it down and building a fence on the earth on each side in order that the beasts of burden and the horses would not be frightened by the sea flowing beneath them.

When they had built the bridges, the work around Athos, and the dikes around the mouths of the canals, these built because of the sea breaking on the shore which would silt up the mouths of the canals, and these canals being reported as completely finished, the army then and there prepared to winter and, when spring came, was ready and set forth to Abydos from Sardis. When they had started to set forth, the sun eclipsed itself and was not

to be seen in its place in the heavens, even though the sky was unclouded and as clear as can be, so that the day turned to night. When Xerxes perceived this he became anxious, and he asked the Magians to clarify what this omen meant. These said that the god, Pythian Apollo, was foreshowing to the Greeks the eclipse of their city, for the sun was a prophet to the Greeks, as the moon was to them. Hearing that, Xerxes' mood became exceedingly sunny and he continued the march.

As he marched out the army, Pythias the Lydian, dreading the heavenly omen and encouraged by the gifts given to him by Xerxes, came up to Xerxes and said, "Master, I wish to ask a favor of you, which would be a small favor for you to render, but would be a great favor for me to receive." Xerxes, thinking that he knew everything Pythias could ask for, answered that he would grant the favor and asked him to proclaim what it was he wished. "Master, it happens that I have five sons, and they are all bound to soldier for you against the Greeks. I pray you, king, that you have pity on one who has reached my age and that you set free one of my sons, even the oldest, from your army, so that he may provide for me and my possessions. Take the other four with you, and may you return having accomplished all you intended."

Xerxes flew into a horrible rage and replied, "You villainous man, you have the effrontery, seeing me marching with my army against the Greeks, with my sons and brothers and relatives and friends, to remind me of your son, you, my slave, who should rather come with me with your entire household, including your wife! You may now be certain of this, that since the spirit lives in a man's ears, hearing good words it fills the body with delight, when it hears the opposite it swells up. When you at one time performed well and promised more, you had no reason to boast that you outperformed your king in benefits; and now that you have turned most shameless, you shall receive less than what you deserve. You and four of your sons are saved because of your hospitality; but one of your sons, the one you most desire to hold your arms around, will lose his life!" Having answered thus, he commanded those charged to accomplish this to find the eldest of Pythias's sons and cut him in half, and having cut him in two to set one half of his corpse on the right side of the road and the other on the left side, and between these the army moved forth.

Translated by Richard Hooker

Notes

- (1) Bodies of water were routinely treated as gods, and offered sacrifices.
- (2) Men with hot branding irons.
- (3) Literally: "18 1/2 inches weighing about 57 3/4 pounds."

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The Death of Socrates

Socrates opposed the Sophists, arguing that there are absolute, transcultural standards of right and wrong, good and bad. He argued (as in the first passage below) that once we recognize what is truly good, we will act in accord with that knowledge--hence his claim that "the virtues are a kind of knowledge." He also firmly believed (as shown in the second passage) that the cosmos is grounded in goodness, hence that a good person cannot suffer unduly and that death is not something to be feared. Plato recounts the last hours of Socrates' life in a moving dialogue. This is the end of his final speech, just after he had been condemned to death by the citizens of Athens, his home town. The method of execution was that the condemned should drink a cup of hemlock, a not uncommon mode of execution.

What reasons does Socrates give for not fearing death? Why is Socrates so little concerned with how his body is to be buried?

Now as you see there has come upon me that which may be thought, and is generally believed to be, the last and worst evil. But the oracle made no sign of opposition . . . I regard this as a proof that what has happened to me is a good, and that those of use who think that death is an evil are in error . . . Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good, for one of two things:--either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by the sight of dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. . . . Now if death is like this, I say that to die is gain; for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is a journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? . . . What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musaeus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again. . . . Above all, I shall be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge; as in this world, so also in that; I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise, and is not. . . . The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways--I to die, and you to live. Which is better God only knows.

The Death of Socrates, from Plato's Phaedo

Then he turned to us, and added with a smile: "I cannot make Crito believe that I am the same Socrates who has been talking and conducting the argument; he fancies that I am the other Socrates whom he will soon see, a dead body--and he asks, How shall he bury me? And though I have spoken many words in the endeavor to show that when I have drunk the poison I shall leave you and go to the joys of the blessed--these words of mine, with which I was comforting you and myself, have had, as I perceive, no effect upon Crito. And therefore I want you to be surety for me to him how, as at the trial he was surety to the judges for me: but let the promise be of another sort; for he was surety for me to the judges that I would remain, and you must be my surety to him that I shall not remain, but go away and depart; and then he will suffer less at my death, and not be grieved when he sees my body being burned or buried. I would not have him sorrow at my hard lot, or say at the burial, Thus we lay out Socrates, or Thus we follow him to the grave or bury him; for false words are not only evil in themselves, but they infect the soul with evil. Be of good cheer then, my dear Crito, and say that you are burying my body only, and do with that whatever is usual, and what you think best."

When he had spoken these words, he arose and went into a chamber to bathe; Crito followed him and told us to wait. So we remained behind, talking and thinking of the subject of discourse, and also of the greatness of our sorrow; he was like a father of whom we were being bereaved, and we were about to pass the rest of our lives as orphans. When he had taken the bath his children were brought to him (he had two young sons and an elder one); and the women of his family also came, and he talked to them and gave them a few directions in the presence of Crito; then he dismissed them and returned to us.

Now the hour of sunset was near, for a good deal of time had passed while he was within. When he came out, he sat down with us again after his bath, but not much was said. Soon the jailer, who was the servant of the eleven,

entered and stood by him, saying: "To you, Socrates, whom I know to be the noblest and gentlest and best of all who ever came to this place, I will not impute the angry feelings of other men, who rage and swear at me, when, in obedience to the authorities, I bid them drink the poison--indeed, I am sure that you will not be angry with me; for others, as you are aware, and not I, are to blame. And so fare you well, and try to bear lightly what must needs be--you know my errand." Then bursting into tears he turned away and went out.

Socrates looked at him and said: "I return your good wishes, and will do as you bid." Then turning to us, he said, "How charming the man is: since I have been in prison he has always been coming to see me, and at times he would talk to me, and was as good to me as could be, and now see how generously he sorrows on my account. We must do as he says, Crito; and therefore let the cup be brought, if the poison is prepared; if not, let the attendant prepare some."

"Yet," said Crito, "the sun is still upon the hilltops, and I know that many a one has taken the draught late, and after the announcement has been made to him, he has eaten and drunk, and enjoyed the society of his beloved; do not hurry--there is time enough."

Socrates said: "Yes, Crito, and they of whom you speak are right in so acting, for they think that they will be gainers by the delay; But I am right in not following their example, for I do not think that I should gain anything by drinking the poison a little later; I should only be ridiculous in my own eyes for sparing and saving a life which is already forfeit. Please then to do as I say, and not to refuse me."

Crito made a sign to the servant, who was standing by; and he went out, and having been absent for some time, returned with the jailer carrying the cup of poison. Socrates said: "You, my good friend, who are experienced in these matters, shall give me directions how I am to proceed."

The man answered: "you have only to walk about until your legs are heavy, and then to lie down, and the poison will act."

At the same time he handed the cup to Socrates, who in the easiest and gentlest manner, without the least fear or change of color or feature, looking at the man with all his eyes, . . . as his manner was, took the cup and said: "What do you say about making a libation out of this cup to any god? May I, or not?"

The man answered: "We only prepare, Socrates, just so much as we deem enough."

"I understand," he said; "but I may and must ask the gods to prosper my journey from this to the other world--even so--and so be it according to my prayer."

Then raising the cup to his lips, quite readily and cheerfully he drank off the poison. And hitherto most of us had been able to control our sorrow; but now when we saw him drinking, and saw too that he had finished the draught, we could not longer forbear, and in spite of myself my own tears were flowing fast; so that I covered my face and wept, not for him, but at the thought of my own calamity in having to part from such a friend. Nor was I the first; for Crito, when he found himself unable to restrain his tears, had got up, and I followed; and at that moment, Apollodorus, who had been weeping all the time, broke out in a loud and passionate cry which made cowards of us all.

Socrates alone retained his calmness: "What is this strange outcry?" he said. "I sent away the women mainly in order that they might not misbehave in this way, for I have been told that a man should die in peace. Be quiet then, and have patience."

When we heard his words we were ashamed, and refrained our tears; and he walked about until, as he said, his legs began to fail, and then he lay on his back, according to the directions, and the man who gave him the poison now and then looked at his feet and legs; and after a while he pressed his foot hard, and asked him if he could feel; and he said, "No;" and then his leg, and so upwards and upwards, and showed us that he was cold and stiff. And he felt them himself, and said: "When the poison reaches the heart, that will be the end."

He was beginning to grow cold about the groin, when he uncovered his face, for he had covered himself up, and said--they were his last words--he said: "Crito, I owe a cock to [Asclepius: \(1\)](#) will you remember to pay the debt?"

"The debt shall be paid," said Crito; "is there anything else?"

There was no answer to this question; but in a minute or two a movement was heard, and the attendants uncovered him; his eyes were set, and Crito closed his eyes and mouth.

Such was the end . . . of our friend; concerning whom I may truly say, that of all the men of his time whom I have known, he was the wisest and justest and best.

Translated by Benjamin Jowett (1892)

(1) The god of health and medicine.

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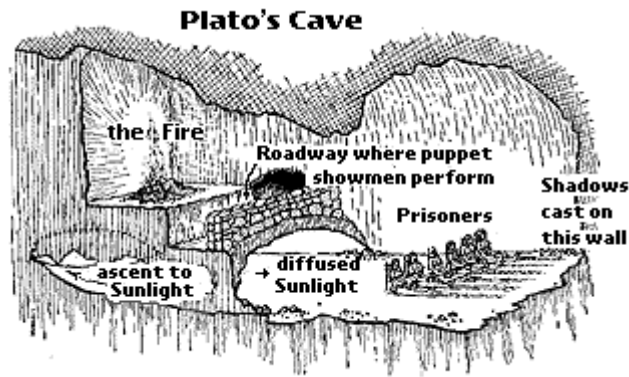
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Plato: The Allegory of the Cave, from *The Republic*

Here's Plato (Book VII of The Republic, right at the beginning), putting an image about education in the mouth of his teacher, Socrates (the "I" in the dialogue), as Socrates discusses justice with Glaucon, one of Plato's brothers:

"Let's compare our own education and understanding of the world to people in a cave—to human beings in an underground, cave-like dwelling with a long and wide entrance open toward the light. From childhood on, the people who live in this cave have their legs and necks chained so that they can see only straight ahead in front of them. The chains keep them from turning their heads in any other direction.

"The only light in the cave is from a fire burning far above the people and behind them. Between the fire and the chained people there's a road, built on a kind of stage structure such as you find in theaters—again above and behind the people—along which move other people and animals, some carrying things, some not, some speaking, some not."

"This is a bizarre image of bizarre prisoners," Glaucon said.

"But they're just like us," I replied. "Do you think they can see anything of themselves and one another? Or do they merely see the images or shadows that fall on the side of the cave facing them, cast by the fire above them?"

"How could they see one another," Glaucon said, "if they're forced to keep their heads turned in one direction throughout their whole lives?"

"And what about the shadows on the wall [the men and animals that the shadows on the wall represent that can't be seen either]? Isn't it the same with them?"

"Certainly."

"And if the chained people happened to talk to each other, wouldn't they think it right to give names and descriptions to the shadows they saw in front of them, projected on the cave wall?"

"Of course they would."

"And what if the cave had an echo, so that the side facing the chained people seemed to produce a sound? Whenever one of the men walking above and behind them spoke, would the chained people believe anything other than that the shadow on the wall was addressing them?"

"No, by Zeus," Glaucon said, "I don't think they'd believe anything else."

"Then for sure," I said, "what the chained people held to be the truth would be nothing more than shadows."

"Certainly," Glaucon assented.

"Now let's imagine," I said, "what freedom from their chains would be like. Suppose one of the chained people, a man, was released and immediately forced to stand up and look toward the light. He'd necessarily be doing this in pain, because the light would be dazzling. At first, he wouldn't be able to make out the shapes of the men and animals walking up on the elevated road in front of him—which he'd seen before only as shadows.

"What do you suppose this man would say if someone told him that he'd only been looking at shadows and now he was seeing real things? And how would the man reply if he were asked to describe the nature of these real things [the shadows of which he'd been looking at all his life]? Wouldn't he feel at a loss? And wouldn't he be tempted to think that what he'd looked at all his life must be truer than what he's seeing right now?"

"Yes," replied Glaucon.

"What if the man were forced to look right into the light of the fire? Wouldn't it hurt his eyes? Wouldn't he turn away from it? And further, wouldn't he turn back to the shadows, thinking them more clear and therefore more true than the light itself?"

"Of course he would," Glaucon said.

"Now," I said, "what if someone were to drag that man up to the light, forcing him through a steep and rugged ascent into the light itself—where he couldn't see anything and his eyes hurt? Wouldn't the man be distressed, even angry? And wouldn't he be unable to see anything, even what was being presented to him as the truth of things?"

"At least at the begininng, he couldn't see anything," Glaucon agreed.

"He'd need time and practice, perhaps learning to perceive the truth in stages—first seeing the dim images of things as he had with shadows before, maybe then seeing things reflected in water, and then finally being able to look at the real men and animals that had before just been shadows on his cave wall. As for the bright sky, he'd have to start by looking at it first at night, seeing only the light of the moon and stars, and that way gradually accustom his sight to the full light of day."

"Of course."

"Then as he was able to see the sun, he'd be able to contemplate its nature, to realize that it was the source of seasons and light and the shadows that he and his cave companions had been staring at all their lives."

"Yes, he'd no doubt arrive at this conclusion."

"And wouldn't this man, being awake to the light, think that his original home lacked real knowledge? And wouldn't he feel happy at his own transformation and pity those back in the cave?"

"Without a doubt."

"How do you think he'd feel as he thought back on the honors and awards given to those whose perception in the cave was sharpest? Do you think he'd want those honors and awards? Would he envy those cave-dwellers who received prizes because they could make out the shadows better

than anyone else or see which shadow came first and which next? Or would he rather undergo anything, even menial labor, rather than think and live the way the cave-dwellers lived?"

"He'd probably rather suffer anything than go back to living the cave-dweller way," Glaucon said.

"Now, let's imagine what would happen if that man returned to his place in the cave. Wouldn't his eyes be blinded, as a man coming into darkness suddenly from sunlight?"

"Very much so."

"And what if the man—before his cave-sight returned—were to try to compete with other cave-dwellers about the shadows? Wouldn't he seem ridiculous to the others? And during the time while his sight was adapting to the darkness, wouldn't his former friends say that his sight had been ruined by going up to the light? And that he should never try to go back up to the light again, because it would destroy his sight again? Might not his friends even say that anyone who tried to lead him back to the light ought to be stopped, even killed if they could legally kill him?"

"There's no question about it."

"All right, then. Let's take this whole allegory and apply it to everything we've said so far. What we see with our eyes and experience through our senses is like the cave, while the sun, the center of the universe, is like the fire that illumines the cave. As you probably expect—and I agree with your expectations—the ascent from the cave is like the soul's ascent to the Realm of Ideas. Of course, just because we agree on this doesn't make it true; there may be some god or power somewhere who knows the truth about these things. But this is the way it appears to me: that of all the subjects of human knowledge, the last and most difficult to be seen is the Idea of the Good.

"But once seen, it is clear that the Idea of the Good is the source of everything. In the visible realm, it's the source of physical light, and in the consciousness realm, it's the source of truth and wisdom. And any person who wants to act with justice, either personally or publicly, must see it."

