HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE

No. 26

A complete classified list of the volumes of THE HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY *already published will be found at the back of this book.*

THE DAWN OF HISTORY

BY

J. L. MYRES, M.A.

WYKEHAM PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, OXFORD

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF ROME," ETC.

NEW YORK

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

LONDON

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY, in the widest usage of the word, is the study of events, the discovery and record of what happens; when we speak of Natural History, for example, we mean nothing less than the study of what goes on in Nature, the world about us.

In a rather narrower sense, the "historical" sciences are those in which we cannot make experiments, but are limited to studying what goes on, in that order of time in which things happen to occur. When we describe things, therefore, in their "historical" order, we are stating their distribution in time; just as we give their geographical order when we describe their distribution in space. In this sense, therefore, History is a sister-science to Geography. Both deal with the arrangement of events, together with the causes and effects of this arrangement.

But usually, when we speak of history, we mean not Natural History, but the record of the doings of Man. Even so, however, man does many things of which historians, take little account, unless they happen to be writing the

special history of those particular achievements, such as writing or music or war. Even the general history of the human race is commonly resigned to another science, Anthropology; and the behaviour of man-in-groups, to another department again, which is properly Ethnology (or a chief part of it), but commonly has the barbarous and awkward title of Sociology.

To draw a dividing line between History and these other studies is not easy. It is useful however to remember that when we wish to express a historical fact most briefly, we reduce it to a *name* and a *date*. The fact of the Norman Conquest, for example, is as conveniently expressed by the formula "William I, 1066," as the facts about the composition of water by the chemical formula H_2O. In neither case does acquaintance with the formula convey much information about the facts, least of all is it any substitute for knowledge of them, and it is mainly because some people treat names and dates as a substitute for historical knowledge, instead of a mere historical notation, that many beginners find history dull.

At the same time, without *dates*, more or less accurately determined, how can we be sure of the order in which events occurred, the length of the intervals between them, or the duration of periods? And without *names*, of peoples,

places, and (above all) of individuals, how should we know what it was that happened at any given "date"? who did it? and where? and what other people joined in it, or felt its effects?

Now it is common knowledge that in ordinary history the names and doings of individuals are among the most important of its facts; so much so, that history has even been described as the study of the influence of great men. We know well, also, that the greater part of history is the record not of things immutable, but of change; and that the reason why we pay so much attention to great men, is because they are the agents by whom, or through whose means, great changes are wrought. It is less commonly realized, on the other hand, that it is among savage and barbarous peoples that there is the least room for change in their way of life. There, nearly everything is fixed and ordained by rigid custom: innovation is feared, and innovators are detested and suppressed. In savage society, therefore, there is almost as little room for a "great man," as there would be among gorillas for a "great ape." Such groups of men, though their members individually are quite rational beings, are trained by their surroundings, and their elders, to conformity with a way of living which seems only to change as the habits of animals change, in response to changes in their surround-

ings, and above all in the way they get their food. Such people as these can hardly be said to have any history, except in the wide sense of "Natural History" with which we began; for that includes the doings of all animals alike.

Further, we commonly speak of "prehistoric" times; and in doing so we admit that there are early stages of the development even of "historical" peoples, which are beyond our direct knowledge, through the simple fact that the ancestors of these people have not left any record intelligible to us. For the study of these "prehistoric" times we are reduced to what we can discover indirectly by the study of such ancient implements, habitations, or works of art, as have lasted down to the present: and though we can often make out the order in which inventions, improvements, or other changes occurred, we are usually very far from being able to discover either names or dates.

But when people pass from "prehistoric" times, with primitive—almost animal—uniformity of behaviour, into a "historic" existence, with successive changes of habits and institutions brought about at ascertainable dates, and more and more usually, as time goes on, through the influence and agency of "historical characters," they generally do so not suddenly, but by degrees. Frequently, for example, we know a good

deal about the art, the trade, and the manufactures of a people, before we know much about their language or their institutions. At the same time, most of the peoples who have played a great part in history, have as a matter of fact started their "historical" period with something of a crisis, and period of rapid change.

It is in this sense that we may speak of a "*Dawn of History*" as a subject of scientific study; and it is the object of this book to answer the question, how, when, and where, each of the peoples whose doings have most affected the course of human history made its first historical appearance; and also, as far as we can, the reason why they made their appearance in this particular way.

THE DAWN OF HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLES WHICH HAVE NO HISTORY

ALL history, then, is the record of human achievement; of man's struggle with nature and with other men. But we have seen also that not all human achievement is regarded as matter for history in the narrower and more usual sense. There may be peoples, or more strictly speaking, groups of men, who in this sense "have no history," and we may gain clearer conceptions of what history is, and how a people's achievements come to have historical value, if we look first at a few examples of this opposite kind.

We have only to glance at a globe or a general map, to realise that as a matter of fact almost all historians have confined their attention to a few quite small regions of the world. Nine books of history out of ten are concerned with the doings of the nations of Europe, or their emigrant people: and of the other tenth a large proportion deals with a very few non-European

regions; Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia, India, China, and (latterly) Japan. Very large areas, meanwhile, have little or no historical literature; and the reason for this is obvious; there has been little or nothing there in the way of human achievement for the historian to write about.

There is probably a reason for this. At all events there are certainly other geographical distributions which will be found to throw light on this strange geographical distribution of historical interest. Note first the distribution of rainfall, which determines the supply of water on the world's land-surfaces. Both excess and defect of moisture clearly are inconsistent with high historical importance, and a brief sketch of the conditions of human life in regions of desert where it rains but rarely, and in forest-regions where it may rain almost any day, will show the significance of this correlation. Out of many possible instances I choose these two extremes, partly because of the extreme simplicity of both; partly because of their strong contrast; but most of all because, so far as I can see, all the existing political societies, in the ancient world round the Mediterranean, and the modern world of Europe, seem to have arisen ultimately out of a state of things in which peoples who began their existence on the great grasslands which lie to the East, in South Russia, and beyond, and

to the South, in the deserts of Arabia beyond Jordan, have been forced or tempted to leave them and migrate into moister and more forest-clad regions, nearer the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; taking with them institutions and customs of family and social life which were essential to existence on the grassland, but were not necessarily so well fitted to maintain life and promote prosperity in the new regions into which they were now transplanted.

For the moment, however, we are to deal with human societies in grasslands and forests, not as they appear when their normal existence is disturbed, but as examples of equilibrium in the struggle between Nature and Man.

If we pass from a region of ample rainfall into one where rain is deficient, we see in every part of the world the same series of effects on vegetation, animals, and men. Forest trees, instead of forming dense continuous groves, spread out into open order, with glades of undergrowth and grass. Then, becoming rarer and stunted by drought, they give place wholly to scrubland of heat-enduring evergreens; and scrubland and evergreens fade out in turn before mere grass. The forest deer, and the wild boar out of the wood, are replaced by antelopes and goats; forest beasts of prey, the wolves and bears, give place to the lion and puma, with khaki tints

for stalking among dry grass. Man, who cannot live on grass, or even on thyme and sage-bush, can only venture into these dry places at all either as the predatory foe (like the Bushmen and Prairie "Redskins"), or as the compulsory guest—the parasite, in fact—of other animals.

Merely predatory man, under bush and prairie conditions, need not detain us long. Even if he owns a dog, like the native Australian, his lot is pitiably perilous. A few Prairie Indians are said to have had speed and endurance enough to run down deer or bison, but in open country man's erect posture and conspicuous head betray him from afar; and if the region is really woodless he is almost disarmed. Most grassland animals, too, are specialized for swift movement; in the almost total absence of cover the hunter has no chance to approach them.

The only way, indeed, in which man can occupy grassland at all, is by taming and domesticating herbivorous animals, and living upon their milk and their superfluous young. Wandering thus in the trail of his flocks as they move from earlier to later pastures, he can "cultivate a migratory farm," in the graphic phrase of Aristotle, and maintain himself alive over wide tracts of country where otherwise he would surely die. But once launched on a pastoral career, in a distant age, through the one initial discovery of domes-

tication, man becomes little more than the parasite of the milk-giving animals which he tends. He can defend them against beasts of prey, and perhaps even aid them in their choice of pasture. But in general he has nothing to do but to follow their habitual instinctive migrations round the year, and to draw from them his daily food when they come morning and evening for accustomed relief. Even the docile horse, which not only feeds its keeper but will carry him on its back from one green patch to another, is really master of the situation, for he too will not go far beyond the limits of his food. Only the camel has commissariat inside; and even this is no good to the rider.

Something man can do, and has done, by selective breeding, to improve the quality and yield of milk and of wool or hair, but to improve the pastures is out of his power; in fact, the less he tampers with the surface of a grassland the better, even by the wear and tear of a prolonged encampment, much more by breaking up pasture intentionally. Agriculture, therefore, is out of the question for him.

Nor has ingenuity much scope, to devise collateral occupations: the raw material for industries is as rare as are the needs which might bring them into existence. Pastoral man must, above all things, travel light, unhampered by

any but pastoral considerations; furniture, therefore, and even implements, are reduced to a minimum, and are of materials which can be replaced at any point in the journey: the wool, hair, skins, sinews, and bones of the sheep and goats, and the reeds and stunted timber which fringe the water holes and beds of streams. His tents and clothes are of leather or felt, or the simplest textiles which need no bulky loom. Tools he hardly needs, beyond a knife, a scraper for the hides, a spindle and distaff, and the leathern buckets and bottles of the dairy; nor weapons either, beyond an ox-goad, and a sling, and a lasso; for on the grassland he is not likely to meet any one better armed than himself. It is to the common interest of pastorals to range apart, not to collide; and on the steppe there is room for all.

Under these circumstances, industry can hardly pass beyond the replacement of things worn out or lost; and these are all things which any one can make and every one does, if he cannot pass on the task to another: and as every one can and does make everything as it is needed, exchange of products and specialization of skill are alike out of the question. The raw material is always to hand, so there is no use in accumulating it in advance; and to manufacture in advance of demand is simply to cumber the bag-

gage each time the camp is moved on. Within a single family, no one pays or receives wages; there are no profits, no savings; almost no individual property but a favourite ox-goad or dagger; the soil is as free as the sea with ourselves; the grass is common property till it is grazed, as a fish before it is caught. Foresight, and the rewards of skill and the attractions of labour are thus reduced to a minimum. The cattle and the men are alike members of a common group—what the Greeks and modern naturalists after them call a *syntrophy*—and both alike "belong" to it and to each other.

The institutions of pastoral peoples are of the simplest. Everywhere these societies have been observed to consist of small compact groups of actual relatives, each living as a single "patriarchal family" without other apparatus of government. The "patriarchal family" consists of a father, some mothers—the number of these depends principally on the supply—and some other animals and children. The last two ingredients form, economically speaking, a single group; first, because out on grasslands the maintenance and reproduction of the domesticated animals is as essential a function of the social group as the rearing of children; without these, indeed, it would be extinguished as surely as if its human members were childless: secondly,

because whenever any primitive society is left to itself, it is just as careful not to keep more of its children than it thinks it will want, as it is in regard to its lambs or puppies. If the country is poor, like ancient Greece, or the Chaco of Paraguay, or fertile but over-populous, like modern China, the great object of society is to keep its numbers as nearly constant as possible.

In patriarchal society, however, the apparent heartlessness of this proceeding is much mitigated in practice by the family's views on child-labour. Quite small children can look after young animals, and the well-being of a patriarchal family depends so directly on the number of its flocks, that it can do with almost any quantity of children. Children, in fact, are a very paying form of property: "an heritage and a gift which cometh of the Lord." If the supply runs short, they are even stolen from unwary neighbours. The childless man or woman, on the other hand, is an object of pity, almost of terror; for surely they have offended, and the gods hate them.

As with the children, so with their mothers. These also earn their keep, not only by bringing up the children, but by dealing with the flocks and their produce; milking, preserving, turning skins, wool, and hair, into clothes and tents; and teaching these arts to the children.

A woman who knows her business is, in fact, worth many cattle; and it may be good business to exchange superfluous cattle for additional women, who are of course added to the family during good behaviour. If there has been a bad bargain, the family cuts its losses: Hagar, and Ishmael with her, is cast out, to find her way back whence she came, *if she can.*

This type of human society, with its state limited to a single family, its government vested in a single elderly man, and its conception of women and children as desirable kinds of highly domesticated animals, is simply man's ancient and habitual clothing, in the political sense, against a particular kind of weather. It will wear indefinitely and unchangeably as long as external conditions remain the same; and it will begin to wear out, and be discarded, in the event of any serious change. It presumes the presence of certain "external goods," as Aristotle used to call them; and it presumes also the absence of all other "goods." It presumes the presence of domesticated animals, which can live on plants such as grass which man himself cannot eat; and it presumes also a wide world of such grass-covered land, practically infinite and inexhaustible. But it presumes also the absence of any other means of subsistence, such as the hunting of undomesticable animals, or

the gathering of fruits and roots which man can eat for himself: and it is this presumption which explains the rigid and exclusive hold which the patriarchal family-state is found to have over the individuals, men and women alike, which compose it.

But the point which it is essential above all to make clear at this stage is this, that this patriarchal pastoral society, though a very primitive, is at the same time a highly specialized way of supporting human life, under conditions which are themselves exceptional just because they are so exceedingly simple; and that, given these conditions and until they change, patriarchal society has solved the problem, not merely of living at all, but of living as well as is possible under these exceptional conditions. Now it is mainly because they have solved the problem of existence, as it is presented to them, that purely pastoral societies are absent as they are from the historian's page, and the regions where they exist are such blanks in the historical atlas. On the other hand, whenever any cause expels a pastoral population from its grasslands, the historical effects of its migration are as tremendous as they are, mainly because its mode of living and all the range of its ideas is so narrowly specialized, and so rigidly enforced on its members.

Now let us look at an opposite case. In any

region which is well enough watered to maintain a forest vegetation, man keeps himself alive by catching and eating wild animals, or by gathering berries and roots. Here he is independent of the produce of flocks and herds; and in dense forest it is not possible to keep a flock together: sooner or later it is lost or destroyed by beasts of prey. Having then neither need nor ability to keep flocks and herds, man has here no use, either, for the larger family, which we have seen that he needs to tend them. Even from the wife and children that he has, he will necessarily be parted, and they from him, whenever he goes hunting; for the children cannot keep up with him as he hunts, and besides there are berries and roots to get; for an unmixed diet of meat brings discomfort or worse; and sometimes it is the man who comes back from the chase empty-handed and hungry. The children, on the other hand, being usually hungry, in default of daily milk and store of cheese, which are the staple diet of the pastoral, rapidly learn to fend for themselves. Most of all in the forest, and more or less also in fact in any other form of life than the pastoral, man and woman alike are more or less independent of family ties as soon as they are able to hunt or gather roots and berries for themselves. This anti-social fact, that a life of hunting or foraging permits the early escape of the young

from parental care, is fortunate for both parties at the moment; for in no form of existence are helpless children such an encumbrance, or so likely to be lost, as in woodland or bush-veldt. But it clearly minimizes the prospect that the experience of one generation will be transmitted to the next; or indeed accumulated at all.

At the same time, children there must be if society is to go on; and clearly the long helplessness of the human infant, which has gone so closely side by side with human advancement, both as cause and as effect, affects the mother's activities much more than the father's. He, in his hunting life, cannot easily get back; she, for her part, cannot easily get away; still less can she easily move house. Broadly speaking, however, primitive hunting groups fall apart at this very point into two economic classes. In the lower, the woman remains migratory, like the Bushmen and Chaco Indians, and carries the baby with her, kangaroo-like, but without the same facilities; and in all these societies (if we can call them so) she has had to repress severely her impulse to make, own, and carry anything else.

From the homeless, baby-carrying peoples, now almost extinct and only found where open country devoid of tameable animals lies under the lee of forest land, and has received its human refuse, we may part company forthwith. They

like the pastoral nomads, have found an equilibrium, and have no history for us. The other group must hold us longer.

Here woman has dropped the baby, and thereby discovered the home; for where she keeps her babies, she can keep also other things that she could only keep before by carrying them; and once anchored thus by the babies to one spot of ground, even temporarily, man (and woman still more) has a chance to accumulate wealth, and to begin the transformation of Nature. Encumbered and distracted though she is by her children, there are yet many things which woman can do in spare moments to improve what we have called her home. Fruit-bearing plants may be cleared of undergrowth and creepers. Chance seeds and kernels, scattered carelessly, or fruit and nuts, stored squirrel-fashion in too damp a nook, may sprout and receive similar care till they are mature enough to repay it. Jungle-fowls which come pecking after pips and peelings may be induced to stay; perhaps to lay eggs near by. In short, the stationary base, the enforced inactivity, and the proverbial frittering of time which make up nursery life are the very circumstances which permitted the invention, at all, of such a thing as agriculture. Similarly, the half-thoughtless ravelling of creepers or strands of bark into a skein of cord, the provident selection of straight stems

and saplings to dry and store for the mother's own use, provides the hunter also, on his next rare visit, with an unhoped-for duplicate of that broken spear or frayed noose or bowstring. The man has now a fresh reason to come back, because the woman makes these things: and industry is added to agriculture round the nursery home.

Nevertheless, in regions where the rainfall is excessive, vegetation grows too rankly for human effort scattered in single families to bring it into control; at the same time food is not plentiful enough to allow association of families in larger groups. Such hunting hordes as come together to attack large or gregarious game are temporary associations, composed of men only; held together by no bond of kinship, but by consent and comparable skill. It goes hard with the weak and the old: and authority is with the strong and the strong-minded.

At what exact point the equilibrium is attained in any given forest-community depends upon a balance of forces, human and external, which it has never been possible as yet to estimate exactly. All that can be said is that over very large tracts both of tropical and of north temperate forest, such equilibrium has been achieved, economic, social, and political, beyond which it is literally waste of time and strength for those particular communities to work harder,

plan further, or organize themselves more closely or elaborately than they actually do. Here, therefore, again history finds nothing to record, over enormous periods of time.

Here again, however, it only needs the introduction of a fresh weight into the scales, to upset the equilibrium. A change of rainfall; the spread of a new plant or tree; a new group of immigrant men; more inevitable still, the communication of a new idea—to destroy the forest by fire, to cut and barter the timber for other means of life, to dig beneath the trees for mineral wealth—all these have been known to challenge response from an instinct of adaptation to change which was there all the time, and only needed change to occur, in order to come into play.

If space permitted, it would be our next duty to illustrate these very general outlines of contrasted types by quoting particular instances in which they have actually been seen in working order. Of pastoral man, we have at hand a very full example, in the earlier books of the Old Testament, of purely patriarchal society in working order—the record of the migratory flock-keeping ancestors of the Chosen People; and I venture to suggest that for educational purposes, and particularly at a very early stage of education, this graphic first-hand picture of a type of society which in important respects is so

totally unlike our own, is of the very highest value as an introduction to the elements both of citizenship and of history. As, however, the object of this chapter is only to illustrate the contrast between social types which have achieved the aim of their creators, and thenceforth have no history, and those other kinds of society in which repeated changes have challenged repeated adjustment, and led to a series of "great deeds" and "great men" in an ascertainable order of time, it must be enough to add the assurance that there has not knowingly been included any circumstance either of pastoral or of woodland life, for which there is not warrant in more than one instance; and for further security against distortion through local peculiarities, the evidence which has been used is on nearly every point derived from primitive societies of more than one continent.

CHAPTER II

THE DRAMA OF HISTORY: ITS STAGE AND ACTORS[1]

FROM the point where we can first trace it, the main current of human history has passed through four principal phases; and each of these phases stands intimately related to distinct geographical surroundings.

The first stage is one in which the centres of advancement are provided and defined, by great river valleys, with alluvial irrigable soil. The precise course of events in Egypt and in Babylonia has depended, in detail, upon external factors; but the common character of what historians group together as the Ancient East, is that of detached, riparian, essentially agricultural civilizations, in recurrent peril from the men of the grassland and the mountain, and only in intermittent touch with each other. Intercourse between the Euphrates and the Nile took place along one narrow line of communication; half river-bank, the upper course of the Euphrates

[1] In this chapter some use has been made of paragraphs from the writer's previous essays on *The Value of Ancient History* (Liverpool, 1910), and *The Geographical Study of Greek and Roman Culture* (Scottish Geogr. Magazine. March, 1910).

itself; half a narrow strip of hill country bordered on one side by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the other by the Arabian desert, into which it fades gradually away. To and fro along this ridge went commodities and individuals and ideas between Babylonia and Egypt; along it too went armies, when either of these powers was strong enough to strike out towards the other: more often, the same avenues were trodden by the outland enemies of both. Such, for our purpose, is the first stage of human history, the development, within the limits of alluvial river valleys, of self-centred and almost self-sufficient worlds, each with its own highly special type of civilization adapted to local conditions. Outside these twin sources of light lay for the most part darkness or satellites, enlightened only by reflected rays from one or both of them.

The second phase of history opened when the dwellers on islands secluded within one gulf of a Midland Sea began to make interchange of commodities with all its shores, and thereby grew up to the conception of the habitable world as an *Orbis Terrarum*, a "Circuit of Lands," a ring of countries convergent about a single water-basin, on the inward-sloping rim of which, and on its islands, men lived their lives; communicating with each other over the "wet-ways," as Homer calls them, a desert, not of sand, but

of waves. That this conception of a ring of lands lasted so persistently, and produced in Greek and Roman life the practical consequences which it did, is due to the fact that it did actually represent, so nearly, the geographical conditions in which Greece and Rome played out their game; for if we look at the great civilization which grew up in Mediterranean lands, we shall see that each principal phase of it was obviously and emphatically "Mediterranean." It owed its greatness, indeed, to conformity with Mediterranean conditions. The empires of Minos, of Athens, and of Rome are successive attempts to realize a civilized *Orbis Terrarum*. The momentary efforts of Alexander, of Augustus, and of Trajan to transcend these limits die with their authors, or before them. Only the genius of Cæsar foreknew that, when he crossed the Rhone, the New World which he was discovering was to face, not towards the Elbe, but to the Altantic.

The third phase opens, then, when Cæsar's galleys with oars, pine-built, from the Midland Sea, met the oaken sailing craft of the ocean-going Veneti. It passes, by long transition of northern sea-powers in strife with southern —Teutonic seafarers displacing Rome in the Channel, Baltic North-men occupying Sicily and harrying Athens and Constantinople,—

down to the point where northern and southern powers alike, England and Holland, Portugal and Spain and Genoa, demonstrate by the discovery and colonization of the Americas, that the Atlantic too is no outland sea, but, like the Mediterranean and the old Aegean, an intercontinental gulf between "United States" and disunited; and is itself in turn the avenue, beyond its Gates of Horn and Good Hope, into what might well seem at last to be a real ocean.

A fourth phase into which the world seems now to be passing, with the occupation of Australia and the westward coasts of America, and with the introduction of western thought into India, Japan, and China, raises anew the question: Is not, after all, what seemed to be an outer sea, itself really landlocked like its prototypes? Have not the eastern and western halves of our Mercator's Projection served their turn long enough as coast-lands of the Atlantic? Ought they not now, in fact, to be transposed, to be the inward-facing shores of a Pacific world?

These are the chief successive scenes in the Drama of History. We have next to look rather more closely at the theatre on which this drama has been played; at the characteristics of the various regions which man has domesticated in turn; and at the distribution of the different

varieties of Man which have effected these conquests over Nature.

Looked at upon a terrestrial globe, the north-west quadrant of the mass of land which we call the Old World presents the general appearance of a series of flat slabs, bounded to the north-west by a few rugged hummocks of weather-beaten highland, and intersected also by a tangled skein of mountain folds, part of a planetary wrinkle which runs continuously from the Pyrenees to the Hindu Kush, and then forks apart to the Malay Peninsula on the one hand, and Behring Strait and the Rockies on the other. This section of the planetary ridge runs in general from west to east, between the Pyrenees and Ararat, and then swerves apart to enclose the large tableland of Persia, between the Caspian and the Indian Ocean.

Most of the slabs above mentioned lie nearly level, and not far above the surface of the ocean. The plains of North Germany and Russia, of Siberia again beyond the Urals, and of Saharan Africa are obvious examples. A few are gently tilted, like a badly laid pavement, with one edge in the air and the opposite one under water: the best instance of this is Arabia, with its abrupt western precipices overhanging the Jordan Valley and Red Sea, and its long eastward descent into the Persian Gulf and the mud-flats round

its head: over which, in turn, towers the steep and crumpled edge of the next eastward plateau. Yet other examples are the westward slope which is bisected by the valley of the Nile, and dips from the Red Sea to the Oases, till the Fayum is below the level of the ocean; the shelving northern margin of the Caspian, also below sea level; and the African shore of the Mediterranean between Tunis and Cyrene. Yet other slabs, again, of smaller extent, enclosed within the folded ridges, have been left almost at sea-level, like the Hungarian plain; or have been uplifted with them, like the central tablelands of Spain, Asia Minor, and Persia; or, finally, have been let down below water-level altogether, and form inland seas, like the southern end of the Caspian, the Black Sea, or the chain of similar depressions which form the Mediterranean basin. Thrice, indeed, parts of the Mountain Zone itself have been let down similarly and partly submerged; at the west end of the Atlas range, where it is all but continuous at Gibraltar with south-eastern Spain, and this with the Balearic islands; at its eastern end, where the short promontories on either hand of Tunis and old Carthage are prolonged through Sicily and the South Italian highlands to meet the Apennines; and once again, more abruptly still, where nearly the whole width of the moun-

tain zone between the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor, is waterlogged to form the Aegean Sea, with its archipelago of half-drowned island-peaks. Here Crete, for example, rises at most 8,000 feet above the sea-level; and the sea-floor between it and the Cycladic islands sinks quite as far below it. Further north, the depression is less: the Greek Olympus exceeds 10,000 feet, while the Thracian Sea hardly reaches 5,000 feet: and the other Olympus, in north-west Asia Minor, at 7,500 feet, looks down on barely 600 feet of water in the Sea of Marmora.

This varied surface of wide flat-lands, continuous mountain zone, and linked sea-basins, we have next to clothe with types of vegetation adapted to their respective climates. Referring to the companion volume on "Modern Geography" for the causes and distribution of sun's heat, winds, and rainfall, we may go direct to describe their effects, and distinguish three main types of vegetation. On the great flatlands, unless the rainfall exceeds some ten inches annually, there is only low-growing grass, and annual plants which flower in the brief spring, and then cast their seed and wither away: at best, in hollows where drainage can collect, or deep springs break out, there may be permanent oases, green all the year; at worst, even the prairie grass gives place to scanty tufts of camel's

food, leathery and thorny, and allows the parched soil to sift and drift before the wind like dry snow, to swell the sand waves of the deserts.

At the moister edge of the grassland, where the range of annual rain is from ten to twenty inches, and particularly where the soil is favourable to deeper-rooted shrubs, dense shrubland with copses of dwarf trees replaces the prairie grass. Where the rainfall is distributed fairly evenly around the year, as in Northern and Central Europe, this scrubland rises to deciduous brushwood of hawthorn, blackthorn, and bramble, and passes without break into the deciduous forest of oak and beech which once ranged, without intermission, from the Atlantic into Siberia, enclosing the grass-grown steppe from the Carpathians to the Urals and beyond.

In the south, on the other hand, where the rain all falls in the winter months, the scrub is composed of evergreens, bay, myrtle, and box, with smaller aromatic plants beneath, like thyme, sage, and rosemary. Where there is water enough or deep enough rooting in valley soil or rock clefts, there will be olive, fig, and plane, Spanish chestnut, and evergreen oaks; with climbing vine and ivy. In uplands, as soon as the altitude permits of clouds and rain in summer, the deciduous forest-trees come in again, as we have seen them in lowlands further north.

At last, whether northwards or upwards, cold nights and winter snow kill off the deciduous trees, and leave a free field to pines, firs, and other forests of coniferous evergreens; almost barren of undergrowth, and terminated themselves with a fringe of dwarf birch, and snow-moist turf, along the frontier of perennial snowfields.

These are among the principal features of the distribution of land and water and of types of vegetation in the region where history dawned. Details must be added if necessary, when we deal with each separate region. Only one more general point needs to be emphasized, for us who inhabit a less sharply featured world, and instinctively draw on our experience of that, when we have to interpret a map. The Mediterranean region and the Mountain Zone, are not in two dimensions merely. Height in those lands counts geographically for almost as much as length or breadth. It is not merely that with an average altitude of two and three thousand feet in the mountain zone as a whole, and peaks running up commonly to seven and eight thousand, almost every variety of temperate climate can be encountered at times on the same mountain side; nor merely that this variety of climate necessarily finds its reflection in the graduated series of trees and plants, from palm to olive; from olive to chestnut; and from chestnut to pine, and

snow. Far more important are the effects of these same high ridges in isolating from each other the deep valleys and plains which lie between them, and in furnishing them with rich alluvial soil, and a supply of water far more copious locally than the latitude or the climatic average would lead us to expect. The best land is almost invariably near the sea-level, choking the heads of half-submerged valleys; but the higher ground also, barren as it often is, yet offers livelihood for shepherd folk, almost up to the snow-line.

Under these circumstances it is possible, particularly in the districts bordering on the Mediterranean, and flanking the Mountain Zone for a very small area to include a great variety of climates, each with its own type of vegetation and animal inhabitants, and each consequently capable of maintaining a different order of human organization, social and economic. Further, with the annual change of seasons, the dividing line between the highland and lowland moves regularly up and down the hillside, with the result that, over a large part of the region pastoral elements even in the most settled communities are locally migratory, between summer and winter pastures.

Within this region of the world, and under these conditions of climate and vegetation, three principal kinds of men are found to live. Though

seldom to be observed in isolation and typical purity, they may yet be distinguished, as true animal breeds, from whose rich inner variety and marginal intermixture all actual human groups within the region have been formed. They are commonly known as "Mediterranean," "Alpine," and Northern or "Boreal" man.

The labours of two generations of anthropologists, and particularly the synthetic work of Sergi and Ripley, have familiarized us with the conception of a "Mediterranean" type, the southernmost of the great white-skinned varieties which monopolize the north-western quadrant of the Old World; less purely white-skinned, however, than either the blonde giants of the Baltic basin, or the sallow, parchment-skinned types which are distributed along the Alpine ridge and far out into its northward forelands. Like the blondes of the North, Mediterranean man, though dark in complexion and hair, is markedly oval in face and skull. Like Alpine man he is brunette, though he differs from him otherwise in build and proportions, and offers special contrast by his narrower head, longer face and clearer skin. Though he dominates the Mediterranean region, and is alone habituated fully to the Mediterranean regime of life, Mediterranean man does not occupy the basin wholly; nor is he by any means confined to it.

The western Mediterranean indeed is his almost wholly, though the men of the mountain zone press hard upon the sea along the Riviera, and have affected appreciably the population of all Lombardy: but in the eastern basin his hold upon the whole north shore is of the slightest. When we consider how instinctively we regard the Greeks as typical of Mediterranean humanity, this sounds at first sight almost incredible; but Dr. von Luschan's observations in Lycia show that here, as in the Riviera, a continental type known as "Anatolian" or "Armenoid," which is the eastward counterpart of the Alpine and continuous with it, descends to sea-level and restricts Mediterranean man to the coast. The same is true of the whole eastern side of the Adriatic, and southward thence to the Gulf of Corinth; and there is growing reason to believe that the strong "Alpine" strain in the Morea, which is certainly ancient, may even be primitive there. Even in the Aegean islands, and in Crete, which were admittedly occupied early and decisively by Mediterranean man, traces of continental intruders, of Alpine affinity, begin already at the close of the Stone Age, showing that Alpine man was already present in force on the neighbouring mainlands. Mediterranean man, therefore, must be regarded as in all probability an intruder from the south; just as "Alpine"

man reveals himself more and more clearly now, as a longitudinal immigrant from the east, along the Mountain Zone. Both movements alike are very ancient, and are a part of a much larger convergence of animals and plants from the south and south-east into the colder, moister regions which have been released since the Ice Age closed.

It entirely accords with this view of the origin of Mediterranean man to find that outside the Mediterranean region, this type spreads widely away in three principal directions. Southwards, with little modification, it dominated all habitable lands of North Africa until the arrival of the Arabs, so that the Egyptian's portrait of his western neighbour, the Libyan, shows him almost indistinguishable from his contemporaries "within the Great Sea." Eastward, these southern types seem to link up very closely with those which inhabit all Arabia; the difference between them being rather facial than structural, just as the physical breach of continuity between Arabia and Africa is a very late incident of their geological story. Between them now, however, the permeable barrier of the Red Sea is answered, beyond the Gulf of Akabah, by a promontory of "Armenoid" (that is to say East-Alpine) types, which run out from Eastern Asia Minor, down the Syrian hills, to their Palestinian extrem-

ity, cutting off the Arab from the Mediterranean and from Africa in a highly significant way. Contrast with this the fact that throughout historic times the African shore of the Red Sea has been just as "Arabian" in population as the eastern. These southern and southeastern extensions of our Mediterranean type entirely support the view stated here, that it originates south of the Mediterranean, and that its partial occupancy of the north shore is recent.

Thirdly, to the north-west, in proportion as the Atlantic seaboard enjoys a milder climate, and is at the same time rendered more accessible from the Mediterranean, round the flanks of the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean types, popularly grouped as "Iberian," have long been propagated as far north as our own islands, and eastwards as far as the Rhine and Upper Danube. Their arrival here seems to have been considerably earlier than the westward spread of "Alpine" man into central and south-central France, or the fenland of the Lower Rhine. Such a long north-westward extension of the area of Mediterranean man is again exactly what would occur if the main check upon him northward were his notorious intolerance of cold and his high mortality from diseases of the lungs. His true home is on the northern margin of the deserts which separate him from the negro, and he only extends as far

away from this as his sensitive physique will allow. It is probably for this reason that he ends off short, as he does, at the foot of the Mountain Zone, and at the Palestinian hills.