Plato, the most creative and influential of Socrates' disciples, wrote dialogues, in which he frequently used the figure of Socrates to espouse his own (Plato's) full-fledged philosophy. In "The Republic," Plato sums up his views in an image of ignorant humanity, trapped in the depths and not even aware of its own limited perspective. The rare individual escapes the limitations of that cave and, through a long, tortuous intellectual journey, discovers a higher realm, a true reality, with a final, almost mystical awareness of Goodness as the origin of everything that exists. Such a person is then the best equipped to govern in society, having a knowledge of what is ultimately most worthwhile in life and not just a knowledge of techniques; but that person will frequently be misunderstood by those ordinary folks back in the cave who haven't shared in the intellectual insight. If he were living today, Plato might replace his rather awkward cave metaphor with a movie theater, with the projector replacing the fire, the film replacing the objects which cast shadows, the shadows on the cave wall with the projected movie on the screen, and the echo with the loudspeakers behind the screen. The essential point is that the prisoners in the cave are not seeing reality, but only a shadowy representation of it. The importance of the allegory lies in Plato's belief that there are invisible truths lying under the apparent surface of things which only the most enlightened can grasp. Used to the world of illusion in the cave, the prisoners at first resist enlightenment, as students resist education. But those who can achieve enlightenment deserve to be the leaders and rulers of all the rest. At the end of the passage, Plato expresses another of his favorite ideas: that education is not a process of putting knowledge into empty minds, but of making people realize that which they already know. This notion that truth is somehow embedded in our minds was also powerfully influential for many centuries.

Magazine

Alexander the not so Great: History through Persian eyes

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Alexander the Great is portrayed as a legendary conqueror and military leader in Greek-influenced Western history books but his legacy looks very different from a Persian perspective.

Any visitor to the spectacular ruins of Persepolis - the site of the ceremonial capital of the ancient Persian Achaemenid empire, will be told three facts: it was built by Darius the Great, embellished by his son Xerxes, and destroyed by *that man*, Alexander.

That man Alexander, would be the **Alexander the Great**, feted in Western culture as the conqueror of the Persian Empire and one of the great military geniuses of history.

Indeed, reading some Western history books one might be forgiven for thinking that the Persians existed to be conquered by Alexander.

A more inquisitive mind might discover that the Persians had twice before been defeated by the Greeks during two ill-fated invasions of Greece, by Darius the Great in 490BC and then his son, Xerxes, in 480BC - for which Alexander's assault was a justified retaliation.



But seen through Persian eyes, Alexander is far from "Great".

He razed Persepolis to the ground following a night of drunken excess at the goading of a Greek courtesan, ostensibly in revenge for the burning of the Acropolis by the Persian ruler Xerxes.

Persians also condemn him for the widespread destruction he is thought to have encouraged to cultural and religious sites throughout the empire.

The emblems of Zoroastrianism - the ancient religion of the Iranians - were attacked and destroyed. For the Zoroastrian priesthood in particular - the Magi - the destruction of their temples was nothing short of a calamity.

The influence of Greek language and culture has helped establish a narrative in the West that Alexander's invasion was the first of many Western crusades to bring civilisation and culture to the barbaric East.

But in fact the Persian Empire was worth conquering not because it was in need of civilising but because it was the greatest empire the world had yet seen, extending from Central Asia to Libya.

Persia was an enormously rich prize.

Look closely and you will find ample evidence that the Greeks admired the Persian Empire and the emperors who ruled it.

Much like the barbarians who conquered Rome, Alexander came to admire what he found, so much so that he was keen to take on the Persian mantle of the King of Kings.

And Greek admiration for the Persians goes back much earlier than this.

Xenophon, the Athenian general and writer, wrote a paean to Cyrus the Great - the *Cyropaedia* - showering praise on the ruler who showed that the government of men over a vast territory could be achieved by dint of character and force of personality:

"Cyrus was able to penetrate that vast extent of country by the sheer terror of his personality that the inhabitants were prostrate before him..." wrote Xenophon, "and yet he was able at the same time, to inspire them all with so deep a desire to please him and win his favour that all they asked was to be guided by his judgment and his alone.

"Thus he knit to himself a complex of nationalities so vast that it would have taxed a man's endurance merely to traverse his empire in any one direction."

Later Persian emperors Darius and Xerxes both invaded Greece, and were both ultimately defeated. But, remarkably, Greeks flocked to the Persian court.

The most notable was Themistocles, who fought against Darius's invading army at Marathon and masterminded the Athenian victory against Xerxes at Salamis.

Falling foul of Athenian politics, he fled to the Persian Empire and eventually found employment at the Persian Court and was made a provincial governor, where he lived out the rest of his life.

In time, the Persians found that they could achieve their objectives in Greece by playing the Greek city states against each other, and in the Peloponnesian War, Persian money financed the Spartan victory against Athens.



The key figure in this strategy was the Persian prince and governor of Asia Minor, Cyrus the Younger, who over a number of years developed a good relationship with his Greek interlocutors such that when he decided to make his fateful bid for the throne, he was able to easily recruit some 10,000 Greek mercenaries.

Unfortunately for him, he died in the attempt.

Soldier, historian and philosopher Xenophon was among those recruited, and he was full of praise for the prince of whom he said: "Of all the Persians who lived after Cyrus the Great, he was most like a king and the most deserving of an empire."

There is a wonderful account provided by Lysander, a Spartan general, who happened to visit Cyrus the Younger in the provincial capital at Sardis.

Lysander recounts how Cyrus treated him graciously and was particularly keen to show him his walled garden - *paradeisos*, the origin of our word paradise - where Lysander congratulated the prince on the beautiful design.

When, he added, that he ought to thank the slave who had done the work and laid out the plans, Cyrus smiled and pointed out that he had laid out the design and even planted some of the trees.

On seeing the Spartan's reaction he added: "I swear to you by Mithras that, my health permitting, I never ate without having first worked up a sweat by undertaking some activity relevant either to the art of war or to agriculture, or by stretching myself in some other way."

Astonished, Lysander applauded Cyrus and said: "You deserve your good fortune Cyrus - you have it because you are a good man."

Alexander would have been familiar with stories such as these. The Persian Empire was not something to be conquered as much as an achievement to be acquired.

Although Alexander is characterised by the Persians as a destroyer, a reckless and somewhat feckless youth, the evidence suggests that he retained a healthy respect for the Persians themselves.

Alexander came to regret the destruction his invasion caused. Coming across the plundered tomb of Cyrus the Great in Pasargad, a little north of Persepolis, he was much distressed by what he found and immediately ordered repairs to be made.

Had he lived beyond his 32 years, he may yet have restored and repaired much more. In time, the Persians were to come to terms with their Macedonian conqueror, absorbing him, as other conquerors after him, into the fabric of national history.

And thus it is that in the great Iranian national epic, the Shahnameh, written in the 10th Century AD, Alexander is no longer a wholly foreign prince but one born of a Persian father.

It is a myth, but one that perhaps betrays more truth than the appearance of history may like to reveal.

Like other conquerors who followed in his footsteps even the great Alexander came to be seduced and absorbed into the idea of Iran.

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Raped for speaking out against rape

18 August 2016

The Deeds of the Divine Augustus

By Augustus

Commentary: Several comments have been posted about [The Deeds of the Divine Augustus](#).

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The Deeds of the Divine Augustus

By Augustus

Written 14 A.C.E.

Translated by Thomas Bushnell, BSG

A copy below of the deeds of the divine Augustus, by which he subjected the whole wide earth to the rule of the Roman people, and of the money which he spent for the state and Roman people, inscribed on two bronze pillars, which are set up in Rome.

1. In my nineteenth year, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army with which I set free the state, which was oppressed by the domination of a faction. For that reason, the senate enrolled me in its order by laudatory resolutions, when Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius were consuls (43 B.C.E.), assigning me the place of a consul in the giving of opinions, and gave me the imperium. With me as propraetor, it ordered me, together with the consuls, to take care lest any detriment befall the state. But the people made me consul in the same year, when the consuls each perished in battle, and they made me a triumvir for the settling of the state.

2. I drove the men who slaughtered my father into exile with a legal order, punishing their crime, and afterwards, when they waged war on the state, I conquered them in two battles.

3. I often waged war, civil and foreign, on the earth and sea, in the whole wide world, and as victor I spared all the citizens who sought pardon. As for foreign nations, those which I was able to safely forgive, I preferred to preserve than to destroy. About five hundred thousand Roman citizens were sworn to me. I led something more than three hundred thousand of them into colonies and I returned them to their cities, after their stipend had been earned, and I assigned all of them fields or gave them money for their military service. I captured six hundred ships in addition to those smaller than triremes.

4. Twice I triumphed with an ovation, and three times I enjoyed a curule triumph and twenty one times I was named emperor. When the senate decreed more triumphs for me, I sat out from all of them. I placed the laurel from the fasces in the Capitol, when the vows which I pronounced in each war had been fulfilled. On account of the things successfully done by me and through my officers, under my auspices, on earth and sea, the senate decreed fifty-five times that there be sacrifices to the immortal gods. Moreover there were 890 days on which the senate decreed there would be sacrifices. In my triumphs kings and nine children of kings were led before my chariot. I had been consul thirteen times, when I wrote this, and I was in the thirty-seventh year of tribunician power (14 A.C.E.).

5. When the dictatorship was offered to me, both in my presence and my absence, by the people and senate, when Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls (22 B.C.E.), I did not accept it. I did not evade the curatorship of grain in the height of the food shortage, which I so arranged that

within a few days I freed the entire city from the present fear and danger by my own expense and administration. When the annual and perpetual consulate was then again offered to me, I did not accept it.

6. When Marcus Vinicius and Quintus Lucretius were consuls (19 B.C.E.), then again when Publius Lentulus and Gnaeus Lentulus were (18 B.C.E.), and third when Paullus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Tubero were (11 B.C.E.), although the senate and Roman people consented that I alone be made curator of the laws and customs with the highest power, I received no magistracy offered contrary to the customs of the ancestors. What the senate then wanted to accomplish through me, I did through tribunician power, and five times on my own accord I both requested and received from the senate a colleague in such power.

7. I was triumvir for the settling of the state for ten continuous years. I was first of the senate up to that day on which I wrote this, for forty years. I was high priest, augur, one of the Fifteen for the performance of rites, one of the Seven of the sacred feasts, brother of Arvis, fellow of Titus, and Fetial.

8. When I was consul the fifth time (29 B.C.E.), I increased the number of patricians by order of the people and senate. I read the roll of the senate three times, and in my sixth consulate (28 B.C.E.) I made a census of the people with Marcus Agrippa as my colleague. I conducted a lustrum, after a forty-one year gap, in which lustrum were counted 4,063,000 heads of Roman citizens. Then again, with consular imperium I conducted a lustrum alone when Gaius Censorinus and Gaius Asinius were consuls (8 B.C.E.), in which lustrum were counted 4,233,000 heads of Roman citizens. And the third time, with consular imperium, I conducted a lustrum with my son Tiberius Caesar as colleague, when Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius were consuls (14 A.C.E.), in which lustrum were counted 4,937,000 of the heads of Roman citizens. By new laws passed with my sponsorship, I restored many traditions of the ancestors, which were falling into disuse in our age, and myself I handed on precedents of many things to be imitated in later generations.

9. The senate decreed that vows be undertaken for my health by the consuls and priests every fifth year. In fulfillment of these vows they often celebrated games for my life; several times the four highest colleges of priests, several times the consuls. Also both privately and as a city all the citizens unanimously and continuously prayed at all the shrines for my health.

10. By a senate decree my name was included in the Saliar Hymn, and it was sanctified by a law, both that I would be sacrosanct for ever, and that, as long as I would live, the tribunician power would be mine. I was unwilling to be high priest in the place of my living colleague; when the people offered me that priesthood which my father had, I refused it. And I received that priesthood, after several years, with the death of him who had occupied it since the opportunity of the civil disturbance, with a multitude flocking together out of all Italy to my election, so many as had never before been in Rome, when Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Valgius were consuls (12 B.C.E.).

11. The senate consecrated the altar of Fortune the Bringer-back before the temples of Honor and Virtue at the Campanian gate for my return, on which it ordered the priests and Vestal virgins to offer yearly sacrifices on the day when I had returned to the city from Syria (when Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinicius were consuls (19 Bc)), and it named that day Augustalia after my cognomen.

12. By the authority of the senate, a part of the praetors and tribunes of the plebs, with consul Quintus Lucretius and the leading men, was sent to meet me in Campania, which honor had been decreed for no one but me until that time. When I returned to Rome from Spain and Gaul, having successfully accomplished matters in those provinces, when Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius were consuls (13 B.C.E.), the senate voted to consecrate the altar of August Peace in the field of Mars for my return, on which it ordered the magistrates and priests and Vestal virgins to offer annual sacrifices.

13. Our ancestors wanted Janus Quirinus to be closed when throughout the all the rule of the Roman people, by land and sea, peace had been secured through victory. Although before my birth it had been closed twice in all in recorded memory from the founding of the city, the senate voted three times in my principate that it be closed.

14. When my sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom fortune stole from me as youths, were fourteen, the senate and Roman people made them consuls-designate on behalf of my honor, so that they would enter that magistracy after five years, and the senate decreed that on that day when they were led into the forum they would be included in public councils. Moreover the Roman knights together named each of them first of the youth and gave them shields and spears.

15. I paid to the Roman plebs, HS 300 per man from my father's will and in my own name gave HS 400 from the spoils of war when I was consul for the fifth time (29 B.C.E.); furthermore I again paid out a public gift of HS 400 per man, in my tenth consulate (24 B.C.E.), from my own patrimony; and, when consul for the eleventh time (23 B.C.E.), twelve doles of grain personally bought were measured out; and in my twelfth year of tribunician power (12-11 B.C.E.) I gave HS 400 per man for the third time. And these public gifts of mine never reached fewer than 250,000 men. In my eighteenth year of tribunician power, as consul for the twelfth time (5 B.C.E.), I gave to 320,000 plebs of the city HS 240 per man. And, when consul the fifth time (29 B.C.E.), I gave from my war-spoils to colonies of my soldiers each HS 1000 per man; about 120,000 men in the colonies received this triumphal public gift. Consul for the thirteenth time (2 B.C.E.), I gave HS 240 to the plebs who then received the public grain; they were a few more than 200,000.

16. I paid the towns money for the fields which I had assigned to soldiers in my fourth consulate (30 B.C.E.) and then when Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus Augur were consuls (14 B.C.E.); the sum was about HS 600,000,000 which I paid out for Italian estates, and about HS 260,000,000 which I paid for provincial fields. I was first and alone who did this among all who founded military colonies in Italy or the provinces according to the memory of my age. And afterwards, when Tiberius Nero and Gnaeus Piso were consuls (7 B.C.E.), and likewise when Gaius Antistius and Decius Laelius were consuls (6 B.C.E.), and when Gaius Calvisius and Lucius Passienus were consuls (4 B.C.E.), and when Lucius Lentulus and Marcus Messalla were consuls (3 B.C.E.), and when Lucius Caninius and Quintus Fabricius were consuls (2 B.C.E.), I paid out rewards in cash to the soldiers whom I had led into their towns when their service was completed, and in this venture I spent about HS 400,000,000.

17. Four times I helped the senatorial treasury with my money, so that I offered HS 150,000,000 to those who were in charge of the treasury. And when Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls (6 A.C.E.), I offered HS 170,000,000 from my patrimony to the military treasury, which was founded by my advice and from which rewards were given to soldiers who had served twenty or more times.