The "Alpine" type, on the other hand, and still more its eastern "Armenoid" equivalent, seems almost as intolerant of lowland life, and fades out rapidly in the foothills: so much so, that it has even been thought that "Alpine" types are actually formed out of lowland peoples who have been pushed up into the hills and rigidly selected there. This view, however, hardly does justice to the longitudinal continuity of type within the mountain zone itself, or to the evidence, archæological and historic, as to actual movements along it.

With the blonde giants of the north, whose place of origin, and purest survivals still, are round the shores of the Baltic, and in all southern Scandinavia, we shall have little to do, till the latter part of our story, when we find them penetrating the mountain barrier at several distinct points. We have to note, however, that there is considerable probability that in early times they (or near kinsfolk of theirs) held at least the western half of the northern grassland; and the legends of blonde invaders of Northern India suggest that once they ranged over the whole. In any case, there seems no reason to believe

that the coming of Mongol folk into this region is other than quite recent. The comparative beardlessness of this type of man was still unfamiliar enough after the Greek exploration of South Russia, to give rise to controversy, and to legends of "women-warriors" on the steppe. And even among the Scythians, who were crossing the Don about 700, this peculiarity was far from universal. If they were Mongoloid at all, which seems really doubtful, there was some other large ingredient. On the tableland of Asia Minor, the earliest portraits of Hittite peoples (about 1285 B.C.) have been thought by some to be Mongoloid; but the evidence is still scanty and inconclusive: on Hittite monuments, bearded figures are frequent, and the type is Armenoid.

These in main outline are the natural features, and the human population, of the north-west quadrant. Our task is now to trace the first efforts, by which in separate favoured regions, various kinds of men set out to domesticate and master the gifts and forces around them: to "live well," in the old Greek phrase, under the given conditions of their home, or failing this, to seek and make a new one: in either event, to comply as well as to command; to conquer Nature by observance of her laws.

CHAPTER III

THE DAWN OF HISTORY IN EGYPT

EGYPT is the gift of the Nile, and the Nile is a river without parallel on this earth. Its wide upper basin, which extends to the confluence of the Atbara, below Khartum, hardly concerns us here; and even the great S-shaped bend, which carries the full-grown stream through Nubia, from Berber to Assuan, only affects Egypt rarely and from outside. Egypt, ancient and modern, is simply the Nile Valley, from the last cataract at Assuan to the sea. But the function of the Nile is different, according as it flows down a rift in the solid continent of Africa, or over mud flats of its own making within a Mediterranean bay. Egypt, therefore, has always consisted of two distinct and contrasted lands, upper and lower, the Valley and the Delta.

Lower Egypt is a typical Delta, with a convex sea-front of 155 miles, and a depth of about 100, from this front to the apex. Its rich alluvial soil is deposited from the Nile water at the rate of about 4½ inches a century, and it is now from 50 to 70 feet thick. But as we do not know how deep originally was the bay which this mass of deposit had to fill, it is not safe to argue from

these figures as to the length of human occupancy here. Wherever the Delta has been left to itself, it is an expanse of reed-grown fen; intersected by sluggish streams, swarming with fish and water birds, and infested in historic times by malaria. Eastwards and westwards, marsh gives place to mud-flat, and mud in turn to drifting sand; sunken shoals and sand-dunes fringe the sea-front too, enclosing wide lagoons. These banks, however, are little defence against storm-water and sea-salt; and large districts are so brackish that they are unreclaimed, and perhaps irreclaimable.

Neither east nor west is the Delta screened by any natural barrier. Westward the barren foreshore of Africa stretches low and inhospitable, with gentle rise; at best it is open grassland, but much of it is desert. About 200 miles inland, a string of shallow depressions form oases, sufficiently near to each other to form a line of route. On the sea-front, there has been some subsidence within historic times; and the accounts which we have of the ancient population make it probable that the lost strip was more habitable than what is left, and also better furnished with harbours. Similar changes further west have paralyzed and isolated the tableland of Cyrene, which in Greek hands was accessible and very prosperous. From this ancient Libya, Egypt had re-

peatedly to face tumultuary migration, caused probably by periods of drought which drove out the pastoral occupants of the grassland, and made the Delta fens a Naboth's vineyard to the farmers of the coast-strip; perhaps even to the men of the oases. The great battle of Merenptah against the Libyans and their oversea friends, in 1230 B.C., is the best historical instance of such an inroad, when Egypt was strong enough to stop it; allusions to Libyan alliance with a "king of the fens," under Persian rule, reveal the fate of the western Delta, when the invaders had their way.

Eastward the Delta is almost as defenceless. Behind the lagoons, which extend inland from this margin of the fen almost to the head of the Red Sea, there is enough harder ground to form a real causeway into Asia, where the desert of Tih, north of Sinai, repeats the features of Libya: low barren coast, with more lagoons and mud-flats—the proverbial "Serbonian bog"; and beyond them sand-dunes and steppe till you reach the Philistine lowland, a little better watered below the Jewish hills: inland, a barren plateau increasing southwards in height and ruggedness towards the granites and rich mineral veins of Sinai, a miniature Arabia lying between the two gulfs of the Red Sea. Here, again, though the natural obstacles are enough to keep Egypt aloof,

they are quite insufficient to stop either organized invasion out of Asia, or enforced overflow of famished desert tribes, if they "hear that there is corn in Egypt." At all times, however, there has been at least one caravan-road, across the high Tih, from Akabah to Suez, and so along the Sweet-water Canal to the head of the Delta, and usually another "by the way of the Philistines," skirting the Mediterranean shore.

All this, however, is only one-half of Egypt, and in many respects the less important. The moment we pass south of Cairo at the head of the Delta we are in Upper Egypt, the "fortunate" land, as the Arabs say, set like a string of emeralds, within a deep rift across the body of Africa, which here lies desert, with even surface of bare rock between 1,000 and 1,500 feet above the sea. Rain rarely falls south of the Delta, and the country is quite barren, except a string of oases in isolated depressions further west, or in indentations of the west edge of the rift itself. For 300 miles south of Cairo the rift is from ten to fifteen miles wide: its sides are of limestone, much worn into gorges by former side-streams; and fringed below by a dry belt of old gravel which the water never reaches now. South of Thebes the bed and walls are of sandstone, and the rift narrows to an average of less than two miles; and at Assuan and again at Wady Halfa,

on the Nubian frontier, transverse reefs of granite and other hard rocks interrupt the valley, and form the famous "cataracts," narrow and dangerous rapids among a wilderness of iron-bound islands. At Kalabsha the whole valley is less than 200 yards wide.

As all this region of 600 miles is practically rainless, and dried continually by thirsty north winds, vegetation even within the rift is limited to the narrow strip which is reached by the summer flood, which has an average rise of 26 feet at Assuan and 23 at Cairo. As the valley floor is itself formed now wholly of Nile mud, it is practically flat; and consequently a very small variation in the flood maximum means an enormous difference in the extent of the year's fertility. And therefore, in a land where otherwise all life seems easy, this one unanswerable question recurs every year—How high will the Nile flood go? But as the water for the Nile flood comes merely from the melting of winter snow far away on the mountains of Abyssinia, nothing that human ingenuity or force can contrive, affects the answer to this question: all that man can do is to regulate the distribution of whatever water may come; to prevent waste; and to save a few crops beyond the actual margin, by pitiless toil with lever and bucket.

From the scanty evidence of the "weeds of

cultivation," and cautious comparison of that other rift-valley, the Jordan, it is possible to recover some idea of the natural vegetation of the Nile. The date palm may be native, but apart from this there are few trees. The largest are sycamore and acacia; and even these are rare; mulberry, pomegranate, and vine have probably all been imported by man. Thorny shrubs and halfa-grass cover the drier margins; papyrus (extinct since the Saracen conquest displaced the agriculturist's "paper" by the "parchment" natural to a pastoral folk) and many reeds thrive by the river edge; and the spring flowers are brilliant. The commonest are iris and asphodel, with poppy, cornflower, and large yellow daisy. The lotos flowers which play so large a part in Egyptian decorative art, love standing water, and are best developed in the Delta. Spring, however, is short, and harvest is over before the Nile rises in July.

The wild animals and birds include both Mediterranean and tropical forms; wild boar in the delta, wild ass on the desert edge, crocodile and hippopotamus, less common now than formerly in the lower reaches. Camel, horse, and buffalo were introduced by man; the horse not until about 1500 B.C., and the other two probably in Greek times. Ibis, flamingo, and other marsh birds abound, and many birds of prey; the vul-

ture, far-sighted, ubiquitous, importunate, becomes the grim emblem of royal power.

The men of the Nile Valley belong essentially to the wide-spread "Berber" type, which dominates all the dry area of Northern Africa, as well as the Atlas range, and is probably akin to the Arab types in the similar region beyond the Red Sea: Arabian inter-mixture, therefore, ancient or mediæval, is uncommonly hard to detect. Negroid folk from the region of tropical rains, who have interbred with these aborigines along the whole of their common frontier, have been enabled, by their jungle habit, to push down-stream far northward of their average extension. The milder climate of the Delta permitted the development of a larger and more muscular type; but probably allowance must also be made here for early immigration from Syria, where the Alpine or "Armenoid" type (p. 43) which is very different, extends as far south as the rain-swept Palestinian highlands offer congenial climate and permit agriculture. After political unification under the first dynasty, the dominant types in Upper Egypt approximate rather suddenly to those of the Delta; perhaps through intermixture, perhaps in part also through the spread of more favourable conditions. We may compare the enlarged dimensions of those classes among ourselves who have

been first to profit by the comfortable prosperity of the nineteenth century.

These are the main outstanding conditions of all human life in the Nile Valley, and the principal facts about the earliest men of whom we have bodily record. We have now to see what changes we can trace, first in the dealings of nature with Egyptian man, and then in those of man with Egyptian nature.

The frequent discovery of palæolithic implements on the high desert floor, on both sides of the Nile-rift, and at many points along its course, makes it clear that human occupation goes back far. Similar traces of the first human population are found in Nubia and Somaliland to the south, and in Syria to the north-east. It is difficult to put them into relation with history. Some still think that there was actually a break in the human occupation of the valley—that in palæolithic times the climate and even the configuration of the land were different. Others are satisfied that the distribution of the implements is not inconsistent with a state of things very like the present. All, however, are agreed that when the neolithic population occupied the region, the whole plateau outside the valley was desert, and in fact all essential features were almost as they are now.

Of these early inhabitants we know little more

than of their palæolithic predecessors, down to the moment when they learned how to make other durable objects besides stone implements. As long as they lived in mere mud-huts, or reed booths, like the modern fellahin and Nubians, and were content with vessels of skin or gourd, we have clearly little chance of making much acquaintance with their mode of life. With the art of pottery, however, Egypt, like many other countries, took the first great step towards civilization and history.

To us, with our wide command over Nature's gifts and forces, the potter's power over the clay, to shape it as he will, has become a proverb almost for omnipotence. But among primitive peoples, it is otherwise. To choose a round stone as a missile, a splintered bone as an awl or pin, or the hard rind of a dried-up gourd as a cup or bottle, is to exert but little intellectual effort: it is to utilize, not to invent, hardly even to adapt. Adaptation, indeed, comes in when a once sharp-edged stone, worn down by use, is given a fresh cutting edge by chipping or grinding; or the cup-shaped stone is worked into a stone bowl; or the growing gourd is throttled with a bit of string so that when it ripens and dries it will be a bottle with a neck; or the skin flayed from kid or lamb is not split open, but kept entire as a bag to hold food or drink.

But here, too, Nature is but assisted and improved; creative art is still to seek.

When, however, with the soft clay which has, so to say, no natural shape or utility at all, the human hand, guided by imagination, but otherwise unaided, creates a new form, gourd-like, or flask-like, or stone-bowl-like, but not itself either gourd, or skin, or stone, then invention has begun, and an art is born which demands on each occasion of its exercise a fresh effort of imagination to devise, and of intellect to give effect to, a literally new thing. It is a fortunate accident that the material in question, once fixed in the given form by exposure to fire, is by that very process made so brittle that its prospect of utility is short; consequently the demand for replacement is persistent, and in some primitive communities, as among the Kabyles and in the Aures mountains of North Africa, each household replaces its own crockery; "potting" in fact is as regular, if not so frequent, a housewife's task as washing or baking. The only group of industries which can compare with potmaking in intellectual importance is that of the textile fabrics; basketry and weaving. But whereas basket-work and all forms of matting and cloth are perishable and will burn, broken pottery is almost indestructible, just because, once broken, it is so useless. It follows that evidence so per-

manent, so copious, and so plastic, that is to say so infinitely sensitive a register of the changes of the artist's mood, as the potsherds on an ancient site, is among the most valuable that we can ever have, for tracing the dawn of culture. Further, in a country so treeless as Egypt, many common objects were made in clay, for which we should use wood; and so we have here an even fuller record of household ways and means than we should have reason to expect in a more forest-grown region.

We do not know at present from what source the primitive Egyptians acquired their knowledge of the potter's art. There is no evidence that it was invented in the Nile valley, and the raw Nile mud has not the qualities of a good pot-clay. The methods of the first Egyptian potters, too, though not the forms of the vases, are identical with those first practised in Syria, Cyprus, and other parts of the nearer East; and it is not possible, with our present knowledge, to decide which regions borrowed the art from another. All that we can say is that in one well-defined district of Upper Egypt the new art appears, rather suddenly, at a high level of technical skill, and with evidence of wide, though not necessarily very long, experience behind it.

The region in question extends from a little below Abydos to a little above Hierakonpolis

and El Kab. Thebes, in later ages the capital of Upper Egypt, lies almost at its mid-point; but its early focus seems to have lain on the nearly semi-circular bend of the Nile between Thebes and Abydos, where Koptos lies on the east bank, and Nagada and Dendera on the western shore. In this section, the Nile flows more nearly in the middle of its valley than anywhere below Abydos, where it begins already to skirt the eastern cliffs; the flood plain therefore is bisected. It is also already somewhat narrower over all than lower down; and above El Kab the valley soon narrows to the gorge of Silsileh, and there is not much alluvial land at all.

In this region also the rigid isolation of the valley is infringed in two distinct ways. On the east, the bend of the river, already mentioned, brings the Nile nearer to the Red Sea coast than at any point in its course hitherto; and almost as near as at the head of the Gulf of Suez. The actual distance is about 100 miles. At Koptos, moreover, a large side-valley, the Wady Hammamat, coming in from the east, has worn a deep basin far back into the plateau, and opened a practicable route to the coast at Kosseir, along which there is sufficient water at intervals, though the wady itself is dry. If, therefore, there was any population, and any element of culture, on the Red Sea coast, either at Kosseir itself, or

further south towards the foothills of Abyssinia, this is the point at which alone it could have intercourse with the men of the Nile.

On the west also, at about the same distance, lies Kharga, the nearest and largest of the Libyan oases: accessible by an easy desert road, either from Abydos or from the neighbourhood of Thebes, and itself the access to Dakla, Farafra, and other habitable spots. Of the early history of these oases little is known as yet, but there is no reason to think that they were either uninhabited, or more inaccessible than Kosseir; in any event, such intercourse as there was between them and the Nile necessarily reached and left the river in this section.

The picture of these simple folk which is suggested by their remains is easily drawn. Their settlements were large villages confined to the narrow strip of land which is above flood level, but yet within the range of its influence: they occupied spurs of higher ground, projecting from the high valley sides, healthy because elevated above the level of fen and flood, and defensible at need, though not actually fortified with mud-brick walls till later. The houses have left almost no sign: they must have been the slightest shelters of reeds and thatch; sufficient, however, to keep off the sun's heat by day, and mitigate the night-chill: rain, of course, there was none.

Their cemeteries lie near them, further out into the dry, so as not to encumber pasture or cultivable land. The villagers were partly pastoral, for they owned oxen and goats, with dogs to tend them, and asses for transport. It is not certain that they had reclaimed any part of the scrub and jungle which choked the valley, as it still does much of the upper reaches of the Nile, or that they practised irrigation as yet. On the other hand, they hunted crocodile and hippo, as well as deer, antelope, and waterfowl; and they have left vivid impressions, in their art, of the ostriches which still ranged as far north as this, and were valued for their plumage and eggs. They navigated the Nile in large boats, with high deck houses, many oars, and regular standards, the emblems of their tribes.

Each of these tribes was recognized as possessor of its own district, which was denoted by the name of some sacred animal, or other symbol of the deity most venerated by the tribesmen: and some of these names and symbols remained in observance until historic times. This points to some degree of reasoned give and take; to elementary ideas of law, and consideration for other folks' claims; and to primitive experiments in the two directions of local authority and federal harmony. Bisected as it was, however, the river jungle was less impassable than elsewhere;

and with settlements on both banks, there was something to cross it for: intercourse led to comparison, perhaps even to competition; certainly to simple forms of exchange. We must remember, too, that the valley changes its character somewhat beyond El-Kab, and therewith its products and the mode of life which it imposes; and every such transition, once again, challenges comparisons and provokes exchange of commodities. Every great river which has human inhabitants has a current of trade up and down stream.

A region in which inter-tribal intercourse, friendly, competitive, or hostile, was supplemented not only by up-and-down-stream traffic, but also by the supply and demand of transverse routes between the coast and the oases, was clearly in an exceptional position for acquiring both commodities and ideas, to facilitate the hard task of living in a region which as yet was far from being the "blessed land"—Es-Said, as its Arab conquerors called it—and to provide that elementary margin of leisure, and reserve of vitality, which permits such luxuries and superfluous achievements as art, organization, and indeed enterprise of any kind. Somehow or other (and we may be quite sure it was not for the asking, but for sheer service rendered in return) the people of these linked districts acquired

small treasure of gold, ivory, coral, and turquoise, and knowledge of copper and iron. Gold may have reached them from several quarters, from the Upper Nile, from the far west beyond the oases, or by the Red Sea road from Abyssinia. Ivory points mainly up-river, though it may have been traded, like the gold, along the Red Sea shore, from Somaliland or beyond. The elephant, moreover, ranged as far north as Nubia, for his picture occurs in the earliest art. The coral is certainly from the Red Sea; turquoise, almost as surely, from the famous mines of Wady Moghara in Sinai, which were certainly exploited by Egyptians as early as the First Dynasty, and probably annexed under the Third. For the first copper ores; Sinai and Nubia are very probable sources and the identity of the forms of the earliest daggers, axe-heads, and pins, with those which long remained characteristic of the copper-island, Cyprus, makes it possible to regard this as an alternative source, especially in view of the close technical similarity of the first Egyptian and Cypriote pottery.

The presence of iron, rare though it is, as far back as the First Dynasty, puts Egypt into a position which is unique among metal-using lands; for, apart from these rare but quite indisputable finds, Egypt remains for thousands of years a bronze-using, and for long a merely

copper-using, country: like the compass and gunpowder in China, so iron in Egypt was known as a rarity, worn as a charm and an ornament, and even used, when it could be gotten ready-made, as an implement; and it does not seem to have been worked in the country, and probably its source was unknown to the Egyptians. In historic times they still called it "the metal of heaven," as if they obtained it from meteorites; and it looks at present as though their earliest knowledge of it was from the south; for Central Africa seems to have had no bronze age, but direct and ancient transition from stone to iron weapons. Yet when they conquered Syria in the sixteenth century, they found it in regular use, and received it in tribute. At home, however, they had no real introduction to an "Age of Iron" until they met an Assyrian army in 668 B.C., and began to be exploited by Greeks from oversea.

Intercourse with other villages within a favoured section of the Nile Valley itself, and intercourse beyond its borders with East, West, and South, thus seem to lie at the root of Egyptian advancement; fresh demands stimulating to fresh efforts, and each fresh effort rewarded by a wider, freer, and securer basis of subsistence and new enterprize. Thus far it is the old, old story of the self-made man. The opportunities are there,

geographical position, natural wealth, congenial like-minded neighbours: but it needs a man to seize them and make use of them; and the more of such men there are to grasp at them, the more sure is the spur to inventive control. The clearer head and the livelier imagination surely come to the front, and find ever fresh fields to conquer, as they learn to see clearly, and to know what it is that they see, and what it is good for in their hands.

It is, however, commonly thought at present that this is not the whole story of Egyptian origins. It has been noted by good observers that the Egyptian language, though generally akin to the large Hamitic or Berber group which dominates Northern Africa, presents also such points of likeness to the Semitic type of speech, which has its first home in Arabia, as might be expected to result from the intrusion of a small body of Semitic folk among a native Berber-speaking population.

It is also common knowledge that whereas from the Fifth Dynasty onward, the engraved seal-stones of Egypt were beetle-shaped "scarabs" with the design engraved on their undersides, the seals of the earlier Dynasties were cylindrical, with the design on their convex surface, to be impressed by a rolling motion. Now cylindrical seals are charateristic of early Babylonia, and are quite

in place in a civilization where documents were habitually written, as they were there, on tablets of clay. Clay, however, though used for sealing wine-jars and other stores, was never employed for documents in Egypt, where the papyrus plant grew wild and paper was in early use; and it is argued that Egyptian acquaintance with cylindrical seals is a loan from Babylonia; not necessarily direct, but through the medium of trade, in which sealed contracts are almost indispensable, or perhaps through immigration of Orientals acquainted with Babylonian culture. Other characteristic objects, such as the finely carved stone mace-heads, and fringed robes of dignitaries, and the well-built brick forts of which pictures remain, are quite alien to the habits of the Nile men, and akin to Babylonian custom: and some students even see Babylonian influence in the sculpture and other arts of this time.

Further, at about the same phase, a number of fresh burial customs appear in the district round Abydos and Koptos; they are best represented in the large cemetery of El-Amra. Of these innovations the most important and permanent is the substitution of full-length for contracted posture, and of a brick chamber for a simple earth grave. The old contracted burials indeed went on locally as at Deshasheh till the Fifth Dynasty, and both rituals were used together under the

Fourth; by which time bodies buried at full length are also found to be embalmed and laid in coffins. As the chamber-tombs become more elaborate, they assume more and more the character of a chapel, where the spirit of the deceased could reside and be approached, as well as a resting-place for the body. The new ritual seems to be closely related with the spread of fresh beliefs as to the fate of the soul and its relation to the body after death. As these mummied burials have also a richer equipment to represent the upper classes, it is inferred that they indicate the presence of some new element in the population.

About the same time again, the worship of deities revealed in the sun and sky, side by side with the old local gods embodied in sacred animals, offers a close parallel with the religion both of early Babylonia and of the Semitic-speaking peoples. From all this it is inferred that some historical weight is to be given to the Egyptians' own story that Horus, their god of sun and sky, and also a great sky and pasture goddess, Hathor, came to them from a "holy land" somewhere on the Red Sea coast, and far to the south; together with a company of followers who were metal-workers, and either actually were, as later writers tell us, "ghosts," or in some new and special sense *had* ghosts or souls. These new-

comers were believed to have reached the Nile Valley at Edfu, in the very district which we have been studying, and to have extended their beneficent conquest down stream, fighting a great battle at Dendera, near Abydos, with "benighted" natives, because all who did not believe in the sun-god were "children of darkness" in the eyes of those who did.

Something similar seems to have been going on about the same time in the Delta: for at Heliopolis, the "city of the sun," on the east side near its apex, just such another sun-god was worshipped as at Edfu; and more than this, as soon as the worshippers of the up-river sun-god extended their power to the Delta, he was recognized as identical with him. In the same way the snake goddess of Buto, also in the Delta, was identified with the goddess Nekhabet of Hierakonpolis. We may probably infer that another body of intruders, of Semitic speech and religion, and more or less Babylonian civilization, invaded the Delta by way of Suez about the same time as the Abydos region was entered from the Red Sea. Such an invasion would go far to explain also the difference of physical type between the Delta folk and Upper Egypt, which is revealed by recent measurements and is also perceptible among the ancient attempts at portraiture.

It cannot at present be ascertained how far

the organization of the whole country into provinces or "nomes," each under the guardianship of a local deity, usually of animal form, preserves the record of primitive disunion, with many separate tribes; or how far this system owes its eventual shape to the genius of new rulers from elsewhere. Certainly the boundaries became precise in proportion as the influence of the "allied clans" extended: and there was a sound economic reason why this should be so. With the reclamation of the Nile Valley the lands of each community greatly increased in value: cultivation also was extended far more continuously up and down stream than hitherto, and frontiers formerly vague and marginal had therefore to he delimited accurately and beyond risk of derangement by the annual inundation.

Until the movement of expansion, of which we have been tracing the causes, there is no clear evidence of systematic irrigation to extend the cultivable area, and as long as the Nile Valley was divided among independent tribes, neither the labour nor the planning of such a work was possible. It is no good to plan a great canal along the desert edge of your territory unless your neighbours upstream can pass down water to fill it, and your neighbours downstream will draw off your overflow into suitable channels of their own. Yet very shortly after this movement, there

is clear evidence that the economic Egypt which has lasted ever since had already come into being. One of the first kings of all, Narmer by name, is seen, on his sculptured mace-head now at Oxford, going out, hoe in hand, to open trenches and inaugurate the irrigation season; and by the time of King Den of the Fourth Dynasty, the Bahr Yusuf, that great canal which marks the western limit of irrigation, as the natural course of the river does the eastern, was in order for three hundred miles, from Abydos to the Fayum depression, only fifty miles from Cairo; and the Fayum itself, an oasis in touch with the Nile, was already partly under cultivation. It does not follow that the whole valley floor was already reclaimed in the time of King Den; but it does follow that the creator of the Bahr Yusuf contemplated an Egpyt which should in time be wholly fertile, though jungle-covered then, and not only laid his plans accordingly, but had enough authority all down the valley to translate those plans into earthwork.

Side by side with the reclamation of the valley, and the creation of historic Egypt, from the economic point of view, two other great achievements belong to the earliest dynasties. The king could only be in one place at once; and in a country so peculiarly shaped as Egpyt is, the practical difficulties of personal rule were excep-

tionally great. Two remedies only were possible: an efficient public service, and a trustworthy vehicle for the royal commands. The latter, though by far the greater service to mankind, was the simpler creation of the two: the last thing which man ever learns how to bring into control is his fellow-man.

Far back in the pre-dynastic age, pictures had been used freely by neolithic artists to record events and convey information. Chiefs and private persons also used emblems, like the crests of modern heraldry, and arbitrary marks, abbreviated from rough sketches, to identify their property. Gods were symbolized by their sacred animals, Upper Egypt by a typical lily, and so forth. It was an easy step from this to group such symbols together so as to call up, in connection, the ideas of the things which they represented, and so suggest secondary meanings. But it was a different and far more ingenious invention when punning similarities of sound were used to give pictorial signs for words and ideas of which there could be no picture: for example, the Egyptian words for "son" and "goose" were so nearly alike that the royal title "Son of the Sun" could be suggested by grouping the pictures of the sun and a goose.

From this great artifice, by which a pictured sign is associated not with an object or even an

idea, but with a sound, proceed all systems of writing. They began no doubt in jest; for, like children, all barbarous peoples are quick to enjoy the incongruous and absurd: they love puns, riddles, and figurative speech. But the jest soon turned to earnest. It supplied at one and the same time a cypher to convey a hidden meaning unsuspected, and a picturesque device—the ancestor of all sign-boards and election-placards—to impress on simple people a public announcement to which it was urgent that they should attend: two instruments of government which the first kings of all Egypt were prompt to utilize and develop. It is possible that in the earliest times more than one district had already its own set of signs in local use; but the federated clans of the Thebaid had already their common code when their conquests began, and the annexation of the rest of the valley to this one district was both the occasion of its universal use, and very much facilitated by it. Even under the First Dynasty the royal property was habitually marked with the king's name and titles; and annual records were kept of important events, conspicuous among which, as we should expect, are measurements of the height of the Nile flood.

It is almost needless to add that with the best will in the world, picture-signs, written fast, degenerate into scrawls bearing as little apparent

resemblance to their originals as modern handwriting to printed capitals. It is less generally known that the running-hand known a "hieratic" was already well developed under the First Dynasty.

The problem of administration was far more difficult than that of keeping the king and his subjects in touch by means of writing. Two alternative solutions were always possible in Egypt; centralization at the king's court, or local government within the ancient "nomes": and the political history of Egypt is the record of successive compromises in the interest of one or the other. In either case, however, the responsibility for public works—for anything, that is, which involved orderly co-operation of individual cultivators—rested with the owners of the land, regarded as the representatives of him who in the beginning made that land serviceable at all. All others, who shared in the advantages thus won from nature under his leadership, were on their part the representatives of his original helpers. They shared in the fertility which resulted from their common labours, on terms representing an original bargain of recompense for initiative, guidance, and security against danger from without. A large share of all three was attributed, as was natural, to superhuman partners, and above all to the god of the district. For, as we have

seen, nature in the Nile valley is for the most part hostile and ruthless; the powers of destruction and evil (above all, the sun's heat, and noxious animals) are very strong, and only to be kept at bay, after man has done his utmost, by the good will of a power on his side which also has dominion over them.

Such was the theory of government in Egypt, and the theory of the government of the world, so far as we can extract it from Egyptian practice. Much of the land-rights, and also the water-rights, which in an irrigated region are as inseparable from the land (provided only that there is water available) as the right to rainfall is with us, were from the first in the hands of powerful individuals, and were held by their families. The rest was held by the priesthoods as corporate trustees for their gods; and the proportion of sacred to lay property was always rising as centuries passed; since in successive dangers from drought or violence, lay landowners would surrender their land to the god to ensure his protection, remaining on it, they and their children, to cultivate it for him for ever, and receive their maintenance as his hereditary tenants. Such was the theory: in practice the policy of the First Dynasty transferred to the king the lands of the chiefs he conquered in each district, and public works which only a king of

all Egypt could put in hand created large new royal domains, which were his by right of conquest over nature. As almost all serious disputes arose either about land and water, or about the impaired efficiency or contentment of this or that cultivator—there being really nothing else to quarrel about—justice was administered by the chief man of the district, well acquainted with local custom; in practice, by the chief landowner. As the population was wholly sedentary, and there was little to take men away from their own fields, local courts and local customs might vary in detail without inconvenience. At the same time they could be trusted not to vary far, because the plain needs and rights of the situation were everywhere so obvious and uniform. Hence Egypt never felt the need of a general code of law: but there was always an appeal to the king, against smaller and nearer oppressors, if only the king could be made to hear; and at times the king heard enough to make him lay down general rules to prevent injustice to the cultivators. These are the theory and practice of Egyptian local government.

On the other hand, as we have seen, historic Egypt came into existence through a series of conquests carried out under able guidance by the "allied clans" of the Thebaid; and this

initial act of beneficial violence set a precedent of absolute monarchy and centralized administration. By right of conquest Egypt was the king's estate; he had made himself responsible for its prosperity as a whole: he had assumed the right of defence and administration, and therewith the duty of collecting the necessary means. The local chiefs and great landowners had surrendered themselves to the king and sworn allegiance: they had been confirmed in their estates, and held them at the king's pleasure, but were required by him to contribute to the cost of government, to supply locally the forced labour which is required so urgently and promptly in irrigated lands if a dam gives way or the Nile-flood fails or exceeds. "Give me of your land and your labour, and you shall have my water": that is the "social contract" between the king of Egypt, his territorial nobility, and the peasant cultivators. The king held his court at a fixed point, at first in one of the old centres near Abydos, where his own gods were, and the tombs and chapels of his predecessors; afterwards, when he became the "King of the Two Lands" and wore the red crown of the Delta outside the white helmet of the Valley-princes, the court descended to Memphis, where Delta and Valley join; and to Memphis or its neighbourhood it recurs whenever Egypt is wholly in one hand.

But delegation of authority was inevitable in more or less degree; and as early as King Den, we hear of a viceroy of the Delta, "the Bearer of the King's Seal in Lower Egypt." The king himself, however, kept the Valley in his own hand, true to old custom and wise statesmanship as well. For it is in the Valley that the troubles come. Only a very strong king can keep control of a country so inconveniently shaped, and so tightly organized round old local centres of sentiment and production. Sooner or later, mistakes and ambitions led to friction between the court on one side, and the nobles and priesthoods on the other. A clever court could keep the nobles at bay by humoring the priesthoods; a secret of empire not unknown to other ages and countries, and mainly responsible for the vast royal buildings and "restorations" of temples which commemorate all the strong kings of Egypt from end to end of the Valley. But if priests and nobles came together in conspiracy against the crown, or nobles were allowed to annex the functions of the priesthood within their own districts, as happened under the Sixth Dynasty, Egyptian unity was doomed, and periods of dark confusion supervened. Then some lucky chance gave a new leader the upper hand once more, first round his own district—more than once Thebes or its neighbourhood—

then over the whole Valley; and lastly (as a rule) over the Delta as well. This latter victory comes, however, only after long struggle, steadily wearing down the hardy north, or foreign conquerors of it, by the superior resources and organization of the south, and success is signalized once more by the transference of the new court from its native "nome" either to Memphis itself, or to some favourite site in the same central district, with the Fayum for an imperial back-garden.

Successive experiments closed one false way of government after another. Only the broadest outlines can be given here. The kings of the Old Kingdom, which includes the first six Dynasties, were content to rule the local nobility with a very light hand. Royal officials are numerous, it is true; but they are all concerned with departmental work which concerns only the king's domains or high matters of policy. They are men who owe all to the king's favour; and they have often risen from the bottom. The court consists mainly of "royal sons" and "royal friends." Only the army is feudally organized, each local prince sending his own contingent; but even here the king has bodies of professional troops maintained from his own revenues. As the population of Egypt itself is already accounted for by the feudal levy, these royal troops

are almost necessarily foreigners, such as Libyans or Sudanese.

This experiment of regional autonomy degenerated into the long period of discord which lies between the Sixth and the Eleventh Dynasties: and its lesson was not lost on the great Theban family which founded the "Middle Kingdom" of Dynasty XII. The old baronies were recognized, it is true, as self-governed provinces, but in each there was now a "royal secretary" to collect the king's taxes, audit the accounts, and report to headquarters. Moreover, chieftaincies which lapsed do not seem to have been regranted, and in other parts also old noble families seem to have lost their prestige and most of their powers. On the other hand, the king's business now required not one but three viceroys, ruling the north, the centre, and the south. This answered better, and the Twelfth Dynasty ranks as one of the most brilliant periods of Egyptian history. But it was already showing defects under weaker leading, when the whole course of events was interrupted by the Hyksos invasion, the first serious interference which Egypt had experienced from outside. The causes and character of this conquest we must investigate later: for the moment we are only concerned with its domestic effects. Under foreign domination, a native monarchy still seems to have main-

tained a precarious existence in the original Thebaid region far up the Valley; but it was not the nobles who profited. Alien rulers held them in small respect: and the task of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the tide turned once more, was greatly facilitated by this. We may recall how the Wars of the Roses made ready for Tudor autocracy.

The expulsion of the Hyksos was completed by Dynasty XVIII, of Theban descent once more. In the "New Kingdom" which it created, everything rests with the king. The royal family holds entirely aloof from every class of subjects: even its marriages are either within its own limits, or ally it politically with foreign courts. Royal officers are in charge of all departments of public work; they are innumerable, ubiquitous, and in due course oppressive, as a bureaucracy easily becomes. The nobles almost disappear from view, with the transference of their old functions to the crown. In the climax of the period the court is even strong enough to over-ride the priesthoods, and promulgate, under a king of genius, the "heretic" Akhen-aten, a new and pure monotheism, to supersede the many animal-natured gods of native belief. The result might have been foreseen. Akhen-aten, with his lofty motto, "Living in Truth," might be an artist, a theologian, a saint; a statesman, clearly, he

was not. To challenge ideas and customs which were those of the cultivators as well as of their priestly landlords was to throw the whole country into passionate resistance. The religious reformation of Akhen-aten died with its inventor; and the new Nineteenth Dynasty, which rose from brief anarchy after his death, showed by its stupendous temple-buildings what efforts were required to recover the confidence of the priesthoods. But the priests had felt their power. It was only a matter of time and opportunity to secure for themselves privileges enjoyed by the king; and the real unsuccess of the Nineteenth Dynasty in its foreign wars was undermining its prestige hardly less than were the domestic extortions of the bureaucracy which had been forced into being, to replace the territorial oligarchy.

With the open revolt of the priests of the Theban Sun-God Amon-Ra, and their assumption of the royal titles at the end of Dynasty XX, the New Empire in its turn comes to an end. Of the old balance of power between king, nobles, and priesthoods, only the third partner survived. Its administration, unchecked, was oppressive, brief, and disastrous. For the first time in history a kingdom of Ethiopia, perhaps based in the highlands of Abyssinia, became aggressive in Nubia—hitherto a mere

stone-quarry of Egypt—and mastered nearly all the Valley. Then Assyria, undisputed ruler, now, of all the nearer West, reached out a long arm in 668 B.C., annexed the Delta, and momentarily broke the power of the South. But Assyria in turn retreated, only four years later, before a new nationalist movement in the Delta, of which the real forces were Greeks and other adventurers from the west, "Bronze Men from the Sea," as the oracle called them. Finally, these western influences, in spite of Persian efforts to re-incorporate Egypt in an empire of all the East, broke down, gradually but once for all, the traditional reserve of the Nile people, and had prepared it, by 332 B.C., for inclusion in Alexander's empire.

This forecast of the political growth of Egypt has taken us far beyond the "Dawn of History." Its object is to indicate how the same natural conditions, which had so profoundly determined the first aspect of human culture there, remained effective to shape its growth long after: and it would be instructive to trace them still in operation, in the Greek and Roman and Arab attempts to "live well" in the same Nile Valley. More instructive still is it to watch, as we are privileged to do, a new breed, this time of "Iron Men from the Sea," encountering the same difficulties of water supply, and land-tenure, and imme-

morially ancient ways of life among the modern Nile-cultivators, the descendants of the old, and applying their own solution of the same problems of defence against the Sudan, the nearer East, and the sun and the desert sand.

It remains to say a word about Egypt's foreign history. Normally, if we may use such a word, it has none: the desert, at first sight, encloses the Nile Valley, from the cataracts to the sea. But this insulation is imperfect, as we have seen. The Red Sea road seems clearly responsible for very early influence, of vital import, from Arabia and beyond. The barbaric and warlike Sudan, mainly nomad and pastoral, but locally responsive to simple forms of cultivation, was able more than once to cause anxiety even north of Egypt's rock-threshold at Assuan: and once at least, under able leadership, it dominated the whole Valley (p. 79).

So, too, in the West, one of the first tasks of each successive "kingdom" is to restore order on the desert fringe, particularly where the string of oases gives access obliquely to the west margin of the Delta. Libyan aggression at this point assumed more than once a dangerous aspect, particularly towards the close of the New Empire, when wholesale migration, probably provoked by abnormal drought on the grasslands within reach of Mediterranaen dew, brought large

hordes of semi-pastoral people in search of "corn in Egypt," and settlements on the edge of the Delta. Such intrusion was most dangerous of all when, as in the reigns of Merenptah (1230 B.C.) and Rameses III. (1200 B.C.), it was accompanied by movements of seafaring peoples from the west along the Libyan foreshore; for these took the defences in flank and in rear, by pushing up the Nile mouths, and harrying the Delta itself. Who these Sea-raiders were, we shall have to discover later on (Chapter IX); at the moment it is enough to note their existence, and their partnership with the men of Libya.

There remains the isthmus, and the road to Asia. By this route, Egypt has been invaded and held repeatedly in historic time; by the Hyksos "Shepherd Kings"; by Assyria, and Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (though both these occupations were cut short by external distractions); by Persia under Cambyses; by Alexander; by Islam: and it was in full accordance with the geography of war that it was not by Alexandria, but by this eastern edge of the Delta—along the canal of Necho and Darius—that the British effected their present occupation of Cairo. By this road alone, also, had Egypt itself any prospect of foreign conquests. The repeated attempts to reach the gold and ivory country of Punt,

southwards along the Red Sea, were exploration and trade rather than annexation: the desirable region lay in fact too far. But beyond the isthmus, by a short stretch of desert road, lay Sinai, in grand isolation, with copper, turquoise-mines, and hard stones for statuary like those of Assuan and Nubia. There too lay Palestir and Syria, desirable themselves; traversed by great roads leading to Babylonia and the far East; invaded for their own sakes, or to meet enemies unknown to us, by the Twelfth Dynasty; and more coverted still by the Eighteenth, as an outwork to Egypt itself, now that the Shepherd-Kings had shown what ruin nomad enemies could make. Here again it is enough, at this stage, to show, in brief phrase, "how the land lay" from the beginning onwards. The actual fortune of these Egyptian conquests, and of their outland invaders, will meet us again, rather later (Chapters V, VII).

Summing up, then, as now we fairly may, the substance of our study of Egypt, we see it as an unusually secluded and exceptionally constituted region, in which we can watch the rise and growth of an essentially native civilization, for a period of time and with an abundance of detail unexampled elsewhere. We have traced the economic causes of its peculiar development; the political problems with which its people and

their rulers were confronted, and the various expedients by which they met them; the slow realization, as trade and ambition grew, first that there was an outer world worth knowing beyond the desert; and then, in the mind of this outer world, that there existed an Egypt worth invading; and we have seen the disturbances in which this knowledge issued when people came to act upon it. The details of the picture we leave to be filled in at leisure by those who wish to do so, with the help of special studies on an ampler scale. (See *Note on Books* at end.)

But still we find two questions left outstanding, to which we must seek answer elsewhere. On one side, what is to be known of that other apparently older culture, to whose distant operation we have had to attribute the first and only outside stimulus to change and effort, which our survey of Egyptian origins has revealed? Where is its home, what is its origin, and what were its relations with intervening regions more directly under its spell? The answer to this question will be the Dawn of History in Babylonia, Assyria, and the Syrian coast. On the other side, what is the meaning of that apparition of "Peoples from beyond the Green Sea," who hover beyond the Delta frontage, and gather such strength and coherence with each intermittent visit, that at last, more potent than Babylonia or any of its

daughter states, they seal the fate of Egypt by including it in empires of their own? The Dawn of History here is in the West, in the Midland Sea.

CHAPTER IV

THE DAWN OF HISTORY IN BABYLONIA

BABYLONIA is the joint delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, and owes its prosperity and ruin alike to man's use or abuse of the gifts of these two rivers.

The Euphrates, like the Nile, passes through three distinct phases in its course to the sea. Its two main sources lie deep in the Armenian highland, and carve out parallel courses of over 400 miles before their joint streams leave the mountains through a tremendous gorge. Then for 720 miles from Samsat to Hit the river crosses open treeless country, more level and barren as it recedes from the hills. From the west it receives only one important tributary, the Sajur, which comes in quite high up near Carchemish, and from the east only two, the Belikh and the Khabur, both in the middle third of this section. As far as the Sajur, both banks are habitable; and the east bank was formerly so as far as the

Khabur, forming the district of Harran, and the ancient kingdom of Mitanni. Beyond this the country is desert, both on the Arabian side and in the greater part of Mesopotamia, the region between the Two Rivers. The river itself flows with swift stream and intermittent rapids within a deep rock-walled bed, usually a few miles wide and capable of cultivation, but naturally a jungle of tamarisk and reeds, infested by wild pig. The few sedentary Arabs, who practise a primitive irrigation with water-wheels, pay blackmail to powerful nomad tribes of the desert. The palm replaces the olive about half way down. Above Hit the river has narrows and is full of islands; but at Hit itself solid ground ends in a reef of harder rocks with springs of sulphur, brine, and bitumen. The river here is about 250 yards in width, and still flows briskly through this last obstruction.

The third section consists wholly of alluvial soil, and extends for 550 miles from Hit to the Persian Gulf. The river soon divides into two principal channels, and these into minor backwaters, the wreck of ancient canals. It first deposits copious silt, and then fine mud like that of the Nile. The shore line has therefore been advancing rapidly within historic time: Eridu, for example, which was a chief port of early Babylonia, lies now 125 miles from the sea. If

the present rate of advance, about a mile in thirty years, may be taken as an average—which is, however, not demonstrable yet—Eridu may have begun to be mud-bound about 1800 B.C.

The course of the Tigris is geographically similar. Two chief sources, rising near those of the Euphrates, drain the south-eastern ranges of Armenia. From their junction to Samarra, where the Tigris fairly enters the delta, is about 250 miles, first through rolling foothills, in an open valley which is the home-country of the Assyrians; then through steppe and desert. On the west bank there are now no tributaries, though there was formerly a flood-channel from the south-east of the Khabur basin. On the east bank, however, the copious drainage of the Median highlands, which lie nearly parallel with its course, is brought in by a number of streams, of which the most notable are the Greater and Lesser Zab. Consequently, the Tigris brings down eventually rather more water than the Euphrates: and also on its swifter current a good deal more silt.

In the latitude of Bagdad, about 100 miles below Samarra, and consequently well within the alluvial area, Euphrates and Tigris approach within 35 miles of each other, but soon diverge again to a distance of 100 miles. It was a little above this point that the Euphrates was first

divided in antiquity into two main branches, of which the eastern Saklawie canal is at part, at least, artificial. Designed to water a large district west of Bagdad, and also as an overflow, for in Upper Babylonia the Euphrates lies higher than the Tigris. Lower down, the levels are reversed, and the great Shatt-el-Hai canal, past the site of Lagash, relieves the Tigris, and at times overloads the Euphrates at Ur and below. In addition, the whole of the joint delta has been from very early times a network of canals, designed both to distribute irrigation water, and also to defend the cultivated lands against the desert. The most important are the Shatt-Hindie, which diverges at Babylon, and follows the western edge of the delta, rejoining near ancient Erech; and the transverse Shatt-el-Hai already mentioned. The management of these great canals needs some skill; the rivers rise rather irregularly, as the mountain snow melts, from March to May, and often carry away the soft earthen dams and embankments. They also carry down so much silt, that centuries of deposition and dredging have raised the main channels, and the country near them, above the general level. The two main streams, whose mouths were still a day's journey apart in Alexander's time, now unite at Basra, 300 miles below Bagdad. Their joint channel, the Shatt-el-Arab, is

1,000 yards wide, and navigable. A little further down again, it receives on the east side the main stream of the Karun River, from the highlands of ancient Elam.

Under careful management, the whole alluvial region is of amazing fertility. The date palm is indigenous, and wheat was anciently believed to be so. In ancient times it raised two, or even three, crops of wheat a year, with a yield of 200 or 300 grains from one seed. The rice, which is now the principal grain crop, came in under the Arab régime. The present desolation is due, first to the Turkish nomads in the eleventh century; then to the reckless behaviour of Mesopotamian Arabs.

All through the summer, the principal streams are navigable, or can easily be made so, and sailing boats ascend as far as Hit and Samarra; but by September the flood is over, and in November the rivers are at their lowest; and natural shoals and the remains of old dams are grievous obstacles.

Such is Babylonia. But before we enquire what human enterprize was to make of it, we must note equally briefly the regions which enclose it.

West of Euphrates lies the great plain of Arabia, rising gently towards the Jordan and the Red Sea. It is nearly featureless, grassland

at best, and in great part utter desert now. Its nomad pastoral inhabitants, however, have exercised, as we shall see, an influence on the fortunes both of Babylonia and all other regions which fringe it, which is one of the great facts of history.

Eastward, beyond the Tigris, towers the highland zone, range upon range of massive limestone mountains, till the passes to the plateau behind them rise to 5,000 and 6,000 feet, and the peaks to over 11,000 feet. The nearer parts of the plateau vary in altitude from 3,000 to 1,500 feet. The width of the mountain belt averages about 300 miles, and its parallel ranges from five to ten in number. Between them lie valleys of varying size and elevation, all more or less habitable, but secluded from each other and from the outer world on either side. A few have no outfall, but enclose considerable lakes, like Van and Urmia in the north, and Shiraz in the south; but the majority discharge the copious water which pours from the snow-clad ridges, through great gorges into more westerly troughs, and so eventually into a few large rivers. Some of these, as we have seen, are tributary to the Tigris; others further south issue independently into the Persian Gulf, and form their own hot sodden deltas; while in a middle section three of the largest, Karun, Jarahi, and Tab, now join their mudflats with those of the Shatt-el-Arab, and

have created an alluvial area nearly half as large as Babylonia "between the rivers"; more encumbered indeed by silt, but with lowlands almost as fertile under cultivation.

Above these foreshores the hills between Karun and Tigris, lying nearest to the ancient head of the gulf, rise gently at first, in a wide expanse of rolling country. Then, where the first mountains stand up, and catch the moisture from the winds, comes a long narrow belt of forest, dense oak below, passing to cedar and pine; and extending from the Diyala River as far south as Shiraz. Access to this, in a region so timberless otherwise, seems to have been one of the great objects of contention in ancient times. On the greater heights come more alpine conditions, with some moisture and hardy vegetation in deep valleys; but on the eastern slopes, prevalent drought, with aromatic scrubland locally, and some output of medicinal resins and gums. Then, interspersed with marginal oases, wherever a mountain stream runs out into the plain, begins a desolate and often salt-strewn plateau, the dead heart of Persia, ancient as well as modern. With this dead heart, however, and even with the fringe of oases—mediæval and modern Persia—we are not now concerned; only with the sequence of alluvium, foothills, and forest belt, which make up the ancient region of Elam, and with the

intermont plains and upland valleys which sustained the old Medes and Persians, the first highlanders to play a part in universal history.

These then are the neighbours of Babylonia: on the east, the foothills of high mountains: on the west, low featureless desert: upstream, other deserts and steppes traversed only by the strict courses of the rivers themselves. From which of these quarters did Babylonia receive its men?

The civilization which dominated this patchwork of river, steppe, and fen, goes back so far, and retains its well-marked character so uniformly in early stages, that it is impossible to be sure about its origin. Only one thing is certain, that it had a long and prosperous existence before it shows signs even of contact with the pastoral peoples of Arabia. Neither does the physical character of its creators show the least likeness to the physiognomy of the desert men; nor, what is more to the point, does th primitive native language, to their "Semitic" speech. More than this, the Babylonian people and their language do resemble rather markedly the men and the speech of a large region which begins with the high ground on the other side of the Tigris and extends thence far eastward. The agglutinative structure of the "Sumerian" language—to give it the old native name—of the

lower and richer half of the delta region, has been compared with that of Turkish and other Mongol languages native to the high plateau of Central Asia; and as languages of this general type extend over nearly the whole of the New World as well, there is no reason to doubt the possibility of a very early extension of the same over the Persian plateau, and beyond its western edge. And as we shall see presently, the culture which alone is nearly akin to that of early Babylonia is that of the foothills next to the head of the Persian Gulf, and immediately beyond the Tigris.

It would be natural, however, to suppose that one of the earliest, perhaps even the first, of the attempts to reclaim these fens would originate with the inhabitants of the cultivable channel by which the Euphrates traverses the desert: for with some labour agriculture is practicable here, as we have seen (p. 85). It also seems to be ancient here, at all events along the upper reaches; and there is some reason to believe that the first regulation of the streams which diverge below Hit and enclose the Delta, was planned to serve only the upper half of the alluvial region. They certainly needed to be regulated afresh from time to time, as reclamation became general, and the settlements and organization of Babylonia began to be those of historic times.

By some such double origin as this, it seems

necessary to explain the double-headedness of the first civilization. In the north lay the smaller and poorer district of Accad, ever more and more restricted by the coarser silt which is the first to be deposited. In the south the wider, fertile, intricate, and evergrowing Sumer, with a sea front on the gulf, one flank on the Tigris and the great ancient lagoon beyond, towards the delta of the Karun; and the other flank bearing on the desert in a district where, as in primitive Egypt, one of the few practicable routes led south-west to the central oases. How this last circumstance affected the history of Babylonia, we must see later on, when we deal in Chapter V with its relations with the steppe peoples.

Pausing now for a moment to compare the situation in Mesopotamia with that on the Nile, we note first that through the difference in direction of the two valleys the Nile has its sub-tropical region upstream, and its almost temperate delta in the north; the Euphrates has its delta in one of the hottest summer climates of the world. The Nile has its cataracts all far upstream, so that the fall of the valley is concentrated at a few points, and a sluggish navigable fairway is reserved from Assuan to the coast: far away beyond these rapids, moreover, the Nile has already deposited its obstructive silt, and bears down to Egypt only beneficial mud, which is

invisibly fine, and causes little trouble in irrigation. The Euphrates, on the contrary, descends rapidly, for so large a river, all through its upper course; its last barrier is at Hit, which in the anatomy of this valley corresponds rather to Cairo than to Assuan; it consequently enters the fenland still laden with silt, and in all ages has industriously blocked one bed after another, and spread the disastrous floods of which memory was preserved by Babylonian legends of a deluge which flooded even the desert; as we read in the best known version "all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered: fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail"; and there are very few "mountains" in alluvial Babylonia which would not be devastated by a flood of this moderate depth. Like the ordinary summer flood of the Euphrates which begins in April and May, and is highest in August, that deluge lasted about twenty-one weeks; and in September "the seventh month" it abated.

From these anxieties the Nile is free. In Egyptian religion it is the sun which is all-beneficent, or all-destroying, and therefore (in due course) chief god, and the "power behind the throne." His enemies are powers of dark and cold, not of wet. In Babylonia, and still more in Assyria, which lies closer under the hills, men and the high gods were alike powerless when the storm-

demons were out. The first victory of good was the binding of the dragon which broods in dark water; a fit emblem of the creeping silt-shoal which grows till it throttles the canal.

For many reasons therefore, it is in the delta, and not in the valley, that Babylonian civilization grows; as it might indeed have grown in Egypt too, had not the valley culture ripened sooner. Consequently, again, the Babylonian centres—some dozen in all—lie in a cluster, not strung on one green thread for hundreds of miles. And as the Tigris and the Euphrates interweave their currents, first one receiving, and then the other, internal communication is abnormally complete; a striking contrast with the perils of cross-delta travel in Egypt. No one went up to Babylon to go from Lagash to Ur, as train and boat alike go almost up to Cairo from Alexandria to Port Said; almost everywhere there was direct canal. The Euphrates, however, is barred to large navigation at Hit, and though the Tigris is navigable by steamers to Mosul, ancient traffic on it, and on the Euphrates too, was exclusively down-stream; the rivers being over-rapid and unfit for towing; the upstream wind which overcomes the Nile quite absent; and the boats (or more often rafts) far more valuable for timber in so woodless a country than for laborious haulage upstream. The best

were, and are, made like coracles, of skins over a wooden frame, and returned, folded up, on donkey-back.

The basis of Babylonian culture was the intense fertility of the alluvial soil, wherever water could be applied to it in due amount. With excess of water it became noisome fen: in defect, it parched to a desert: and there are now large tracts of utter desert within the limits of irrigation. But the two valleys were there, nevertheless, and could bring goods in, if they could not convey them out. They flowed, moreover, as we have just seen, from regions of produce which Babylonia lacked; wine in particular, and olive oil; timber, too, and bitumen from Hit, for building and for waterproofing; and stone, above all. It is difficult for us now to conceive the limitations under which an architect worked, when a stone door-socket was a rich gift of a king to his god, and was rescued from one ruin after another, to be re-used and proudly re-dedicated. Then again eastward, beyond Tigris, there was trade through the foothills to a nearer timber-country, and beyond it to sunburned lands of spices and drugs. Across the desert, too, you could reach another spice-country in the south; and westward lay the Red Sea coast, for coral, copper, and other hard stones.

In return, what Babylonia had to offer was,

first its inexhaustible surplus of foodstuff, corn, and dates; much wool, of finer quality, because better nourished, than that of the desert breeds; still richer cargoes of woven woollens, "Babylonitish garments," and in due time other kinds of manufactures too. It became, also, needless to say, a supreme centre of exchange; a kind of ancient London, whither the world's produce converged into wholesale hands, and was retailed over vast distances by regular correspondents and branch houses. The beasts of burden were the ass and man; camel and horse alike belong to a far later age, the former introduced from Arabia, where it is native, the latter from the east beyond the hills.

With manufactures and commerce standing so high in the economy of Babylonia, it is not to be wondered at if the social structure of the country developed some of the same features as begin to perplex our modern world. In particular, the right was fully recognized, to practise industry and skill and enjoy the fruits of them, irrespective of sex. Not only was the status of married women high (for their partnership was valued) and their freedom great, but a distinct industrial status had been found for unmarried women, in large co-operative societies under religious sanction, with vows of celibacy and strict attention to business. Unlike mediæval

nuns, however, members of these orders were free mistresses of their time and labour: they lived where they would and worked at what they liked, insured by their membership, so long as they kept their vows, and paid their dues. The only social distinctions were those between slaves and freemen, and between landless (which practically meant industrial) persons, and land owners. The latter class included all public servants, because public services, as in mediæval Europe, were rewarded, not by salaries, but by a grant of land sufficient to maintain the official and meet the expenses of his duty. Privilege entailed responsibility; and offenders were punished more heavily if they belonged to the "upper classes"; doctors' fees were graduated, too, according to the status of the patient. At the other end of the scale, slaves could save, hold property, and buy their freedom; their state, as throughout the ancient world, was at bottom a compulsory initiation into culture higher than their own.

Each Babylonian city centred round the temple of its patron god; and the antiquity of this whole system of society is nowhere better illustrated than in the overwhelming power of the temple authorities. It recalls more nearly the despotism of the priest-kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty than any earlier phase in the growth

of society in Egypt. The chief priest of the temple was ruler of the city. When conquests took place, and Babylonian empires were built up, the conqueror provided all the viceroys he required, by appointing a man whom he could trust, to be chief priest in each place. This personal rule was well suited to the needs of such cities. In a close-knit industrial society, pre-eminent ability discovers itself, incompetence is found out: and as the patron god was at the same time largest landlord, chief employer, and master merchant, he had the largest interest of any one in the selection of an efficient minister. In this way a city got approximately the government it deserved. It is to the centralized personal responsibility, which is the mainspring of these simple constitutions, that we owe a large part of our knowledge of their working, through the copious official correspondence which passed between over-lords like Hammurabi and his viceroys, or the natural pride of an administrator like Gudea of Tello, in recording his own efficiency.

The temple formed a distinct quarter of the city, and had usually a distinctive name. It consisted of an artificial mound, high enough, like the "Tower of Babel" itself, to out-top the severest inundation, with a platform large enough to contain the house of the god, which was exactly modelled on the palace of a king,

just as his daily service was, on the routine of a royal household. The deity takes his meals, hears music, sleeps, walks in his garden or tends his pet animals, just like a human sovereign. If he is not there when you call upon him, it is because he is a-hunting, like Baal on Carmel. Below clustered the stores, workshops, and dwellings of the temple servants, who included masons, smiths, and other industrials: as well as the quarters of the lay population. Other important buildings occupied similar platforms. Originally perhaps these mounds were the normal accumulation of ages of débris, more copious than ever when architecture was almost wholly in mud; but in later times they seem to have been faced with decorative brickwork and adapted as flood-platforms, like those of the temples. Any building in fact which was intended to last, had perforce to be defended so, in this home-country of the deluge. But the ordinary houses were not worth preserving long. They were the merest hovels of mud-brick, little more than sleeping-rooms and shelters from the sun, with verandahs of shittim-wood from the fen poplar. Baked brick was indeed in use, even in the earliest layers, but mainly for palaces and temples. In the absence of native stone, sculpture was a rarity; and the Euphrates mud bakes to a dull brown, which defies decoration. Of all the great civiliza-

tions, Babylonia alone contributes nothing essential to the potter's art.

Clay, however, had here one unexampled use, as a vehicle for writing; with picture-signs originally, representing, as in Egypt, first objects, then sounds and syllables; rudely outlined with a sharp point, and ranged in vertical columns. Later these signs were greatly abbreviated, and impressed instead of scratched, for greater speed and accuracy, with the sharp angle of a three-sided graver, which left a "cuneiform" (that is, a wedge-shaped) mark, longer or shorter according as the instrument was held. This invention represents the same advance of convenience as the "hieratic" running-hand of Egypt; but unlike hieratic, it completely superseded the pictorial signs, mainly because there was no durable material on which picture-writing could be used to decorate architecture.

From the written records of the few Sumerian cities which have been excavated as yet—the chief of these are Lagash and Nippur—we learn already something of their relations to each other. These were not always peaceful. The principal troubles, as may be imagined, arose out of the boundary ditches, which were liable to damage by flood, or to displacement in the course of repair: "to remove my neighbour's landmark" was among the worst offences, in a country where

land in right hands yields so lavishly. This kind of feud between Lagash-Shirpurla and its neighbour Gishku, is graphically described in documents from the mounds of Tello, on the site of the former. These records extend over more than a century: and reveal almost a modern state of international law: treaties, arbitrations, frontier commissions, indemnities levied in grain or in forced labour on the victor's lands. Once one of these states annexes the other and appoints a new priest-king; at another time both seem to be vassals of Lugalzaggisi, a man of Gishku, who rose to be king of Erech, further down stream, and then "King of the World," ruling, "from the Lower to the Upper Sea." The latter cannot be nearer than Lake Van, and may possibly mean the Mediterranean.

Now that we have made such acquaintance as is possible here with the features of Bablyonian culture, let us return to note one more characteristic in which this region most contrasts with the Nile. Egypt lies quite remote even from its nearest neighbours; and the desert on either side of the valley is real desert and has been so at least from neolithic times. Even the westward oases are self-contained, and rigidly restricted by their surroundings to the slightest of commercial intercourse. Babylonia, on the other hand, though it lies right against the two desert regions

of Arabia and Mesopotamia, is very far from being isolated by them. Both of them indeed are rather steppe than desert, and able to support a nomad population of pastoral tribes, large enough to be dangerous, and poor enough to be very predatory. We remember the Midianites who wrecked in a night the prosperity of Job: they were true children of the desert. The foreign history of Babylonia is therefore in all ages the history of its relations *first* with the nomads of Arabia; *second*, with the men of Elam, a sedentary people partly lowland and in many respects akin in culture and mode of life to the Babylonians themselves, but including also a strong highland and forest-bred element which made Elam far more efficient, if once it was roused to activity abroad; *third*, with its own colony and foster-child, Assyria, half civilized from Babylonia itself, but again, like Elam, invigorated, and it may be even a trifle barbarized, by harder conditions of life and a similar upland alloy.

We have now to discover, rather more in detail, the quality of the intercourse of Babylonia with its three chief neighbours and enemies; and we shall do so best if we treat them in the order in which each first comes upon the scene: Semitic Arabians, Elamites, and Assyrians.

CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF THE SEMITES

THE Arabian desert is one of the earth's great reservoirs of men. Much of it, indeed, is usually uninhabitable; but its surface, gently sloping eastward till it dips into the Persian Gulf, is much more diversified than the Libyan desert by hollows which are moist enough for grass. These are at all times numerous enough to be within reach of each other; and parts of the peninsula are a maze of interwoven tracks. When the supply of moisture is at its maximum, Arabia can therefore breed and support vast masses of pastoral folk, each with its wealth of sheep and goats, its rigid patriarchal society, its ill-defined orbit within which it claims first bite of the grass and first draught from the wells, which it believes its forefathers opened. But if moisture fails, as there seems reason to believe that it does from time to time, in large pulsations of climatic change, man and his flocks must either escape or perish. Fortunately, escape is easy; the tribes are always on the move; and the drought spreads but gradually. There are only two obstacles. To reach the edge of the desert the way lies, for all but the outermost, through the pastures of

other tribes: and for those escape is perilous, for they are already in perennial feud with all who hold lands where they can practise agriculture.

Sooner or later, however, some master spirit grasps the situation. "If we all go out, and go all together, nothing can withstand us: we are like flood or sand; we envelop obstructions by numbers and mobility. At the worst, we have nothing to lose: and by experience of their outposts, up desert gullies, or in the stream bed of Euphrates, where we have always blackmailed them, we know that they can afford to pay us, in fact to keep us alive, if we will but spare their fields." So, when the moment comes, the whole desert population seems to break forth unanimous. It penetrates wherever there is pasture; far into the hills, and deep into marshes. Rivers cannot stop it, and it will outmarch an army.

In one point only were the nomads of Arabia withheld from the worst destruction. There is reason to hold that they did not acquire the horse till after 2000 B.C.; the "first servant" of civilized man, but in reckless hands the most destructive weapon of war till the invention of steam. Compared with the Mongol nomads of the Middle Ages, therefore, or with their own Arab descendants when they had acquired this weapon, Semitic nomads did only moderate harm. Yet whenever we can trace them, in

periodic outbreaks from their dry home, they brought devastation and set back civilization for centuries.

Even with the fragmentary sources which we have, we can trace at least four such periods of outpouring from Arabia: and the intervals between them, or other causes within the desert, of which we know nothing at present, have been sufficient to ensure that the characteristics of "Semitic" speech, which is common to all emigrants from Arabia, should have had time to alter slightly. As these successive groups of dialects retained their peculiarities (and, if anything, added to them) after their separation from the parent language, it is possible to discover with certainty the period of emigration to which the ancestors of any given Semitic people belonged: provided always that nothing has happened since, to make them learn a fresh tongue. That, however, actually happens but rarely; so strictly does patriarchal society, which few Semitic-speaking peoples have been induced by their surroundings to modify, transmit to the new generation the speech of the father of the family. He sees to it, you may be sure, that his people understand him when he speaks, and also that they answer him "intelligibly."

Now there is no need to suppose that a nomad people remains in voluntary isolation, when its

grasslands border on more fertile and progressive districts; least of all if such districts bound it on more than one side. Casual raids bring back captives and booty from the settled country; cattle and their products, leather and cheese, are exchanged for metals, weapons, and drugs. More important than either theft or exchange, is the fact that the nomad alone can traverse the desert, as the sailor traverses the sea, and put one margin into touch with the opposite side. He alone knows the landmarks and the wells, and can arrange safe-conduct from tribe to tribe, utilizing his friends, and avoiding the neighbourhood of his enemies. At first such traffic is almost accidental: a knife, bought on this side openly in the bazaar, turns out to be of a metal or fashion unheard-of on the other; so next time the nomad takes two, and trades the spare one, buying cheap and selling dear. But in time the thing becomes habitual; terminal bazaars spring up, like seaports on the desert margin; landmarks, wells, and camping grounds are respected by common consent; caravans are organized and ply regularly, going armed like an East-Indiaman against the pirates of the sand-ocean. These desert voyages, as may easily be imagined, earn enormous returns, in spite of the great risks from sand-storm and robbers. Once successfully attempted, they cast an irresistible spell, and be-

come habitual to the trader, and indispensable to his sedentary customers. The caravans are conducted, of necessity, by the nomads themselves, and among them they necessitate some changes of habit and organization. They train to foresight and discipline, for a caravan, however large (and the larger the safer), moves as one family, with military precision, and rigid obedience to the leader. Above all, at either end, they involve more than momentary or hostile contact with sedentary life: for caravan-folk, like sailors, necessarily spend part of their time in harbour, waiting or seeking for cargo. Moreover, wives, children, and grazing flocks can no longer accompany the men in their journeys: for in speed there is safety as well as economy, and the caravan carries no non-combatants, nor useless mouths to be fed on the road. To provide for these, the desert-ports become regular cities, controlled sooner or later by the desert folk: and to feed these cities, territory is acquired and cultivated. Best of all for these purposes is an oasis just within the desert margin, where a snow-fed stream from the hills is strong enough to flow out into the waste; such are Damascus and Bokhara. Or the desert may touch a navigable river, as at Deir on the middle Euphrates, or Astrakhan, or Berber in the Sudan; or the sea, as at Suakin, the terminal of the road

from Berber, or the African Tripoli, or Eziongeber on the Gulf of Akabah. We have very likely hit upon one such route already, between the Red Sea coast and the prehistoric Nile (p. 56).