18. From that year when Gnaeus and Publius Lentulus were consuls (18 Bc), when the taxes fell short, I gave out contributions of grain and money from my granary and patrimony, sometimes to 100,000 men, sometimes to many more.

19. I built the senate-house and the Chalcidicum which adjoins it and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine with porticos, the temple of divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico at the Flaminian circus, which I allowed to be called by the name Octavian, after he who had earlier built in the same place, the state box at the great circus, the temple on the Capitoline of Jupiter Subduer and Jupiter Thunderer, the temple of Quirinus, the temples of Minerva and Queen Juno and Jupiter Liberator on the Aventine, the temple of the Lares at the top of the holy street, the temple of the gods of the Penates on the Velian, the temple of Youth, and the temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine.

20. I rebuilt the Capitol and the theater of Pompey, each work at enormous cost, without any inscription of my name. I rebuilt aqueducts in many places that had decayed with age, and I doubled the capacity of the Marcian aqueduct by sending a new spring into its channel. I completed the Forum of Julius and the basilic which he built between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and almost finished by my father. When the same basilica was burned with fire I expanded its grounds and I began it under an inscription of the name of my sons, and, if I should not complete it alive, I ordered it to be completed by my heirs. Consul for the sixth time (28 B.C.E.), I rebuilt eighty-two temples of the gods in the city by the authority of the senate, omitting nothing which ought to have been rebuilt at that time. Consul for the seventh time (27 B.C.E.), I rebuilt the Flaminian road from the city to Ariminum and all the bridges except the Mulvian and Minucian.

21. I built the temple of Mars Ultor on private ground and the forum of Augustus from war-spoils. I build the theater at the temple of Apollo on ground largely bought from private owners, under the name of Marcus Marcellus my son-in-law. I consecrated gifts from war-spoils in the Capitol and in the temple of divine Julius, in the temple of Apollo, in the temple of Vesta, and in the temple of Mars Ultor, which cost me about HS 100,000,000. I sent back gold crowns weighing 35,000 to the towns and colonies of Italy, which had been contributed for my triumphs, and later, however many times I was named emperor, I refused gold crowns from the towns and colonies which they equally kindly decreed, and before they had decreed them.

22. Three times I gave shows of gladiators under my name and five times under the name of my sons and grandsons; in these shows about 10,000 men fought. Twice I furnished under my name spectacles of athletes gathered from everywhere, and three times under my grandson's name. I celebrated games under my name four times, and furthermore in the place of other magistrates twenty-three times. As master of the college I celebrated the secular games for the college of the Fifteen, with my colleague Marcus Agrippa, when Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus were consuls (17 B.C.E.). Consul for the thirteenth time (2 B.C.E.), I celebrated the first games of Mas, which after that time thereafter in following years, by a senate decree and a law, the consuls were to celebrate. Twenty-six times, under my name or that of my sons and grandsons, I gave the people hunts of African beasts in the circus, in the open, or in the amphitheater; in them about 3,500 beasts were killed.

23. I gave the people a spectacle of a naval battle, in the place across the Tiber where the grove of the Caesars is now, with the ground excavated in length 1,800 feet, in width 1,200, in which thirty beaked ships, biremes or triremes, but many smaller, fought among themselves; in these ships about 3,000 men fought in addition to the rowers.

24. In the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia, as victor, I replaced the ornaments which he with whom I fought the war had possessed privately after he despoiled the temples. Silver statues of me on foot, on horseback, and standing in a chariot were erected in about eighty cities, which I myself removed, and from the money I placed golden offerings in the temple of Apollo under my name and of those who paid the honor of the statues to me.

25. I restored peace to the sea from pirates. In that slave war I handed over to their masters for the infliction of punishments about 30,000 captured, who had fled their masters and taken up arms against the state. All Italy swore allegiance to me voluntarily, and demanded me as leader of the war which I won at Actium; the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia swore the same allegiance. And those who then fought under my standard were more than 700 senators, among whom 83 were made consuls either before or after, up to the day this was written, and about 170 were made priests.

26. I extended the borders of all the provinces of the Roman people which neighbored nations not subject to our rule. I restored peace to the provinces of Gaul and Spain, likewise Germany, which

includes the ocean from Cadiz to the mouth of the river Elbe. I brought peace to the Alps from the region which is near the Adriatic Sea to the Tuscan, with no unjust war waged against any nation. I sailed my ships on the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine to the east region up to the borders of the Cimbri, where no Roman had gone before that time by land or sea, and the Cimbri and the Charydes and the Semnones and the other Germans of the same territory sought by envoys the friendship of me and of the Roman people. By my order and auspices two armies were led at about the same time into Ethiopia and into that part of Arabia which is called Happy, and the troops of each nation of enemies were slaughtered in battle and many towns captured. They penetrated into Ethiopia all the way to the town Nabata, which is near to Meroe; and into Arabia all the way to the border of the Sabaei, advancing to the town Mariba.

27. I added Egypt to the rule of the Roman people. When Artaxes, king of Greater Armenia, was killed, though I could have made it a province, I preferred, by the example of our elders, to hand over that kingdom to Tigranes, son of king Artavasdes, and grandson of King Tigranes, through Tiberius Nero, who was then my step-son. And the same nation, after revolting and rebelling, and subdued through my son Gaius, I handed over to be ruled by King Ariobarzanes son of Artabazus, King of the Medes, and after his death, to his son Artavasdes; and when he was killed, I sent Tigranes, who came from the royal clan of the Armenians, into that rule. I recovered all the provinces which lie across the Adriatic to the east and Cyrene, with kings now possessing them in large part, and Sicily and Sardina, which had been occupied earlier in the slave war.

28. I founded colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, each Spain, Greece, Asia, Syria, Narbonian Gaul, and Pisidia, and furthermore had twenty-eight colonies founded in Italy under my authority, which were very populous and crowded while I lived.

29. I recovered from Spain, Gaul, and Dalmatia the many military standards lost through other leaders, after defeating the enemies. I compelled the Parthians to return to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and as suppliants to seek the friendship of the Roman people. Furthermore I placed those standards in the sanctuary of the temple of Mars Ultor.

30. As for the tribes of the Pannonians, before my principate no army of the Roman people had entered their land. When they were conquered through Tiberius Nero, who was then my step-son and emissary, I subjected them to the rule of the Roman people and extended the borders of Illyricum to the shores of the river Danube. On the near side of it the army of the Dacians was conquered and overcome under my auspices, and then my army, led across the Danube, forced the tribes of the Dacians to bear the rule of the Roman people.

31. Emissaries from the Indian kings were often sent to me, which had not been seen before that time by any Roman leader. The Bastarnae, the Scythians, and the Sarmatians, who are on this side of the river Danube and the kings further away, and the kings of the Albanians, of the Iberians, and of the Medes, sought our friendship through emissaries.

32. To me were sent supplications by kings: of the Parthians, Tiridates and later Phrates son of king Phrates, of the Medes, Artavasdes, of the Adiabeni, Artaxares, of the Britons, Dumnobellaunus and Tincommius, of the Sugambri, Maelo, of the Marcomanian Suebi (...) (-)rus. King Phrates of the Parthians, son of Orodes, sent all his sons and grandsons into Italy to me, though defeated in no war, but seeking our friendship through the pledges of his children. And in my principate many other peoples experienced the faith of the Roman people, of whom nothing had previously existed of embassies or interchange of friendship with the Roman people.

33. The nations of the Parthians and Medes received from me the first kings of those nations which they sought by emissaries: the Parthians, Vonones son of king Phrates, grandson of king Orodes, the Medes, Ariobarzanes, son of king Artavasdes, grandson of king Ariobarzanes.

34. In my sixth and seventh consulates (28-27 B.C.E.), after putting out the civil war, having obtained all things by universal consent, I handed over the state from my power to the dominion of the senate and Roman people. And for this merit of mine, by a senate decree, I was called Augustus and the doors of my temple were publicly clothed with laurel and a civic crown was fixed over my door and a gold shield placed in the Julian senate-house, and the inscription of that shield testified to the virtue, mercy, justice, and piety, for which the senate and Roman people gave it to me. After that time, I exceeded all in influence, but I had no greater power than the others who were colleagues with me in each magistracy.

35. When I administered my thirteenth consulate (2 B.C.E.), the senate and Equestrian order and Roman people all called me father of the country, and voted that the same be inscribed in the vestibule of my temple, in the Julian senate-house, and in the forum of Augustus under the chariot which had been placed there for me by a decision of the senate. When I wrote this I was seventy-six years old.

Appendix

Written after Augustus' death.

- 1.** All the expenditures which he gave either into the treasury or to the Roman plebs or to discharged soldiers: HS 2,400,000,000.
- 2.** The works he built: the temples of Mars, of Jupiter Subduer and Thunderer, of Apollo, of divine Julius, of Minerva, of Queen Juno, of Jupiter Liberator, of the Lares, of the gods of the Penates, of Youth, and of the Great Mother, the Lupercal, the state box at the circus, the senate-house with the Chalcidicum, the forum of Augustus, the Julian basilica, the theater of Marcellus, the Octavian portico, and the grove of the Caesars across the Tiber.
- 3.** He rebuilt the Capitol and holy temples numbering eighty-two, the theater of Pompey, waterways, and the Flaminian road.
- 4.** The sum expended on theatrical spectacles and gladiatorial games and athletes and hunts and mock naval battles and money given to colonies, cities, and towns destroyed by earthquake and fire or per man to friends and senators, whom he raised to the senate rating: innumerable.

THE END

CLAS / HIST 4091 / 5091: The Roman Empire

Reading (7) for Friday October 21, 2011. Women and Society, Women and Power (NB: THIS READING IS LISTED UNDER OCTOBER 14 ON THE SYLLABUS BUT HAS BEEN RESCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY OCTOBER 21. THE READING ORIGINALLY LISTED UNDER OCTOBER 21 ON THE SYLLABUS HAS BEEN CANCELLED)

Reading (in Lewis and Reinhold collection)

LR sections 91-103 (pp. 338-71)

In the late Republic, a Roman woman, a wife and mother, died and left a funeral epitaph in Rome which was rediscovered in modern times near the Bridge of St. Bartholomew.

Stranger, I have little to say: Stop and read.
This is the unbeautiful tomb of a beautiful woman.
Her parents called her Claudia by name.
She loved her husband with her heart.
She bore two children: one of these
She leaves on the earth, the other she buries under the earth.
Her speech was delightful, her gait graceful.
She kept house, she made wool. I have finished. Go.

The epitaph is neither earth-shattering nor profound, yet it gives us the tiniest glimpse into the entire world of a typical Roman woman. Using the material we are reading for today, we will attempt to reconstruct a broader view of the life of Roman women, their values and ideals, their limitations and opportunities, their aspirations and achievements.

As we investigate women's history in Rome, the problems we face are legion. Most of the evidence we have for ancient Rome deals with men: wars, politics, the law courts, philosophical discourses, tales of heroes and gods. Although women enter into all of these areas, the Roman world was by any standard a man's world. More importantly, almost all of the literary material which survives was written by men. With a few brilliant exceptions, we have little evidence from which to reconstruct the woman's perspective. Even so, we need not despair. Though the Roman world was a man's world, it was by no means as oppressive for women as most pre-modern societies. Some women enjoyed considerable freedom, the right to own property, the opportunity for education, windows into political influence, and the chance to exert some power over a restrictive but not entirely oppressive society. Moreover, the evidence, though scanty, is hardly lacking. Our readings today demonstrate that we can say a good deal about women in general and even about the lives of specific women. We can even

look at some of the rare fragments of literature written by women (LR 97). ^[1] As we do so, we should compare the ideals and achievements of Roman women with those of women from other ages. Above all, we should attempt to interpret Roman women within their own context and ask what we can learn from them about the modern world.

Questions

1. What were the traditional values of Roman women? Were these values constructed by males or by females? Were they always upheld?
2. What legal and social strictures controlled women? Why might these have been put in place and who worked to enforce them? How effective were they?
3. How did Roman women fit into the family? Was the Roman family restrictive with regard to marriage, divorce, childbearing, freedom of movement, control of property?

4. What avenues did women have for employment? What about education? What role did social status and class play in determining the professions a woman could chose?

5. How did women express themselves on the literary and cultural level? On the political level? On the religious level? On the emotional level? Were their forms of expression different from those of the men we have seen?

6. How much influence would you attribute to women of high status (LR 95, 98)? What sorts of stereotypes were likely to be applied to them?

7. Would you say that women were relatively oppressed or relatively free in the Roman world? Compare with other pre-modern societies you know of (west, east, north, south)? Compare with modern societies and especially with contemporary American society?

[\[1\]](#) In a few weeks we will read what is arguably the best surviving source written by a woman in antiquity, the Martyrdom of Perpetua.

**SELECTIONS FROM THE HAN FEIZI:
CHAPTER 49, "THE FIVE VERMIN"**

Introduction

Han Fei (d. 233 BCE) was a student of the philosopher Xunzi (c. 310-c. 219 BCE), but abandoned Confucian philosophy in favor of the more pragmatic and hardheaded approach of men like Lord Shang (Shang Yang or Gongsun Yang, d. 338 BCE), whom we collectively label as "Legalists." Han Fei worked as an official for the state of Qin until he was executed in 233 BCE, allegedly on charges manipulated by a fellow official, Li Si (d. 208 BCE), who was also formerly a fellow student under Xunzi. Han Fei is most famous, however, for having developed a thorough and systematic synthesis of Legalist and Daoist philosophy, which we see in the book which bears his name -- a book of which he is possibly the real author, but which at any rate is accepted as a reasonably accurate representation of his thinking.

Document Excerpts with Questions (Longer selection follows this section)

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Selections from the Han Feizi:
Chapter 49, "The Five Vermin"

"There was a farmer of Song who tilled the land, and in his field was a stump. One day a rabbit, racing across the field, bumped into the stump, broke its neck, and died. Thereupon the farmer laid aside his plow and took up watch beside the stump, hoping that he would get another rabbit in the same way. But he got no more rabbits, and instead became the laughingstock of Song. Those who think they can take the ways of the ancient kings and use them to govern the people of today all belong in the category of stump-watchers!"

...

"Humaneness may make one shed tears and be reluctant to apply penalties, but law makes it clear that such penalties must be applied. The ancient kings allowed law to be supreme and did not give in to their tearful longings. Hence it is obvious that humaneness cannot be used to achieve order in the state. ..."

...

"Hardly ten men of true integrity and good faith can be found today, and yet the offices of the state number in the hundreds. If they must be filled by men of integrity and good faith, then there will never be enough men to go around; and if the offices are left unfilled, then those whose business it is to govern will dwindle in numbers while disorderly men increase. Therefore the way of the enlightened ruler is to unify the laws instead of seeking for wise men, to lay down firm policies instead of longing for men of good faith. Hence his laws never fail him, and there is no felony or deceit among his officials. ..."

Questions:

1. What is Han Fei's attitude toward the past? How does it compare to the attitude of the Confucian scholars?
2. What assumptions about human nature underlie Han Fei's ideas about government and law?
3. Han Fei suggests that one cannot staff a bureaucracy by looking for wise and good men. What alternative does he suggest? Is his alternative realistic?
4. Would you prefer to work in a government run according to Han Fei's ideas, or in a government run according to the ideas of Confucius?
5. Would you prefer to live in a state governed according to the principles of Confucius and Mencius, or one governed according to the principles of Han Fei?