Now the coming of the Semites into Babylonian history seems to include both these classes of contact, exodus and traffic. Two of the oldest and most famous of Babylonian cities, Ur and Eridu, lie not "between the rivers" at all, but on the Arabian side of the Euphrates. Ur stands by the main stream, well above even its ancient mouth, at a point where the largest cross-canal comes in from the Tigris: it was mainly suited for up-river trade. Eridu, on the other hand, looked down the gulf, which has an immemorial coasting trade with India and the spice countries: it lay lower down and further away, on what may have been an old side channel of the river, or perhaps originally a creek of the open gulf. We may compare their respective sites with those of modern Kerbela and Koweit. They certainly have all the look of terminals of just such desert roads as have determined the position of those modern successors. These roads lead to the central group of oases, and communicate thence with Arabia Felix, the spice-land in the far south, and again with Sinai and the southern fringe of Syria. It is in the latter direction probably that we should trace the faint link of connection

between the nascent civilization of Egypt and its Babylonian models. Here then we may reasonably think that Semitic folk had a sedentary foothold, as early as there was any one to trade with in the delta itself. And whatever may be the truth about earlier times, it was precisely at this point that the second or Canaanite movement of Semites (p. 113) made its chief contact with Babylonia, refounding the ancient city as "Ur of the Chaldees," and eventually uniting all southern Babylonia into a Chaldean kingdom.

The other point at which Semitic aggressors pressed most effectively upon Babylonia was quite at the head of the delta. Here, at Kerbela, another desert road from the south which has long skirted the western bank, has its terminal and junction with the river traffic; and almost opposite, in the heart of the canal navigation, lies Babylon, in historic times the greatest city of them all. It can hardly be doubted that one reason why Babylon, which in Sumerian hands had no such supremacy, came to the front as it did under the new Semitic régime, was that its position linked it directly with some ancient equivalent of Kerbela, and so with the desert roads, and made it the chief alternative to Ur as a centre of Semitic activity.

On the other hand, the second Semitic occu-

pation, and the impression which is given by our meagre accounts of the conquest of Accad in the first, suggest less the persistent influence of desert ports, than forcible migrations in mass, of the drought-impelled kind which we noted to begin with. The circumstance that the dynasty to which Sargon and Naram-sin belonged had its capital not in Sumer at all, but in the more northerly Accad, suggests very strongly that it did not come into possession by direct attack on the west frontier of the irrigated land, which had been deliberately strengthened (as we have seen) by a great marginal canal, but crossed the Euphrates higher up, into the Mesopotamian steppe, and invaded Babylonia from the north, on which side it is most exposed. Some disastrous experience of the kind, and the fear of its recurrence, must certainly have been the reason for constructing the so-called "Median Wall," which runs across the tip of this desert, from Euphrates to Tigris, a little outside the natural limit of Babylonia. It is certainly far older than the Median conquest; it is closely comparable in conception with the Great Wall of China; its object, no less clearly, is to keep out nomads; and the first Mesopotamian nomads of whom we have any record are the Semitic kinsmen of Sargon of Accad.

Once settled in Northern Babylonia, with their

chief stronghold at Agade or Accad, this first swarm of Semitic invaders rapidly annexed the Sumerian south, and was able with united forces to cross the Tigris, and occupy Elam. Other campaigns of Sargon and Naram-sin seem to have covered all the foothills which limit the level country to the north; some think that they can identify places in North Syria, in chronicles of the time; and there seems much reason to think that the country which Naram-Sin calls Magan is the peninsula of Sinai. This, however, may have been reached in trade by the direct desert route.

Both in Babylonia and in Elam, the Semites succeeded in imposing their own language on their subjects; in Elam only as an official language alongside the native tongue, so that important documents are sometimes recorded in both; in Babylonia as the regular speech of the country. Only for antiquarian and certain ritual purposes was the Sumerian language preserved: and much of our actual acquaintance with it is due to the preservation of Sumerian documents by the learned of later days, in Babylonia and still more in Assyria; and to the vocabularies of Sumerian words with their Semitic equivalents, which they compiled to aid in reading them. Apart from the gift of their language, and a vigour in organization which hardly outlasted the first impulse

of conquest, these earliest Semites contributed little to the culture of Babylonia: and indeed they had little else to give. Outside Babylonia, their migrations can hardly be traced at all: mainly, however, because the second wave of emigration, about a thousand years later, spread so much further, that it overflowed and washed out, as it were, whatever was left of the first.

Of this second Semitic migration, which occurred somewhere in the later half of the third millennium, we have but a shadowy history. From the circumstance that its most durable effects were to be seen in the Syrian coastland, it has commonly been described as "Canaanite"; but it is not certain whether the name of Canaan properly belongs to the immigrant Semites, or to the land or the people to which they came. The same doubt, by the way, rests on the name Amurri or "Amorite," which was frequently applied to the parts inland of "Canaan," both by Egyptians and by Assyrians, some time before the third or "Aramæan" wave of Semites settled there.

But it was not into Canaan alone that this second or Canaanite migration made its way. In Babylonia, from about 2300 onwards, names of gods and men which are of definitely "Canaanite" type—Hadad, Rimmon, Dagon, and the like—become suddenly common; in North

Babylonia a new dynasty is installed, of great vigour and prestige; its kings bear Canaanite names; it conquers the south and, instead of trusting (like its predecessors) to an Accadian base, makes Babylon—hitherto a city quite of secondary rank—the central capital of a compact and united kingdom. It is to this period apparently that we are to ascribe that great "battle of four kings with five," on the Jordan frontier, of which we catch the echoes as a crisis in the story of Abraham. At all events "Amraphel, King of Shinar," who is one of the confederates of Chedorlaomer in this Israelite tale, appears to have the same name as Hammurabi, the reorganizer of Babylonian independence later on, and the first great legislator of the world.

Another section of the same Semitic inroad penetrated northwards beyond the first hills into the middle valley of the Tigris, and laid here the foundations of that other Semitic state which was afterwards famous as Assyria; for its earliest recorded princes, about 1800 B.C., bear similar "Canaanite" names. Others again of the same linguistic stock reached the rolling country of Harran between the Khabur and the Euphrates: but here they founded no state; only detached and ephemeral settlements. The country is in fact too featureless either to centralize its population, or to subdivide it valley

by valley into coherent neighbourhoods. West of the Euphrates, similarly, the "Canaanite" immigrants certainly affected all the strip of highland country between Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and everything south of this as far as the edge of the great desert.

But of their spread over the Syrian coastland we know little. Our most graphic account is still that in Genesis, which describes how the heads of a migratory clan which once had lived around Ur on the desert edge of Babylonia, and afterwards had crossed the Euphrates higher up and "lived in Harran," moved westwards once more, by way of Kadesh, and entered the coastland of "Canaan" from the north-east. Eventually (so the story is told) it passed on into Egypt, and back into Canaan again; a glimpse into the Hyksos period, surely, from the standpoint of one who was himself a "Shepherd King." The region round the desert edge is represented as being all in nomad hands; for the family of Abraham maintained communication still with kindred near its old home, and Isaac and Jacob could still get wives from thence. This particular clan, as we know, is eventually brought, by its traditions, once more into Egypt, at a period which corresponds with that of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and then makes its escape into the desert in the later days of the Nineteenth;

re-entering Palestine finally from "beyond Jordan," and in the course of the twelfth century. But this is another story, and we shall tell it later on (p. 140): it is only its first wanderings, up the Euphrates and into Syria, that can be taken as reflecting the conditions of the second Semitic migration.

It is an open question whether Egypt was not affected also by the "Canaanite" movement. In the centuries 2300 to 1500, within which it is contained, Egyptian history falls into well-marked periods. The brilliant prosperity of the Twelfth Dynasty, as we have already seen, was both preceded and followed by a period of anarchy and foreign oppression, and either of these is at first sight attributable in part to a Canaanite conquest. Unfortunately, the date of the Twelfth Dynasty is still in some dispute. Some authorities place it as far back as 2500, in which case the Canaanite movement came later, and is available to explain the foreign attacks which paralyzed Egypt afterwards. Others bring it as low down as 1900–1800; and on this reckoning it is possbile that all primary movements of Canaanite folk were over already before the Twelfth Dynasty began. There remains, however, the third possibility, that the Twelfth Dynasty was in power *during* the crucial period; and delayed a catastrophe which it was not able to avert.

That migratory Semites did reach Egypt, in the course of this movement—even if only in small and occasional parties—seems to be clear from the story of Abraham's "descent into Egypt," and for this an approximate date can be given; for Abraham was recently settled in Palestine at the time of the "battle of four kings with five," which seems to represent events of the reign of Hammurabi of Babylon; and Hammurabi came to the throne soon after 2300.

The third Semitic migration is known as the "Aramæan," from the region between Lebanon and the Euphrates, where alone it established a Great Power. The Aramæans appear to have begun to emerge from north-eastern Arabia about 1350, when the nomad hordes whom kings of Babylon call "Suti" and "Achlame" are found harrying almost the whole Euphrates frontier. From the fact that about the same time the same peoples begin to give trouble to Assyria, we may infer that they passed the river, and spread through Mesopotamia. By 1300, Shalmaneser I finds what he calls "Arimi" pushing up the Khabur, and threatening the upper Tigris, a close repetition of the "Canaanite" procedure in Harran a thousand years before. By about 1130, when Assyria begins to recover from a phase of prolonged disorder, there are indeed "Aramæan Achlame" still scattered through the foothills,

from the upper Tigris to the Euphrates, but the centre of their power is now a group of organized states west of Carchemish, between the Euphrates and the Western Sea. The Hittite régime in North Syria, whose rise fills the interval between the Canaanite movement and this one, has broken up, and "Aramæans" predominate in its stead.

As this Aramæan confederacy held all the desert routes, Damascus was at its mercy, and in due course became its capital, when it felt the need of one. The "Syrians" who threaten Israel from the time of David to that of Ahab, are in fact these Aramæan people in their civilized and sedentary stage: its later analogue is the Damascus of the Arab Khalifs. Ubiquitous already, and now in control of commerce, they found their dialect accepted as an international language from Mesopotamia to the frontier of Egypt; and in "Syriac" speech and literature it survived until the Arab conquest. With only minor relapses and changes of fortune, this kingdom of Damascus remained dominant in Syria for nearly two hundred years.

Fourthly, and nearest to ourselves, comes the Arab migration of the seventh century A.D. It issued, like its predecessors, along the whole north margin of the desert, and in the course of a century had flooded not only Syria and Egypt, but all North Africa and Spain; it had occupied

Sicily, raided Constance, and in France was only checked at Poitiers in 732. Eastward it flooded Persia, founded an empire in India, and carried war and commerce by sea past Singapore. Its details obviously do not concern us here; and its history is dealt with fully in the volume in this series on "Islam."

CHAPTER VI

THE UPLAND NEIGHBOURS OF BABYLONIA

THE coming of the Semities introduced us to the first great example of a clash of civilizations; sedentary, agricultural, and eventually industrial, on the one hand; nomad and pastoral on the other, or at best trafficking in the surplus produce of other people's labour. We have seen men of pastoral habit forced to migrate into regions where settlement and agriculture were inevitable; where their highly specialized habits and institutions were doomed to break down in time under the stress of new needs and new facilities. And we have watched this transformation effected not once only, but repeated, each time with a fresh flood of untamed men pouring over the conquests of the last; intensifying the Semitic elements in the mixed culture of the settled

regions, but never wholly obliterating its indigenous pre-Semitic basis.

So much for the relations of Babylonia with its desert neighbour; and of the desert peoples in general, with the regions which border on their home. We have now to look at the other side of the delta.

It was the tragedy of Babylonia, first, that not all its hothouse fertility lay within the embrace of the two rivers; second, that the Tigris, unlike the Euphrates, passes through the foothill region so obliquely and gradually, and receives such large side-streams in this part of its course, that it can support a considerable population, at a distance far enough removed from Babylonia to be beyond its permanent control, and yet near enough to it to feel its spell, and to become a standing menace to it. The first cause brought a great power into existence in Elam; the second permitted the rise of Assyria to independence, rivalry, and then to empire. Both brought a variety and a turmoil into the long history of Babylonia, which contrast very markedly with the habitual seclusion of Egypt.

§ 1. Elam

Of the beginnings of Elamite history, we know in some ways even more than we do of Babylo-

nian. At all events, its more upland situation has permitted us already to discover much that in Babylonia is sealed deep down in the mud, if indeed it exists there at all. On the site of Susa—"Shushan the Palace" in later days, and the capital of the Persian Empire,—M. de Morgan has had the good fortune to find nor merely a great mass of remains and documents covering all the chief periods of Babylonian history, but below these again two distinct strata of neolithic settlements: the earlier of which, as is so often found to happen, represents the sudden rise or arrival of an original and vigorous art and civilization; while the later shows the same ideas perpetuated after some crisis which has cost them their vitality, and left them spiritless and decadent. The pottery, as usual, is especially instructive: its dark brown patterns, painted on a pale ground, partly imitating basketry and textiles, partly rendering plants and animals with childish simplicity, might at first sight be compared with the painted wares of the period of awakening in Egypt. But the style is quite different: and resembles moreover in a rather striking way a few widely scattered series which are all that have been secured hitherto from a very ill-explored area; from a neolithic site underlying the Hittite castle at Sakje-Guezi in North Syria; from the surface of early mounds

in Cappadocia, and from low levels of the Hittite capital there at Boghaz-keui; and, more surprising still, from an important site, also neolithic, at Anau on the northern edge of the Persian plateau, looking over into Turkestan; and at a number of points scattered over the flat lowland on the north side of the Black Sea, and thence into the Balkan Peninsula as far south as Macedonia and Thessaly.

It is easy to lay undue stress on the similarities between stages of art which are all elementary: but widely separated as these sites are, they seem to represent an area which is definite and (if continuous) intelligible: for it is an area closely similar to that which would be covered by any attempt to express on a map the dispersal of the group of peoples whom the Greeks called Scythians and Sacae; or the distribution of any fact of culture which the mediæval world got from the Turks and Tartars. Geographically speaking in fact, we seem to be dealing with the record of a dispersal of people in a neolithic stage of culture, but with a fairly well formed tradition of decorative art already: a dispersal which had its starting-point, like the Turkish and Tartar invasion, on the grassland north of the Mountain Zone, and penetrated outside this grassland, westwards beyond the Danube and south-westward as far as the Euphrates, and even into Asia Minor.

Similar distributions in other departments of culture will come before us later on, in Chapter IX.

The analogy, rather than likeness, of the Egyptian pottery is of value in this, that, as we saw, it was at about this stage of development that the Nile-men seem to have first taken seriously to irrigation and intensive agriculture: and further, that in Egypt one of the first sequels to this new application of their energies was a marked decline in those arts which had been their pride hitherto. Just such a sequence we seem to have in the neolithic strata of Susa, and it is permissible to ask whether the decline of handicraft which M. de Morgan records may not be the symptom that the reclamation of the valley-sides and fenland of the Elamite region was already under way. The fact that no such phase is represented as yet, even by casual pot-sherds, on any Babylonian site except Nippur, suggests that Elam was already past this stage when Babylonian reclamation began; and this in turn helps us at last to understand how it is that Babylonian civilization as a whole seems to start so abruptly and full-grown. It had had indeed to start full-grown, with features acquired elsewhere, because, like the dynastic culture of Egypt, it was based upon an economic and geographical situation which had been brought into

existence by the intellect and effort of men already well advanced in elementary culture. The transitional phase will be found, if anywhere, in the more lowland sites of Elam, where the first experiments had to be made along the hill-ward margin of the great swamp. Other such experiments, in the valley bed of the Euphrates above Hit we have already been led to assume (p. 92) to account for differences which appear from the first between Accad and the Sumerian south.

But Sumerian Babylonia, though it probably owed its creation to what we may fairly now call Elamite enterprise, was soon to outrun it in advancement, and in due course to repay its obligation, though not always with very good will.

After these comparisons of the cultures east and west of the Tigris in regard to their origin and relationship, we come now to watch them in interaction. Elam, like Babylonia, was a geographical region, not a state. It contained a number of cities, some upland, like Susa, which has yielded all the detailed evidence we have as yet; some maritime, and probably engaged in oversea trade like Babylonian Erech: some, lowland and fenland settlements like Babylon and Lagash. The states, like those of Babylonia, had their own material interests, their own friendships and feuds, their own ideals of conduct and beliefs about the will of heaven. But in addition

they clearly maintained a type of civilization which had a strong common likeness, and developed strong contrasts with that which prevailed beyond the Tigris.

There were also two standing sources of trouble between the two regions. First, Babylonia is practically devoid of stone, of wood—with the exception of palm and willow,—and of metals of any kind. Elam abounds in all these, and Susa in particular is the key to some of the best and most accessible. More than this, Elam held a practical monopoly, for nowhere else beyond the lower Tigris is there water transport, or even a valley road, like those offered by the Kerkheh and Karun: the nearest alternative sources, in fact, are in Assyria, some three hundred miles away. Here, then, was a "Naboth's vineyard" to tempt any Babylonian king who thought he was strong enough.

Secondly, the course of the Tigris has always been liable to sudden, violent, and extensive alteration; and if, as seems probable, this swift and unmanageable stream was the customary boundary between the two regions, it is clear that in the course of centuries its vagaries would raise questions of ownership which could only be settled by war. At the same time, though approximately marginal in its upper course, the Tigris ceased to be so where its delta merged with those

of the Elamite rivers. Here Babylonian conditions extended, so to speak, outside conventional Babylonia. We may compare the embarrassments of Rome in her dealings with Cisapline Gaul, this side and that side of the Po; and with the tribes of the valley of the Rhine. The economic frontier of Babylonia is at the edge of the alluvial land; and alluvium beyond Tigris was liable to be *Babylonia irredempta*.

These were the main conditions under which the long rivalry was pursued. How it was pursued, and with what effects on either side, is a matter of historical record, of which some chapters are already clear; the balance of power depended on the extent to which the forces of either could be co-ordinated in one efficient hand.

§ 2. Assyria

The other upland peril of Babylonia came ever from the north. Unlike the upper Euphrates, the Tigris, after exit from the high mountains and before it skirts the desert, traverses about a hundred miles of open, cultivable country, and receives there several of its largest tributaries. These also have fertile valleys, and the last of them, the Lesser Zab, offers also a frontier against raiders from the south-east.

The lower half of this region is hotter, drier,

and far less extensively fertile than the northern; but it is this, nevertheless, which first became known to people from downstream, and was permanently settled by them. Here, therefore, lies the district whose regional deity, Asshur, originally (it seems) the tribal god of its Semitic conquerors, becomes the national patron of all Assyria, as his people made good their mastery over the rest. By comparison with Babylonia, or even with the later Nineveh, it is a hard land, hedged by harder still; and it bred hard men and a hard political creed. Asshur was a stern friend, and a ruthless enemy; no Assyrian monarch dared ascribe his achievements but to the command and the ruling of Asshur. Was Asshur angry? then the best-planned strategy would go awry. No aggression was too unprovoked, no atrocity too cruel, to be perpetuated on the enemies of "Asshur, my good Lord." No ancient nation—not even Rome—has practised *real-politik*, as modern Germany calls it, with the callous fanaticism, the sheer indifference to humane pretences, which mark Assyrian warfare and, still more, Assyrian diplomacy. What its expectant victims thought of it is written large in Jewish prophecy.

When and why the Semites first occupied Assyria is not clear; but the conquest certainly preceded the time of Hammurabi, who held

Assyria as a garrisoned province; and it may very well have been part of either or both of the first two Semitic movements. It is still less clear what the conquerors found there. Probably it was a simple upland culture like that of early Elam, only little removed from the neolithic phase. What the Semites brought with them was knowledge and organization. With experience won in Babylonia, they practised extensive irrigation; they exploited metals and timber in the hills, rapidly dominated the moister upper valley, civilized its Kurdish occupants, and completely interbred with them. National physiognomy, and (no less) the national behaviour, has changed so little hereabouts that we may fairly apply this modern name. When the Kurd breaks loose, as he is occasionally encouraged to do, his methods of diplomacy, of warfare, still more of "pacification," are the simple methods of old Assyria, little aggravated by the use of gunpowder.

The architecture of the Assyrians is the brickwork of Babylonia, faced heavily with sculptured stone, the doorwarys guarded by monstrous human-headed bulls; everywhere are scenes and long cuneiform inscriptions glorifying Asshur and the king. Their art, Babylonian at bottom, gains in technical skill, but forfeits originality to the sombre realism of the national temper. Only in its last days does it borrow, perhaps from

the far west, a new grace, and joy in the natural beauty of landscape, horses, hounds, and hunted lions, which strike us as almost modern.

The Assyrian garrison of Hammurabi stands isolated, before a long period of which we still know nothing. Later Assyrian kings trace their dynasty to a crisis not long after 2000 B.C., probably the point at which Kassite pressure in the south cost Hammurabi's successors their suzerainty. Soon after 1400 there is a treaty between Assyria and a Kassite king; then a marriage alliance with Amenhotep IV of Egypt, a court conspiracy fostered by Babylon, and a punitive raid by King Assurballit, which placed a puppet-king, Burnaburiash, on the Babylonian throne. The letters of Burnaburiash to Amenhotep IV form part of the famous archives of Tell-el-Amarna (p. 154). Other wars before 1300 are the prelude to two decisive events; the first Assyrian aggressions that we can trace, up the Tigris northward, and westward towards the Euphrates, in the reign of Shalmaneser I, the re-founder if not the creator of Nineveh; and a formal conquest of Babylonia about 1275. The old city of Babylon was destroyed, and the statue of its god Marduk carried off to Assyria, like the "Ark of God" to Philistia, and Juno of Veii to Rome. But the conqueror had constructive designs. Babylon was splendidly re-built,

and a new canal was cut from the Tigris, to irrigate a large stretch of country, and improve communications with the new master's home. The impression created by this achievement in Western Asia may be judged from the promptness with which Egypt and its Hittite enemies (p. 156), who had been in open war in 1826, struck hands in 1271 as allies for attack and defence. Then, after a long tussel, with alternate successes, for more than a century, the expulsion of the Kassites from Babylon, and the long anarchy which followed there, gave to Assyria the first of three chances of empire, and allowed its armies to reach the Mediterranean seaboard, penetrate into Asia Minor, and speak on equal terms with the King of Egypt. The hero of these wars is Tiglath-pileser I, whose long reign runs from about 1150 to 1100. The occasion of the subsequent decline is quite obscure; its duration is more than a century.

The second empire of Assyria begins about 950, and falls to pieces a little before 800. The third, widest and most splendid of all, begins with the usurpation of Tiglath-pileser III in 745, attains its climax about 670, and comes to a tragic end in the years immediately before 600. Its conquests, divided between its allied conquerors, both ancient enemies, as we shall see, formed (1) an empire of the Medes, mainly

northern and upland, with Assyria itself in the foreground, and large possibilities of conquests or reverses in Asia Minor, which Assyria had raided but never subdued; and (2) a new Babylonia; the revolted Assyrian viceroy of Babylon claiming the reversion of all the Syrian fringe of Arabia, and the right to deal with Egypt if he chose.

Into this balance of power, ingeniously devised, and on the whole justified by its effects, it was the fortune of Cyrus of Persia to plunge, uncommitted, a bolt from the blue, or as Herodotus says of him "his own forerunner"; with a policy of re-union for all, under kings and customs of their own; and, over all, the Great King, literally "King of Kings," ruling from Shushan the Palace, an ancient Elamite capital. "Who Cyrus was, and in what way he came to be king over the Persians," we may still read best in the pages of old Herodotus. For the detailed chronicles of Assyrian rule we must refer to special books of history (p. 253). But the main features and origins of those other states, the Medes, New Babylonia, and the tangled "Nearer West" in Syria and Asia Minor, we shall best bring into one field of view, if we analyze those regions from the point of view of their contact with Assyria itself.

With the rise of Assyria to political impor-

tance we begin to have dealings with a power which had a positive foreign policy, and more than one foreign objective: and the difficulty which confronts the historian of this power is to do justice to a people which appeared on the scene late, after most of the surrounding countries had made their first contact with one another, and achieved a distribution of authority and spheres of influence. Like other late-comers, Assyria seems to have been first used and exploited by its neighbours; then respected and feared, as its power grew and its determination was realized. Like England in the sixteenth century, and United Germany in our own day, Assyria seems to have discovered rather suddenly that it had claims to a "place in the sun"; and to have worked with notable determination and great foresight to secure this place for itself: though not without severe set-backs, and more than one collapse which might well have seemed decisive.

Omitting details, and concentrating attention on the broadest outlines, we reduce the perennial problems of any possible state in the geographical position of Assyria to three: the problems of Babylonia, of the Northern Highland, and of the Nearer West. So long as Assyria could keep these three sets of enemies apart, and deal with them in detail or play them off against each other, there was some hope of suc-

cess. If any two of them joined forces, the situation became serious for Assyria. If the *entente* included all three, disaster was at hand; and it was a triple *entente* of this kind that at last brought Nineveh to its fall.

South-eastwards, as we have seen, at a distance of some two hundred miles from Nineveh, lies Babylonia; on its flank, Elam; and behind Elam, untamed highlands, between the Persian Gulf and the habitable section of the plateau from Shiraz to Kirman. The latter region was occupied (probably during the Kassite rule in Babylonia) by a vigorous stock of new immigrants from the northern grassland, to whose special history we shall return in Chapter IX. But Babylonia was the key to it all. Assyria, as we have seen, first comes into history at all as a dependency of a Babylonian Empire, in the great days of Hammurabi. The momentary climax of Assyrian splendour was reached in 668 when Esarhaddon named his two sons viceroys of Babylonia and Assyria, in what seemed at last to be a "united kingdom." The two fatal blunders of Assyrian management were, first, the foolish attempt of Sennacherib (just before) to annihilate Babylon, and then, as it turned out, this very attempt of Esarhaddon to humour it; for it confessed the despair of the conqueror, revealed Babylonia to itself, and resulted in

successive revolts—Shamassumukin in 664 and Nabopolassar in 625—and a New Babylonian Empire before 600, on the ruins of the Assyrian.

The second problem of Assyria lies in the north-east, among the mountaineers of Armenia and the Zagros range. As long as Assyria was weak and poor, a land of second-rate agriculture and negligible trade, there was little to tempt the rough ancestors of the hill Kurds to raid the Tigris midland, still less to sink their feuds to do so. But just in proportion as protection was assured to farmer and merchant by the strong hand in Nineveh, enterprise spread and wealth accumulated; trouble broke out, or was expected to break out, on the borders; and one great reign after another is found either to begin, or to be soon interrupted, by punitive expeditions among the mountains.

Twice, in a long history, the catalogue of police-operations is ennobled by a serious adversary. In the second or ninth-century phase of Assyrian growth, we hear of a great kingdom of Urartu with its centre on Lake Van in Armenia: it was a monarchy with a regular dynasty, commanding the allegiance of tributary kings, now more, now fewer in number. It had its own language and national religion; but it had borrowed the cuneiform script, and its art was deeply influenced by that of Assyria itself. The

thorn in its side, which Assyria eventually used to disable it, is a hostile power to the west, in the direction of Asia Minor. The same geographical region regains political unity and military importance in the seventh and sixth centuries; but now its rulers are different. They speak a new language, connected with the Phrygian speech of recent intruders from Europe into Asia Minor: and they rely apparently on western support, instead of warring against the west like the old kings of Van. We shall recur to their meaning in Chapter IX.

The other highland danger comes into existence in the same dark period as veils the change of masters by Lake Van. When Sargon of Assyria invades the Zagros highlands east of his own country in 713, he records among the more obstinate of his enemies one Daiakku, who bears a Median name; and Greek tradition, which begins in this period to be worthy of respect, dates Deiokes, the first historic king of the Medes, within the same generation. They are probably the same person. How long the Medes had already occupied their intermont plateaux it is not easy to say: but their language belongs to the same Iranian group as that of the grassland intruders into the southern plateaux behind Elam (p. 200), and their civilization, when we come to know it better, is also in essen-

tials the same. Assyria's constant apprehensions during its last century of empire, the bewildering confusion of chiefs and clans in its Median wars, and the rapid growth of aggressiveness among the highland folk, suggests that some new element came to the front about this time; either from beyond, or by successful effort in the highland itself. It is notable, too, that in spite of their western origin, the language of the new masters of Lake Van belongs to the same Indo-European family as that of the Medes and their Iranian kinsmen; and also that, even further west, new aggressive states had been forming in eastern Asia Minor, "Muski" (p. 158), and then, later, "Gimmirri" (p. 245), in which some at least of the tribes were migratory if not actually nomad. It was the third historical king of the Medes, Kyaxares, who, according to Herodotus, was the chief ally of Babylon in the death-grapple with Nineveh.

CHAPTER VII

THE DAWN ALONG THE LAND-BRIDGES

THE third problem of Assyrian foreign policy was in the Nearer West. From the Mesopotamian point of view, as from that of Greek

systematic geography, which was in great part based on Mesopotamian ideas, the Nearer West consisted of two divergent causeways or land-bridges, projecting from the continental mass of Asia, and leading respectively in the direction of other land-masses, which both Greek and modern geography know as Europe and Africa. Our wider knowledge shows us that while the northern of these causeways, Asia Minor, is in fact just such a promonotory, roughly four-sided, and communicating eventually with the Balkan promonotory of Europe at the Hellespontine strait, the other neither runs westerly, nor is peninsular at all. It does, however, consist essentially of a narrow causeway of highland and coast-plain, running from the Gulf of Antioch to that of Suez, between the Mediterranean on the west, and the no less dreadful sand-waves of Arabia on the other. The ancient mistake as to its general direction seems to have arisen mainly, though not wholly, through the difficulty of estimating accurately the total amount of curvature in a road when the way is very long and the change of direction gradual: even in a modern city the curvature of familiar thoroughfares like the Victoria Embankment, or the High at Oxford, can lead to similar errors. The goal of this southern causeway is Egypt, known vaguely perhaps in Babylonia in the time of the Kassite

kings—since a monument of the Hyksos King Khyan has been found near Bagdad—but not a serious factor in Mesopotamian politics till the conquests of the Eighteenth Dynasty, completed about 1500, brought the Egyptian frontier up to the Euphrates.

§ 1. Syria

All this region had originally a population racially akin, as it still mainly is, to that of the Mountain Zone; its civilization is mainly based on laborious upland agriculture, but it had acquired very early a veneer of Babylonian civilization, with cuneiform writing and habitual use of seal-cylinders; and it had been thoroughly over-run by the same "Canaanite" swarm of Semitic people as had established the dynasty of Hammurabi in Babylon and a Semitic garrison in Assyria. Some think, as we have seen (p. 116) that the Hyksos conquest of Egypt may have been a further adventure along this southern land-bridge. Three principal regions along this southward avenue, which in general we may describe as Syria, are strongly enough characterized in natural features and resources to determine the course of their human history in three distinct ways, southern, central, and northern. Palestine lies in the south, Phœnicia and Damascus are in the centre, and North Syria

includes all between Phœnicia, the Euphrates, and the Mountain Zone.

The southernmost section of the Syrian coast is probably the only part of the ancient world of which most people have any knowledge at all: and they are as familiar as they are with its features, and some parts of its history, only because here lies the cradle of that ancient nation which next to the Greeks has most profoundly set its mark on the modern world; the small confederacy of kindred tribes which called themselves the "Children of Israel." Their neighbours called them "Hebrews," a name which means simply "people from beyond"; and was applied in early times to more than one band of nomads tempted "across Jordan" by the glamour of the "good land flowing with milk and honey" which lay between that gorge and the sea. A good land truly it was, once you passed the sweltering jungle in the gorge, and climbed the steep ravines of the "mountains of Judah." Even this landward face of the highland lies near enough to the Great Sea to catch some dew and winter rain: and on the moors there is pasture in plenty. The seaward slope is long and at first gradual, with moorland still, parkland in the glens, and occasional wider hollows with rich soil, deep-seated springs, and margins terraced by centuries of effort, for vineyards, olive-groves,

and corn. Nearer the coast, the slopes are steeper and there are defensible narrows in the seaward valleys: Sochoh, Rephaim, and the Vale of Elah. Then, along an old coast line running nearly north and south, the limestones end abruptly, almost in cliffs, and you look out over a coast plain which was to become the home of the Philistines, but long before had been cornland and steppe-pasture; richest, because more securely watered, in the north under the flank of Carmel; widest and barest where it fades away southward into the "desert of the wanderings," and rises imperceptibly to Sinai. A highway from Egypt used to follow the coast; in Israelite tradition it was the "Way of the Philistines." Northward, the same road becomes the "Way of the East." Climbing from the coast plain by a defensible pass at Megiddo, through the Carmel ridge, and under Mount Gilboa, it crosses the head waters of the Kishon, where the plain of Esdraelon makes a great gap between the hills of Judah and of Galilee. Then, skirting the lake, "by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan," under the landward slopes of Hermon, it makes a straight course to Damascus.

Into this "good land" the Sons of Israel were to come, and this is perhaps the moment to note their fate when they arrived. For the geographer it is the scientific interest, for the his-

torian it is the tragedy, of the Chosen People, that they should have been led thus to exchange their nomad, pastoral, patriarchal life, with its simple needs and economy, and almost complete seclusion from the troubles of the world, for a Land of Promise which like all the paradises of the Nearer East only yields its fruit to arduous toil and anxious "thought for the morrow"; where the man without capital is ruined by a late frost; where hired labour is the sole alternative to slavery; where even the "good land" can only be won by fighting and held by intrigue and oppression of the conquered, "hewers of wood and drawers of water"; and where "Midianites going down into Egypt," and Syrians "going up to Damascus," and Phœnicians from the coast cities, display their wares along the flank of a great highway, or peddle them among the villages, and tempt to luxury and overspending.

Studied, in fact, in its economic and political aspect, the history of the Chosen People, after its entry into the Promised Land, is a tragedy; for it is the attempt of intrusive desert-bred folk to maintain their patriarchal customs and traditional exclusiveness in surroundings thoroughly sedentary, agricultural, and highly social. To "learn the works of the heathen" meant comfort and material advancement, at the price of intercourse, and sooner or later amalgamation

with them; to abstain meant abstention from temporal power, no less than from the gifts of the "daughter of Tyre": it meant that the world would go on without you; that you would be "a stranger and a sojourner" even in the Land of Promise. By what various compromises and expedients the Sons of Israel or sections of them attempted to solve this problem of their destiny, it is the task of Jewish History to record. Here it is enough to state in brief the rules of the game, to set the board, and lay out the pieces. For the rest, *Isra-el!* "God rules."

But the Israelite settlement in Palestine is only one, and a rather late episode, in the history of this southern land-bridge. It belongs, according to the traditional chronology, to the confused centuries, 1200–1000—which succeed the collapse of the New Empire of Egypt and the close of its Syrian protectorate. As the language of Israel is of the "Canaanite" type, we must probably regard the invasion "from beyond Jordan" as a very belated backwash of the great "Canaanite" movement.

It was very long before this, however, that those other "Canaanite" hordes swept westward, who had penetrated to seaward of the double mountain chains, Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, of which the hills of Judah and the mountains of Moab and Bashan are the humbler southward

prolongations. Here, in a narrow strip, almost a shelf, of torrent-watered coast, they founded, or more probably re-occupied, a string of defensible ports, on rocky capes or inshore islands, where fishing and garden-agriculture went hand-in-hand. Under Semitic masters, this strip became Phœnicia; but its great prosperity comes late, after long obscurity. Quite early in Egyptian history, however, under the Sixth and again under the Twelfth Dynasty, we find Byblus, one of these towns, in commerce with the Nile for timber and for drugs. The timber is easily explained by the "cedars of Lebanon" which towered above the coast. The other transaction suggests that Byblus was in early touch with Damascus, an ever-green oasis which, watered from Anti-Libanus, projects like a sea-promontory into the desert margin, and has been an immemorial haven of the chief caravan route from Babylonia to Syria and Egypt. We do not know for certain whether, thus early, Byblus traded by land or by sea. There was certainly a good and ancient road down the Palestinian coast, as well as northwards past Antioch into Cilicia; but timber floats, and, as it must needs be seasoned, it is seldom traded in a hurry; the larger logs also cannot go far on a donkey. There is therefore every probability that this, at all events, went raftwise to Egypt,

in the sailing season, manned by a few fishermen. The prevalent wind along the Syrian coast is obliquely southwards and in-shore: as favourable, therefore, to the transport of drift-wood, as it was perilous to other navigation. Egypt once reached habitually, and discovered to be the woodless country that it is, intercourse with a coast so rich in timber rapidly grew. It was reinforced, in time, by trade in other home-grown produce, particularly wine and oil, perhaps also in fresh fruit, as later; by copper from Cyprus just within sight to the westward; by silver from the far north—a rarity in Egypt as late as the Eighteenth Dynasty—and by an increasing volume of oriental spices, confections, and manufactures. In return, was there not "corn in Egypt"? and papyrus for cordage, and fine linen, and ivory; with quaint charms and ornaments in the wonderful blue glaze, assured averters of evil, "so the priests told us," and highly priced. Egypt, we must remember, was in ancient times, as under Saracen rule, one of the "manufacturing countries" of the world. Labour was cheap; flax, papyrus, and other raw materials indigenous, and in some instances a monopoly; skill and capital were abundant in its kings' palaces. Damascus was another such centre, with one of the earliest steel-industries, at least as far back as the Eighteenth Dynasty:

and the Phœnician towns themselves competed with both Egypt and Damascus in due time.

But until the close of the Hyksos period, about 1500, we have no history of Phœnicia. Only under the Eighteenth Dynasty do we see its cities, rich, self-contained, autonomous, paying little more than nominal service to the king of Egypt, constantly quarrelling among themselves, and quick to change their allegiance if they can score a point over a rival and neighbour, or to pay court to the rising sun of Egypt's last new enemy. Of all sea-traffic out into the west, history is silent till the period of Assyrian supremacy. The name "Phœnician" indeed is used in the Homeric poems: the word, however, is not the native name, but a Greek descriptive term simply meaning "Redskin"; applicable therefore to any sun-tanned sailor; and not demonstrably applied to these particular sailors at all. In the oldest Greek tradition, Homer's "Phœnicia," when it is visited by the sea-king, Menelaus, is something quite distinct from the bronze-working city of Sidon; and "Phœnix" himself is a king of Crete and grandfather of Minos.

Further north again, as it approaches and at last adjoins the Taurus range of the mountain zone, the structure of the Syrian upland becomes more complicated, and widens to fill the whole interval between the sea and the Euphrates.

The hills are, however, less rugged and continuous, the rainfall is ample and less intercepted by coast-ranges than in the Lebanon section, and the population consequently is larger and more generally distributed, in many valley states, ranged in loose federations and leagues. This foot-hill character does not of course change appreciably if we cross the Euphrates at Samsat: the transition from mountain to desert, however, becomes rather more gradual, in aspect and in climate, as we go east; and the whole region depends less upon rain, and more upon river-water, as it leaves the sea-breeze behind. The great western roads for this region, and for the parts beyond Taurus, leave the Euphrates at Carchemish and Samsat, not at Deir; Aleppo plays the part of Damascus, as bazaar and middleman; and the northern cities of Phœnicia give outlet seaward. But westward traffic through this region goes less by sea than along the coast road into Cilicia, where the maritime plain is larger than Philistia, and far better watered out of Taurus by snow-fed rivers, whose united deltas it is; young cousins of the upper Euphrates, that have struck the Great Sea instead of the desert. From Cilicia again, deep gorges through the narrowest part of Taurus permit access to the plateau-heart of Asia Minor, and introduce us to the other of our two land-bridges. And

as the first history of all this foot-hill region, on both sides of the Euphrates, as well as of all Syria and Palestine, presents it as the conquest and battleground of an independent power from the north-west, we must press our survey further till we come to this power's starting point and home.

§ 2. Asia Minor and the Hittites

A rough picture of Asia Minor may be given by supposing a longish rectangle, with its east side joined to Asia, its other three sides washed by the sea, and its north-west corner somewhat flattened up against an angle of Balkan Europe, and separated from it merely by a drainage-channel from Black Sea to Aegean, through the Bosporus, Sea of Marmora and Dardanelles. Within this rectangle of coasts an elevated plateau, between oval and lozenge-shaped, fills the centre; and is enclosed by multiple ranges of folded mountains, which coalesce in great mountain knots, in Armenia to the east, in Lycia at the south-west angle, and in highland Phrygia behind the blunt corner towards Europe. Outside the folded ranges lie hot sheltered coast-plains, wherever drainage converges to bring enough alluvium, in Cilicia, in Pamphylia, on the Sea of Marmora, and between the parallel spurs which dissect the west coast and sink down

slowly into promontories and islands beneath the waters of the Aegean. Elsewhere the outer slopes plunge sheer into deep sea. Of inward drainage there is little, for the coast-hills intercept the rain: but the Halys, rising in Armenian snows, flows perennial westward through the rougher half of the plateau, and then swings northward to reach the Black Sea through a deep gorge about the middle of the north coast. The only incongruous feature is the river Sangarius. Originally it was a mere coast-slope stream emptying into the Black Sea—so little east of the Bosporus that it barely misses a gulf of the Sea of Marmora—but now it steals all the drainage there is, from nearly a third of the plateau, through a deep notch cut in the northwest corner; and offers to any one coming in from Europe a tempting avenue into the very heart of the peninsula. It was the avenue of Homer's Phrygians when King Priam was young; the route of the Cimmerians in the seventh century, and the Galatians in the third; the highway which bound the Eastern Empire to Constantinople; and now it gives easy gradients for the railway to Bagdad.

Clearly, the two main questions, the answers to which are the history of "Little Asia," will be these: Has it, at any time—and, if so, how?—supported a people capable of holding its own

as a political force? If so, and as long as that has been so, it has been a complete barrier to conquest, perhaps even to peaceful intercourse between the East and Europe: and clearly if either the East or Europe was weak enough, a people in such a position has had the chance to play a part in history. Or, in the other event, has either Asia or Europe been strong enough,—and if so, when and how?—either to penetrate by intelligent exploitation this avenue between East and West, or to throw it open by force? Within the present limits, it is only possible to watch the first occasion on which either of these questions has been answered.

As the seat of a homogeneous and coherent people, the plateau has many advantages. Though a small district in the south-east is waterlogged, like Persia, with salt marsh and lagoon, the greater part is pasturable, and all the marginal pastures can be ploughed for corn, on a prairie scale. In one of the happiest phrases of Herodotus, the Phrygians, who held then all the western half of it, were "richest in sheep and richest in crops of all the peoples that we know." The encircling hills are rich in minerals and timber, and (except for the Sangarius gap) promise ample protection: at the same time they are not here so wide or so complicated as to harbour highland clans powerful enough to be a danger. East

of the Halys, and embraced by its great bend, lies a rather more rolling country, less fit for flocks, but favourable for olive, fig, and wine: south of it, on the foot-hills of Taurus, back to back with Cilicia, are several small tracts fed by summer torrents from the snow, and therefore perennially fertile. Of these the most important is Tyana, almost a little Damascus, with its gorge-road to the coast. Derbe and Iconium further west, and Caesarea Mazaca close to the upper Halys, repeat the same features in some measure; and this south-central district seems at times to have tried to coalesce.

Even after many historic invasions and resettlements, by Europeans, Phrygians, and Galatians, by Mediterranean Greeks, and by Mongol nomads from Central Asia, the population of Asia Minor preserves on the whole the characteristics of "Alpine" man, aboriginal inhabitant of the whole mountain zone: and its rugged margins in Lycia, Armenia, and North Syria exhibit this type still pure. Of early civilization here we still know next to nothing; but the traditional site of Troy, on the Hellespont shore, reveals a long series of vicissitudes between European and indigenous fashions from the end of the neolithic age to the beginning of that of iron (p. 165).

On the plateau itself only one site has as

yet been examined thoroughly. This is Boghaz-keui, a few miles east of the middle Halys, in a region where main lines of ancient communication cross, some going north and south from Cilicia to Sinope, others east and west between Mesopotamia and Europe. Under the name of Pteria it was the capital of a kingdom of Cappadocia in the sixth century B.C., and before that has a long and strenuous story, of which the main episodes are as follows:

Cuneiform documents found recently at Boghaz-keui itself, and at other points in Cappadocia, reveal Babylonian merchants settled in this region and actively engaged in trade at a period probably not much later than the First Babylonian Dynasty (p. 114). This is important evidence of the extent and organization of Babylonian commerce: still more important is it as revealing a community at Boghaz-keui in which it was worth while for Babylonian merchants to reside.

This discovery gives new importance to a reference in documents of Hammurabi's time (p. 114) to a serious political force somewhere beyond Taurus: to Egyptian records of a war of the Twelfth Dynasty (perhaps about 2000 B.C.), against a power newly aggressive in North Syria, and believed to have arrived from the north; to the fact that the First Babylonian Dynasty

was overthrown, somewhere about 1800, by an invasion of a people from the north-west, along the Euphrates, whom the Babylonians describe as Khatti; and to Israelite traditions (incorporated in the story of Abraham) that a "Hittite," as the English versions call him, held land at Hebron in South Palestine. Lastly, "Tidal, Lord of the North," one of the combatants in the "battle of four kings with five," seems to bear the same name as a known king of this people at Boghaz-keui: whom it will simplify matters now to call "Hittites" without further apology. Their name under various slight disguises, due to foreign scribes, is prominent in the annals of Egypt from 1500 to 1200; and in those of Assyria from 850 to 700. Their correspondence, like all official documents of this age outside the Nile valley, was written on clay tablets in cuneiform script; usually in Semitic speech, but occasionally also in local non-Semitic idioms. Their monuments, half Babylonian and Assyrian, but with a characteristic half-barbaric vigour of their own, and much picture-writing which cannot yet be read with confidence, are spread over the countries which they occupied, from the Euphrates to Sardis, and as far south as Hamath in Syria, and seem to cover the whole period between the extreme dates given above; some indeed may be earlier still, and

others later. Clearly, therefore, in the centuries round about 2000 the Ancient East was becoming aware of a new political factor in the north-west, which was occupying North Syria, holding land in South Palestine, raiding Babylonia, and causing anxiety to Egypt under the Twelfth Dynasty.

If we could be certain of the date either of the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt or of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we should be able to form an opinion of the view that has been put forward more than once, that these Khatti or Kheta people are either wholly or in part those foreign conquerors whom the Egyptians knew as the Hyksos, who form their Dynasties XIV, XV, and XVI, and from whose rule they were delivered by the Dynasties XVII, and XVIII. Thus much at least is certain, that the immediate sequel of this deliverance was an Egyptian conquest of all Syria as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates, which has all the appearance of a war of revenge, and at the same time a political precaution against any further trouble of that kind. This conquest of Syria was complete by the year 1500. It involved the conqueror in direct diplomatic correspondence with the Kassite Kings of Babylonia (p. 129). It brought Egypt also face to face with a homogeneous state called Mitanni, occupying the whole foothill country east of the Euphrates, and with a loose confederation of

semi-nomad Aramæans (p. 117) rapidly encroaching all round the north edge of the desert; and it brought homage and tribute in 1469 from "Hittite" states up and down in the foothills of North Syria.

The Egyptian conquest came just in time to relieve the kingdom of Mitanni from severe pressure exerted simultaneously, and probably in collusion, by its neighbours in the foot-hills, Assyria on the east and the Hittites west of the Euphrates. Egypt, which had no desire to advance further, and every wish to retain what it had won, made friends with Mitanni, and more than one marriage was arranged between the royal houses. But these obvious precautions precipitated the catastrophe which they were planned to prevent. Our evidence is from the royal archives of Boghaz-keui, supplemented, as the crisis approached, by the "Tell-el-Amarna letters" of Amenhotep III and IV of Egypt. Soon after the treaty between Egypt and Mitanni, Subiluliuma, King of the Hittites of Cappadocia (whom Egyptian scribes conveniently abbreviate as Saplel), was overlord apparently of a number of outpost baronies in North Syria. Assured of their help, and watching his opportunity, he flung his whole force, about 1400, upon Mitanni, and over-ran the foothill country as far as the Tigris; as far indeed as the conquests of his

great predecessor Hattusil I, of whom unfortunately we have little news but this bare allusion.

This closed the career of Mitanni, and totally upset the calculations of Egypt. It also impressed greatly the leading chiefs of the Aramæans. Another forward move must needs be at their expense; so they made the best of a bad business by throwing in their lot with the Hittites; at first secretly, on account of allegiance only recently sworn to Egypt; then, on detection, openly, as a tributary state. Egypt, deserted on all hands, made terms with the victor, and ceded all North Syria, and this treaty was renewed between Mursil, the second successor of Saplel (about 1360), and Amenhotep IV, who found himself quite cut off by hostile Aramæans from his hereditary friends in Babylonia, and was rapidly losing his hold even on the coast towns of Phœnicia, who were as hard pressed as he through the defection of all North Syria.

Others, however, whom the Hittite victories had taken no less by surprise, had now had time to revise their policy. Assyria, when it had harried Mitanni in time past, had not meant to weaken it for Hittites to destroy. To redress the balance, Shalmaneser I decided to scramble for its remains: he raided about 1320 as far as the Euphrates, and his successor invaded Commagene, in the hills between Syria and Cappadocia

itself. About the same time Seti I, an early king of the XIX Dynasty, claims to have reached the Euphrates again, and his successor, Rameses II, certainly re-occupied the Lebanon. The situation was critical: and the Hittites, who by this time had overlordship over almost the whole of Asia Minor, gathered all their allies, including Lycians from the far south-west, and Dardanians from the neighbourhood of Troy, and met the Egyptian army in 1287 in a great battle at Kadesh in North Syria. Rameses claims to have won; but he did not pursue his victory; and as the Aramæans took opportunity to revolt from the Hittites, the truce which resulted was probably needed on both sides. It was followed in 1271 by a most elaborate treaty between Rameses and the king of Boghaz-keui, Hattusil II (whom Rameses calls Khetasar) providing for a frontier to be delimited in the Lebanon, for extradition of evil-doers, and for offensive and defensive alliance—against whom? The king of Babylon, for one, was uneasy, and sent to Boghaz-keui to enquire. Two possibilities are open. Hattusil had occasion about this time to use very firm language to a Babylonian pretender in reference to an unnamed enemy: and this enemy can hardly be other than Assyria, which had lately been so active westward.

The other danger was a new one; Europe, as

we shall see again, more clearly (p. 208), was emptying itself with violent spasms into the Mediterranean, and not least into north-west Asia Minor. The Hittite Empire was being attacked in the rear.

On this ground, Rameses too had his own cause for anxiety: for "the islands were restless, disturbed among themselves," and he may well have foreseen the great sea-raid which in fact befell Egypt soon after his death. In such an event, the friendship of the overlord of Asia Minor and the maritime Lykki and Dardanui and their friends, who in fact took part in that raid, would be invaluable to Egypt. Quite apart from all this, however, Syria was all the while a hot-bed of intrigue, and only a clear rule about extradition could prevent the "high contracting parties" from being worried into war by the quarrels of little men.

Their frontiers and approaches thus secured, Hattusil and his successors could turn to organize their empire: their great land-register, and their treaty with the client state of Aleppo are among the clay tablets of Boghaz-keui. They had an outer ring of self-governing allies; closer-linked subjects, who paid tribute, and were supervised from court; and large domains administered directly by the king. Of their social conditions all that we see clearly is that women had some-

thing of the same high status and economic freedom as in old Babylonia, and down to Greek times in backward Lycia; it is the same, it seems, wherever agriculture and industry (where brains and perseverence count for so much more than strength and animal courage) have been dominant long enough to shape institutions into conformity.

The Hittite Empire drew rein not a moment too soon. If, as the Greeks believed, the Trojan War began about 1194, the Phrygian invasion of the plateau, and their great fight with the "hen-pecker" Amazons, must have occurred about forty years before: i.e., about 1230, within a year or two of the great sea-raid which fell on Egypt under Merenptah. And when another sea-raid, and a wholesale land-migration also, fell upon Syria about 1200, and was only beaten off from Egypt by the courage and diplomacy of Rameses III, the Hittites who took part in it were not the leaders, but colleagues of subordinates of peoples with Aegean and West-Anatolian names. Of these newcomers, the people who come most into view are the Muski, ancestors probably of the Moschoi of Greek geography. Still migratory, by 1170 they were threatening the Assyrian border, and (in spite of promises) remained dangerous till Tiglath-pileser I drove them back "as far as the Upper Sea," which in this context may well mean the Black Sea. This

was in 1120, and it gave the fragments of Assyria's old enemy, the Hittite Empire, a chance to revive. Their chief city now, however, was not Boghaz-keui, but the fortress of Carchemish on the Euphrates, which seems to have survived untaken when Tiglath-pileser's army swept through the North Syrian baronies to the Lebanon and the Phœnician coast. This first Assyrian conquest, however, was short-lived: formal acknowledgments may have been paid to Nineveh by states west of the Euphrates, for some generations, but a revolt about 1060 released Syria, and broke an Assyrian army at Carchemish.

The Assyrian conquerors of the ninth century had, therefore, all the work of the eleventh to do over again. But the conditions of the problem were the same. Between Tigris and Euphrates lay a weak, peaceable, mainly agricultural region, in the foothills of old Mitanni. Beyond the river, Aramæan Semites, pastoral and only half-sedentary, round the fringe of the desert, respected only the merchant-princes of their own blood, Benhadad and Hazael, who ruled and intrigued and made catspaws of their neighbours through the bazaar politics of Damascus. Upstream from these, Carchemish, impregnable for centuries, but easy to evade in the warfare of those days, "kept the bridge," so to speak, in front of the Hittite baronies, and took toll of

the road to Aleppo. Of the foothill baronies, Hamath would seem to have been the chief, and Aleppo a rival of Damascus. In time of need, it seems, they could call for help on kinsmen beyond Taurus: but there is no longer a Hittite empire. Muski and Phrygians were there to stay; lowland Cilicia, and Commagene in the hills, and Tyana beyond them, had cut themselves loose from Cappadocian Boghaz-keui; and by the end of the eighth century there was an independent king in Sardis as well.

Seawards of Aleppo and Hamath, the Phœnician towns, which had been old Semitic centres before the Aramaeans moved, took a new lease of life since troubles began "in the islands," and had now their counter-parts oversea in Carthaginian Africa. Temporal power they could forego, in their all but landless home, for now they had the power of the purse, the merchant's freedom. "Syria is so placed," says M. Maspero, "that it cannot be independent except on condition that is has no powerful neighbours:" but the converse also is true. In Israel, the southern cousins of the Phœnicians used the treble respite offered by the decay of Egypt, the disruption of the Hittites, and the temporary relapse of Assyria, to extend a protectorate over all the country from the Euphrates to the "river of Egypt": they levied rich blackmail, and went

partner with Hiram, King of Tyre, King of the Sidonians, in rich traffic through the "south country" and down the Red Sea. In Jerusalem, even the northern silver, a rarity in Egypt still, was "nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon."

But in the moment of climax, and apparently on some matter of finance and of the division of its gains, the Israelite confederacy quarrelled within itself. It had indeed never been more than a confederacy of highlanders, though two great generals and a great diplomatist, Saul, David, and Solomon, had made it a monarchy and an empire. So its "Syrian," that is to say Aramæan vassals seceded, and carved their kingdom of Damascus out of the wreck of the protectorate. Only the military genius of Omri, the brilliant marriage of Ahab with the "Daughter of Tyre," and the commercial speculations of Jehoshaphat nearly brought the two groups once more together. But in the battle of Ramoth-gilead the Syrians won; the revolt of Jehu was attributed to the same anti-dynastic motives as the accession of Hazael; and the new Red Sea flotilla was "broken at Ezion-geber by the east wind."

How Assyria, in the ninth and eighth centuries, was able to carve an empire out of this disordered and complicated world, with its three outstanding problems, in Babylonia, the mountains, and

the coastlands, is a matter not of the dawn, but of the full light of history.

But how Phœnicia succeeded now in recouping oversea the losses of her disordered land trade; and, further, why her cities had not done this long before, is still within our province; and to this question we now must turn.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DAWN IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

NOWHERE have the results of archæological excavation produced so complete a revolution in our idea of the course of events, as in the cradle of Greek civilization. For Egypt and for Babylonia we have always had at least an outline, inherited by Greek writers from the later Egyptians and Babylonians themselves, imperfect, distorted, exaggerated, and often overlaid with fanciful allegory and folk tale; but Herodotus could write about Menes, and Cheops, and Sesostris, and give some approach to a chronology, based essentially, as we now know, on much the same kind of evidence as ours. Babylonia, indeed, is a rather nearer parallel to Greece; for though Sargon of Accad was known to the learned world of new Babylonia, and Hammurabi and

Kudurlagamer figure in the early traditions of Israel, continuous history can hardly be said to go back to the First Dynasty of Babylon, and synchronisms only appear under the Kassite kings. But in Greece, continuous history begins with the Trojan War, or at best with the coming of the Achæans. As Professor Ridgeway picturesquely contends, if the Minos of Greek tradition was the tyrant whom Theseus overcame (as the more popular legends tell us), and was the grandfather of Idomeneus and the contemporary of Pelops and Laomedon, he was rather the destroyer than the creator of the "Minoan" civilization. At best, if we follow non-Homeric versions which make him the nephew of Cadmus, King of Thebes, he mounts back only into the eighth, or last but one, of the nine main subdivisions of the "Minoan" age. All before this, for the Greeks, and for ourselves till lately, lay in the black darkness of "Aryan" and "Pelasgian" mythologies.

The new knowledge has of course been gathered gradually; and while it was being accumulated, frequent attempts were made to show its relation to Greek history as it was being taught in schools. Each theory, of course, was at best an attempt to explain what was known at the time: and it was only rarely that the historian either realized fully all that was known, even at the time of

writing, or could refrain from exaggerating the importance of whatever was newest or most upsetting among the data that he had. The same thing was happening, of course, in Egyptology, and the other departments; but as these sections of history suffer less from "practical applications" in the cause of education, discrepancies between hypotheses, though no less glaring, and quite as justifiable scientifically, came less into the popular eye. The same thing was happening, too, in progressive sciences such as chemistry or natural history. It is only because the popular mind was possessed much longer and more obstinately by its childish idea that in the human sciences all, or at least enough, was authoritatively known already, that archæological discrepancies were not also acclaimed as symptoms of the "advance of knowledge" or the "progress of research." It is only fair therefore to predecessors, from whose honest work and fertile suggestions one is compelled to differ, by evidence inaccessible when they were writing, and to one's own point of view, which is just as likely to be modified by fresh facts before long, to introduce at this point a very brief outline of the principal stages of discovery in this region, with some insistence on the order in which, and the precise dates at which, the several facts became available to the learned, and also to the

popular world. Only thus can earlier summaries be read intelligently or criticized with justice. Let it be remembered also that the following pages were written in the summer of 1911, and without knowledge of discoveries which are imminent, perhaps in this very autumn, through operations now planned or undertaken, particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, on the west coast of Asia Minor, and in certain parts of North Africa.

Apart from casual finds, and a few premature excavations in Melos, Thera, Rhodes, or Cyprus, the prehistoric archæology of the Aegean begins with Schliemann's attempt in 1872–4 to find "Homer's Troy" in the mound of Hissarlik, near the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont. The six distinct strata of remains, over fifty feet deep in all, which he found beneath "New Troy," the Græco-Roman city, wakened general astonishment and some perplexity; for from their neolithic beginnings to the early-iron-age layer next to the surface, all was barbarous, and suggestive mainly of the work of corresponding periods in Central Europe. There was almost no painted pottery; there was nothing in the least like the pictures of the Homeric Age to which Flaxman, and Renaissance artists, and even the Greek vase-painters, had accustomed us.

From Troy, Schliemann went on in 1876 to Mycenæ, in southern Greece, to find here also a

bronze age, totally un-Hellenic, but quite different from that of Troy; in particular, painted pottery was abundant, with dark outlines of animals and plants on a light ground. The splendour of Mycenæ, moreover, unlike that of Troy, belonged exclusively to the later bronze age; it showed clear signs of contact with Egypt, apparently under the Eighteenth Dynasty (1500–1350 B.C.); and on the other hand, surprising coincidences with well known early works of art from North-Western Europe, attributed at that time to the "Celts." It may be noted in passing that "Celtic" analogies still seem to fascinate some students of this region. Sir Charles Newton, however, supplied some counterpoise in 1878 by recognizing as "Mycenæan" the British Museum's large collection of objects from tombs at Ialysus in Rhodes, as well as scattered finds from many lands round the Mediterranean.

Returning in 1878 to Troy to clear up the discrepancy between his two sets of data, and the many points of comparison between Troy and the primitive North, Schliemann allowed his own interest, centring round the "Burnt City," second from the bottom, which seemed to him to represent "Homeric Troy," to distract him from the upper layers, which were in fact most difficult of all to dissect and reconstitute, at all events with the methods of work in vogue at that

time. So it was not till 1893, after his death, that the sixth city was revealed as the truly "Mycenæan" stratum. Meanwhile, in 1884, he had revealed a fine prehistoric palace, at Tiryns, near Mycenæ, of about the same period as the Mycenæan tombs: and penetrating beneath its floors, he proved the existence of earlier settlements with a different style of art, and pottery with several colours instead of the Mycenæan brown. But "Homeric" enthusiasm prevented further "desecration" of the upper stratum: and we had to wait till 1908 for further knowledge of "pre-Mycenæan" things on this site.

By this time general interest was aroused. Helbig's great investigation of the relation of the "Mycenæan" to the Homeric Age was published in 1883. In 1886 Dümmler found, in the Cycladic islands, the first of the missing links between the cultures of Troy and Mycenæ; and in Cyprus a civilization even more like that of the "Burnt City" than anything hitherto accepted as its counterpart in south-east Europe. It took Austrian and Servian archæologists another twenty years to restore the balance of evidence on this point, and to show how Europe and Asia were forcing their respective cultures now this way, now that, across the Hellespontine bridge, competing for its control. Fabricius and Milchhœfer in the same years were demonstrating the

Mycenæan importance of Crete; and Tsountas and other explorers, Greek and foreign, were proving by many discoveries of sites and tombs (1) that "Mycenæan" culture had dominated all the southern Aegean in the later bronze age, and most of mainland Greece, as far north as South Thessaly, and as far west as Cephallenia; (2) that it was probably of indigenous growth; (3) that its intercourse with Egypt was extensive; and (4) that, whatever its origin or precise date, it was wholly prior to that of historic Greece, and separated from it by a violent catastrophe, in which cities were sacked and deserted, palaces and tombs looted, and the whole distribution not only of political power, but of economic vigour, was fundamentally changed, in a "dark age" of tumult and barbarism.

The question of date was cleared up in part by Flinders Petrie's discovery in 1893 of "Mycenæan" pottery of rather late type, in the Egyptian royal palace of Amenhotep IV at Tell-el-Amarna, which could be securely dated within a few years of 1350 B.C.; in part, when some "Aegean" pottery (so named by Flinders Petrie in anticipation) from a Twelfth Dynasty site at Kahun was recognized in 1893 as of Cretan fabric; still more in 1897 when this style was found in the important because well-stratified site at Phylakopi, in Melos, about as much earlier than the

"Mycenæan" wares as the Twelfth Dynasty was believed to be before the Eighteenth; and most of all, when Crete began to yield to Sir Arthur Evans indications of a system of writing, analogous to that of Egypt, clearly not derived from it at any recent period, and associated with forms and styles of engraved sealstones which seemed inspired by Egyptian models at least as far back as the Fifth Dynasty.

The question of origin—indigenous or oriental—was settled in principle within the same ten years, mainly by three considerations. (1) Asia Minor, so far from originating this culture, in Caria or Phrygia, or any other of its coast regions, remained as it were waterproof to it, almost till the end, receiving only at last the shattered bands of refugees who fled like Pilgrim Fathers before the final catastrophe, and founded Ionia unawares. (2) Phylakopi, in Melos, already mentioned, provided for the first time that consecutive record of advancement from the stone age to the close of that of bronze, which Tiryns ought to have been made to yield to Schliemann. Here for the first time it was possible to study the whole life-history of one and the same Aegean settlement, and determine its essential independence of the East. (3) Extensive excavation in Cyprus proved that Aegean civilization was implanted here abruptly,

intentionally, and late: whereas if (as Helbig and some others once believed) this civilization had originated in Phœnicia—so long the *deus ex machina* of puzzled antiquaries—it was in Cyprus if anywhere that we should find its earliest offshoots; for Cyprus lies in sight of the Phœnician coast, whereas Crete and Rhodes, the gate-posts of the Aegean, are more than eight hundred miles away.

The wide westward extension of "Mycenæan" culture was attested, too, in these same years, by many finds in Sicily, in Sardinia, in Spain, and at Marseilles; and also, less clearly, at the head of the Adriatic.

Not till 1900, however, did political conditions —worst weapon (as ever) of malignant chance, to distort the growth of learning—permit the crowning discovery by Sir Arthur Evans, reinforced now by British, Italian, and American fellow-workers, that the birthplace of this whole culture, and its chief home throughout, was in Crete; a fact not unduly commemorated in the name "Minoan"—derived from Minos, the legendary Cretan sea-king—which its chief discoverer has proposed. Through these Cretan explorations, the whole "Mycenæan question" has been completely re-formulated, with a precision and completeness quite unhoped-for hitherto.

At the present time, new evidence comes

most copiously from the margins of the Minoan world; from Syria and Palestine, from the west coast of Asia Minor, and from central and northern Greece. In the last-named region it has been known now for some years that even the latest Mycenæan enterprise hardly extended beyond the southern margin of Thessaly, and was held at bay in the Thessalian plain by an alien and much lower culture, which there is already some reason to regard as an offshoot of the neolithic civilization of the South Russian grassland; the precise connection, however, remains obscure, as long as Macedon and Thrace are closed to archæology.

From the results of nearly forty years of work, the picture which we reconstruct of Aegean peoples and their culture is in main outline as follows:—From the later stone age onwards the islands of the Aegean have been mainly peopled by members of the "Mediterranean" race, small of stature, with oval face, and rather long head, small hands and feet, and brunette complexion, with dark eyes and black wavy hair. Though the same type is represented on early sites on the coasts, there is no evidence that it extended any distance inland, either in Europe or in Asia Minor before historic Greek times. On the contrary, the occurrence, even in the islands, and from the earliest times, of more or

less "Alpine" types, thickset (but often also tall), broad-faced, and round-headed, suggests that this very different breed already held all the adjacent sections of the Mountain Zone, and was able to intrude itself into the Cycladic islands, and into both ends of Crete. The proportion of more or less "Alpine" individuals mounts up perceptibly in the latter half of the bronze age, and again at its close. In historic times, similar and even larger changes in the same direction are attributed, justly, to mediæval movements southwards on the part of other Alpine peoples, from the heart of the Balkan peninsula; and the earlier changes are probably due to similar intrusions. It is important to bear in mind this evidence as to physical characters, in view of the current tendency to treat Aegean culture as the spontaneous creation of pure Aegean aborigines.