Longer Selection

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When Yao ruled the world, he left the thatch of his roof untrimmed, and the raw timber of his beams was left unplanned. He ate coarse millet and a soup of greens, wore deerskin in the winter days and rough fiber robes in summer. Even a lowly gatekeeper was no worse clothed and provided for than he. When Yu ruled the world, he took plow and spade in hand to lead his people, working until there was no more down on his thighs or hair on his shins. Even the toil of a slave taken prisoner in the wars was no bitterer than his. Therefore those men in ancient

times who abdicated and relinquished the rule of the world were, in a manner of speaking, merely forsaking the life of a gatekeeper and escaping from the toil of a slave. Therefore they thought little of handing over the rule of the world to someone else. Nowadays, however, the magistrate of a district dies and his sons and grandsons are able to go riding about in carriages for generations after. Therefore people prize such offices. In the matter of relinquishing things, people thought nothing of stepping down from the position of Son of Heaven in ancient times, yet they are very reluctant to give up the post of district magistrate today; this is because of the difference in the actual benefits received. ...

When men lightly relinquish the position of Son of Heaven, it is not because they are high-minded but because the advantages of the post are slight; when men strive for sinecures in the government, it is not because they are base but because the power they will acquire is great.

When the sage rules, he takes into consideration the quantity of things and deliberates on scarcity and plenty. Though his punishments may be light, this is not due to his compassion; though his penalties may be severe, this is not because he is cruel; he simply follows the custom appropriate to the time. Circumstances change according to the age, and ways of dealing with them change with the circumstances. ...

Past and present have different customs; new and old adopt different measures. To try to use the ways of a generous and lenient government to rule the people of a critical age is like trying to drive a runaway horse without using reins or whip. This is the misfortune that ignorance invites.

Now the Confucians and the Mohists all praise the ancient kings for their universal love of the world, saying that they looked after the people as parents look after a beloved child. And how do they prove this contention? They say, "Whenever the minister of justice administered some punishment, the ruler would purposely cancel all musical performances; and whenever the ruler learned that the death sentence had been passed on someone, he would shed tears." For this reason they praise the ancient kings.

Now if ruler and subject must become like father and son before there can be order, then we must suppose that there is no such thing as an unruly father or son. Among human affections none takes priority over the love of parents for their children. But though all parents may show love for their children, the children are not always well behaved. ... And if such love cannot prevent children from becoming unruly, then how can it bring the people to order? ...

Humaneness may make one shed tears and be reluctant to apply penalties, but law makes it clear that such penalties must be applied. The ancient kings allowed law to be supreme and did not give in to their tearful longings. Hence it is obvious that humaneness cannot be used to achieve order in the state. ...

Now here is a young man of bad character. His parents rail at him, but he does not reform; the neighbors scold, but he is unmoved; his teachers instruct him, but he refuses to change his ways. Thus, although three fine influences are brought to bear on him -- the love of his parents, the efforts of the neighbors, the wisdom of his teachers -- yet he remains unmoved and refuses to change so much as a hair on his shin. But let the district magistrate send out the government soldiers to enforce the law and search for evildoers, and then he is filled with terror, reforms his conduct, and changes his ways. Thus the love of parents is not enough to make children learn what is right, but must be backed up by the strict penalties of the local officials; for people by nature grow proud on love, but they listen to authority. ...

The best rewards are those that are generous and predictable, so that the people may profit by them. The best penalties are those that are severe and inescapable, so that the people will fear them. The best laws are those that are uniform and inflexible, so that the people can understand them. ...

Those who practice humaneness and rightness should not be praised, for to praise them is to cast aspersion on military achievements; men of literary accomplishment should not be employed in the government, for to employ them is to bring confusion to the law. In the state of Chu there was a man named Honest Gong. When his father stole a sheep, he reported the theft to the authorities. But the local magistrate, considering that the man was honest in the service of his sovereign but a villain to his own father, replied, "Put him to death!" and the man was accordingly sentenced and executed. Thus we see that a man who is an honest subject of his sovereign may be an infamous son to his father.

There was a man of Lu who accompanied his sovereign to war. Three times he went into battle, and three times he ran away. When Confucius asked him the reason, he replied, "I have an aged father, and if I should die, there would be no one to take care of him." Confucius, considering the man filial, recommended him and had him promoted to a post in the government. Thus we see that a man who is a filial son to his father may be a traitorous subject to his lord.

The magistrate of Chu executed a man, and as a result the felonies of the state were never reported to the authorities; Confucius rewarded a man, and as a result the people of Lu thought nothing of surrendering or running away in battle. Since the interests of superior and inferior are as disparate as all this, it is hopeless for the ruler to praise the actions of the private individual and at the same time try to ensure blessing to the state's altars of the soil and grain.

In ancient times when Cang Jie created the system of writing, he used the character for "private" to express the idea of self-centeredness, and combined the elements for "private" and "opposed to" to form the character for "public." The fact that public and private are mutually opposed was already well understood at the time of Cang Jie. To regard the two as being identical in interest is a disaster that comes from lack of consideration. ...

The world calls worthy those whose conduct is marked by integrity and good faith, and wise those whose words are subtle and mysterious. But even the wisest man has difficulty understanding words that are subtle and mysterious. Now if you want to set up laws for the masses and you try to base them on doctrines that even the wisest men have difficulty in understanding, how can the common people comprehend them? ... Now in administering your rule and dealing with the people, if you do not speak in terms that any man or woman can plainly understand, but long to apply the doctrines of the wise men, then you will defeat your own efforts at rule. Subtle and mysterious words are no business of the people.

If people regard those who act with integrity and good faith as worthy, it must be because they value men who have no deceit, and they value men of no deceit because they themselves have no means to protect themselves from deceit. The common people in selecting their friends, for example, have no wealth by which to win others over, and no authority by which to intimidate others. For that reason they seek for men who are without deceit to be their friends. But the ruler occupies a position whereby he may impose his will upon others, and he has the whole wealth of the nation at his disposal; he may dispense lavish rewards and severe penalties and, by wielding these two handles, may illuminate all things through his wise policies. In that case, even traitorous ministers like Tian Chang and Zihan would not dare to deceive him. Why should he have to wait for men who are by nature not deceitful?

Hardly ten men of true integrity and good faith can be found today, and yet the offices of the state number in the hundreds. If they must be filled by men of integrity and good faith, then there will never be enough men to go around; and if the offices are left unfilled, then those whose business it is to govern will dwindle in numbers while disorderly men increase. Therefore the way of the enlightened ruler is to unify the laws instead of seeking for wise men, to lay down firm policies instead of longing for men of good faith. Hence his laws never fail him, and there is no felony or deceit among his officials. ...

Now the people of the state all discuss good government, and everyone has a copy of the works on law by Shang Yang and Guan Zhong in his house, and yet the state gets poorer and poorer, for though many people talk about farming, very few put their hands to a plow. The people of the state all discuss military affairs, and everyone has a copy of the works of Sun Wu and Wu Qi in his house, and yet the armies grow weaker and weaker, for though many people talk about war, few buckle on armor. Therefore an enlightened ruler will make use of men's strength but will not heed their words, will reward their accomplishments but will prohibit useless activities. Then the people will be willing to exert themselves to the point of death in the service of their sovereign.

Farming requires a lot of hard work, but people will do it because they say, "This way we can get rich." War is a dangerous undertaking, but people will take part in it because they say, "This way we can become eminent." Now if men who devote themselves to literature or study the art of persuasive speaking are able to get the fruits of wealth without the hard work of the farmer

and can gain the advantages of eminence without the danger of battle, then who will not take up such pursuits? So for every man who works with his hands there will be a hundred devoting themselves to the pursuit of wisdom. If those who pursue wisdom are numerous, the laws will be defeated, and if those who labor with their hands are few, the state will grow poor. Hence the age will become disordered.

Therefore, in the state of an enlightened ruler there are no books written on bamboo slips; law supplies the only instruction. There are no sermons on the former kings; the officials serve as the only teachers. There are no fierce feuds of private swordsmen; cutting off the heads of the enemy is the only deed of valor. Hence, when the people of such a state make a speech, they say nothing that is in contradiction to the law; when they act, it is in some way that will bring useful results; and when they do brave deeds, they do them in the army. Therefore, in times of peace the state is rich, and in times of trouble its armies are strong. ...

These are the customs of a disordered state: Its scholars praise the ways of the former kings and imitate their humaneness and rightness, put on a fair appearance and speak in elegant phrases, thus casting doubt upon the laws of the time and causing the ruler to be of two minds. Its speechmakers propound false schemes and borrow influence from abroad, furthering their private interests and forgetting the welfare of the state's altars of the soil and grain. Its swordsmen gather bands of followers about them and perform deeds of honor, making a fine name for themselves and violating the prohibitions of the five government bureaus. Those of its people who are worried about military service flock to the gates of private individuals and pour out their wealth in bribes to influential men who will plead for them, in this way escaping the hardship of battle. Its merchants and artisans spend their time making articles of no practical use and gathering stores of luxury goods, accumulating riches, waiting for the best time to sell, and exploiting the farmers.

These five groups are the vermin of the state. If the rulers do not wipe out such vermin, and in their place encourage men of integrity and public spirit, then they should not be surprised, when they look about the area within the four seas, to see states perish and ruling houses wane and die. ...

**FROM LUXURIANT GEMS OF THE SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS:
"THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF RULERSHIP"**

By Dong Zhongshu

Introduction

Dong Zhongshu (c. 195–c. 105 BCE) was a renowned Confucian scholar and government official during the reign of the Han Emperor Wu (r. 141-87 BCE). Emperor Wu's reign was a defining period of the Former or Western Han Dynasty (206 BCE-8 CE), characterized by territorial expansion, rapid growth of overland trade along the "Silk Road" to Central Asia, and the consolidation of the intellectual heritage of Confucianism, Daoism, Legalism, and yin-yang theory. Dong Zhongshu played a significant role in developing and articulating a philosophical synthesis which, while taking Confucianism as its basis, incorporated Daoist and Legalist ideas and the concepts of yin and yang. Dong's thought was important in defining the roles and expectations of rulers and ministers and for making this particular version of Confucianism the orthodox philosophy of government in China.

Document Excerpts with Questions (Longer selection follows this section)

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From Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn Annals:

"The Responsibilities of Rulership"

By Dong Zhongshu

Section 2

He who rules the people is the foundation of the state. Now in administering the state, nothing is more important for transforming [the people] than reverence for the foundation. If the foundation is revered, the ruler will transform [the people] as if a spirit. If the foundation is not revered, the ruler will lack the means to unite the people. If he lacks the means to unite the people, even if he institutes strict punishments and heavy penalties, the people will not submit. ... Heaven, Earth, and humankind are the foundation of all living things. Heaven engenders all living things, Earth nourishes them, and humankind completes them. With filial and brotherly love, Heaven engenders them; with food and clothing, Earth nourishes them; and with rites and music, humankind completes them. These three assist one another just as the hands and feet join to complete the body. None can be dispensed with because without filial and brotherly love, people lack the means to live; without food and clothing, people lack the means to be nourished; and without rites and music, people lack the means to become complete. If all three are lost, people become like deer, each person following his own desires and each family

Primary Source Document, with Questions (DBQs) on LUXURIANT GEMS OF THE SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS: "RESPONSIBILITIES OF RULERSHIP," BY DONG ZHONGSHU

practicing its own customs. Fathers will not be able to order their sons, and rulers will not be able to order their ministers. ...

If these three foundations are all served, the people will resemble sons and brothers who do not dare usurp authority, while the ruler will resemble fathers and mothers. He will not rely on favors to demonstrate his love for his people nor severe measures to prompt them to act. Even if he lives in the wilds without a roof over head, he will consider that this surpasses living in a palace. Under such circumstances, the ruler will lie down upon a peaceful pillow. Although no one assists him, he will naturally be powerful; although no one pacifies his state, peace will naturally come. This is called "spontaneous reward." When "spontaneous reward" befalls him, although he might relinquish the throne and leave the state, the people will take up their children on their backs and follow him as the ruler, so that he too will be unable to leave them.

Questions:

1. How does Dong Zhongshu describe the basis of rulership?
2. What does the author mean when he says that without good rulership, people will become "like deer?"
3. What does Dong Zhongshu's concept of rulership have in common with Daoism?
4. What are the purposes of education as described by Dong Zhongshu? How do these purposes compare to what you believe to be the purposes of education?

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Primary Source Document, with Questions (DBQs) on LUXURIANT GEMS OF THE SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS: "RESPONSIBILITIES OF RULERSHIP," BY DONG ZHONGSHU

With filial and brotherly love, Heaven engenders them; with food and clothing, Earth nourishes them; and with rites and music, humankind completes them. These three assist one another just as the hands and feet join to complete the body. None can be dispensed with because without filial and brotherly love, people lack the means to live; without food and clothing, people lack the means to be nourished; and without rites and music, people lack the means to become complete. If all three are lost, people become like deer, each person following his own desires and each family practicing its own customs. Fathers will not be able to order their sons, and rulers will not be able to order their ministers. Although possessing inner and outer walls, [the ruler's city] will become known as "an empty settlement." Under such circumstances, the ruler will lie down with a clod of earth for his pillow. Although no one endangers him, he will naturally be endangered; although no one destroys him, he will naturally be destroyed. This is called "spontaneous punishment." When it arrives, even if he is hidden in a stone vault or barricaded in a narrow pass, the ruler will not be able to avoid "spontaneous punishment."

One who is an enlightened master and worthy ruler believes such things. For this reason he respectfully and carefully attends to the three foundations. He reverently enacts the suburban sacrifice, dutifully serves his ancestors, manifests filial and brotherly love, encourages filial conduct, and serves the foundation of Heaven in this way. He takes up the plough handle to till the soil, plucks the mulberry leaves and nourishes the silkworms, reclaims the wilds, plants grain, opens new lands to provide sufficient food and clothing, and serves the foundation of Earth in this way. He establishes academies and schools in towns and villages to teach filial piety, brotherly love, reverence, and humility, enlightens [the people] with education, moves [them] with rites and music, and serves the foundation of humanity in this way.

If these three foundations are all served, the people will resemble sons and brothers who do not dare usurp authority, while the ruler will resemble fathers and mothers. He will not rely on favors to demonstrate his love for his people nor severe measures to prompt them to act. Even if he lives in the wilds without a roof over head, he will consider that this surpasses living in a palace. Under such circumstances, the ruler will lie down upon a peaceful pillow. Although no one assists him, he will naturally be powerful; although no one pacifies his state, peace will naturally come. This is called "spontaneous reward." When "spontaneous reward" befalls him, although he might relinquish the throne and leave the state, the people will take up their children on their backs and follow him as the ruler, so that he too will be unable to leave them. Therefore when the ruler relies on virtue to administer the state, it is sweeter than honey or sugar and firmer than glue or lacquer. This is why sages and worthies exert themselves to revere the foundation and do not dare depart from it.

EDICT OF EMPEROR WEN ON THE PRIMACY OF AGRICULTURE

Introduction

Chinese emperors and their officials were keenly aware of the importance of the agricultural economy. A flourishing and well-managed agriculture meant a satisfied people and a large surplus, which the imperial government could use to support its rulers, bureaucrats, and armies and enable it to offer famine relief from stored grain supplies when necessary. A weak and poorly managed agricultural economy harmed not only the people, but also the emperor and his government.

The Han Emperor Wen (r. 180-157 BCE) was evidently concerned about the stability and productivity of Chinese agriculture. Accordingly, he called upon his officials to devise systems of economic management that would raise productivity and increase the government's ability to extract and store surplus grain from the rural economy. Emperor Wen issued the edict below in 163 BCE. In the edict, he describes a problem, ponders some possible causes of the problem, and asks his officials to suggest solutions.