As in Egypt, Syria, and the Babylonian region, there is clear evidence of a widespread barbarism of long duration, in the latter part of the neolithic age. In the South Aegean, and most clearly in Crete, this culture progressed very slowly and without perceptible crises to the moment when copper was introduced, and along with copper the art of painting on pottery. On the Hellespont, where Schliemann's six-fold "Troy" is still our standard of comparison, there is repeated interruption and fresh settlement, associated with

such alternations of style and technique as point unmistakably to abrupt changes of population. In Thessaly, as already noted, a totally distinct type of neolithic culture was established suddenly over the wide lowland area, and endured till the bronze age on the sea coast was near its end. But this very circumstance makes it impossible as yet to institute comparisons of its earlier phases; or to determine the date of its introduction.

But while Thessaly thus stands apart from the continuous Aegean development, Crete and the Hellespontine region can be correlated: since at Cnossus, under the Minoan palace, the uppermost neolithic layers, some twenty feet already above the base of the deposit, seem to represent only the same stage of culture as the "First City" at Troy. The earliest tombs in Cyprus are comparable with the second or "Burnt City," and the beginning of the "Minoan Age" of Crete; while the first bronze age tombs in Melos, and the bottom layer at Phylakopi, help to fill the gap which results at Cnossus from the extensive levelling of neolithic rubbish in preparation for the first Minoan palace. The "Minoan Age," as defined by Sir Arthur Evans, includes the whole of the bronze age. It is classified in three principal periods, early, middle, and late: and each of these similarly into three sub-divisions,

forming a ninefold series in which each phase is sufficiently distinguished by changing styles of pottery and other manufactures, sufficiently reflected in the analogous products of Melos, Thera, and other sites, to provide a standard series for the whole Aegean area. Objects of foreign, and particularly of Egyptian make, and of known date, are found at sufficiently numerous points in this series, to permit us to regard the Early-Minoan period as contemporary with Dynasties I–VI in Egypt; the many-coloured pottery of the Middle-Minoan is found on Egyptian sites accurately dated to Dynasty XII; and at Cnossus the deposits classed as Middle-Minoan-3 yield an Egyptian statuette of Dynasty XIII and an inscription of the Shepherd-King Khyan, between 1900 and 1600. The Late-Minoan period is more precisely dated still. Its first two phases, "L. M. 1 and 2" are contemporary with Dynasty XVIII, and datable to 1600–1400; they serve in turn to date the royal tombs at Mycenæ, and the Vaphio tomb in Laconia with its magnificent embossed gold-cups. A sudden destruction of the Cnossian Palace, dated securely between 1400 and 1350, marks the boundary between "L. M. 2" and "L. M. 3," to which last phase belong the third city at Phylakopi, the later graves at Mycenæ and Ialysus, the "Sixth City" at Troy, and the

large Minoan settlements in Cyprus and Sicily. Rather later than these, but still within the Late-Minoan period, comes the attempt, perhaps temporarily successful, to occupy Thessaly: and the first contact with the west coast of Asia Minor.

Then, with the cessation of intercourse with Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus, and the simultaneous, though gradual, introduction of iron, first for tools, then for weapons—it had been known as a "precious metal" in the Aegean since "L. M. 3" or even "L. M. 2"; of a new sort of costume which required safety-pins (*fibulæ*); of a new type of decorative art, non-representative, with a limited stock of stiff geometrical designs based on basketwork and incised ornament; and of the practice of cremation—wholly new in the Aegean, but long familiar in the forest-clad north, begins a new period, the Early Iron Age, with a new distribution of settlements, and centers of power and industry, and almost total extinction of the Late-Minoan culture, which was still relatively high, though already far gone in decadence, by the eleventh century.

These are the broad external outlines of the Minoan Age. We have now to look within, at the salient characters of its culture, in relation to the region and the mode of life which shaped them. In our first survey of the geography in

Chapter III, we saw that Crete and the other Aegean islands, together with the long promontories and peninsulæ—which fringe both its shores, represent all that remains unsubmerged of an intensely complicated section of the Mountain Zone, between the Albanian highland and western Asia Minor. Rising, nevertheless, to a few supreme peaks, like Parnassus and the Cretan Ida, of about 8,000 feet above the sea, and frequently to heights of 5,000 and 6,000 feet, the sunken region offers a surprising variety of climates and types of vegetation within a narrow compass; from pine forest, above, through great woods of deciduous oak and Spanish chestnut, now sadly destroyed, down into a scrubland of evergreen oak, box, bay, and myrtle, with olive, fig, and vine, native and capable of cultivation. Interspersed, oasis-like, in scrubland lie small alluvial plains, screened and secluded by rugged lateral ranges, well watered in winter by ample rain, in spring by melting snows above, and in summer locally by many deep-seated springs. These last are fringed with plane, tamarisk, and oleander, and are capable of maintaining irrigated crops of beans and cucumbers all through the great heat. In this soil and climate, the year falls into three parts, not four as in Italy or the north; the "reaping season" begins on the coast in May, and ends in the uplands in July; then

without delay comes the "fruit season" with vintage, figs, and olive crop in their turn, and time enough for autumn ploughing and sowing, before the winter rains. Then, in this "storm season," from December to February, the flocks are recalled off the hills, and man and beast alike remain near home; but in March, days lengthen, buds burst, children and lambs break bounds up-hill. For a brief six weeks, between the rains and the heat, the spring flowers—annuals, bulbs, dry-rooted anemones, and evergreen rock-rose, sage, and rosemary—make nature unspeakably beautiful and fragrant. Only man is momentarily unemployed: if he is a shepherd, he quarrels with his neighbour about their goats, or lies in the shade and pipes to his own: if he is an archæologist, it is time to dig, for the villagers can now sell him all their time; if he is an ancient Greek, he pays off the old scores of a twelvemonth, in litigation with his fellow-citizens, or in seasonal war with the city in the next valley.

On either margin of this gardener's paradise lie, half-detached, half-linked by mutual needs, two minor careers. On the hills, half-nomad forest-haunting pastorals—Pan and the Satyrs, of Greek folk-memory—with magic skill in the ways of all cattle and game, and rather like wild things themselves; kindly or mischievous at will (like our Pucks and Little People), but in either

mood incomprehensible to the cultivators, and much to be propitiated in simple ways. Artemis, too, and the Nymphs are up there: you can hear their hunting-cry far up when the wind is still, and the mountain goats scurry down, panic stricken, to the edge of the cornland. This is all that is left now of the days before the Great Mother brought us the corn she was the first to sow, and claimed her tithe of the forest-fed pigs; for we are not like the men of the grass, who hate the forest-feeders. Those were the days when men and pigs alike ate acorns and chestnuts, and there were water-dragons in the fens, and lions in the scrubland; not wholly fancy, this, for Minoan art has its famous lion-scenes. But the Great Mother has tamed the snakes, and her Son the lions; the fruit trees are her gift too, and hers the doves that take the first-fruits from her corn: above all, hers are the iris and lily, the flying fish and beach shells; and all the strange and beautiful things of this world are her playthings and ours. These are the broad outlines of the Aegean creed, and articles inherited from it into Greek religion: they link, as we see at once, Minoan exploitation with a pre-Minoan undeveloped past.

Remote from the waste, and on the other margin of the garden, lies the sea. On this we may go in simple canoes at first, long, lean, with

high prow and stern, and tribal standard like a primitive Nile-boat; and later, with great ships of many oars, and a single mast and wide square-sail, such as crowded to invade the Delta, and were memorably shattered by "that Rameses who had the fleet and cavalry," as Manetho notes, ages on. We fish, we dredge shells of many kinds and uses, we dive for urchins and rich merchandise of sponges. Above all, we go over to other lands and see other men, with our sponges, our dried fish, our oil and raisins, wine and olives, our pot-stone gems and vessels, our gay pottery with the flowers and foliage patterns: it is much better than theirs. But there is stone in their hills that makes knife-edges, keener than our flint; and they have the snow-white stone that glistens—of that we have none in Crete, though our pot-stone is good, and our carving better than in the islands. With the summer wind and the current that always sets so, we can go south too, to the palm country where they are sitting under the trees whenever we go, and doing no work at all; and so on by the east to the lagoons and the great river where the king's palace is. There we get good value, for they have neither oil nor wine, and their palaces and wall-paintings are bigger than anything of ours. We shall tell our king what we have seen, and bring him stone bowls and gem-cutting of theirs,

and he will make our men in the palace do things like that; though our way is better after all than this eastern fashion: it does not speak to the heart, as our things do.

These are the natural conditions in which a Minoan world grew up; easy livelihood from small secluded corn-lands, and abundant culture of fruit-bearing trees; supplemented by upland pasturage, and the harvest of the sea. Easy intercourse with many similar lands, or coast plains of the same land, identical in natural economy, almost infinitely various in mineral resources and in artistic and industrial dialect. Intercourse less easy, but within the power of moderate seamanship in the sailing season, with a venerable centre of art and luxury, like Egypt. Above all, a landscape of exceptional beauty, of brilliant atmosphere; grandly contrasted profile of ridge and promontory; infinitely various form and colouring of spring flowers and sponge-diver's trophies, seaweed, shells, and sea-anemones. It is not surprising, then, that it is here that man first achieved an artistic style which was naturalist and idealist in one; acutely observant of the form and habit of living things, sensitive to the qualities and potentialities of raw material, wonderfully skilled in the art of the potter, painter, gem-engraver, and goldsmith; and above all, able to draw inspiration

from other styles and methods, without losing the sureness of its own touch, or the power to impress its own strong character on its works of art. There are moments when we might be in Japan instead of Crete.

We have seen that, in Egypt, one of the first consequences of the extension of a homogeneous culture, and the same economic and political régime, over a peculiarly long and narrow region like the Nile valley, was the necessity for a sure means of communication at a distance: and that this need was met, concurrently with the cultural expansion, by the development of a system of writing. In Crete the same problem was set, within a much smaller region, by the mountain spurs which separated one small habitable area from another, and made direct converse by word of mouth between adjacent valleys as impracticable as between Thebes and Memphis. As in Egypt, again, this need became acute in proportion as any one town, such as Cnossus, succeeded in imposing its leadership on the rest of Crete; still more, when navigation brought Crete into intercourse with other islands and the continental foreshores; and from time to time into political predominance also. The Cretan script, which grew up under these conditions, shows a superficial likeness both to the Egyptian hieroglyphic system, and to all the other great scripts

of the world. It begins with pictorial, well-modelled representations of common objects, but these have already come to have phonetic values when we first encounter them, about the time of the Fifth Dynasty in Egypt. It is at this early stage, if not earlier, that we must place such contact as there may be between the pictography of Crete and that of the plateau of Asia Minor (p. 152): but it is quite possible that the continental system too may be found to have originated independently.

In Crete the "pictographs" are supplemented, and eventually replaced, by linear forms more suited to rapid work with a pointed graver. Their invention seems to mark the stage at which clay came into use, as a vehicle for writing: we cannot tell at present whether this invention was independent, or borrowed from Babylonia. The development of more than one variety of script is only what was to be expected, in a region so discontinuous as Crete, and with the evidence that we have already that the leadership of Cnossus was intermittent. Still more was it natural that, later on, the Late-Minoan colonists of Cyprus, and perhaps of Spain and parts of North Africa, should modify the script which they had brought with them to suit local conditions, and that native peoples who acquired the use of it from them should

change its character still more. The result is evident in derivative syllabic systems, which remained in use until the Hellenic period in Cyprus; in Spain till Roman time; and on trade-routes across North Africa until the present day. Less clear is the process by which a true consonantal "alphabet" was selected from the much more numerous stock of syllabic signs, to record Semitic speech in the Phœnician cities, and on other parts of the Syrian coast, as far inland as Moab on the edge of the desert. Obscurest of all is the replacement of the old Cretan syllabary in its Aegean homes, after the Minoan Age, by another group of alphabetic systems, closely akin to each other, and perhaps derived from the Phœnician, but provided with signs for vowels as well as for consonants, to suit the grammatical peculiarities of Greek in the islands and Ionia, and of the Pamphylian, Lycian, and Carian languages in south-west Asia Minor.

The language of the script is not yet deciphered, but from the form of the written documents, which Arthur Evans has found in very large numbers in the palace archives of Cnossus, and other explorers in smaller quantity at Phaestos and Agia Triadha, it is possible to learn something of Minoan government and organization. Most of the tablets are inventories of treasure and stores, and receipts for

chariots, armour, metal vessels, ingots of copper such as have been found in store at Agia Triadha, and singly in Cyprus and Sardinia; and smaller quantities of unworked gold by weight. Other tablets contain lists of persons, male and female; perhaps tribute paid in slaves, or in person, as in the Greek legend of the Minotaur. Clearly we have to do with the details of a vast and exact administration, far more extensive than Cnossus itself would justify; and the comparative insignificance of other Cretan towns during the great "Palace Period" (="Late-Minoan 2"), the temporary extinction of some of them, and the traces of a system of highly engineered roads and forts over the mountain passes, confirm the impression that the later Greeks were right in the main, in regarding Minos of Cnossus as a monarch who ruled the seas and terrorized the land, absolute and ruthless, if only because inflexibly just.

The palace architecture gives the impression of great luxury based on abundant wealth of oil and other produce; supplemented by skill in applied science, mechanical, hydraulic, sanitary, which is unparallelled till modern times. On to a central court, entered by an elaborate gateway, opened halls of reception, with deep porticoes and antechambers. Others, more secluded, opened on to terraces and bastioned platforms down the

slope. Between and behind these principal suites, winding corridors gave access to magazines and smaller living rooms. Staircases led to upper stories, with two or even three floors in some places. Practical convenience laid greater stress on inner planning, and room-decoration by fresco and fine stone panelling, than on external design. Only the plinths of a few original walls, facing on to the great courts, show any promise of a fine façade; and there was in any case so much rebuilding and patchwork addition, that the general effect must have been that of a crowded village rather than a single residence. Private houses were constructed of mixed timber and stone, with stuccoed fronts, many windows, and flat roofs. They crowded one another along narrow tortuous alleys on uneven ground, more stair than street; and the general effect of a Minoan town must have been very like what is still to be seen in the Cretan villages.

In Crete the climate is mild enough, even in winter, for portable braziers to suffice, and this release from anxiety for smoke-vents encouraged the architects to daring experiments in planning and internal lighting. On the Greek mainland, however, where the cold and rain are more severe, the need for a permanent hearth in the centre of the principal living room led to profound changes of construction; smoke-holes had to be

contrived in the roof, and perhaps also covered by ventilators to keep out rain; while in proportion as this hall was more used, its importance grew till it not merely dominated the planning, but imposed its portico as a chief feature of the façade. It is characteristic of the changed relations between the centre and the circumference of the Minoan world, after the fall of Cnossus, that this "mainland" type of palace is the one which seems most nearly to correspond with the descriptions of Achæan palaces in the Homeric poems.

The dwellings of the dead passed through many changes of fashion during the Minoan Age, and it has been reasonably argued from this that we may be dealing with more than one set of beliefs, perhaps held and put in practice by peoples of different origin. All Aegean rituals, however, agree in this, that the dead are buried, not burned, and that they are provided with copious equipment for their other life. The luxury of the rich late graves, and even of some of the earlier, is comparable with that of Egypt itself. The earliest tombs are "contracted burials," in cist-graves like those of pre-dynastic Egypt, and of most other parts of the Mediterranean world, as well as of the western regions which have been reached by Mediterranean man. As in Egypt, also, some localities, in

early periods, practised secondary burial; the body was interred provisionally until it was well decayed, and then the bones were transferred to the common charnel-house, as in a modern Greek churchyard. Later, families of distinction practised coffin-burial in larger and larger chambers, constructed underground or in hill-sides, and (on the mainland) with domed masonry linings. The coffins are often of clay, richly painted, or frescoed as at Agia Triadha with funerary scenes. In the latest phases, such chambers on a smaller scale, with flat roofs, became common and superseded the old "cist-graves"; but the royal tombs at Mycenæ still preserve, on a glorified plan, and with bodies at full length, the form of the primitive "cist-grave."

In Cyprus, Sicily, and Sardinia, the native custom of cave-burial was but slightly modified by the Minoan colonists, who were already accustomed to "bee-hive" burial in their old homes.

Among many other originalities, the dress and armour of the Minoan Age deserve brief mention, if only for their contrast with that of the Aegean in Hellenic times. The men's dress was of the simplest; long hair-plaits without other head-dress, strong top-boots (as in modern Crete) for scrubland walking, and a loin-cloth

or kilt, plain or fringed, and upheld by a wasp-waisted belt: elders and officials indulged in ample cloaks, and quilted sleeveless copes, like a crinoline hung from the shoulders. Women wore shaped and flounced skirts, richly embroidered, with "zouave" jackets, low in front, puff-sleeved, with a standing collar or a peak behind the neck; they were tight-laced, and the skirts were belted like the men's. Gay curls and shady hats with ribbons and rosettes completed the costume, which resembles more than anything the peasant-girls' full dress in a Swiss valley, and may be "alpine" too. Armour was simple; for attack, a long spear, and dagger-like sword with two straight hollow-ground edges; on the head a conical helmet of leather, strengthened with metal plates or boar's tusks in rows: and for other protection, the ordinary high boots, and a flexible shield of leather, oblong or oval, with metal rim, but no handle or central boss. It was slung over the left shoulder by a strap, and became distorted by its own weight to a quaint 8-shape; however, it wholly enveloped the wearer from ankles to chin, and could be bent so as to enclose him on each side. The horse was in use, and was brought from oversea; it was driven, not ridden, apparently; and light chariots were used both for hunting and in war.

But in the main, the Aegean was at peace in

the Minoan Age: a striking contrast with the wear-and-tear of the Hellespontine bridge, as successive "cities" reveal it at Troy. In the south, on the contrary, it is difficult to trace any non-Aegean enemy either in Crete or even in the islands, down to the fall of Cnossus; and it remains obscure whether this last catastrophe was not due to internal discord; the circumference, as has been recently suggested, turning against the centre, and terminating its tyranny. Cretan tradition told also, later, how a Lord of Cnossus went a Sicilian expedition, with all his force, and never came back.

But at this point in the story, Egyptian records come to our aid where Cretan archives are still dumb. They know of a change in the name and behaviour of the "people from over-sea"; and they give a clue to the decline and fall of the Cretan culture, which it is our next business to investigate.

CHAPTER IX

THE COMING OF THE NORTH

When we were looking at the theatre of lands and waters, in which the drama of history was to be played (pp. 32–7), we had occasion to note the existence of a great grassland extending

from the Carpathians and the Lower Danube to the foothills below Altai and Tianshan in Central Asia, skirting the shores of the Black Sea and Caspian, and extending south to the Caucasus and the steep north edge of Persia. Northwards, this grassland changes rather suddenly to forest of oak and beech, along a nearly straight line drawn from the north of Roumania to the south end of the Urals, and so on to the middle course of the Ob in Central Siberia, where the tree-line swings round to the south along the slopes of Altai. South of this there is free going for nomad people, by the head-waters of the Irtish, into the west end of Mongolia, once a similar grassland, though at a much higher altitude, but much more completely drought-ridden now. Westward, it should be noted that within the Carpathian enclosure, the Hungarian plain is mainly grassland too, and that very open country runs up the Danube some way beyond Vienna; disclosing easy passes to the upper Elbe. Locally there are grasslands again within the Balkan Peninsula; notably in Bulgaria, Thrace, Macedon, and, best of all, in Thessaly. The significance of these detached intermont grasslands will appear as we proceed.

In Persia a wide fringe of the high plateau is grassland also, though the centre is salt desert. The northern rim, though mountainous, is narrow

and very easily passable. Grassland folk therefore have direct access from the steppe of Turkestan to the intermont plains of the Median and Persian hills, whose steep western slopes look out on the Semitic region. Lastly—and at first sight most unexpected—our knowledge of the mediæval inroads of Mongol nomads warns us that the grassland heart of Asia Minor, remote as it looks on the map, and defended as it would seem by the whole width of Ararat and Taurus, is in fact as open as Hungary or Persia to intruders who started in Turkestan or beyond.

In the grassland margin of Arabia, we have already watched the history of a region of this kind, with its pulsations of climate, and recurring eruptions of men in search of sustenance. We have only to add two further points, before tracing the course of events in the northern area. First, the passage from grass to forest, though abrupt in parts, is nowhere so abrupt as to forbid transit from one to another; and in many districts it is so gradual as to present a strong inducement to the nomad to stray into the richer pasture which grows in the summer shade of parkland trees. As there is no change of level northwards, and the gradations of climate here are almost imperceptible, it is obvious that these are conditions exceptionally favourable to a gradual breaking-in of pastoral man to a different

mode of life, enriched by new prospects, on the one hand of hunting, on the other of settled agriculture. The process itself has been studied in recent examples among the Bashkirs on the slopes of the Urals, and in the settled Cossack country north of the Caucasus. Its effects are apparent, as we shall see, in the social structure of all historic peoples in the forest lowlands of peninsular Europe.

Secondly, we must keep in mind that whereas in Arabia the only native beast of burden is the ass, and the sole early flocks are sheep and goats—for it is only "this side Jordan" that the land "flows with milk and honey" from the bees and the cows which its richer vegetation can maintain; —in the north, and particularly along the forest fringe, wild oxen and wild horses, both known to have been native there, have been domesticated since very early times: how early, and in what historical order we are now beginning to learn from Mr. Pumpelly's excavations at Anau in Turkestan. The precise date matters the less, because none of all the nomad peoples whom we can trace at all on this side of the mountain zone, come into our view unfurnished both with horned cattle and with horses. On the true steppe the horse was certainly broken in to be ridden, from the first; but near the parkland, the existence of timber permitted the appendage first of a mere

"trailer" for the transport of goods, like those of the reindeer-driving Laplanders or the dog-sledges of Eskimos and Redskins, and later of true carts on rollers, or on solid wheels cut from tree-trunks. In some parts of the west it seems as if in time this practice of haulage superseded the art of riding altogether.

It will be seen at once that the possession of so swift, docile, and independent a creature as the horse made an enormous difference to nomad life in the north. Mares, it must be remembered, give rich and copious milk; colts' flesh is as delicate as veal; and the horse, which is as wary as a watch-dog, is defended against strangers by his heels. He can even be taught to use them in war, and the Persians certainly had these fighting horses still in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The horse also, though he eats leisurely, naturally feeds at night, and loses little of his master's time; a Tartar pony can literally "travel with the sun." In spite, therefore, of the vastly greater extent of the northern grassland, and of its horseshoe form, from Persia to Turkestan, and from Turkestan to the Carpathians, its dimensions, compared with its facilities for travel are relatively less than those of Arabia; and we may be prepared for similar punctuality in the appearance of related emigrants at widely distant points on its circumference.

We have seen how Arabia has been the nest not only of a type of man, but of a family of languages: and that while the successive broods which it threw off can be shown to have retained in their new homes peculiarities of speech which were habitual in the desert-reservoir, the language of those who stayed behind was changing too; slowly indeed, but sufficiently to provide the next swarm with an idiom as different, as Hebrew, for example, is from Aramæan, or Aramæan from Arabic. In this instance we can even measure the rate at which linguistic forms can change, for we know approximately the dates of at least three of the four Semitic migrations. The problems of defining their relationships would clearly be far more difficult if we knew neither the date nor the place of their origin, but had to argue only from their words and grammatical forms, and from the geographical distribution of the regions in which they were respectively spoken at the time when they come into history; since grammar and vocabulary are liable to change rapidly under the influence of contact with other languages and modes of life; and each successive migration destroys and disturbs the distribution of peoples and languages which resulted from its predecessor.

Just this, however, is the problem actually presented by the distribution of the "Indo-

European" languages. Their wide geographical range, from our own islands to Northern India, and from South Persia to Norway, is nevertheless limited enough to suggest that the whole group stands in somewhat the same relation to the northern grassland, as the Semitic languages to that of Arabia. Though the Indo-European languages differ far more widely from one another than even the most distinct among the Semitic group, they all possess a recognizable type of grammatical structure, and a small stock of words common to them all, for the numerals, family relationships, parts of the body, certain animals and plants, and other things and acts. It is still generally believed, in spite of much discouraging experience in detail, that from their primitive vocabulary it is possible to discover something of the conditions of life in regions where a common ancestor of all these languages was spoken: and when we find it generally admitted;—(1) that the domestic animals of this "Indo-European home" included the horse, cow, and pig as well as sheep, goat, and dog, and that the cow was the most honoured of all; (2) that these societies, though mainly pastoral, were not nomad, but had homes and some agriculture; that they used both plough and cart, had a considerable list of names for trees, and some experience of the simplest forms of trade;

(3) that the social structure was patriarchal, and that the patriarchal households lived in large loosely federated groups under elected chiefs;—we are probably not far wrong in regarding the first users of this type of speech as having inhabited some part, perhaps many contiguous parts, of the parkland country, which fringes these steppes, and as having spread in a long period of slow development; accelerated from time to time by drought, and migrations caused by drought. Some drifted in moister periods in the direction of the tree-less steppe, losing or confusing their vocabulary for forestry and farming; others, in dry spells, further into the forests, with corresponding forgetfulness of their more pastoral habits. Much recent controversy over details would have been avoided if it had been realized earlier by students of these languages that the geographical régime of all grassland regions is liable to these periodic changes; and that the immediate effect of such change is either to alter the mode of life of the inhabitants till it suits their new surroundings, or else to drive them out into regions where they still can live in the ancestral way.

It is essential, too, to bear in mind that as the differences between Indo-European languages are so much more marked than between Semitic, we are justified in assuming either much longer

periods of time for their differentiation, or else much more potent and varied changes in environment and mode of life. It should be noted particularly in this connection, that whereas the Semitic languages of antiquity all lie round the immediate fringe of the Arabian desert, in a semi-circle about 700 miles in diameter, it is no less than 1,500 miles from the Carpathians to Orenburg at the south end of the Urals, and another thousand from that point to the high ground either of Elburz or of Tienshan.

Note finally, that, though the steppe is actually continuous, and though rivers even as large as the Volga have interposed no obstacle to the nomad movements of historic times, yet there is a wooded belt, clothing the wide valley of the lower Volga, which so nearly reaches the fringe of a patch of real desert on the Caspian shore near Astrakhan as to divide the whole grassland area into hour-glass form, with two great reservoirs, semi-detached, semi-connected by a comparative narrow passage. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Indo-European speech may be separated in the first instance into two main groups, eastern and western, of which the eastern only gradually began to spread "Slavonic" languages west of the Volga almost within historic times.

Hitherto we have been dealing only with very

general conclusions, based on a comparison of the linguistic and geographical studies of two generations of scholars: omitting much that is disputed or obsolete, and much also that would be of value, on a larger scale, to qualify and complete this statement of the position. Now we have to turn to the first historic appearances of Indo-European-speaking peoples on the margins of the ancient world.

Of the current speech of these peoples we naturally hear nothing till a late stage, when they learned to write for themselves. But the majority of ancient names of men and gods are descriptive, and the gods' names endure; so that often it is possible to be satisfied that individuals or dynasties were of Indo-European speech, though our only proofs are names such as these, in their enemies' record of wars and treaties with them. For example, the Medo-Persian names Teispes and Hystaspes are found in Babylonian and Assyrian records of campaigns in the mountain regions, long before we hear anything definite about either Medes of Persians there; and in the same way divine names, Indra and Varuna, occur with other deities in cuneiform writings from Boghaz-keui, which prove that these gods were worshipped by a people which was in active diplomatic intercourse with the great Hittite monarchy.

The first occurrence of such Indo-European names is in the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence, which gives so vivid a picture of Syrian affairs in the years immediately after 1400. They represent chieftains scattered up and down Syria and Palestine, and they include the name of Tushratta, king of the large district of Mitanni beyond Euphrates (p. 153). Some even think that the language of Mitanni itself, of which a few specimens remain, was Indo-European. But this is a minor matter: nothing is commoner in the history of migratory peoples, than to find a very small leaven of energetic intruders ruling and organizing large native populations, without either learning their subjects' language or imposing their own till considerably later, if at all. The Norman princes, for example, bear Teutonic names, Robert, William, Henry; but it is Norman-French in which they govern Normandy and correspond with the King of France. All these Indo-European names belong to the Iranian group of languages, which is later found widely spread over the whole plateau of Persia.

To only a slightly later time belongs the Hittite document with Iranian divine names which has been already noted. The district to which it refers is not clearly described, but was certainly somewhere in Asia Minor; and it is thought by some that the language of Arzawa, the district

round and north of Boghaz-keui, shows Indo-European features. Here again, the names are valid, quite apart from the language of the people, as evidence for the origin of their chiefs. Rather later again comes a Babylonian record with the first Iranian name from the Persian highlands south of Elam.

Clearly, before the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, there had been a very extensive raid of Indo-European-speaking folk by way of the Persian plateau, as far as the Syrian coastland and the interior of Asia Minor. But we must also conclude that it was not very long before, since scattered chieftaincies of this kind do not last very long: they either are strong enough to impose their language on their subjects, which in most of these cases they clearly had failed to do; or they are so weak that sooner or later they are absorbed or overwhelmed, and then their personal names disappear too.

It is, therefore, of the first importance to find that it is in the dark period which immediately precedes the Eighteenth Dynasty revival—when Egypt was prostrate under mysterious "Shepherd Kings," and Babylon under Kassite invaders equally mysterious—that the civilized world first became acquainted with one of the greatest blessings of civilization, the domesticated horse. So strange was it, that in Babylonia its written

name signified simply "the ass of the east"; a fortunate hint as to the quarter whence the new creature came. It would not be surprising, in any case, that acquaintance with so great an aid to rapid travel should itself travel rapidly. But it is easier still to account for its universal acceptance, as far afield as Egypt and the Hittite country, if we are at liberty to suppose that it was brought not in trade from afar, but as a weapon of nomad invasion. And this is exactly the case. The two hypotheses are complementary and we are probably justified further in adding that the period of Arabian drought, which drove forth the "Canaanite" emigrants, may have had its counterpart on the northern steppe, to provoke the migration of these horsemen. There is at all events a general likelihood that a pulsation of climate large enough to affect Arabia so severely was not without effect over a much wider area. At present, however, our knowledge both of the extent of these droughts, and of the chronology of both these migrations, is too vague for this to be taken as more than a provisional basis for more exact enquiry. The geological evidence from the deeply stratified site at Anau (p. 192), already proves that cycles of drought and moisture did occur in that region also, and it need not be long before these new facts are dovetailed to our other knowledge.

Thus far we have been dealing with traces of Indo-European immigration by way of Turkestan and the Persian plateau. The still more easterly aggression of closely kindred peoples into Northern India marks the Dawn of History there; but falls outside the scope of this volume. It is enough to note in passing that this "Aryan" movement is commonly dated, on quite independent evidence, about 1600 B.C. It consequently forms part of the same series as that of the Iranians through Persia, and affords important confirmation of our date for this.

Now we have to look further west. We have seen far back (p. 121) that notable likeness has been observed between the neolithic arts of Susa, Turkestan, certain parts of South Russia, and the little grassland of Thessaly. Both in Susa and in Thessaly this culture was clearly introduced ready-made, and gradually fades away in its new home; at Anau it precedes a period of drought and desolation. There is consequently some reason to suspect that the likeness results from real identity; and that the reason why this culture is preserved in Thessaly and hardly represented in the rougher country towards the Danube is that the bearers of it were a pastoral folk who were absorbed or annihilated if they tried to live in the hills, but were able to propagate their mode of life when they pressed

through them, and found good country once more. When Macedon and Thrace, which also offer some stretches of pasture, have been a little better explored, we shall be more able to judge whether this suggestion is of value.

Meanwhile, it is clear from the successive refoundations of "Troy" (pp. 172–3) and from the successive changes in the quality of Hellespontine culture, that the land-bridge between Europe and Asia Minor was the scene of much coming and going, in the early bronze age, and of repeated disturbance of its inhabitants. At the close of the neolithic age (in about the same stage, that is, as the new settlement of Thessaly, though without its characteristic art), a culture which attains its highest development in Servia spreads its influence far into Asia Minor; but it gives way later to strong reverse currents of south-eastern culture akin to that of Syria and Cyprus in the earliest age of metal (p. 167). It cannot be too clearly insisted, that such an extension of culture does not necessarily mean the migration of a people, unless other evidence such as resettlement also points that way; if anything, it rather indicates that the region through which the new arts were spreading was settled and at peace. We should therefore probably think of the early metal age in Asia Minor as the long, quiet period which gave birth to

Egypt and Sumerian Babylonia; but as broken, towards the Hellespont, by crises of disturbance such as that which brought in the ancestors of Sargon of Accad (p. 112).

It was in this peaceful interlude, too, that the Minoan culture grew undisturbed to its splendid culmination in Crete (p. 174). It began, as we have seen, about the same period as that of Egypt; reached its Middle-Minoan phase in the days of the Twelfth Dynasty; and was already beginning to lose its vigour and be distracted by internal quarrels and ambitions, in the Late Minoan phases which overlap the "New Empire" of Egypt, and its Syrian conquests. The destruction of the Palace at Cnossus, which may be dated very close below 1400, cuts short the continuous development, and transfers the chief centre of influence from Crete to the Greek mainland, to Mycenæan Argolis and Laconia. From Aegean evidence it is not possible at present to decide whether the destroyers of Cnossus were other Aegean peoples, or intruders from elsewhere; but contemporary Egyptian records of the visits of oversea peoples of Minoan culture show that, about this time, fresh names and qualities were making their appearance in the home of this civilization.

Minoan visitors had been familiar at the Egyptian court for nearly a century. Until the

reign of Amenhotep III, who came to the throne about 1415, they had always been called Keftiu by the Egyptians, and had come as friends or traders, wearing their characteristic hair-plaits and gaily coloured kilts (p. 187), and bringing rich samples of their gold and silver works of art. But from the accession of Amenhotep III no more Keftiu come; and the Shardana and Danauna (how like the Homeric "Danaoi"!) who take their place, are men of war, hostile or mercenary, like the Goths in Kingsley's *Hypatia*. Some of them enlisted with the King of Egypt, and were set to keep their countrymen out. If a late but learned native historian, Manetho, is to be believed, one such "Danaan"—perhaps one of these very guardsmen—made himself king for a moment, in the brief anarchy which followed the death of Akhen-aten about 1365: and Shardana continue to make disastrous raids at intervals until about 1200.

But after 1300 they are no longer alone; an increasing number of other peoples accompany them, and their raids are on a larger and more offensive scale. The two principal attacks are about 1230 and 1200. The former, in the reign of Merenptah, was in concert with an along-shore invasion of Libyans (p. 81) on the west edge of the Delta. Besides Libyans and Shardana there were Akhaivasha, Shakalsha, and Tursha:

the first-named commonly identified now as Achæans—the termination *-sha* is the same as is preserved in Cnossus, Sagalassus, and similar Aegean place-names;—the others still the subjects of controversy, but increasingly regarded as emanating from the same Aegean source. It is certainly tempting to regard the Tursha as representing the Turseni, some of whom settled in Etruria, and the Shakalsha and Shardana as having given their name to similar new homes in Sicily and Sardinia. We have already noted a Cretan tradition of a disastrous "sea-raid" on Sicily. This Egyptian "sea-raid" was an analogous effort to settle in the Delta; and Merenptah had hard work to prevent it.

The second attack was made in the eighth year of Rameses III, by a combined land and sea force, operating this time from the Syrian side. As before, there were Danauna and Shakalsha, and with them Tikkarai and other new tribes, some apparently from the Aegean, others from North Syria and Asia Minor, and among them a force of Hittites. This time the motive is even clearer than before. The land force came with its families and property in large wheeled carts; the sea-men in great sailing ships, with a fighting-top on the masthead, and the decks crowded with well-armed "heroes," as their chivalrous enemy calls them. They had clearly

come to stay: and though the king of Egypt kept them out, by a hard-fought battle in South Syria and a great sea-fight, he had still to dispose of the survivors and non-combatants. There were already half-foreign settlements on the Palestinian coast plain, and to reinforce these with the newcomers would put a warlike population, under obligations to Egypt, in a position to stop any further attack that might come. It was the same policy again, as had made Egyptian guardsmen out of the Shardana, a century ago.

The chief of these settlers bore the name Pulishta, perhaps akin to the obscure name *Pelasgi*, borrowed by Greek writers from an ancient pirate-people in the Aegean; and certainly identical with that of the Philistines, and with the word "Palestine" which has spread from the coast to be the name of all southern Syria. Their later history is entwined for ever in that of their Israelite neighbours. They did not settle here alone, however; nearly a century and a half later there were still piratical Tikkarai established on this coast, a ruthless terror to travellers. The "Teucrian" settlement at Salamis in Cyprus which grew into a great Greek city, may well be one of their foundations, and perhaps also they gave their name to modern Zakro, a serviceable and already ancient harbour in eastern Crete facing out towards Egypt and Philistia.

The twofold character of the sea-raid of 1200 throws sudden light on the meaning of all this. It was always difficult to account for the abrupt change of name and character among the sea-borne visitors of Egypt, from friendly Keftiu to hostile Berserker folk like the Shardana and Philistines. It was difficult also to explain such intimate association between Aegean sea-raiders and a land invasion issuing from Syria. But the fact that the Hittites, who as late as 1271 had been a co-equal power with Egypt, are now only one of many congregated tribes; and the other fact (already noted in its place, p. 156) that in their great Syrian campaign of 1286 the Hittites themselves had allies with Hellespontine names—Dardanui and Masa—which are of the same Thraco-Phrygian group as the Tikkarai and perhaps others among the sea-raiders, gives the obvious clue. Sea-raiders, and land-raiders with their wheeled carts, are alike representatives of a general outpouring of people from the western end of the steppe region. They have pressed over the Danube and the Balkans, occupied Thrace and what was afterwards Macedonia, crossed the Hellespont, and invaded the plateau, as Homer's Phrygians are expressly described as doing, up the Sangarius bank (p. 148); re-founding Troy and building with external aid its mighty walls—the walls of the "sixth city"—at a date which

is given approximately, in Greek tradition, to the same generation as the reign of Khetasar, the enemy and the ally of Rameses II.

In the Aegean, meanwhile, there was pandemonium. Written records we have none, and all we can do is to piece together the evidence of Greek tradition, which remembered three main events in quick succession. The first was the "Coming of the Achæans," blonde fair-skinned giants, "tamers of horses," "shepherds of the people." Their chief political centres are at Mycenæ and in Laconia, where the Achæan kings were in some sense of "Phrygian" origin; their conquests, which include almost all mainland Greece, Crete, and the south end of the island fringe of Asia Minor, are rough-hewn before 1250, but there are still "unpacified" districts after 1180, for Menelaus sends word from Sparta that he can "sack a town or so" if Telemachus will find his father and bring him round from rocky Ithaca. We almost hear Roger of Sicily inviting Robert of Normandy to come south and share the fun. This makes the Achæans exact contemporaries both of the sea-raids on Egypt, and of the Phrygian occupation of north-west Asia Minor.

The second event is the "Trojan War" which the Greeks dated accurately 1194 to 1184. During an absence oversea of Menelaus, King of Sparta,

within a year or two of the sea-raid of 1200, and not improbably on business connected with it, Paris, a Phrygian prince, ran away with his queen. As Fair Helen was the heiress, in right of whose hand this Achæan adventurer reigned—a notable glimpse of the pre-Achæan status of women—Paris had now a claim to the throne of Sparta quite as good as that of Edward III to that of France; and something had to be done. The whole Achæan force was flung upon Troy and after a ten years' war the Phrygian city was destroyed and the lady recovered. But it was a hard-bought victory. High gods were angry with both sides: and there were "too many men in the world." Achæans and Phrygians alike, were scattered over the waters; some as far as western Sicily, and the mouth of the Tiber, and the recesses of the Adriatic: others, like Menelaus himself, to Egypt again. Their palaces at home were full of sedition, and vagrant ne'er-do-weels with "old soldier" yarns. Men who could make verses sang of little but the wars and the wanderings. It is the very picture of the foiled Sea-raiders, reeling back before the fleet of Rameses III.

Third comes the "Dorian Invasion"; two generations more after the Trojan War, and therefore a little before 1100. Who the Dorians were, was not quite clear to the Greeks; in some sense

they were a "clan of Macedon," and had arisen from Pindus, the Alpine backbone of the Greek peninsula. Unlike the Achæans, they have no skill in horses, but fight in close order on foot. Their traditional history and tribal nomenclature make them a mixed company, including some almost Albanian-looking highlanders with names of north-western form: there were also descendants of pre-Achæan "Heraclids" from the south, perhaps dispossessed Minoans. Certain it is that their subjects, all through southern Greece, stood aloof from the Dorians, and the Dorians from them, and for some centuries the peninsula was paralysed by a nightmare of race-feud. Other northern peoples, moving nearer the east coast, conquered almost all the north, in a loose "confederacy of neighbours" from Thessaly to the frontier of Attica. On the mainland, Attica alone outrode the storm; invaded but unconquered; thanks, so men believed, to wise reorganization by Theseus about the time of the "Achæan Coming." In the islands, things were rather better; though, in the south, Crete, Rhodes, and other parts were counted eventually as Dorian.

The refugees from Greece had obviously two ways of escape oversea; eastward and westward. How far they used the latter is not clear, though it seems likely that it was not wholly neglected; certainly some of the sea-raiders had

travelled far that way. Eastward, in any case, they profited by the havoc which Phrygian raids had made in the western half of the Hittite dominion, to colonize extensively on the west coast, richer and much more open-featured than the land of bays and promontories that they had left, but essentially the same in structure, soil, and climate. Here, in due course, grows up Ionian Greece, prolonged northward and southward by the cities of Æolis and the Hellespont, and of the Carian coast.

These are the outstanding facts of tradition; and their general drift is in agreement with other evidence that we have. Certainly, the Minoan Age sank suddenly and under violence; certainly, also, it was still living, though decadent, at the time of the second Sea-raid: the wall-paintings of Rameses III are decisive as to that. The armour, however, of those sea-raiders was new and their own, very much as we should expect of conquerors recently arrived; a round parrying-shield, close-fitting helmet with horns and sometimes also cheek-pieces, and strange body-armour of transverse belts made flexible as a lobster's.

After Rameses III, we have no more news from Egypt; but in the Aegean, the evidence from tombs and early sanctuaries is clear. Minoan naturalism is replaced, as we saw in advance

(p. 175), by stiff "geometrical" decoration; and its luxury by comparative barbarism. Minoan dress gives way to a mere blanket, hitched together by safety-pins, an invention probably of the rough mountain zone along the Adriatic, for it was imparted simultaneously to Italy. Bronze is superseded, more gradually, by iron; and the first iron weapons, too, are of types which begin, in bronze, both rarely in Italy and more freely in the Danube valley. Most instructive of all, perhaps, the immemorial custom of burial gives place very generally to cremation, which had long been habitual in Central Europe. So profound a change in the disposal of the dead may safely be taken as a measure of the revolution of thought and manners.

But all this does not take us far. Till Minoan writings can be read, we cannot be certain at what point, or by what stages, Indo-European speech, or names of men and gods, or institutions of northern origin were introduced. They can hardly have come later than the Achæans, about 1250; but were the Achæans the first to bring them, or the Danauna and Shardana of 1350, or did the Late-Minoan Keftiu speak already a language of this type? Archæological evidence, in the same way, if it is unsupported by records, rarely gives us periods and sub-divisions so precise as would distinguish "Achæan" tombs or

sword-blades from "Dorian." Only in one locality, moreover, have we at all a complete enough series, even of tombs, to survey the whole Dark Age.

Cyprus, as we saw, was colonized late but copiously about the time of the Fall of Cnossus; not from Crete, it seems, but probably from rival centres elsewhere in the Aegean. Its position, within sight of Phœnicia and Asia Minor, and within a few days' sail of Philistia and Egypt, gave it great opportunities for wealth: and these it used to the full. "Teucrian" Salamis on its east coast has some of the richest Late-Minoan tombs that have been found at all. But the repulse of the sea-raids left Cyprus isolated. Copper and timber it had been exporting for ages already. Now it acquired iron, and then manufactured it copiously with native ores and fuel. This art it may well have learned from Damascus, but the types of its iron weapons are those of the Aegean and the Adriatic. Its decorative art, too, loses Minoan vitality, which it had never appreciated fully; without, however, adopting the elaborate "geometry" of the next Aegean style. The Cypriotes also buried their dead throughout: and retained unaffected their ancient worship of the Mother, Our Lady of Trees and Doves (p. 178).

It is in Cyprus again that we can watch, in

some measure, the effects of the Minoan catastrophe, and the new régime in the Aegean, on the cities of the Phœnician coast, while these await their hour for direct exploration. During the Late-Minoan Age they had been importing the fine art-work of the Keftiu, but there is no evidence that they either made it or sent for it themselves. In the Homeric poems, which, in this point, too, preserve good memories of the Sea-raids, more visits are paid by western seafarers to Phœnica and Sidon than "Phœnician" merchants pay to the west. Phœnician merchants, however, are there; though not yet clearly linked with Sidon, except as carriers of its trade. Sidon, however, is already "full of bronze," and manufactures silverware and jewellery, which are prized in Achæan palaces. The wide Phœnician trade of historic times had clearly begun to grow, as the Minoan sea-power failed: yet, even in Cyprus, there is a long period of impoverishment between the last Minoan contact and the first clear imports of oriental origin.

The steps by which order was re-created out of chaos in the Aegean, and contact was re-established with Eastern culture, over the seaways to Sidon and Tyre, and over old Hittite land-routes from Ionia to the Euphrates, deserve far fuller treatment than would accord with the scale of this book. The results, moreover, belong

not to the dawn but to the full daylight of history—the history of the Ancient Greeks.

One fact, however, may be noted before passing on. The Greeks of history are now clearly revealed as the product of intense fusion. An immemorial civilization, bred in the fair surroundings of an Aegean world, and gloriously dominant over them, has stooped to conquer, not for the last time, a ruder folk who broke in to enjoy its paradise. For a while, these conquerors spoiled more than they were able to enjoy. But like Semitic intruders in Babylonia and Syria, these folk of northern nomad origin and "Indo-European" ways of thought, brought with them qualities, traditions, and institutions which offered a new standpoint for looking at Aegean nature, just because in origin they were independent of it. The result was Greece: and it is one of the dramatic situations of history, that when the movement of penetration, beginning, as we used to say, "somewhere in Asia," on what now we may define more surely as the northern steppe and its parkland fringe, reached the full width of its original extension, it marshalled the whole eastern world, from the Adriatic to the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, in two final camps, Eastern and Western in name, but held and directed on both sides alike by long-lost brothers and true kinsmen. In the west,

they were the men who had "come from the north," and changed the Aegean world from Minoan to Greek. And if the others came from the east, they were yet the same clear-eyed, chivalrous horse-tamers; the Persian "companions" of the King of Kings, the efficient civil-service of Darius the "counter of pence," the men who kept the Persian empire working for nearly two centuries after it lost its intellectual head. For it was these whom the greatest of the Hellenes, Alexander—himself, too, by birthright, a "horse-tamer"—could recognize as fit to share with his own "companions" from Macedon the rule of the world. It was these, too, whose ideal of old parkland chivalry, Herodotus, who knew and understood them, defined with Hellenic insight and happy epigram—"to ride, and to shoot, and to tell the truth."

CHAPTER X

THE DAWN OF HISTORY IN ITALY

To pass from the Dawn of History in the Aegean to its counterpart in the Western Mediterranean, is to step down once again some hundreds of years on the path of time. To take a

simple instance: the traditional date for the foundation of Rome is no earlier than 753 B.C., and the last new-comers into peninsular Italy, the Sabellians of the central highlands, did not find complete settlement until after 400; but in 753 Sparta, the chief Dorian camp in Greece, had already set her own affairs in order, and was engaged in new wars of conquest. Within a generation later, Corinth and Chalcis were trading widely and founding Greek colonies in Sicily; Sparta established Tarentum in 700; and Cumæ in Campania was perhaps even older than Rome. For companion picture to that of Romulus the half-legendary founder of Rome, the biographer Plutarch has to go back to the Athenian Theseus, whose revolt from Minoan oppression was the prelude to federal union. His United States of Athens, which are probably historical, and to be dated, as in Plutarch, about 1250, are therefore just five hundred years older than Rome.

The ancient historians of Italy, trained in Greek methods of allegorical ethnology, give us indeed poetic glimpses into a long pre-history, in which one barbaric people succeeds another, expelling its predecessor usually towards the south, so that Sicels, for example, pass on from Rome and leave their name in Sicily. They give us also glimpses of Aegean exploration and settlement in the west: Æneas of Troy, after nearly

founding a Carthage and a Libybæum, plants a Phrygian colony on the coast of Latium; Antenor settled far up the Adriatic; Tyrrhenians from Thessaly, by the mouth of the Po, and others from Lydia on the other coast north of the Tiber; Achæan heroes "coming back from the Trojan War" leave their fame in Campania and Magna Græcia. Of the historical equivalents of these sea-borne raids we have already seen something in Chapter IX. But clearly they only touch the fringe. It is from Italy herself, and through some forty years' work, mainly of Italian archæologists, that we recover the Dawn of her History.

The physical features of Italy present strong contrasts with those of Greece. Essentially the peninsula forms, with Sicily and Tunisian Africa, a crescent fold of the mountain system, such as we have already learned to recognize (p. 34): but its materials are much softer; the structure of its ranges less contorted and abrupt; its total elevation is much less; and its flanks are thickly buried in soft recent beds, mainly composed of its own rain-washings, or of the shell-strewn floor of inshore seas. Though the Western Mediterranean lies nearly its own breadth further north than the Eastern, and its own length nearer to the moist air of the Atlantic, Italy compensates for this in great measure by its

south-easterly position, and Sicily still more: they are washed indeed by both the seas, and this two-shored character strongly impresses their history. Cut off from Africa by a submergence so slight that mere hilltops like Malta and Lampedusa stand unsubmerged—Salisbury Cathedral or a New York "sky-scraper" would project above water from most points along the bottom—they are yet separated, for all that, and are fractured again to sea level, at the Strait of Messina. This Italian ridge, therefore, was no impassable barrier, so far as it went; yet, as it did not go far enough, it is not in historic times a bridge into Africa (as once, perhaps, even in human times); only a long pier-head of Europe, carrying European ways of life far out into the heart of a Mediterranean world.

For the history of Italy has ever been that of her invaders. In the Ancient East, we have had to take account of intruders from elsewhere: but their function has been that of a leaven or a stimulant; the human mass which was there to be leavened, or has taken shape and life under that stimulus, has been indigenous in essentials. In the Aegean, the invaders came late, to destroy, or at best to paralyse and re-create, an indigenous culture which had passed its prime and was already stiffening when they arrived; as that of Egypt stiffened under the dynasties after the

Fourth. They brought their language, their social structure, a large part of their religion; but they accepted a culture and a mode of life which was indigenous; and propagated a "Greek nation" of magnificent mongrels, to clarify and harmonize this wealth of incongruous gifts.

In Italy, the native culture of Mediterranean man, beginning from simple forms, quite as advanced, however, in essentials as that of the Ægean or Egypt, remained secluded and unprovoked to change. Isolated and interrupted by forest-uplands, which were no less formidable because they only needed to be used for their terrors to vanish, it passed into many local varieties, and accepted something from the wilder West, on to whose seas it fronted; and rather more from the Aegean, chiefly, though not quite wholly in its Late-Minoan phase. Minoan colonies extended from the heel of Italy to the south-east corner of Sicily. Minoan enterprise pressed further, to Sardinia and southern Spain, to the mouth of the Rhone, and to the head of the Adriatic, and indirectly through the Alpine passes into the Middle Danube.

But in main outline Italy and Sicily emerged almost from the end of the Minoan Age with economic, industrial, and political conditions hardly in advance of those with which the Aegean had entered on its great career. The reasons for

this backwardness are easy to see. Italy enjoys a rainfall sufficiently copious, and (what is more) sufficiently widely distributed round a large part of the year, to encourage rich forests of deciduous trees, beech, oak, and chestnut in particular, and to retain many stretches of summer grass at least on its higher slopes. Though the rivers are of small volume, they seldom run wholly dry. Their valleys descend gently from uplands of moderate altitude and gentle open forms; and it is an easy matter to drive cattle up and down these natural avenues, between summer and winter pastures. Cattle-keeping, therefore, of this half-nomad kind, plays a large part in Italian country life in all ages. Note that here the chief herds are no longer of sheep and goats, but of cows; more dainty and capricious grazers, it is true, but incomparably more profitable, and also far more domesticated; far less perilous neighbours, that is, to sown crops, orchards or vineyards. On the other hand, agriculture, though still very well worth while, is a far more laborious task. Vine and olive count for less, and share their honours with apple and plum. Corn counts for more—with oats, too, now, along with barley and wheat—and there is a deal of spring sowing, with the season so much later and the winter more open. Garden crops, and (above all) peas, beans, and lentils, are most valued of all: but they also

demand most effort. Irrigation, though only possible on a small scale, permits a quick succession of crops right through the summer, and anchors the Italian to his valley-farm, however his cattle may tempt him to a highland holiday; or, if he moves, he has his "Sabine farm" in the hills as well. Year in, year out, therefore, the farmer's calendar is full; there is no spring respite, as in the Aegean, either for seasonal war, or for inventive industry. Tribal wars in early Italy arise not from neighbourly friction, but from the stern stress of folk-movement and overpopulation. Culture, for the same reason, remains almost stationary, its few needs being easily satisfied with simple appliances: a Sabine farm of to-day could be farmed again by Horace to-morrow. Copious timber and flint, and the useful bones of large cattle, disguised the natural poverty of the whole peninsula in all kinds of metal. The result was a long chalcolithic (or as the Italians say, eneolithic) phase, in which good cheap stone and bad expensive bronze were in use concurrently. Settlements remained small and scattered, mainly from the arm's-length instinct of the herdsman, which we have studied already (p. 18). Commerce was at a minimum: marls and sands offer few mineral rarities; timber and cattle were not yet worth sea-carriage, even had their existence been known to the older

centres of industry; and in any case Italy, and particularly its eastward coasts, offered worse accommodation for sailors than any part of the Mediterranean with which we have had to do as yet. Writing and organization were therefore needless luxuries; nothing was to be gained by co-operation; there were no orders to give, and nothing to say or to record.

This peasants' paradise—as Central and Southern Italy have ever been, and long may expect to remain—was rudely threatened, like the Aegean, by a series of invasions from the mainland of Europe; but the sequel was very different. At first sight, Italy seems to be more securely fortified by nature against intrusion on this side than any peninsula in the world. The Alps rise with peaks of over ten thousand feet and eternal snows, in a great crescent from the Riviera to Dalmatia, plunging at one extremity into deep sea, at the other into a sunken shore-line with strings of islands, continuous with that of Greece. Within, concentric with the Alps, and continuous with their maritime section, rise the Apennine ridges, less lofty, with easy passes, but densely obstructed with forest. Thirdly, between Alps and Apennines lay the most impenetrable barrier of all, the waterlogged valley of the Po; a hundred miles or more of fen from its Adriatic delta, and then another hundred of

dense oak-wood, infested with wild pig and wild oxen, and continuous with the forests of the foothills north, west, and south. But the Alps as a frontier are a broken reed, a splendid traitor. Their steep face is towards Italy; and the long oblique valleys of Bavaria and the Tyrol tempt men up from the Danube water-meadows to easy passes: almost before they are aware, they are on the down-road to the Po. The Apennines are no better: their escarpment too frowns southward over Genoa and Florence, not on Bologna and Turin; and the copious tributaries of the Po play the same part as those of the Danube. Only the fen-land, in fact, held Italy and the northern world apart.

In a warmer climate, and with less dense impediment of forest fringe, Lombardy might have become an independent focus of culture like Babylonia. As it was, there were the trees as well as the reeds to fight; and the short steep upper courses of the Po drainage permit even less separation of silt from mud than in the Two Rivers (p. 94). But the Po was circumvented none the less.

In an Alpine region with numerous parallel ridges, many of the intermont troughs have insufficient outlet, or none. They become lake-basins, and are liable to be forested down to the water's edge, except where mountain torrents

feed the lake and push out their miniature deltas. Land and water seem alike inhospitable, except to the merest hunterfolk. But all along the Alpine chain, and in some other regions as well, man has learned even here how to make himself at home. Felling the great trees on the lake-shore, he has cleared himself a field on the bank, and built out into the water a pier of piles, secure against bear and mountain-cat, and defensible against hostile man along a narrow gangway, easily blocked or (at need) withdrawn altogether. On the piles is a platform, with huts and stores, and a trap-door for fishing. Refuse is cast into the lake: infants, as Herodotus quaintly notes, north of the Aegean, "are tethered lest they roll off." On the little clearing in front of the gangway, where the piles once grew, are simple crops of corn and vegetables; flax for clothing and fishing tackle, and apple-trees and stone-fruit; beyond them, nuts grow wild. Hunting and fishing were, of course, still a main source of food; cattle, easily acquired, could be kept on the "alp" the rich meadow-strip above the tree-line, which is snow-sodden in spring, and green all summer through. In winter, of course, they stayed indoors, on the platforms or hard by. Herodotus may well be in earnest when he says that pile-dwelling horses ate fish!

In almost all the Alpine lakes, "lake-dwell-

ings" of this kind were established in the stone age. They are notably uniform in culture, over great distances; but this need not surprise us. The natural conditions are simple and rigid, and the propagation of this type of settlement is peculiarly rapid, through the circumstance that between shore and deep water there is no room for endless extension of a pile-dwelling. As population increases, therefore—and in such security it can increase rapidly—somebody must go, and start a fresh one further on. Colonization, therefore, is a fundamental habit among pile-dwelling peoples. Their log canoes give them access to the whole shore of their own lake, and the fact that their summer pastures are on the high "alp," above the trees, ensures acquaintance with the passes which lead to the next one.

It was in the latter part of the stone age that the Italian lakes found themselves at last completely populated with lake-dwellers, and they overflowed in the customary way. These lakes, however, lie not in enclosed basins, but in lateral valleys opening onto the Lombard plain, obstructed only by clots of ice-borne rubbish which have dammed up mountain streams and inundated their upper courses. But down-stream there was still timber for piles, the same timber, adjacent to the fens, which had hitherto baulked

all human efforts to reclaim them: and now that the right men had come, what had been the chief obstacle became the very means of progress. Pile-dwellings of improved pattern, adapted to riverside life, were pushed forward into the fens, as far out as there were trees for piles. Round the head of the marshes, and all along the Apennine foothills they spread, hundreds in number, as far as Bologna and a little beyond. Here, in due time, and once more for want of space, the upper courses of the tributaries were explored, suitable sites were dammed with pile-barrages to form artificial lakelets, and the old rectangular timber-framed platforms continued to be built, though to all intents and purposes these "terremare" settlements were now on dry land. Old habits of life die hard, as we know; far beyond the Apennines, and in the age of iron, Roman armies fortified their nightly camps with a ditch and wooden palisade; their huts still ranged in four-square "islands" like the structure-lines of the old platforms; and the bridge over the Tiber which was kept by Horatius "in the brave days of old" was still a bridge of piles, in which no iron nail might be found; to be cut away in an hour on the near approach of an enemy.

There seems no doubt that the "terremare" people maintained free communication over the

large areas which they had reclaimed: their culture and industries remain surprisingly uniform in essentials, all over the Po valley. There was indeed no obstacle, unless they fell out among themselves, for the territory was in the main their own creation. What is even more important, is that, like the lords of a sand-desert, they were clearly in the position to create and exploit a monopoly of intercourse and transport between peninsular Italy and the Danube valley, as soon as either of these regions offered any element of civilization worth communicating to the other, and the "terremare" folk discovered the convenience of their own position.

Exactly what it was which brought this discovery about, is not yet wholly clear. Some lay stress on the rather summary and simultaneous way in which the old "terremare" sites were deserted in favour of open settlements on dry land, and on the spread of the use of iron, of improved types of safety-pin, and of an elaborate and characteristic convention of abstract geometrical art. They infer that the motive force, as in Aegean lands, was a fresh conquest by people from the Danube, and they support their conclusion by the rather marked contrast which is perceptible in some districts between certain tombs of warriors and those of the civilian population, the latter being almost devoid of weapons,

though copiously furnished with other kinds of fine metalwork. They are also at a loss to account in any other way for the geographical distribution of the two principal Italian types of Indo-European speech, which between them occupy all the regions of the peninsula except Etruria. Others are more impressed with the gradualness of the change in many departments of industry; the continuity of the tomb-type and ritual of cremation; and the accumulated proof that there was no such general disturbance and re-occupation of peninsular Italy as we would expect to find if the "terremare" civilization which screened the Apennine passes had been suddenly and violently overwhelmed.

Probably the truth lies between. For the first time since we left the neighbourhood of the Nile and Euphrates we are dealing with a culture based on a great reclamation of previously manless country, and with the creation of a new copious source of agricultural wealth, in a region where there were also rich possibilities of exchange with large neighbouring districts, of contrasted climate and resources. Now nothing was more striking in the history of Babylonia than the way in which a region of this kind, once thoroughly brought under economic control, is capable of tolerating repeated conquests by men of either kindred or of alien antecedents—the

Elamites and Semites, of our Babylonian analogy —without disturbance of the main processes of civilized development, though with quick appreciation of anything for good; fresh commodities, like the timber and stone of Elam, or fresh ideas like those which Babylonia owed to the Semitic genius for political organization and for some aspects of thought and religion.

To do justice to this view of the course of events in Northern Italy, we must look a little afield on either flank of the Po Valley. Southwards the story is fairly clear. With the exception of one isolated site near Tarentum, which here too seems to have given place, and perhaps birth, to a dry-land settlement at Timmari, curiously like the earliest dry-land settlements in the north, the "terremare" people seem to have been stopped by the Apennines. The similarities in the culture of the Tiber valley and of early Etruria, hardly amount to proof of a permanent "terremare" occupation, though it is very likely that other bands, less fortunate than that which reached Tarentum, attempted this from time to time, and left some traces of their culture, though little of their blood or name. Above all, there are no "terremare" there. The difficulty which is unsolved as yet, is that already hinted at, of correlating the sequence and distribution of the Italic lan-

guages with the successive stages of material advancement.

Consequently the Early Iron Age, which like the Bronze Age which it succeeds, comes in with remarkably gradual transition here, presents on the one hand a strong and increasing contrast between the regions north and south of the Apennines; and, on the other, well-marked differentiation among a number of separate districts in the southern, all lying geographically in detached low-lying coastlands of greater agricultural fertility. From their detachment from each other, we get the impression (which the earliest Italian history amply confirms) that the central highlands, from the Apennine frontier to Calabria, were held throughout this period by mainly pastoral tribes belonging to the latest or Sabellian-speaking group; easily upset and uprooted, with alternate periods of quiescence and of confused movement southwards.

In Sicily, South Italy, Campania, and the short isolated valleys of Picenum, far up the Adriatic shore, the immemorial custom of earth-burial was retained (except at Timmari) unaltered, and the principal fresh developments are clearly due to oversea intercourse with the reviving culture of the Aegean, now essentially Greek. Etruria and Latium show cross currents

of Greek seaborne trade, competing with arts (and even manufactured objects) from beyond the Apennines; and burial and cremation go on side by side. The "Italic"-speaking peoples of those lowland districts represent a rather earlier phase of Indo-European speech than the highland Sabellians. Though we do not know for certain the moment of their arrival, they had certainly been in the peninsula long enough to adapt themselves in great measure to native modes of life, and to become thoroughly amalgamated with the old Mediterranean inhabitants. The social structure of all "Italic" Italy, however, is of an even more strictly patriarchal type than had come into being round the less pasturable Aegean; and social and political development was retarded in proportion. City life hardly existed, for a long while. The loosely related clans lived in small scattered settlements, such as we see perched on defensible foothills round the Latin plain, and on the slopes of the Alban Hills in its centre. Both in Latium and in Campania, and probably elsewhere, regional federations were formed, for common defence and for the public worship of Indo-European deities closely akin to those of the Greeks.

Across the north corner of the "flat-land" which gave a name to Latium and to its people the Latini, the northernmost and largest of these

coastland leagues, runs out the only navigable river of the peninsula, the "yellow Tiber," heavy with clayey soil, after its frequent and dangerous floods. The "flat-land" indeed is in great part built of the deposits of its ancient estuary.

About twelve miles up stream, just clear of the coast marshes, which give protection against piracy, an island and some shoals in the river facilitate transit from the south into Etruria; even while they stop navigation. A low isolated hill on the Latin shore commands the crossing in face of any ordinary force. This is the Palatine hill, the site of a "Square Rome" of prehistoric age. In theory and in normal times this little fort should enable Latin occupants to "hold the bridge" against Etruria until the rest of their allies could rally. But in fact things were not so simple. Man intervened, and probably a great man, with an eye for so strong a situation. The legend is very likely true that Rome originated as an Outland; a "Coventry" or a Cave of Adullam; an "Asylum" or City of Refuge, for ne'er-do-wells on both banks. It never wholly belonged to the Latins; still less had it any love for Etruscans; probably its only serious industry at first was blackmail of passers-by. It was not for nothing that Rome's chief priests, perhaps her original priest-kings, were by title "Bridgemakers," *Pontifices*. They held

just such a monopoly of the transit between Latium and Etruria, as their successors in the title have claimed between Heaven and Earth.

Other low hills or spurs of table-land encircling the Palatine were occupied early by independent settlements, for the most part Latin, though by tradition one of them was a "Sabine" outpost of the highlanders. The Aventine hill, furthest down stream, had a different character again. It hangs more steeply above the river than any of the others, just at the point where navigation was closed by the "Bridge on Piles." This, then, like London Bridge, and Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, and Baltimore, was where sea-borne traffic had to disembark, and proceed by land. The salt from lagoons by the river mouth was traded and distributed here too: and the valley road inland from Rome was always still the Salt-way—*via Salaria.* Thus the Aventine, too, became a settlement of outlanders, like the Palatine, though in another sense; for they were men of all countries and tongues. It was an "East End," and foreign quarter, tolerated, and then encouraged, for its utility, but outside the close circle of "patrician" patriarchal groups of native clansmen; it was "plebeian" in fact, in the first and proper sense of the word—a shifting crowd of mere individuals.

From these small tangled origins grew the

city of Rome, the City of the Seven Hills; with its Latin language and culture; its more than Sabellian hardihood; its Etruscan genius for exploitation, the genius of the proverbial "Philistine"; and its inveterate hospitality for "desirable aliens."

The only serious problem in this peninsular Italy is presented by the Etruscans, a mysterious people which has inspired as much wild theory as the Phœnicians or the Celts. Its language is still practically unintelligible, though written plainly in an alphabet borrowed from Greek traders. All that seems clear is that it is not Indo-European; but whether the Etruscans brought it with them from elsewhere, or preserved an old native language from extermination by their opportune arrival in Etruria, is still quite uncertain. The Greek historians and their Italian disciples were unanimous that the Etruscans were of foreign origin; almost all were agreed that they came from the Aegean, though it was disputed whether from Lydia or the Thessalian side, or whether they had no country at all, but wandered like Vikings, or the Sea Dyaks of Borneo. It was also debated whether they reached Etruria by its own sea coast, or from an Adriatic landing-place near the mouth of the Po. Probably we may regard them provisionally as a substantial body of Aegean Sea-raiders,

who struck out into the West about the same time as their namesakes, the Tursha, took part in attacks on Egypt (p. 205); and their settlement in Etruria as a western counterpart of Philistia. The little we know of their political organization points the same way; strong "fenced cities," forcibly ruled by exclusive aristocracies, with war-lords, and the practice of champion-fighting; oppressive to the mass of the population; aggressive both southwards through Latium as far as Campania, and also for a brief period in all the Po Valley, to the foothills of the Alps. The cruel insolence of the "proud house of Tarquin," Etruscan overlords of Latium, provoked a general revolt there, a little before 500; which even "Lars Porsena of Clusium" up the Tiber was impotent to quell. The Campanian garrisons held their own till a raid of Sabellian highlanders expelled them in 424. The Etruscan empire in the north fell to pieces almost in the same year, before a new northern enemy, the predatory Gauls (p. 245). For Rome, too, "the Gaul was at the gate" in 390, and the Gaulish raids of the next few years extended within sight of Tarentum.