Document Excerpts with Questions (Complete document follows this section)

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Edict of Emperor Wen on the Primacy of Agriculture

For the past several years there have been no good harvests, and our people have suffered the calamities of flood, drought, and pestilence. We are deeply grieved by this, but being ignorant and unenlightened, we have been unable to discover where the blame lies. We have considered whether our administration has been guilty of some error or our actions of some fault. Have we failed to follow the Way of Heaven or to obtain the benefits of Earth? Have we caused disharmony in human affairs or neglected the gods that they do not accept our offerings? What has brought on these things? Have the provisions for our officials been too lavish or have we indulged in too many unprofitable affairs? Why is the food of the people so scarce? When the fields are surveyed, they have not decreased, and when the people are counted they have not grown in number, so that the amount of land for each person is the same as before or even greater. And yet there is a drastic shortage of food. Where does the blame lie? Is it that too many people pursue secondary activities to the detriment of agriculture? Is it that too much grain is used to make wine or too many domestic animals are being raised?

**Primary Source Document, with Questions (DBQ) on
EDICT OF EMPEROR WEN ON THE PRIMACY OF AGRICULTURE**

Questions:

1. In this edict, the emperor suggests a number of possible explanations for the problem at hand: poor harvests, flood, drought, pestilence, and the resulting suffering of the common people. Analyze and categorize the various possible explanations that the emperor considers. Which explanations do you find most convincing? Why? Which do you find least convincing? Why?
2. In issuing this edict, what kind of an image of himself is the emperor conveying to the readers, his officials?
3. Given the problem posed by the emperor and the possible explanations for the problem that he suggests, what solutions would you propose to him if you were one of his officials?

Complete Document

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MEMORIAL ON THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE By Chao Cuo

Introduction

Chinese emperors and their officials were keenly aware of the importance of the agricultural economy. A flourishing and well-managed agriculture meant a satisfied people and a large surplus, which the imperial government could use to support its rulers, bureaucrats, and armies and enable it to offer famine relief from stored grain supplies when necessary. A weak and poorly managed agricultural economy harmed not only the people, but also the emperor and his government.

The Han Emperor Wen (r. 180-157 BCE) was evidently concerned about the stability and productivity of Chinese agriculture. Accordingly, he called upon his officials to devise systems of economic management that would raise productivity and increase the government's ability to extract and store surplus grain from the rural economy. Chao Cuo, a high-ranking official, offered the suggestions below in 178 BCE. Emperor Wen approved of these suggestions and put them into practice, with remarkably successful results.

Document Excerpts with Questions (Complete document follows this section)

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Memorial on the Encouragement of Agriculture By Chao Cuo

The reason people never suffered from cold or famine under the rule of the sage kings was not that these kings were capable of plowing to provide food or spinning to make clothes for them. It was that they opened up for the people the way to wealth. Therefore although emperors Yao and Yu encountered nine years of flood and King Tang seven years of drought, there were no derelicts or starving within the kingdom, because provisions had been stored up in plenty and all precaution taken beforehand.

Questions:

1. To what does Chao Cuo attribute the peace and prosperity of the era of the "sage kings," even in times of flood and drought? How does this square with Confucian philosophy as you understand it?



**Primary Source Document, with Questions (DBQs) on
MEMORIAL ON THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE, BY CHAO CUO**

Poverty is bred of insufficiency that is caused by lack of agriculture. If men do not farm, they will not be tied to the land; and if they are not tied to the land, they will desert their villages, neglect their families, and become like birds and beasts. Then although there be high walls and deep moats, strict laws and severe punishments, they still cannot be held in check. When one is cold he does not demand the most comfortable and warmest garments; when one is starving he does not wait for the tastiest morsels. When a man is plagued by hunger and cold he has no regard for modesty or shame.

Questions:

2. How does Chao Cuo explain poverty?
3. Do you agree with him? Is this sort of explanation relevant to accounting for the existence of poverty today? Why or why not?
4. Any explanation of a problem implies a particular solution or set of solutions. What sort of solutions to poverty does Chao Cuo's explanation point toward? If you were to accept the way in which Chao Cuo explains poverty in the Han as a valid strategy for explaining poverty in the contemporary world, then what sort of solutions does that strategy imply today?



Among the traders and merchants, on the other hand, the larger ones hoard goods and exact 100 percent profit, while the smaller ones sit lined up in the markets selling their wares. Those who deal in luxury goods daily disport themselves in the cities and market towns; taking advantage of the ruler's wants, they are able to sell at double price. Thus though their men neither plow nor weed, though their women neither tend silkworms nor spin, yet their clothes are brightly patterned and colored, and they eat only choice grain and meat. They have none of the hardships of the farmer, yet their grain is ten to one hundredfold. With their wealth they may consort with nobles, and their power exceeds the authority of government officials. They use their profits to overthrow others. Over a thousand miles they wander at ease, their caps and cart covers filling the roads. They ride in fine carriages and drive fat horses, tread in silken shoes and trail white silk behind them. Thus it is that merchants encroach upon the farmers, and the farmers are driven from their homes and become vagrants. At present, although the laws degrade the merchants, the merchants have become wealthy and honored, and although they honor the farmers, the farmers have grown poor and lowly. Thus what common practice honors the ruler degrades, and what the officials scorn the law exalts. With ruler and ruled thus at variance and their desires in conflict, it is impossible to hope that the nation will become rich and the law be upheld.

Questions:

5. After describing the suffering and poverty of the farmers, Chao Cuo embarks upon this contrasting description of merchants. For what reasons does Chao Cuo criticize merchants? Are his criticisms justified?

**Primary Source Document, with Questions (DBQs) on
MEMORIAL ON THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE, BY CHAO CUO**

6. Why do you think the contrast between merchants and farmers has developed to the point that it has in Chao Cuo's description?
7. Do you agree that the situation described by Chao Cuo (i.e. the disparity in wealth between merchants and the farmers, who are the majority of the population) is a problem? If not, why not? If so, what would you suggest as a solution?



Under the present circumstances there is nothing more urgently needed than to make the people devote themselves to agriculture. To accomplish this one must enhance the value of grain. This may be done by making it possible for the people to use grain to obtain rewards and avoid punishments. If an order is sent out that all who send grain to the government shall obtain honorary rank or pardon from crimes, then wealthy men will acquire rank, the farmers will have money, and grain will circulate freely. If men can afford to present grain in exchange for ranks, they must have a surplus. If this surplus is acquired for the use of the ruler, then the poll tax on the poor can be reduced. This is what is known as reducing the surplus to supply the deficiency. ... Ranks are something that the ruler may dispense at will: he has only to speak and there is no end to them. Grain is something grown on the land by the people and its supply is continuous. All men greatly desire to obtain high ranks and avoid penalties. If all are allowed to present grain for supplying the frontiers and thereby obtain rank or commutation of penalties, then in no more than three years there will be plenty of grain for the border areas.

Questions:

8. Read Chao Cuo's recommendation carefully. What assumptions about human nature underlie his proposed solution to the problem (i.e. poverty caused by insufficient production of grain)? From which school of classical Chinese philosophy are these assumptions drawn?

Complete Document

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derelicts or starving within the kingdom, because provisions had been stored up in plenty and all precaution taken beforehand.

Now all within the seas are united. The plenitude of land and people is not inferior to that of Tang and Yu, and in addition we have not suffered from natural calamities of flood or drought for several years. Why then are the stores of supplies so inferior? Because the land has benefits that have been overlooked and the people have untapped energies. There is still land suitable for growing grain that has not been brought under cultivation, resources of hills and lakes that have not been exploited, and vagrants who have not yet returned to agricultural pursuits. When the people are in poverty, then crime and evil-doing are born. Poverty is bred of insufficiency that is caused by lack of agriculture. If men do not farm, they will not be tied to the land; and if they are not tied to the land, they will desert their villages, neglect their families, and become like birds and beasts. Then although there be high walls and deep moats, strict laws and severe punishments, they still cannot be held in check.

When one is cold he does not demand the most comfortable and warmest garments; when one is starving he does not wait for the tastiest morsels. When a man is plagued by hunger and cold he has no regard for modesty or shame. It is the nature of man that if he does not eat twice a day he will starve, and if in the course of a year he cuts himself no new clothes he will freeze. When the belly is famished and gets no food, when the skin is chilled and has no clothing to cover it, then even the most compassionate father cannot provide for his own child. How then can the ruler keep the allegiance of his people? An enlightened ruler, realizing this, will encourage his people in agriculture and sericulture, lighten the poll tax and other levies, increase his store of supplies and fill his granaries in preparation for flood and drought. Thereby he can keep and care for his people. The people may then be led by the ruler, for they will follow after profit in any direction like water flowing downward.

Now pearls, jewels, gold, and silver can neither allay hunger nor keep out the cold, and yet the people all hold them dear because these are things used by the ruler. They are light and easy to store, and one who holds them in his grasp may roam the world and never fear hunger or cold. They cause ministers lightly to turn their backs upon their lords and the people easily to leave their villages; they provide an incentive for thieves and a light form of wealth for fugitives.

Grains and fibers, on the other hand, are produced from the land, nurtured through the seasons, and harvested with labor; they cannot be gotten in a day. Several measures of grain or cloth are too heavy for an average man to carry and so provide no reward for crime or evil. Yet if people go without them for one day they will face hunger and cold. Therefore an enlightened ruler esteems the five grains and despises gold and jewels.

At present in a farming family of five not fewer than two are required to perform labor service [for the state], while those who are left to work the farm are given no more than one hundred *mu* of land, the yield of which is not over one hundred *piculs*. ... No matter how diligently they

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work nor what hardships they suffer, they still must face the calamities of flood and drought, emergency government measures, inordinate tax levies, and taxes collected out of season. Orders issued in the morning are changed before nightfall. Faced with such levies, the people must sell what they have at half price in order to pay, and those who have nothing must take money offered at 100 percent interest. Thus they are forced to sell their fields and houses, vend their children and grandchildren, to pay their debts.

Among the traders and merchants, on the other hand, the larger ones hoard goods and exact 100 percent profit, while the smaller ones sit lined up in the markets selling their wares. Those who deal in luxury goods daily disport themselves in the cities and market towns; taking advantage of the ruler's wants, they are able to sell at double price. Thus though their men neither plow nor weed, though their women neither tend silkworms nor spin, yet their clothes are brightly patterned and colored, and they eat only choice grain and meat. They have none of the hardships of the farmer, yet their grain is ten to one hundredfold. With their wealth they may consort with nobles, and their power exceeds the authority of government officials. They use their profits to overthrow others. Over a thousand miles they wander at ease, their caps and cart covers filling the roads. They ride in fine carriages and drive fat horses, tread in silken shoes and trail white silk behind them. Thus it is that merchants encroach upon the farmers, and the farmers are driven from their homes and become vagrants.

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Hindu Creation Myth and the Caste System

About the Document

The Aryan invasion of the subcontinent around 1,500 B.C.E. brought with it a new religion that featured a pantheon of gods that the Aryans worshiped through ritualism and with burnt sacrifices. Over the next thousand years, the religion matured, probably incorporating some elements of Harappan theology and certainly establishing a rigid social structure. Centuries later, Europeans would dub this five-tiered social structure "the caste system."

The caste system became a central element of both Hindu theology and Indian society. The *brahman*, or priest class, followed by the *kshatriya*, or warrior class, and the *vaishya*, or merchant class, were at the top of Indian society. The bulk of India's population were *shudra*, peasants and artisans. A fifth element of that society, one not even acknowledged in religious writings but certainly existing, were the *pariahs*, or untouchables. These menials labored at jobs considered demeaning or taboo for the four classes. To understand the future development of India and Hinduism, one must recognize and understand the caste system.

Around 500 B.C.E., Indians began to record their extensive oral religious traditions in what has become known as the Vedic literature. The oldest of the four *Vedas* is the *Rig-Veda*, and it is there that the Hindu creation myth and the basis for the caste system can be found. Another glimpse of the origins of the Hindu caste system can be seen in *The Law of Manu*, written around 200 C.E., viewed as a guide to proper behavior for Hindus. Selections from both texts are included below.

The Document

From the *Rig-Veda*

Thousand-headed Purusha, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed he, having pervaded the earth on all sides, still extends ten fingers beyond it.

Purusha alone is all this—whatever has been and whatever is going to be. Further, he is the lord of immortality and also of what grows on account of food.

Such is his greatness; greater, indeed, than this is Purusha. All creatures constitute but one quarter of him, his three-quarters are the immortal in the heaven.

With his three-quarters did Purusha rise up; one quarter of him again remains here. With it did he variously spread out on all sides over what eats and what eats not.

From him was Viraj born, from Viraj evolved Purusha. He, being born, projected himself behind the earth as also before it.

When the gods performed the sacrifice with Purusha as the **oblation**, then the spring was its clarified butter, the summer the sacrificial fuel, and the autumn the oblation.

The sacrificial victim, namely, Purusha, born at the very beginning, they sprinkled with sacred water upon the sacrificial grass. With him as oblation the gods performed the sacrifice, and also the Sadhyas [a class of semidivine beings] and the rishis [ancient seers].

From that wholly offered sacrificial oblation were born the verses and the sacred chants; from it were born the meters; the sacrificial formula was born from it.

From it horses were born and also those animals who have double rows [i.e., upper and lower] of teeth; cows were born from it, from it were born goats and sheep.

When they divided Purusha, in how many different portions did they arrange him? What became of his mouth, what of his two arms? What were his two thighs and his two feet

called?

His mouth became the brahman; his two arms were made into the rajanya; his two thighs the vaishyas; from his two feet the shudra was born.

The moon was born from the mind, from the eye the sun was born; from the mouth **Indra** and **Agni**, from the breath the wind was born.

From the navel was the atmosphere created, from the head the heaven issued forth; from the two feet was born the earth and the quarters [the cardinal directions] from the ear. Thus did they fashion the worlds.

Seven were the enclosing sticks in this sacrifice, thrice seven were the fire-sticks made, when the gods, performing the sacrifice, bound down Purusha, the sacrificial victim.

With this sacrificial oblation did the gods offer the sacrifice. These were the first norms [dharma] of sacrifice. These greatnesses reached to the sky wherein live the ancient Sadhyas and gods.

Source: The *Rig-Veda*, 10.90, in *Sources of Indian Tradition* by Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 16-17.

From *The Law of Manu*

But in the beginning he assigned their several names, actions, and conditions (created beings), even according to the words of the Veda.

He, the Lord, also created the class of the gods, who are endowed with life, and whose nature is action; and the subtle class of the Sadhyas, and the eternal sacrifice.

But from fire, wind, and the sun he drew forth the threefold eternal Veda, called Rik, Yajus, and Saman, for the due performance of the sacrifice.

Time and the divisions of time, the lunar mansions and the planets, the rivers, the oceans, the mountains, plains, and uneven ground,

Austerity, speech, pleasure, desire, and anger, this whole creation he likewise produced, as he desired to call these beings into existence... .

Whatever he assigned to each at the (first) creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung (afterwards) spontaneously to it.

As at the change of the seasons each season of its own accord assumes its distinctive marks, even so corporeal beings (resume in new births) their (appointed) course of action.

But for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he created the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Shudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet... .

To Brahmans he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms).

The Kshatriya he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures... .

The Vaishya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land.

One occupation only the lord prescribed to the Shudra, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.

Source: Manu, *The Law of Manu*, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXV, ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1886), pp. 12-14, 24.

Glossary**Oblation**

Offering made to a deity.

Indra

Chief of the Vedic gods; the god of rain and thunder.

Agni

Hindu god of fire.