What follows, in the recovery and rapid consolidation of the districts south of the Apennines, not excluding what was left of Etruria, is the written history of early Rome. So it is time to

return upon the question, what events were in progress north of that frontier-line, from the close of the "terremare" Bronze Age to the Gallic inroad which we have just described.

CHAPTER XI

THE DAWN IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE

While Sicily and Italy south of the Apennines were absorbing the elements of the new Hellenic culture through great Greek colonies from Tarentum to Syracuse, and at least the material arts by way of Etruria also, the Po Valley was being drawn in exactly the opposite direction; and converted, for the second, and by no means for the last time, into a "Cisalpine" appendage of Central Europe. Of this process it is even more difficult to write with confidence than of the course of events on the "Italic" side; mainly because until recently evidence has been scanty, guesswork copious, and the conflict of opinion between students of culture and language embittered by racial and political fanaticism.

Behind the Balkan Peninsula and the broken Alpine frontier of Italy lies the great Hungarian plain, encircled by the Carpathians and watered

by the Danube and its tributaries. The foothills which surround it are of forest and parkland: then comes, as in Asia Minor, a broad zone of pasture, partly available for corn in due time, and then a central steppe, fading locally into desert. The upper valley of the Danube, wide, passable, and fertile, yet fully furnished by nature with good timber, invites exploration westward: and a little beyond its angle at Vienna, broad easy slopes connect it to the north with the upper Elbe, and thereby through parkland Bohemia with the coast plains towards the Baltic. Its population is fundamentally "Alpine," enriched however by the qualities of successive intruders; nomads from the great steppe, like the mediæval Huns, and the first introducers of the horse and Indo-European speech; and also, from time to time, blonde "Northern" giants from the lands round the Baltic.

Clearly within this region there was room for great variety of modes of life. For nomad horse-breeders and other pastorals there is the central steppe, and as more than one variety of horse was known even to the "terremare" people, we are safe in assuming the existence of horse-using folk on the Danube, at least from the beginning of the Bronze Age. On the other hand the mixed country round the edge of the plain offered the same freedom of compromise between pastoral

and agricultural life as we have had to contemplate already on the margin of the larger grassland, and in peninsular Italy. Finally, there is quite gradual transition of environment and climate over the open valley-heads of the Tyrol into the southward foothills of the Alps, and thence into the region of the "terremare" culture.

The civilization of the Lake-dwellers can be traced descending on the Danubian side of the hills in something the same fashion as on the Cisalpine; with this difference however, that here, it struck dry land much sooner, and consequently went through no such "terremare" phase as we have traced in the Po Valley. It found, in fact, on this side of the hills, an Elam, not a Babylonia.

All through a long and brilliant Bronze Age this Danubian civilization grew: influenced slightly by imports from the Minoan south; but far too distant to be dominated by them, and already well developed on lines of its own before it felt their charm. It was probably never wholly out of touch with the Cisalpine region: but as it had not the exceptional difficulties which the "terremare" folk had to contend with, it need not surprise us that it developed faster, and was ready to give a lead to the settlers of the Po Valley, when at length they were ready to follow.

To decide at what point in this series of events

the first and second groups of Italic-speaking peoples passed into the peninsula, is the crux of the whole problem. It is certain that the later Sabellian group is nearly related with the Umbrian language, the speakers of which still extended from the head of the Tiber valley to the Alps until the Gallic inroads, and these as we have seen (p. 237) were in progress about 400 B.C. Two linguistic stocks, therefore, had dominated the Cisalpine region in succession between the coming of the "terremare" folk and that of the Gauls; and the only period of more than normal progress, or of any rapid change of quality, in the archæological evidence, is that of transition from the "terremare" phase to that of the dry-land settlements, of which Villanova, close to Bologna, is the type. It is here, consequently, that some are inclined to place the introduction of Umbro-Sabellian speech.

But this does not necessarily mean a displacement of the population. Like the Semitic peoples, the early speakers of Indo-European languages possessed a remarkable genius—which we cannot at present analyse—for imposing their speech, and with it much of their beliefs and social practices, on the populations among whom they came, while adapting themselves to enjoy the material culture which they found in vogue in each new region. It is certain, also, from the

diversity of physical type among the peoples who are actually found speaking these languages, that exposure to such varied climates and environments was fatal to the separate existence of the originally intrusive stocks. Either they interbred and lost their identity, or they died out, leaving their speech and their ideas to be propagated by pupils of alien race. It is also probable that, in most cases, the actual intruders were few: that it was quality, not numbers, that prevailed. We have further to note that we are now dealing with a region with far greater rainfall, and far more evenly distributed round the year, than any which has come before us yet: with a region, therefore, far more densely forested, and consequently far less continuously peopled than the great oriental centres: far more easy, therefore, for determined invaders to occupy without displacing the natives, or to traverse without disturbing them permanently; provided only that the intruders have the ability to move about at all, in such encumbered country. The most nearly similar regions in the nearer East are North Syria and the western half of Asia Minor, though even here it was the mountain, not the forest, which was the more effective barrier.

In general, then, we are to conceive the whole region of the Danubian and Cisalpine plains as

having come to form one homogeneous province of civilization before the end of the Bronze Age, and as having retained this general uniformity during a long period of quiescence and free intercourse: marred, but not interrupted, like the internal development of Babylonia or the Syrian coast, by occasional, perhaps even frequent, attempts of ambitious or over-populated groups to make conquests or new settlements.

Of the general character of this "Italo-Danubian" civilization, we learn something from the evidence of its richly furnished tombs; and most of all from a large and very characteristic series of vessels of embossed bronze, decorated in a style which owes something in detail to the Orientalizing art of Greece and the Levant in the eighth and seventh centuries, though it remains vigorously independent in style and sentiment. These vessels show many scenes of ceremonial daily life, chariot-races, operations of war, processions, feasts, and public assemblies; with various accessories of native fashion, such as are found in the same tombs with them. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that this highly cultured people remained wholly illiterate till much later, and has therefore left us nothing at first hand as to its law, policy, and religion.

Something, however, has come down, nevertheless, through the geographers of Greece and

Rome, who lived near enough to its great days to collect some facts about it. From them we learn that in the days before the Gallic inroads, a group of peoples called the *Celtæ*—the name has been sadly mishandled since—had their home north of the Alps, along the whole length of the Danube valley: that at the time of their greatest extension they were dominant as far east at the Crimea (where they felt the pressure of Scythians incoming from the east, from about 700 onwards); they had spread beyond the Rhine, and as far as the Atlantic coast; and offshoots of the great tribe of the Bituriges, who were settled in Central France when the Greeks reached Marseilles in 600 had established themselves firmly in many parts of Spain. The descriptions of them as tall and fair or ruddy, intolerant of southern heat, eaters of pork and drinkers of beer, horse-racers, and skilled chariot-drivers, desperate fighters, chivalrous and exuberant, complete a picture which has many claims to accuracy.

These rather miscellaneous hints are enough to permit the indentification of well-marked types of swords, safety-pins, and other portable objects of bronze and iron, derived from several ascertainable phases of Danubian development, and found scattered among the products of local industry over the whole of this wide area, as the

belongings of the adventurous bands who reclaimed these new regions to their own culture, perhaps even annexed them to a transitory empire. As Herodotus sums up the Scythians, and Thucydides the peoples of Thrace, so the modern historian may epitomize the Celts: "If they could but agree among themselves, nothing could withstand them."

But by the time that these Celtic peoples tread the threshold of history, they are beset by many enemies. On the east, the nomad Scythians drove the "Cimmerian" section of them off the grassland altogether, in a flood of desperate fugitives, which broke through into Asia Minor in the seventh century, wrecked the nascent kingdom of the Lydians about 650, and swept on, like the new lords of Armenia before them (p. 136), till they laid the last straw on the tottering back of Assyria. A century later, Etruscan conquests detached the whole Cisalpine province, and another century after that, a central European section of them, closely akin but of ruder manners, and standing in much the same relation to what Roman writers called the "older or Umbrian" Celts, as the Sabellians to the older Italic peoples, broke loose somewhere in the north, and rapidly made themselves master of large parts of the Danube valley. About 400 B.C., these "Gallic" tribes

flooded out southward to create a "Cisalpine Gaul" on the ruins of Etruscan rule; maiming Etruria itself, sacking Rome in 390, and threatening Tarentum, as we have seen. Next, in the following century, another horde of them penetrated far into Greece (reaching Delphi in 279), and then across the Hellespont into a new "Galatia" on the plateau of Asia Minor. The inrush of the dreaded Gæsatæ into Cisalpine Gaul, about 235, which precipitated the intervention of Rome beyond the Apennines, was probably a backwash of this Galatian wave. Northwestward, similar conquests are rather later, and the chronology of them is obscure; but the Belgic movement was still in progress north of the Seine, in the first century B.C., when the intervention of Julius Cæsar brought all the country between the Rhine and the Atlantic under the domination of Rome, and replaced by a Roman sea-police the naval and commercial enterprises of the Breton Veneti, whom he found engaged in trade with both Celts and aborigines in Britain.

It is no part of the plan of this volume to follow the Dawn of History into the modern world. Only one other twilight lies between Cæsar's day and ours, and begins to lighten before he crossed the Rhone and invaded Outer

Gaul. The Helvetii, whose enforced migration challenged him in 58 B.C., were themselves victims of Teutonic pressure across the Upper Rhine: and in the same autumn Cæsar had to deal with the Teutonic army of Ariovistus, which was attempting to enter Gaul by the gap between Vosges and Jura.

But the difference of language between Teutons and Celts concealed a large identity of culture—economic, social, and political. The blood of both, too, was by this time a mixture, in varying proportions, of Alpine and Northern elements, and their aspect not easy for a southron to distinguish. The Teutonic peoples, however, had grown up, not in a Central European region within the Carpathian ring, but in those parts of the forested flat-land which lie between that barrier and the Baltic. Their home spreads back as far east as the great marsh of the Pripet, and as far west as the Oder: outside these early limits we find relics of their later advancement only. Such intercourse, therefore, as they had with Mediterranean culture—Hellenic mainly, though perhaps also Minoan, for the amber trade, which brought it about, is immemorially old—was conducted wholly at second hand, by Danubian and later also by Cisalpine middlemen, who had their own wares to sell. Indo-European speech had spread here too: how and when, we cannot

tell for certain. All that is clear is that in all this wooded region, movement was constant, and mainly away from the grasslands. Occasional back-rushes seem to have been organized raids of comparatively small force, political rather than ethnic in importance.

In the same way, too, the still later outpouring of the Scandinavian peoples—which made the first real sea-power of the Atlantic, after the Roman coastguard was withdrawn—can only be sketched, on the margin of a closing page. The culture of these peoples begins with a brilliant stone age, whose finer flint-work challenges that of Egyptian Koptos. A no less brilliant bronze age follows, spread over both shores of what in truth we may characterize as a northern Mediterranean. Whereas, however, the southern Mediterranean has its archipelago in an inner recess, and all its wilder shores between that and the Atlantic, the Baltic "Aegean" lies between Sweden and Denmark, with its Gibraltar at Elsinore, and a great avenue to the Danube and the industrial south by the valley-route of the Elbe. It is natural, therefore, that it should be from hence, not from Minoan Crete, or Carthage, or even Rome, that the first Atlantic sea-power originated, which had more than a cross-Channel range.

The people who created it were by blood pure

"Northerners," and yet by speech so purely Indo-European that it has even been contended, more than once, that the home of that whole family of languages is here. Once again, chronology is impossible, both for language and institutions; and even the periods of Bronze and Early Iron industry are still very variously dated. This, however, matters the less, as history begins here so much later even than with the Teutons. Though pictorial records of Baltic seafaring go back, at Bohuslan in Sweden, to a very early time, the great age of the Northmen falls between the ninth century and the twelfth. The range of their enterprise is, however, enormous. By land they cut their way through the heart of Russia to the Black Sea, where they were once more in their element: by sea they colonized Iceland, and explored beyond Greenland. They conquered all Normandy, and much of Brittany, and profoundly affected the coast population of all the "narrow seas." They harried the Mediterranean, and made possible the Crusades; recovering Sicily from the Saracens, and South Italy from the paralysed clutch of dying Constantinople. To the Atlantic coasts, and to Mediterranean sailors also, they gave methods of navigation and shipbuilding which guaranteed, to all men brave enough to use them, the instruments to control the Atlantic, both shores alike, in time. And

the conquest of the Atlantic is the signal for a Modern World.

The conclusion of the whole matter may be sketched in a few words. From our study of typical examples of peoples who "have no history," we were led to the conclusion that it may happen in various ways that the struggle in which Man is engaged with Nature is so nearly balanced that as long as the men themselves and the world in which they live remain unaltered, further change is out of the question: that conditions actually have thus remained unchanged, over wide areas and for long periods of time; and that, as long as this has been so, no "history" has been made there worth recording.

It would seem to follow, as the converse of this, that "historical" events occur when moments of change in the balance of power between Nature and Man challenge men to fresh control over Nature: and from instances on the Nile and Euphrates, in the islands and peninsulas of the Midland Sea, in the Central European woodlands, and round the Baltic inlet; above all, on the great Grasslands north and south of the Mountain Zone, we have begun to see further that, broadly speaking, there are three principal kinds of "historical event," in this sense of the word.

First, change may occur in the very quality

of a people. We are familiar with the apparition of an individual of genius, in a family which has not shown any previous sign of talent; and there seems no reason why what happens rarely in a single example should not happen also to a whole generation: still more rarely of course, but yet often enough for the historian to have to take it into account. The thirteenth century in Europe, and our own Elizabethan Age, are instances of this kind of fertility; and it hardly needs to be stated in words, either that the motive-power of exceptional men is out of all proportion to their numbers, or that their efficiency, disproportionate as it is in any case, increases in still higher ratio when, by a happy accident, many or even several great men are active simultaneously.

Secondly, the nature of the region may change. The best attested mode of such change is by alteration of climate, affecting the means of subsistence; which either compels emigration into other regions, or attracts immigrants from elsewhere.

Thirdly, without change either in the nature of the region or in the quality of its men, other changes elsewhere, on the part either of Nature or of Man, may bring fresh men into contact and conflict with the actual population; into fresh forms of struggle with Nature and mastery over Nature's resources.

All these kinds of disturbance are alike in this, that their immediate effect is to make human life more difficult. Either the new conditions require more effort of the same kind, or the old kind of effort no longer produces the effect required, and those who cannot, or will not, make the effort now required, pay the penalty of their inefficiency. Life also becomes more complicated. There is not only more to do, but more kinds of things to be done. Work is differentiated, as well as different; and the workers are specialized. Civilization, and therewith citizenship—the skill to behave in a civilized world—are the consequence; but in every region they express an attempt, appropriate to it, to "live well" just there.

To trace these processes till they reach their climax in a "historic age" in the regions whence our own civilization comes, has been the plan of this essay. It is an attempt to apply geographical criticism to history, historical criticism to geography, and biological to both; and it results—as no one could be more conscious than the writer—in a temporary vagueness of outline, as of things half seen, and processes half-realized. If the reader feels a biological bias overprominent, and is moved to complain with that other, "I see men *as trees walking*," let him remember that he, who said that, was well on the way to "see every man clearly."

NOTE ON BOOKS

On the general question of the relation between Man and his environment, reference should be made to handbooks of Geography and Ethnology, such as the volume on *Modern Geography* in the Home University Library, or Brunhes, *Étude de Geographie Humaine*, and the opening chapters of Ratzel's *History of Mankind* (English translation, 1896). Compare also von Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, and Réclus, *La Terre*, of which there are English translations, and Langlois and Segnobos' *Introduction to the Study of History* (English translation, 1898). The outlines of savage and patriarchal society are well summarized in a very small but suggestive book—Jenks' *History of Politics* (Temple Primers). There is graphic description of types of primitive society in Demolins, *Comment la route crée le type social*, de Preville, *Les Sociétés Africaines*, and two French series entitled *La Science sociale*, and *L'Année sociologique*.

For the geography of the region described in Chapter III., Hogarth's *Nearer East* gives full details, with illustrations both from ancient and from modern history, and references to the literature. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, includes also all as far as Persia; and a full bibliography. Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, and Deniker, *Races of Man*, are brief but good. An admirable study of the Mediterranean region is Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet*. George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, is invaluable. For the north-west, see Partsch, *Central Europe*, in the same series as Hogarth's *Nearer East*. For pastoral conditions of life, and questions of climatic change, consult Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*.

The best general histories of the Ancient East are Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums* (a French translation is announced), and Maspero, *L'histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient* (English translation in three large illustrated volumes). A most useful supplement to Maspero, bringing the record of discoveries down to 1910, is King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the light of recent Discoveries*. For early Babylonia, King's *History of Sumer and Accad* is complete as far as it goes. The bearings of recent work at Susa are discussed in de Morgan, *Les Premières Civilisations*.

For Egypt, Breasted's *History of Egypt*, and Newberry and Garstang's *Short History of Ancient Egypt*, may be supplemented by Flinders Petrie's *History* (in six volumes), and by the admirable article *Egypt* by Griffith and others in the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The prehistoric period is fully

treated in de Morgan's *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, and the later times in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*. There is important new work in Reisner, *Early Dynastic Cemeteries*, and Elliott Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*.

On Arabia consult Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, and the principal travels in Hogarth's bibliography. For the legislation of Hammurabi, consult S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and Code of Hammurabi*, and on all similar questions, Driver's Schweich Lectures, entitled *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*.

For Asia Minor, Sayce's *Hittites*, and Garstang's *Land of the Hittites*, treat the historical results of recent expeditions in Cappadocia and North Syria.

Of the Minoan Age in Prehistoric Greece, there is an admirable brief summary by Mr. and Mrs. Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*. See also *Aegean Civilization* in the new *Encycl. Brit.* Details must be sought in the reports of excavations and in Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, vol. i. For the environment of Greek life, see Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*.

On the *Indo-European Languages* consult the careful article in the new Encyclopædia, and the references given there. In its main facts, Schrader's *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* is still of value (English translation, 1890). The earlier history of the subject is fairly put in Isaac Taylor's *Origin of the Aryans*.

For the beginnings of Historic Greece, Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, is the best recent discussion of the new evidence. Helbig's *Homerisches Epos*, dealing with the archæological problems of the Homeric Age, appeared in 1883, but is still useful. Subsequent work is reviewed in the second edition of Cauer's *Grundfragen der Homerischen Kritik*. Recent English contributions (on very different hypotheses) are Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, and Lang, *Homer and his Age*, and *The World of Homer*.

For Early Italy, Peet's *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* is an exhaustive guide to the archæological evidence. See also Modestov's *Introduction à l'Histoire Romaine*. On the special question of the relations between the Po valley and the Danube, Bertrand and Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les vallées du Po et du Danube* is still of value. The archæology of France and Western Europe generally is summarized in Dechelette, *Manuel d'archeologie*.

For Scandinavian and northern antiquities generally, see Montelius, *The Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, Worsaae, *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, Sophus Müller, *Nordische Alterthumskunde* and *Urgeschichte Europas*, and the other works cited in the well illustrated Encyclopædia article on *Scandinavian Antiquities*.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

This index only includes selected details. The principal topics must be sought by means of the chapter headings.

70. **ANCIENT ART AND RITUAL. By Jane E. Harrison, LL. D., D. Litt.** "One of the 100 most important books of 1913."—*New York Times Review.*

45. **MEDIEVAL ENGLISH LITERATURE. By W. P. Ker,** Professor of English Literature, University College, London. "One of the soundest scholars. His style is effective, simple, yet never dry."—*The Athenaeum.*

87. **THE RENAISSANCE. By Edith Sichel,** author of "Catherine de Medici," "Men and Women of the French Renaissance."

89. **ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE. By J. M. Robertson, M. P.,** author of "Montaigne and Shakespeare," "Modern Humanists."

27. **MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE. By G. H. Mair.** From Wyatt and Surrey to Synge and Yeats. "One of the best of this great series."—*Chicago Evening Post.*

61. **THE VICTORIAN AGE IN LITERATURE. By G. K. Chesterton.**

40. **THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. By L. P. Smith.** A concise history of its origin and development.

66. **WRITING ENGLISH PROSE. By William T. Brewster,** Professor of English, Columbia University. "Should be put into the hands of every man who is beginning to write and of every teacher of English that has brains enough to understand sense."—*New York Sun.*

58. **THE NEWSPAPER. By G. Binney Dibble.** The first full account from the inside of newspaper organization as it exists to-day.

48. **GREAT WRITERS OF AMERICA. By W. P. Trent and John Erskine,** Columbia University...

93. **AN OUTLINE OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE. By Maurice Baring,** author of "The Russian People," etc. Tolstoi, Tourgenieff, Dostoieffsky, Pushkin (the father of Russian Literature), Saltykov (the satirist,) Leskov, and many other authors.

31. **LANDMARKS IN FRENCH LITERATURE. By G. L. Strachey,** Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. "It is difficult to imagine how a better account of French Literature could be given in 250 pages."—*London Times.*

64. **THE LITERATURE OF GERMANY. By J. G. Robertson.**

62. **PAINTERS AND PAINTING. By Sir Frederick Wedmore.** With 16 half-tone illustrations.

38. **ARCHITECTURE. By Prof. W. R. Lethaby.** An introduction to the history and theory of the art of building.

NATURAL SCIENCE.

68. **DISEASE AND ITS CAUSES.** By W. T. Councilman, M. D., LL. D., Professor of Pathology, Harvard University.

85. **SEX.** By J. Arthur Thompson and Patrick Geddes, joint authors of "The Evolution of Sex."

71. **PLANT LIFE.** By J. B. Farmer, D. Sc., F. R. S., Professor of Botany in the Imperial College of Science, London. This very fully illustrated volume contains an account of the salient features of plant form and function.

63. **THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF LIFE.** By Benjamin M. Moore, Professor of Bio-Chemistry, Liverpool.

90. **CHEMISTRY.** By Raphael Meldola, F. R. S., Professor of Chemistry, Finsbury Technical College. Presents the way in which the science has developed and the stage it has reached.

53. **ELECTRICITY.** By Gisbert Kapp, Professor of Electrical Engineering, University of Birmingham.

54. **THE MAKING OF THE EARTH.** By J. W. Gregory, Professor of Geology, Glasgow University. 38 maps and figures. Describes the origin of the earth, the formation and changes of its surface and structure, its geological history, the first appearance of life, and its influence upon the globe.

56. **MAN: A HISTORY OF THE HUMAN BODY.** By A. Keith, M. D., Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons, London. Shows how the human body developed.

74. **NERVES.** By David Fraser Harris, M. D., Professor of Physiology, Dalhousie University, Halifax. Explains in non-technical language the place and powers of the nervous system.

21. **AN INTRODUCTION TO SCIENCE.** By Prof. J. Arthur Thomson, Science Editor of the Home University Library. For those unacquainted with the scientific volumes in the series, this would prove an excellent introduction.

14. **EVOLUTION.** By Prof. J. Arthur Thomson and Prof. Patrick Geddes. Explains to the layman what the title means to the scientific world.

23. **ASTRONOMY.** By A. R. Hinks, Chief Assistant at the Cambridge Observatory. "Decidedly original in substance, and the most readable and informative little book on modern astronomy we have seen for a long time."—*Nature.*

24. **PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.** By Prof. W. F. Barrett, formerly President of the Society for Psychical Research.

9. **THE EVOLUTION OF PLANTS.** By Dr. D. H. Scott, President of the Linnean Society of London. The story of the development of flowering plants, from the earliest zoological times, unlocked from technical language.

43. **MATTER AND ENERGY.** By F. Soddy, Lecturer in Physical Chemistry and Radioactivity, University of Glasgow. "Brilliant. Can hardly be surpassed. Sure to attract attention."—*New York Sun.*

41. **PSYCHOLOGY, THE STUDY OF BEHAVIOUR.** By William McDougall, of Oxford. A well digested summary of the essentials of the science put in excellent literary form by a leading authority.

42. **THE PRINCIPLES OF PHYSIOLOGY.** By Prof. J. G. McKendrick. A compact statement by the Emeritus Professor at Glasgow, for uninstructed readers.

37. **ANTHROPOLOGY.** By R. R. Marett, Reader in Social Anthropology, Oxford. Seeks to plot out and sum up the general series of changes, bodily and mental, undergone by man in the course of history. "Excellent. So enthusiastic, so clear and witty, and so well adapted to the general reader."—*American Library Association Booklist.*

17. **CRIME AND INSANITY.** By Dr. C. Mercier, author of "Test Book of Insanity," etc.

12. **THE ANIMAL WORLD.** By Prof. F. W. Gamble.

15. **INTRODUCTION TO MATHEMATICS.** By A. N. Whitehead, author of "Universal Algebra."

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

69. **A HISTORY OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT.** By John B. Bury, M. A., LL. D., Regius Professor of Modern History in Cambridge University. Summarizes the history of the long struggle between authority and reason and of the emergence of the principle that coercion of opinion is a mistake.

96. **A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.** By Clement C. J. Webb, Oxford.

35. **THE PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY.** By Bertrand Russell, Lecturer and Late Fellow, Trinity College, Cambridge.

60. **COMPARATIVE RELIGION.** By Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter. "One of the few authorities on this subject compares all the religions to see what they have to offer on the great themes of religion."—*Christian Work and Evangelist.*

44. **BUDDHISM.** By Mrs. Rhys Davids, Lecturer on Indian Philosophy, Manchester.

46. **ENGLISH SECTS: A HISTORY OF NONCONFORMITY.** By W. B.

55. MISSIONS: THEIR RISE AND DEVELOPMENT. By Mrs. Mandell Creighton, author of "History of England." The author seeks to prove that missions have done more to civilize the world than any other human agency.

52. ETHICS. By G. E. Moore, Lecturer in Moral Science, Cambridge. Discusses what is right and what is wrong, and the whys and wherefores.

65. THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By George F. Moore, Professor of the History of Religion, Harvard University. "A popular work of the highest order. Will be profitable to anybody who cares enough about Bible study to read a serious book on the subject."—*American Journal of Theology.*

88. RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. By R. H. Charles, Canon of Westminster. Shows how religious and ethical thought between 180 B. C. and 100 A. D. grew naturally into that of the New Testament.

50. THE MAKING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By B. W. Bacon, Professor of New Testament Criticism, Yale. An authoritative summary of the results of modern critical research with regard to the origins of the New Testament.

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

91. THE NEGRO. By W. E. Burghardt DuBois, author of "Souls of Black Folks," etc. A history of the black man in Africa, America or wherever else his presence has been or is important.

77. CO-PARTNERSHIP AND PROFIT SHARING. By Aneurin Williams, Chairman, Executive Committee, International Co-operative Alliance, etc. Explains the various types of co-partnership or profit-sharing, or both, and gives details of the arrangements now in force in many of the great industries.

99. POLITICAL THOUGHT: THE UTILITARIANS. FROM BENTHAM TO J. S. MILL. By William L. P. Davidson.

98. POLITICAL THOUGHT: FROM HERBERT SPENCER TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Ernest Barker, M. A.

79. UNEMPLOYMENT. By A. C. Pigou, M. A., Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge. The meaning, measurement, distribution, and effects of unemployment, its relation to wages, trade fluctuations, and disputes, and some proposals of remedy or relief.

80. COMMON-SENSE IN LAW. By Prof. Paul Vinogradoff, D. C. L., LL. D. Social and Legal Rules—Legal Rights and Duties—Facts and Acts in Law—Legislation—Custom—Judicial Precedents—Equity—The Law of Nature.

49. ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By S. J. Chapman, Professor of Political Economy and Dean of Faculty of Commerce and Administration, University of Manchester.

11. THE SCIENCE OF WEALTH. By J. A. Hobson, author of "Problems of Poverty." A study of the structure and working of the modern business world.

1. PARLIAMENT. ITS HISTORY, CONSTITUTION, AND PRACTICE. By Sir Courtenay P. Ilbert, Clerk of the House of Commons.

16. LIBERALISM. By Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, author of "Democracy and Reaction." A masterly philosophical and historical review of the subject.

5. THE STOCK EXCHANGE. By F. W. Hirst, Editor of the London *Economist*. Reveals to the non-financial mind the facts about investment, speculation, and the other terms which the title suggests.

10. THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. By J. Ramsay Macdonald, Chairman of the British Labor Party.

28. THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRY. By D. H. MacGregor, Professor of Political Economy, University of Leeds. An outline of the recent changes that have given us the present conditions of the working classes and the principles involved.

29. ELEMENTS OF ENGLISH LAW. By W. M. Geldart, Vinerian Professor of English Law, Oxford. A simple statement of the basic principles of the English legal system on which that of the United States is based.

32. THE SCHOOL: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATION. By J. J. Findlay, Professor of Education, Manchester. Presents the history, the psychological basis, and the theory of the school with a rare power of summary and suggestion.

6. IRISH NATIONALITY. By Mrs. J. R. Green. A brilliant account of the genius and mission of the Irish people. "An entrancing work, and I would advise every one with a drop of Irish blood in his veins or a vein of Irish sympathy in his heart to read it."—*New York Times' Review*.

GENERAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

33. **THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By A. F. Pollard,** Professor of English History, University of London.

95. **BELGIUM. By R. C. K. Ensor,** Sometime Scholar of Balliol College. The geographical, linguistic, historical, artistic and literary associations.

100. **POLAND. By W. Alison Phillips,** University of Dublin. The history of Poland with special emphasis upon the Polish question of the present day.

34. **CANADA. By A. G. Bradley.**

72. **GERMANY OF TO-DAY. By Charles Tower.**

78. **LATIN AMERICA. By William R. Shepherd,** Professor of History, Columbia. With maps. The historical, artistic, and commercial development of the Central South American republics.

18. **THE OPENING-UP OF AFRICA. By Sir H. H. Johnston.** The first living authority on the subject tells how and why the "native races" went to the various parts of Africa and summarizes its exploration and colonization.

19. **THE CIVILIZATION OF CHINA. By H. A. Giles,** Professor of Chinese, Cambridge.

36. **PEOPLES AND PROBLEMS OF INDIA. By Sir T. W. Holderness.** "The best small treatise dealing with the range of subjects fairly indicated by the title."—*The Dial.*

26. **THE DAWN OF HISTORY. By J. L. Myers,** Professor of Ancient History, Oxford.

92. **THE ANCIENT EAST. By D. G. Hogarth, M. A., F. B. A., F. S. A.** Connects with Prof. Myers's "Dawn of History" (No. 26) at about 1000 B. C. and reviews the history of Assyria, Babylon, Cilicia, Persia and Macedon.

30. **ROME. By W. Warde Fowler,** author of "Social Life at Rome," etc. "A masterly sketch of Roman character and what it did for the world."—*London Spectator.*

13. **MEDIEVAL EUROPE. By H. W. C. Davis,** Fellow at Balliol College, Oxford, author of "Charlemagne," etc.

3. **THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Hillaire Belloc.**

57. **NAPOLEON. By H. A. L. Fisher,** Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University. Author of "The Republican Tradition in Europe."

20. **HISTORY OF OUR TIME (1885-1911). By C. P. Gooch,** A "moving picture" of the world since 1885.

22. **THE PAPACY AND MODERN TIMES. By Rev. William Barry, D. D.,** author of "The Papal Monarchy," etc. The story of the rise and fall of the Temporal Power.

4. **A SHORT HISTORY OF WAR AND PEACE.** By G. H. Perris, author of "Russia in Revolution," etc.

94. **THE NAVY AND SEA POWER.** By David Hannay, author of "Short History of the Royal Navy," etc. A brief history of the navies, sea power, and ship growth of all nations, including the rise and decline of America on the sea, and explaining the present British supremacy thereon.

8. **POLAR EXPLORATION.** By Dr. W. S. Bruce, Leader of the "Scotia" expedition. Emphasizes the results of the expeditions.

51. **MASTER MARINERS.** By John R. Spears, author of "The History of Our Navy," etc. A history of sea craft adventure from the earliest times.

86. **EXPLORATION OF THE ALPS.** By Arnold Lunn, M. A.

7. **MODERN GEOGRAPHY.** By Dr. Marion Newbigin. Shows the relation of physical features to living things and to some of the chief institutions of civilization.

76. **THE OCEAN. A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE SCIENCE OF THE SEA.** By Sir John Murray, K. C. B., Naturalist H. M. S. "Challenger," 1872-1876, joint author of "The Depths of the Ocean," etc.

84. **THE GROWTH OF EUROPE.** By Granville Cole, Professor of Geology, Royal College of Science, Ireland. A study of the geology and physical geography in connection with the political geography.

AMERICAN HISTORY.

47. **THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1607-1766).** By Charles McLean Andrews, Professor of American History, Yale.

82. **THE WARS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA (1763-1815).** By Theodore C. Smith, Professor of American History, Williams College. A history of the period, with especial emphasis on The Revolution and The War of 1812.

67. **FROM JEFFERSON TO LINCOLN (1815-1860).** By William MacDonald, Professor of History, Brown University. The author makes the history of this period circulate about constitutional ideas and slavery sentiment.

25. **THE CIVIL WAR (1854-1865.)** By Frederic L. Paxson, Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin.

39. **RECONSTRUCTION AND UNION (1865-1912).** By Paul Leland Haworth. A History of the United States in our own times.

OTHER VOLUMES IN PREPARATION

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
34 West 33d Street New York