Analysis Questions

1. Compare caste to your society.
2. Describe the Hindu caste system as given in the two passages.
3. In your own words, describe the Hindu creation myth. Why are creation myths important?
4. The word "sacrifice" appears several times in the first passage. What could this tell us about Hinduism?
5. What hints that the caste system will be integral to Hindu society?

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Chinese Cultural Studies:

Buddha:

First Sermon - The Middle Path (c. 6th Century BCE)



from T.W. Rhys Davids and Herman Oldenberg, trans, *Vinyaya Texts*, in F. Max Mueller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, 50 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879-1910), Vol 13. pp. 94-97, 100-102 repr. in Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, Vol 1, 2d. ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), pp. 72-74

[Andrea Introduction] Many parallels exist between the legendary lives of the Mahavira (the founder of the Indian philosophy of Jainism) and the Buddha, and several of their teachings are strikingly similar. Each rejected the special sanctity of (the Old Indian) Vedic literature, and each denied the meaningfulness of caste distinctions and duties. Yet a close investigation of their doctrines reveal substantial differences.

Like the Mahavira, young Prince Siddhartha Gautama, shrinking in horror at the many manifestations of misery in this world, fled his comfortable life and eventually became an ascetic. Where, however, the Mahavira found victory over karma in severe self-denial and total nonviolence, Prince Gautama found only severe disquiet. The ascetic life offered him no enlightenment as to how one might escape the sorrows of mortal existence. After abandoning extreme asceticism in favor of the Middle Path of self-restraint, Gautama achieved Enlightenment in a flash while meditating under a sacred pipal tree. He was now the Buddha.

Legend tells us he then proceeded to share the path to Enlightenment by preaching a sermon in a deer park at Benares in northeastern India to five ascetics, who became his first disciples. Buddhists refer to that initial sermon as "Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Law," which means that the Buddha had embarked on a journey (turning the wheel) on behalf of the law of Righteousness (dharma).

The following document is a reconstruction of that first sermon Although composed at least several centuries after Siddhartha Gautama's death it probably contains the essence of what the Buddha taught his earliest disciples

SETTING IN MOTION THE WHEEL OF THE LAW

And the Blessed one thus addressed the five Bhikkhus [*monks*]. ' "There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which he who has given up the world, ought to avoid. What are these two extremes? A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts: this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble, and profitless; and a life given to mortifications: this is painful, ignoble, and profitless. By avoiding these two extremes, O Bhikkhus, the Tathagata [*a title of Buddha meaning perhaps "he who has arrived at the truth"*] has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi [*total enlightenment*], to Nirvana [*state of release from samsara, the cycle of existence and rebirth*].

The Eightfold Path

"Which, O Bhikkhus, is this Middle Path the knowledge of which the Tathagata has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvana? It is the Holy Eightfold Path, namely,

Right Belief [*understanding the truth about the universality of suffering and knowing the path to its extinction*],

Right Aspiration [*a mind free of ill will, sensuous desire and cruelty*],

Right Speech [*abstaining from lying, harsh language and gossip*],

Right Conduct [*avoiding killing, stealing and unlawful sexual intercourse*],

Right Means of Livelihood [*avoiding any occupation that brings harm directly or indirectly to any other living being*],

Right Endeavor [*avoiding unwholesome and evil things*],

Right Memory [*awareness in contemplation*],

Right Meditation. [*concentration that ultimately reaches the level of a trance*],

This, O Bhikkhus, is the Middle Path the knowledge of which the Tathagata has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvana.

The Four Noble Truths

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of Suffering: Birth is suffering; decay is suffering; illness is suffering; death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate, is suffering; Separation from objects we love, is suffering; not to obtain what we desire, is suffering. Briefly,... clinging to existence is suffering.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering Thirst, which leads to rebirth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. This thirst is threefold, namely, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering: it ceases with the complete cessation of this thirst, -- a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion with the abandoning of this thirst, with doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering: that Holy Eightfold Path, that is to say, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavor, Right Memory, Right Meditation....

"As long, O Bhikkhus, as I did not possess with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths... so long, O Bhikkhus, I knew that I had not yet obtained the highest, absolute Sambodhi in the world of men and gods....

"But since I possessed, O Bhikkhus, with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths... then I knew, O Bhikkhus, that I had obtained the highest, universal Sambodhi....

"And this knowledge and insight arose in my mind: "The emancipation of my mind cannot be lost; this is my last birth; hence I shall not be born again!"

[Andrea] QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is the Middle Path? Why is it the proper path to Enlightenment?
2. What are the Four Noble Truths?
3. How has the Buddha reached the point of escaping the cycle of rebirth?
4. How does one free oneself from this world?
5. Is it correct to call Buddhism "world denying"?

The Rock Inscriptions of King Ashoka

King Ashoka was a remarkable leader, by any standard.

He inherited from his father and grandfather an immense kingdom, encompassing most of present-day India and Pakistan, which he ruled for more than forty years from 274 to 232 B.C.E.

Converting to Buddhism early in his reign, he worked tirelessly to uplift and civilize his world through the influence of *Dhamma*—the teaching of the Buddha.

He had numerous inscriptions carved on stones and pillars set up in all reaches of his empire, but within a few generations the script he used went out of usage and people no longer understood the markings.

All these sayings, and many others, thus lay unread for centuries, until British archeologists in the 19th century put the puzzle together and managed to decipher both script and language (which is close to Sanskrit and Pali).

Today Ashoka's wisdom and compassion ring out clearly, bequeathing to the modern world an inspired vision of how the leader of a superpower might use his influence to steer the world toward a brighter and more noble future.

Instruction to Administrators

The high officers of this region,
in charge of administration of the city,
are to be addressed as follows
at the command of King Ashoka:

Whatever vision I have,
I want to see carried out in practice
and fulfilled by proper means.
And I regard giving instruction to you
as the principle means to this end.
For you are placed over thousands of beings
for the purpose of earning the people's affection.

All people are as my children.
Just as I desire that my own children
may be provided with complete welfare
and happiness both in this world and the next,
so do I desire the same for all people.
Most of you do not understand how far this matter goes.
Some do understand this, but only partially.

See to it then, since you are well provided for.
If in the course of administration it happens that
a person dies because of imprisonment or torture,
many other people are also deeply injured by this.
You must insist that a middle path
be followed in matters of justice.

But you surely won't achieve success
with any of the following attitudes:

envy, impetuosity, cruelty, impatience,
want of application, laziness or lethargy.
You should wish of yourselves:
“May I not have these attitudes.”

The root of the matter, indeed,
is patience and steadfastness.
One who is lethargic in administration will not rise up;
but you should rouse yourselves,
get going, and move forward.

The Slaying of Creatures

Formerly in the kitchen of the king thousands of living creatures
were slaughtered daily for use in curries.
But now, as this edict is being inscribed,
only three living creatures are slaughtered:
two peacocks and one deer, and the deer, moreover, not regularly.
Soon, even these three living creatures will not be slaughtered

Harmony Among Traditions

King Ashoka honors all traditions,
and honors both ascetics and house-holders
by giving gifts of various kinds.
But the King himself does not value gifts or homage
as much as growth in the essential teachings of all the traditions.

Many factors contribute to this growth in the essential teachings,
but the process is rooted in the restraint of speech,
insofar as one should not praise only one's own tradition
and condemn the traditions of others without any ground.
Such criticisms should be on specific grounds only.

Rather, the traditions of others should be honored
on this ground and that.
By doing so, one helps one's own tradition to grow,
and benefits the traditions of others as well.
Otherwise, one hurts one's own tradition
and injures the traditions of others.

Harmony alone is commendable.
Toward this end, all should be willing to listen
to the doctrines professed by others.
It is the wish of King Ashoka that in all traditions
there be great learning and benevolent teachings.

And those who are content in their respective traditions
should all be told that the King does not value gifts or homage

as much as that all traditions flourish,
and that there be growth in their essential teachings.

Foreign Policy

It might occur to those outside my kingdom:
“What are the king’s intentions towards us?”

This alone is my desire for those outside the kingdom:
that they may understand my kind wishes towards them,
that they may be free from fear of me and trust me,
that they may receive from me only happiness and not sorrow.

And I would further wish that they understand this:
that the king will tolerate in them whatever can be tolerated;
that they may be inspired by me to practice *Dhamma*;
and that they may thus gain happiness in both this world and the next.

***Dhamma* Blessings**

People perform various ceremonies:
In troubles, marriages of sons and daughters,
birth of children, departures from home...
Ceremonies should certainly be performed, but these bear little fruit.

However, what is concerned with *Dhamma* produces great fruit:
The proper treatment of servants and employees, reverence to teachers,
restraint of violence towards living creatures
and liberality to teachers and ascetics.
These and other such [virtues] are called *Dhamma*-blessings...

Ceremonies other than these are all of doubtful effect.
They may achieve their purpose or they may not.
And they only pertain to this world.
But these ceremonies of *Dhamma* [described above] are timeless.
Even if one does not achieve one’s object in this world,
endless merit is produced for the world beyond.

The Practice of *Dhamma*

For the past several hundred years
the sacrificial slaughter of animals, cruelty towards living beings,
and the improper treatment of relatives and teachers
have all increased.

But today, because of King Ashoka's practice of *Dhamma*,
the sound of the war drum has become
the call (not to arms but) to *Dhamma*.

And to a degree unseen for several hundred years past,
through the edicts of King Ashoka,
the slaughter of animals has ceased,
non-violence towards living beings is practiced,
and relatives, teachers, parents and elders
are all treated with proper respect.

These and many other kinds of *Dhamma* practice have increased.
And King Ashoka will further increase this practice of *Dhamma*,
as will his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, in every era.
And not only will they practice *Dhamma* through virtuous conduct,
but they will all also teach *Dhamma*,
for teaching *Dhamma* is the most important work that can be done.

Right Livelihood

There is no satisfaction for me in exertion and the dispatch of business.
But my highest duty is the promotion of the good of all,
and the root of this is exertion and dispatch of business.
There is no higher work than the promotion of the common welfare.

Whatever exertion I am making,
it is in order that I may discharge a debt to all living beings,
and make them happy in this world,
while they may attain heaven in the world beyond.

For this purpose this edict has been inscribed that it may last for ever,
and that my sons, and grandsons, and great-grandsons
may follow it for the good of all.
But this can only be achieved by great and sustained effort.

The Gift of *Dhamma*

Thus proclaims King Ashoka:
There is no gift like the gift of *Dhamma*...
which consists of:

the proper treatment of servants and workers,
heeding one's mother and father,
generosity towards friends and acquaintances,
relatives and spiritual teachers,
and abstention from the slaughter of living creatures.

Father, son, brother, master, friend, acquaintance, or neighbor
—all should declare that it is good to do these things.
By means of this gift of *Dhamma* one succeeds in this world,
while immeasurable merit flows into the world beyond.

Public Works

Everywhere within the dominion of King Ashoka,
and also among the neighbors of his realm
—in South India, Kerala and Sri Lanka,
in the Greek kingdom of Antiochus,
and even among his neighbors—
the King has instituted two kinds of medical treatment:
medical treatment for humans
and medical treatment for animals.

Also roots and fruits and medicinal herbs,
wholesome for humans and for animals,
have been imported and planted wherever they did not exist.
And along the roads wells have been dug
and trees have been planted
for the benefit of both humans and animals.

Glory and Fame

King Ashoka does not regard glory or fame as bringing much gain.
Whatever glory or fame he desires, it would be only for this:
That the people in the present time and in the future might practice
in accordance with *Dhamma*, and conform to the observances of *Dhamma*.

For this purpose alone does the King wish for glory or fame.
And what little he exerts himself, it is all for future generations,
and in order that all beings may be free from the bondage of wrong-doing.

Indeed, this is difficult to achieve by those of low rank or high rank,
—except by strenuous effort and renunciation.
But of these [two], it is more difficult for the person of high rank to achieve.

Decline of the Roman/Han/Gupta Empires Diverse Interpretations Assignment

COMPARISONS TO FOCUS ON:

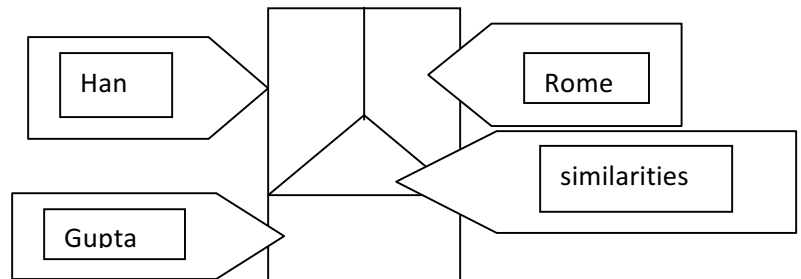
- The causes for the decline of the Roman, Han and Gupta Empires
- Understanding of how and why the collapse of the empire was more severe in Western Europe than it was in the Asian Empires.
- Comparison of the role that religions played in the declines
- The impact of missionary outreach of the Christians and Buddhists in these empires

RESOURCES

- Upshur – “The Decline of Empires”
- Stearns - Decline of Empires.
- Frank Smitha - “Decline and Fall”
- Johnson and Johnson – “Why Don’t Empires Last?”
- Spodek – “China and Rome: How do they compare?”
- Bulliet pages 168-170 and 186-189.

ASSIGNMENT

1. Construct a Venn comparing and contrasting the causes for decline of the Roman, Han and Gupta empires. Information will come from the documents and not the lecture...you already wrote the lecture notes once, why write them again?



2. Write 3 comparative analytical mini-paragraphs about the decline of empires. (generalization, facts, analysis...) Remember that analysis answers the question “why?”

Example: *The AP World History teachers have very different tastes in beverages. Ms. Forswall likes tea while Ms. Patch likes cola. Green tea and Earl Grey are Ms. Forswall’s favorites; they taste nothing like Pepsi or Coke because soft drinks are much sweeter. Ms. Patch usually chooses a diet style of soda, because she thinks regular soda is too sweet. Ms. Forswall likes tea because she lived in Britain and is hoity-toity and likes to drink from a porcelain cup with her pinky sticking out while Ms. Patch likes cola because she grew up in Texas where they mock young people who stick their pinky out. The choice of beverage is a reflection of the cultural background of a person*

Example: *Both the Aztec and Inca relied on tribute from the surrounding people. The Aztec were given food items like corn, but also luxury items like feathers and jade. The Inca were given fish and potatoes but also gold. This happened because the environment of the two societies could not provide enough resources for the people to survive, and the subject people were willing to pay so that their conquerors did not to return with their armies.*

Make sure that some paragraphs address similarities and others address differences.

The Decline and Fall of Empires

By: Upshur, Jiu-Hwa et al. *World History*. 2002

The following are some of the general reasons for the decline and fall of empires:

Dynastic succession

No major empire had clear rules about the acquiring, holding, transferring and relinquishing of power. Dynasties run the risk of no heir, an unresponsive heir, an incompetent heir, a child heir or a woman heir. All of these have the potential to cause crisis.

Bureaucratic corruption

In time bureaucracies succumbed to corruption and corrupt governments provoke rebellion.

Inequitable economic burdens

Governments rely on revenue to support the military and bureaucracy. The revenue is dependant on a prosperous population engaged in agriculture, trade and industry. If the burden to produce revenue falls heavily on one segment of society the government can not function.

Regional, racial and ethnic tension

Groups that resist integration get restless.

Decline of martial spirit

When the spirit to fight and make other sacrifices for the state declines the state can not defend itself.

Moral decline

An increase in self-indulgence and hedonism can lead to apathy for the state.

Escapist or other-worldly religion

Religions that stress heavenly rewards over earthy ones are a factor in declining civic spirit and other ills of empires.

External enemies

Empires inspire envy from their less affluent neighbors.

Costly technology

Successful empires create engineering wonders that help to sustain them like roads, harbors, irrigation systems, walls, etc. They are expensive to initiate and maintain. They often impoverished the governments.

Decline in China and India

Steams, Peter, Michael Adas, Stuart B. Schwartz, and Marc Jason Gilbert. World Civilizations. 4th ed. New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.

A combination of internal weakness and invasion led to important changes, first in China, then in India.

Between 200 and 600 C.E., all three classical civilizations collapsed entirely or in part. During this four century span, all suffered from outside invasions, the result of growing incursions by groups from central Asia. This renewed wave of nomadic expansion was not as sweeping as the earlier Indo-European growth, which had spread over India and much of the Mediterranean region many centuries before, but it severely tested the civilized regimes. Rome, of course, fell directly to Germanic invaders, who fought on partly because they were, in turn, harassed by the fierce Asiatic Huns. The Huns themselves swept once across Italy, invading the city of Rome amid great destruction. Another Hun group from central Asia overthrew the Guptas in India, and similar nomadic tribes had earlier toppled the Chinese Han dynasty. The central Asian nomads were certainly encouraged by a growing realization of the weakness of the classical regimes. For Han China as well as the later Roman Empire suffered from serious internal problems long before the invaders dealt the final blows. And the Guptas in India had not permanently resolved that area's tendency to dissolve into political fragmentation.

By about 100 C.E., the Han dynasty in China began to enter a serious decline. Confucian intellectual activity gradually became less creative. Politically, the central government's control diminished, bureaucrats became more corrupt, and local landlords took up much of the slack, ruling their neighborhoods according to their own wishes. The free peasants, long heavily taxed, were burdened with new taxes and demands of service by these same landlords. Many lost their farms and became day laborers on the large estates. Some had to sell their children into service. Social unrest increased, producing a great revolutionary effort led by Daoists in 184 C.E. Daoism now gained new appeal, shifting toward a popular religion and adding healing practices and magic to earlier philosophical beliefs. The Daoist leaders, called the Yellow Turbans, promised a golden age that was to be brought about by divine magic. The Yellow Turbans attacked the weakness of the emperor but also the self-indulgence of the current bureaucracy. As many as 30,000 students demonstrated against the decline of government morality. However, their protests failed, and Chinese population growth and prosperity both spiraled further downward. The imperial court was mired in intrigue and civil war.

This dramatic decline paralleled the slightly later collapse of Rome, as we shall see. It obviously explained China's inability to push back invasions from borderland nomads, who finally overthrew the Han dynasty outright. As in Rome, growing political ineffectiveness formed part of the decline. Another important factor was the spread of devastating new epidemics, which may have killed up to half of the population. These combined blows not only toppled the Han, but led to almost three centuries of chaos, an unusually long span of unrest in Chinese history. Regional rulers and weak dynasties rose and fell during this period. Even China's cultural unity was threatened as the wave of Buddhism spread, one of the only cases in which China imported a major idea from outside its borders until the 20th century. Northern China, particularly, seemed near collapse.

Nonetheless, China did revive itself near the end of the 6th century. Strong native rulers in the north drove out the nomadic invaders. The Sui dynasty briefly ruled, and then in 618 C.E. it was followed by the Tang, who sponsored one of the most glorious periods in Chinese history. Confucianism and the bureaucratic system were revived, and indeed the bureaucratic tradition became more elaborate. The period of chaos left its mark somewhat in the continued presence of a Buddhist minority and new styles in art and literature. But, unlike the case of Rome, there was no permanent disruption.

The structures of classical China were simply too strong to be overturned. The bureaucracy declined in scope and quality, but it did not disappear during the troubled centuries. Confucian values and styles of life remained current among the upper class. Many of the nomadic invaders, seeing that they had nothing better to offer by way of government or culture, simply tried to assimilate the Chinese traditions. China thus had to recover from a serious setback, but it did not have to reinvent its civilization.

The decline of classical civilization in India was less drastic than the collapse of Han China. The ability of the Gupta emperors to control local princes was declining by the 5th century. Invasions by nomadic peoples, probably Hun tribes similar to those who were pressing into Europe, affected some northern portions of India as early as 500 C.E. During the next century, the invaders penetrated much deeper, destroying the Gupta Empire in central India. Many of the invaders were integrated into the warrior caste of India, forming a new ruling group of regional princes. For several centuries, no native ruler attempted to build a large Indian state. The regional princes, collectively called Rajput, controlled the small states and emphasized military prowess. Few political events of more than local significance occurred.

Within this framework, Indian culture continued to evolve. Buddhism declined further in India proper. Hindu beliefs gained ground, among other things converting the Hun princes, who had originally worshipped gods of battle and had no sympathy for the Buddhist principles of calm and contemplation. Within Hinduism, the worship of a mother goddess, Devi, spread widely, encouraging a new popular emotionalism in religious ritual. Indian economic prosperity also continued at high levels.

Hinduism also underwent further popularization; Hindu texts were written in vernacular languages such as Hindi, and use of the old classical language, Sanskrit, declined. These reactions were largely successful in preventing more than a minority of Indians from abandoning Hinduism, but they distracted from further achievements in science and mathematics. Clearly, by 500 C.E., the glory days of the Guptas were long past, although classical traditions survived particularly in Hinduism and the caste system.

Decline and Fall of the Gupta

Smitha, Frank. "The Gupta Empire and Hinduism, 320 to 500 CE." MacroHistory. 01 Aug 2006. MacroHistory. 11 Aug 2006 <<http://www.fsmitha.com/h1/ch28gup.htm>>.

Chandra Gupta II died in 415 and was succeeded by his son, Kumara Gupta, who maintained India's peace and prosperity. During his forty-year reign the Gupta Empire remained undiminished. Then - as was the Roman Empire around this time - India suffered more invasions. Kumara Gupta's son, the crown prince, Skanda Gupta, was able to drive the invaders, the Hephthalites, (White Huns) back, into the Sassanian Empire, where they were to defeat the Sassanid army and kill the Sassanid king, Firuz.

In India, women and children sang praises to Skanda Gupta. Skanda Gupta succeeded his father in 455. Then the Hephthalites returned, and he spent much of his reign of twenty-five years combating them, which drained his treasury and weakened his empire. Skanda Gupta died in 467, and after a century and a half the cycle of rise and disintegration of empire turned again to disintegration. Contributing to this was dissension within the royal family. Benefiting from this dissension, governors of provinces and feudal chieftains revolted against Gupta rule. For awhile the Gupta Empire had two centers: at Valabhi on the western coast and at Pataliputra toward the east. Seeing weakness, the Hephthalites invaded India again - in greater number. Just before the year 500, the Hephthalites took control of the Punjab. After 515, they absorbed the Kashmir, and they advanced into the Ganges Valley, the heart of India, raping, burning, massacring, blotting out entire cities and reducing fine buildings to rubble. Provinces and feudal territories declared their independence, and the whole of north India became divided among numerous independent kingdoms. And with this fragmentation India was again torn by numerous small wars between local rulers.

Decline and Fall in Rome

Decline in Rome was particularly complex. Its causes have been much debated. Developments varied between the eastern and western portions of the empire as the Mediterranean region pulled apart.

The Roman Empire exhibited a great many symptoms of decay after about 180 C.E. There was statistical evidence in the declining population in addition to growing difficulties in recruiting effective armies. There were also political manifestations in the greater brutality and arbitrariness of many Roman emperors, victims, according to one commentator at the time, of "lustful and cruel habits." Tax collection became increasingly difficult, as residents of the empire fell on hard times. The governor of Egypt complained that "the once numerous inhabitants of the aforesaid villages have now been reduced to a few, because some have fled in poverty and others have died... and for this reason we are in danger owing to impoverishment of having to abandon the tax-collectorship."

Above all, there were human symptoms. Inscriptions on Roman tombstones increasingly ended with the slogan, "I was not, I was, I am not, I have no more desires," suggesting a pervasive despondency over the futility of this life and despair at the absence of an afterlife.

The decline of Rome was more disruptive than the collapse of the classical dynasties in Asia. For this reason, and because memories of the collapse of this great empire became part of the Western tradition, the process of deterioration deserves particular attention. Every so often, Americans or western Europeans concerned about changes in their own society wonder if there might be lessons in Rome's fall that apply to the uncertain future of Western civilization today.

We have seen that the quality of political and economic life in the Roman Empire began to shift after about 180 C.E. political confusion produced a series of weak emperors and many disputes over succession to the throne. Intervention by the army in the selection of emperors complicated political life and contributed to the deterioration of rule from the top. More important in initiating the process of decline was a series of plagues that swept over the empire. As in China, the plagues' source was growing international trade, which brought diseases endemic in southern Asia to new areas like the Mediterranean, where no resistance had been established even to contagions such as the measles. The resulting diseases decimated the population. The population of Rome decreased from a million people to 250,000. Economic life worsened in consequence. Recruitment of troops became more difficult, so the empire was increasingly reduced to hiring Germanic soldiers to guard its frontiers. The need to pay troops added to the demands on the state's budget, just as declining production 'cut into tax revenues.

Here, perhaps, is the key to the process of decline: a set of general problems, triggered by a cycle of plagues that could not be prevented, resulting in a rather mechanistic spiral that steadily worsened. However, there is another side to Rome's downfall, although whether as a cause or result of the initial difficulties is hard to say. Rome's upper classes became steadily more pleasure-seeking, turning away from the political devotion and economic vigor that had characterized the republic and early empire. Cultural life decayed. Aside from some truly creative Christian writers, the fathers of Western theology, there was very little sparkle to the art or literature of the later empire. Many Roman scholars contented themselves with writing textbooks that rather mechanically summarized earlier achievements in science, mathematics, and literary style. Writing textbooks is not, of course, proof of absolute intellectual incompetence-at least, not in all cases-but the point was that new knowledge or artistic styles were not being generated, and even the levels of previous accomplishment began to slip. The later Romans wrote textbooks about rhetoric instead of displaying rhetorical talent in actual political life; they wrote simple compendiums, for example, about animals or geometry, that barely captured the essentials of what earlier intellectuals had known, and often added superstitious beliefs that previous generations would have scorned.

This cultural decline, finally, was not clearly due to disease or economic collapse, for it began in some ways before these larger problems surfaced. Something was happening to the Roman elite, perhaps because of the deadening effect of authoritarian political rule, perhaps because of a new interest in luxuries and sensual indulgence. Revealingly, the upper classes no longer produced many offspring, for bearing and raising children seemed incompatible with a life of pleasure-seeking.

Rome's fall, in other words, can be blamed on large, forces that would have been hard for any society to control or a moral and political decay that reflected growing corruption among society's leaders. Probably elements of both were involved. Thus, the plagues would have weakened even a vigorous society, but they would not necessarily have produced an irreversible downward spiral had not the morale of the ruling classes already been sapped by an unproductive lifestyle and superficial values.

Regardless of precise causes, the course of Roman decay is quite clear. As the quality of imperial rule declined, as life became more dangerous and economic survival more precarious, many farmers clustered around the protection of large landlords, surrendering full control over their plots of land in the hope of military and judicial protection. The decentralization of political and economic authority, which was greatest in the western, or European, portions of the empire, foreshadowed the manorial system of Europe in the Middle Ages. The system of estates gave great political power to landlords and did provide some local stability. But, in the long run, it weakened the power of the emperor and also tended to move the economy away from the elaborate and successful trade patterns of Mediterranean civilization in its heyday. Many estates tried to be self-sufficient. Trade and production declined further as a result, and cities shrank in size. The empire was locked in a vicious circle, in which responses to the initial deterioration merely lessened the chances of recovery.

Some later emperors tried vigorously to reverse the tide. Diocletian, who ruled from 284 to 305 C.E., tightened up the administration of the empire and tried to improve tax collection. Regulation of the dwindling economy increased. Diocletian also attempted to direct political loyalties to his own person, exerting pressure to worship the emperor as god. This was what prompted him to persecute Christians with particular viciousness, for they would not give Caesar preference over their God. The emperor Constantine, who ruled from 312 to 337 C.E., experimented with other methods of control. He set up a second capital city, Constantinople, to regulate the eastern half of the empire more efficiently. He tried to use the religious force of Christianity to unify the empire spiritually, extending its toleration and adopting it as his own faith. These measures were not without result. The eastern empire, ruled from Constantinople (now the Turkish city of Istanbul), remained an effective political and economic unit. Christianity spread under his official sponsorship, although there were some new problems linked to its success.

None of these measures, however, revived the empire as a whole. Division merely made the weakness of the western half worse. Attempts to regulate the economy reduced economic initiative and lowered production; ultimately tax revenues declined once again. The army deteriorated further. And, when the Germanic invasions began in earnest in the 400s, there was scant basis to resist. Many peasants, burdened by the social and economic pressures of the decaying empire, actually welcomed the barbarians. A priest noted that "in all districts taken over by the Germans, there is one desire among all the Romans, that they should never again find it necessary to pass under Roman jurisdiction." German kingdoms were established in many parts of the empire by 425 C.E., and the last Roman emperor in the west was displaced in 476 C.E. The Germanic invaders numbered at most 5 percent of the population of the empire, but so great was the earlier Roman decline that this small, poorly organized force was able to put an end to one of the world's great political structures.

The collapse of Rome echoed mightily through the later history of Europe and the Middle East. Rome's fall split the unity of the Mediterranean lands that had been so arduously won through Hellenistic culture and then by the Roman Empire itself. This was one sign that the end of the Roman Empire was a more serious affair than the displacement of the last classical dynasties in India and China. For Greece and Rome had not produced the shared political culture and bureaucratic traditions of China that could allow revival after a period of chaos. Nor had Mediterranean civilization, for all its vitality, generated a common religion that appealed deeply enough, or satisfied enough needs, to maintain unity amid political fragmentation, as in India. Such religions would reach the Mediterranean world as Rome fell, but they came too late to save the empire and produced a deep rift in this world, between Christian and Muslim, that has not been healed to this day.

However, Rome's collapse, although profound, was uneven. In effect, the fall of Rome divided the Mediterranean world into three zones, which formed the starting points of three distinct civilizations that would develop in later centuries.

In the eastern part of the empire, centered now on Constantinople, the empire in a sense did not fall. Civilization was more deeply entrenched here than in some of the western European portions of the empire, and there were fewer pressures from invaders. Emperors continued to rule Greece and other parts of southeast Europe, plus the northern Middle East. This eastern empire, later to be known as the Byzantine Empire, was a product of late imperial Rome, rather than a balanced result of the entire span of classical Mediterranean civilization. Thus, although its language was Greek, it maintained the authoritarian tone of the late Roman rulers. But the eastern empire was vibrant, artistically creative, and active in trade. Briefly, especially under the emperor **Justinian** (who ruled from 527 to 565 C.E.), the eastern emperors tried to recapture the whole heritage of Rome. However, Justinian was unable to maintain a hold in Italy and even lost the provinces of North Africa. He did issue one of the most famous compilations of Roman law, in the code that bore his name. But his was the last effort to restore Mediterranean unity.

The Byzantine Empire did not control the whole of the northern Middle East, even in its greatest days. During the late Hellenistic periods and into the early centuries of the Roman Empire, a Parthian empire had flourished, centered in the Tigris-Euphrates region but spreading into northwestern India and to the borders of Rome's holdings along the Mediterranean. Parthian conquerors had taken over this portion of Alexander the Great's empire. They produced little culture of their own, being content to rely on Persian styles, but they long maintained an effective military and bureaucratic apparatus. Then, around 227 C.E., a Persian rebellion displaced the Parthians and created a new Sassanid empire that more directly revived the glories of the earlier Persian Empire. Persian religious ideas, including the religion of Zoroastrianism, revived, although there were some conversions to Christianity as well. Persian styles in art and manufacturing experienced a brilliant resurgence.

Both the Parthian and the Sassanid empires served as bridges between the Mediterranean and the East, transmitting goods and some artistic and literary styles between the Greek-speaking world and India and China. As the Roman Empire weakened, the Sassanids joined the attack, at times pushing into parts of southeastern Europe. Ultimately, however, the Byzantine Empire managed to create a stable frontier. The Sassanid Empire preserved the important strain of Persian culture in the eastern part of the Middle East, and this continued to influence this region as well as India.

Rome's fall, then, did not disrupt the northern Middle East-the original cradle of civilization-as much as might have been expected. Persian rule simply continued in one part of the region, until the Arab onslaught, which itself did not destroy Persian culture. Byzantium maintained many of the traditions of the later Roman Empire, plus Christianity, in the western part of the Middle East and in Greece and other parts of southeastern Europe.

The second zone that devolved from Rome's fall consisted of North Africa and the southeastern shores of the Mediterranean. Here, a number of regional kingdoms briefly succeeded the empire. While Christianity spread into the area-indeed, one of the greatest Christian theologians, Augustine, was a bishop in north Africa-its appearance was not so uniformly triumphant as in the Byzantine Empire or western Europe. Furthermore, separate beliefs and doctrines soon split north African Christianity from the larger branches, producing most notably the Coptic church in Egypt, which still survives as a Christian minority in that country.

Finally, there was the western part of the empire: Italy, Spain, and points north. Here is where Rome's fall not only shattered unities but also reduced the level of civilization itself. Crude, regional Germanic kingdoms developed in parts of Italy, France, and elsewhere. Cities shrank still further, and, especially outside Italy, trade almost disappeared. The only clearly vital forces in this region emanated not from Roman traditions but from the spread of Christianity. Even Christianity could not sustain a sophisticated culture of literature or art, however. In the mire of Rome's collapse, this part of the world forgot for several centuries what it had previously known.

In this western domain, what we call the fall of Rome was scarcely noted at the time, for decay had been progressing for so many decades that the failure to name a new emperor meant little. There was some comprehension of loss, some realization that the present could not rival the past. Thus, Christian scholars were soon apologizing for their inability to write well or to understand some of the doctrines of the earlier theologians like Augustine. This sense of inferiority to classical achievements would long mark the culture of this western zone, even as times improved.

Why Don't Empires Last?

Johnson and Johnson. The Human Drama World History: From the Beginning to 500 C.E.

Many factors contributed to the strength and endurance of both the Roman and Han empires. But after several centuries of glory, both began a period of decline and political decentralization. Why did these great empires disintegrate? What caused the central governments to lose control, trade to diminish, and creativity in the arts and literature to fade? Historians often write about the fall of Rome. Starting in the Third century, authority and legitimacy of the Roman government began to weaken, and it could no longer control the provinces. By that time the Han Empire had lost much of its hold over its territory as well.

We can only speculate to what extent people living through these periods of decline realized what was happening. Most subjects within an empire, we have noted, are unaware of what is going on in the capital. Local bureaucrats demand taxes and corvée and carry out the will of the central government as best as they can. Although the central government's vast network of control and communication is impressive, the daily lives of most people, especially those in distant provinces, are hardly affected. However, when people no longer feel secure and are not "left in peace" they begin to care a great deal about "who rules the land."

Why Did the Roman and Han Empires Disintegrate?

Chinese historians constructed the concept of a dynastic cycle to explain why the Shang, Zhou and Qin dynasties - as well as the Han - had lost the Mandate. They focused on the quality of leadership and suggested that T'ian (Heaven) blesses a moral leader and gives him and his family the Mandate to rule. The people follow his example, obey the rules, and share their labor and produce with the central authorities. But when the emperor does not set a good example, officials become corrupt and try to get rich rather than serve the people. Corrupt officials award bureaucrats who have not passed the examinations honest positions in the government. These officials, no longer carefully schooled in the Confucian classics, care little about decorum and moral example and use their positions to build their own power base.

Although Chinese historians stressed the personal and moral aspects of the dynastic cycle, more recent world historians tend to emphasize economic and political reasons for the collapse of the Han and later dynasties. These historians cite peasant uprisings: and the idea that troops were used to put down these internal threats instead of defending the country. To pay the army, the government levied increased taxes, which led to more unrest and revolts. Additional soldiers were needed, so the government forced poor farmers and others to fight, or hired nomads as soldiers, further angering the people and creating reluctant warriors. Using more soldiers again the people left the borders unguarded, inviting nomad invasions. Sometimes a series of natural disasters, such as floods, earthquakes, and droughts also helped bring down a dynasty.

Studies of the disintegration of the Roman Empire do not emphasize moral leadership or countrywide examinations, but many of the other reasons for the fragmentation of the Han are similar to reasons for the breakup of the Western Roman Empire. With increasing expenses and a shrinking tax base, both governments had to choose between raising taxes and reducing their armed forces social services. Population declines added to the growing fiscal crisis. Because of social unrest, trade was decreasing, lowering profits. Both governments experienced a major breakdown in their efficient administrative systems and tried to control corrupt officials and court intrigues. Finally, both faced threats from nomadic groups on their borders.

Taxes

The financial base in both empires eroded as peasants had difficulty paying taxes. Rates were high in part because many large estates in both areas were no longer taxed. Rich Roman land owners resisted paying taxes to a government that was no longer providing services, and often a landlord's armed guards drove tax collectors away. In addition, much church land was not taxed. In China many of the large estates owned by scholar officials were tax free. When local official in both areas tried to force peasants to pay their taxes, some fled to local landlords for protection from tax collectors and marauding bandits, asking to live on their estates in exchange for working the land. Land owners welcomed these additional laborers, who worked for almost nothing. In Rome large estates attracted craftsmen who were having trouble finding markets for their goods. These artisans made tools and other implements, and the estates became increasingly self-sufficient.

Population

Changes in population added to the problem of collecting enough revenue. Beginning in 165 C.E., a series of plagues killed hundreds of thousands of people in the Roman Empire, drastically reduced the farming population. The lands often lay fallow, producing no taxes. In China population increases led to smaller family plots. Some peasants who were unable to pay the tax fled south to the Yangzi Valley.

Trade

Decline in trade was more of a problem in Rome than in Han China. Many Chinese communities were self-sufficient and most trade was carried out as part of the tributary system. Many within Roman territories, on the other hand, relied on trade, so when the legions spent less time repairing roads and bridges and guarding travelers, bandits and pirates attacked travelers and ship, leading to a sharp decline in trade. Less trade meant fewer taxes. In addition, the Roman government minted money not backed by silver, causing inflation.

The Bureaucracy

Administrative problems plagued both empires. The Roman government had trouble recruiting bureaucrats who could enforce laws and collect taxes. The later Han was unable to check the power of the large private estate owners. Many were able to bypass the exam system by buying position in the bureaucracy, which elevated their status.

Succession

Establishing an orderly system for selecting the new ruler had always been problematic for Roman citizens who wanted to hold on to the fiction that the Senate chose the new emperor. In reality would-be rulers usually fought for the throne, and soldiers, hoping for shared rewards, supported their generals. Once in power, the new emperor concentrated on winning the loyalty and protection of the Praetorian Guards and then the entire army. Even with this loyalty, however, being emperor became a dangerous job – between 235 and 284 C.E. 25 out of 26 emperors died violent deaths.

Emperor Diocletian, who ruled as an absolute monarch, tried to stem the political and economic decline by introducing reforms that improved tax collection, froze prices, and required sons to perform the same jobs as their fathers. To govern more effectively, he divided the empire in half, making two separate administrative units. He ruled the western half from Rome and a trusted colleague ruled the eastern half. After Constantinople became the capital of the eastern half of the empire, the stronger emperors ruled from that city, and trade, manufacturing, and cultural creativity were concentrated in the east, further weakening the western half.

Court Intrigues

Unlike Rome, in Han China the constant intrigues of corrupt officials, especially those close to the emperor created instability. Battles over succession took place in halls and bedrooms inside the palace not on streets or battle fields. Isolated from the outside world, the ruler relied on competing court officials to find out what was going on. He also had to balance the desires of his consorts, who often sought power for their own sons and families. In additions eunuchs who guarded the women's quarters, were often involved in palace intrigues.

Emperor Han Huandi increased the power of the court eunuchs, even allowing them to kill members of his consort's families. Soon the eunuchs were telling the emperor whom to reward with titles or honors, whom to be sent to torture or be killed and who should become scholar officials. They made sure that their relatives and friends got positions of power. Others had to bribe the eunuchs. To counter the eunuchs' power, the scholars formed their own association. Unfortunately, the next emperor did not trust the scholars and ordered them executed.

In the countryside, feeling desperate, many people rallied around a leader of a Taoist sect who seemed to have magical powers. In 184 C.E. his group and another secret society rebelled against the Han. The emperor was killed, the palace was destroyed, and chaos followed as nomads sacked the city. By 220 the Han had lost the Mandate.

What Role did Christianity and Buddhism Play?

In the declining years of the empires, an increasing number of people sought solace. Some, thinking it was useless to look for answers, simply tried to enjoy the physical pleasure of life. Many others began to investigate new sources of meanings for their insecure lives. Many Romans concentrated on enjoying luxury goods, dressing well, and showing off their wealth at lavish parties. Many women had fewer children, and parents spent less time teaching them the values of citizenship and public service. Roman religion was increasingly unable to satisfy the yearning for meaning. During the insecurity of the later Roman Empire, many turned to Christianity.

It is not clear how much the spread of Christianity contributed to the breakup of the Western Roman Empire. As Christianity spread, Roman rulers tried unsuccessfully to eliminate it. Emperor Diocletian declared himself the supreme god, but his major campaign to wipe out Christianity, despite many deaths and cruel punishments, failed.

After Diocletian, Constantine, a convert to Christianity believed that God had helped him win power. In 313 Constantine issued the Edict of Milan, which made Christianity legal throughout the empire. During his reign Constantine made Sunday a holiday, gave tax free land to Christians on which they began to build churches, and exempted the clergy and many Christians from paying taxes. By the time Constantine died, Christianity not only had become the major religious faith of Rome, but was spreading far beyond the Roman borders to Nubia, India and Northwest Eurasia.

In 380 Emperor Theodosius made Christianity the official religion of the Empire. He ordered the statues of other gods destroyed and made it an act of treason to practice any other religion. Many, including Jews, were persecuted. More and more people became Christians and many began to put their faith in the "city of God," not in Rome.

By contrast Buddhism was not a factor in the decline of the Han. Initially the religion was confined mainly to traders and other outsiders. Because Taoism offered a degree of mysticism, and Confucianism, which had become the official ideology of China, provided the foundation for both private and public life, other philosophies had little appeal. Buddhism was far more popular among the nomadic groups who invaded and came to control some of the territory formally under Han control, and many Chinese turned to Buddhism to answer the insecurities of life following the disintegration of the Han.

The Second Great Movement of Nomadic Groups

About 2000 years after the first significant migration of Indo-European and Semitic nomads in 1700 B.C.E., nomadic groups from the Asian steppes launched a second wave of migration. These invasions threatened the very survival of the empires and effected all of Eurasia.

The stirrup played an important role in this influx of nomadic invasion and helped bring about the end of the Western Roman Empire. This important new technology allowed the rider to stand in the saddle and made the cavalry devastatingly effective. It may have first developed in the steppes or in India. By 300 C.E. the Chinese were casting iron stirrups. By connecting various defensive walls and building additional signal towers, the Qin had discouraged nomads from trying to invade China. When the Han Empire was strong, it could use its tribute arrangement to keep the Xiongnu and other nomadic groups from invading. When the later Han could no longer maintain the system, the Xiongnu had to find other ways to get the goods they needed. They increased their raids inside the walls and also moved farther west in large numbers.

As the Xiongnu went west they put pressure on other pastoral groups, causing some, including the Kushans, to move into northern India. These domino-like pressures also helped trigger the movement of nomadic and semi-nomadic Germanic peoples into territories under Roman Hegemony.

Sometime before the start of the first millennium B.C.E. Germanic groups began to move out of the steppes of central Asia and into the sparsely settled lands of the west. The "Germani," as the Romans called these nomadic bands, split into two major bands: the Teutons and the Goths.

Although these groups were not skilled farmers, they had superior military technology and an impressive fighting spirit; by the second century B.C.E. they were threatening Roman forces. During Julius Caesar's rule some tried to conquer eastern Gaul, but Roman legions stopped them. Many settled down along the Rhine and Danube Rivers. For decades there were many relatively peaceful interchanges with the Romans. Some even joined the legions, and many who were captured in battle worked as slaves in the Empire.

What About the Huns?

But the Xiongnu helped upset this balance. As increasing numbers moved further west in the 4th century C.E., both Germanic groups and Romans tried to stop the advance of these people they call the Huns. Both considered the Huns violent savage men who covered vast distances with amazing speed, riding on their ponies.

With stirrups Hun warriors could stand erect astride their galloping horses, making it possible to shoot arrows with deadly accuracy. Hun attacks made Germanic groups step up their pressure along the border of the Roman Empire. When the Huns crossed the Volga River in 372, the Ostrogoths begged permission from Rome to cross into its territory for protection. Rome allowed them to cross the Danube, but when the Ostrogoths did not get the land and food they believed the Romans had promised, they began to pillage. In 378 the Ostrogoths defeated several Roman legions. Some Roman peasants welcomed the Germanic peoples as deliverers from Roman taxation and oppression, and a buffer against the Huns.

By the 5th century the center of the Hun confederacy was in present-day Hungary. Under its leader, Attila, they made repeated assaults against Roman territory, even attacking Gaul. After Attila's death, the Huns continued their aggression, but by the 6th century they disappear from historical record.

In 410 a Visigoth general sacked Rome, and Roman officials bought peace by granting him control of southern Gaul and Spain. By 425 German chieftains had set up many small kingdoms within the territory that had been part of the Empire. In 476 Odoacer, a German chief, captured Roma and made himself king of Italy, the date many historians use as the official end of the Western Roman Empire.

Legacies in Roman and Han Territories

The decline of the Han and Roman Empires resulted in different legacies. One of the most striking differences resulted from the contrasting attitudes toward centralized authority and the legitimacy of the leader. Given the central role of the Chinese family and the importance of the concept of Emperorship, later Chinese leaders would be able to draw upon a strong tradition of centralized control as they sought to build a new dynastic order. However, in the aftermath of Rome, whose subjects looked to law and citizenship more than to family, and where the ruler's legitimacy had often been tenuous, political leaders would have to struggle to establish any kind of lasting centralized control.

The breakup of these empires also had a profound effect on cross-cultural contacts. The vibrant trade across the hemisphere significantly declined, generally lowering the standard of living, and many of the large cities that had been the centers of culture, artistic creation, and commerce faded. In part because of its reliance on trade, major cities in the declining Roman Empire fared far worse than those in areas that had been under the Han.

While the Eastern Roman Empire continued to flourish, large, relatively self-sufficient landed estates sprang up not only on the Italian peninsula but also in areas where Germanic groups settled. It would be a long time before these areas were able to develop the complex urban civilization and new forms of political legitimacy. In China, on the other hand, although the central government collapsed and nomads captured and destroyed the Han capital Loyang, many people, including those who fled south, were able to retain their cultural traditions. They were able to keep alive the rich scientific, philosophic, technological, and literary traditions of the civilization.